eGUIDE//Geography

Unit AS 2: Human Geography

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Unit AS 2: Human Geography

Introduction

Human Geography spans issues relating to society, economics and politics. The study of this discipline allows us to explore the kind of world we live in and helps students consider their aspirations for how society should operate in the future.

In this unit you will discover how population data is gathered and find out about the importance of reliable statistics. You will also explore the factors which influence population change and evaluate population growth models. There will be opportunities to examine the challenges faced by both urban and rural settlements across the globe and a chance to learn about the measures used by governments to protect the environment.

You will learn about the concept of development and evaluate the impact of globalisation. Geographers also learn how to analyse theoretical models and evaluate real life issues. Studying this unit will give you the opportunity to develop skills – you will be asked to analyse data and communicate your ideas clearly. Hopefully, you will discover just how dynamic and relevant Human Geography is to our lives.

Population Data

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Census

A census gathers detailed information about the people who live in a country. It is a snapshot of the population profile, providing information about who we are and how we live. In contrast to samples, it captures information for the entire population. A census provides a comprehensive breakdown of population details including age, ethnicity, gender and occupation.

This allows us to compare places with each other, ranging from a national to a neighbourhood scale. As censuses are taken regularly, census data lets us measure change over time, identify trends and make predictions. The level of detail provided by a census is a key tool for the government when planning the allocation of funding to meet the needs of the population. Most countries hold a census at least every 10 years.

Source: Guardian www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2012/dec/12/northern-ireland-census-2011-religion-identity-mapped

The last census to be carried out in the United Kingdom took place in 2011. The results indicate that Northern Ireland's population increased by 7.5% between 2001 and 2011. The population is now 1.8m. The share of population aged 65 years and over rose between 2001 and 2011 from 13% to 15% and the proportion of children aged under 16-years old dropped from 24% to 21%.

The 2011 census reports a 128% increase in the number of households renting from private landlords since 2001. Also, the number of lone parent households with dependent children has increased by 27%. The proportion of households with no central heating has dropped from 4.9% in 2001 to 0.5% in 2011.

Challenges for Census Administrators

Even though more economically developed countries (MEDCs) have sophisticated administrative structures in place, they still face challenges when conducting a census. For example, some people are unwilling to share information. Capturing accurate data pertaining to the travelling community is more difficult than for those who are settled. It can also be difficult to establish accurate figures for the homeless population, asylum seekers and refugees. After a nationwide campaign, the religion Jedi appeared in the 2001 UK census. A decade later, over 170,000 people identified themselves as Jedi Knights in England and Wales. This may well be amusing, but it is almost certainly an inaccuracy.

Less Economically Developed Countries (LEDCs) face more fundamental challenges in conducting a census; in fact a census is rarely undertaken in countries such as Ethiopia and Afghanistan. Carrying out a census is a complex and costly operation which requires the work of statisticians, demographers, and public bodies. The world's poorest countries cannot afford to pay the associated administrative costs. A census captures information relating to all the populated areas and must be carried out in a limited period of time – adding to the expense. A census may not be a priority for a LEDC; a more pressing issue could be alleviating the absolute poverty in the state.

Lack of the infrastructure can be problematic for LEDCs, especially in larger states. For example, mountainous terrain is likely to present a greater challenge to data capture in LEDCs than MEDCs where the road network is typically more advanced. Many LEDCs experience extreme weather conditions or rainy seasons, which can also hamper census progress. Political instability and war are also more likely to impede the completion of a census in LEDCs. Communication can be a barrier – some countries use multiple languages, adding yet another layer of administration to the, already complex, process. Low rates of literacy also present a problem for many authorities.

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Figure 1: Inaccessible Mountain Pass Yunnan Province, China

Vital Registration

In contrast to the static information gathered by conducting a census, vital registration data is constantly changing. It involves recording all births, stillbirths, adoptions, deaths, marriages and civil partnerships.

Birth registration
In Northern Ireland, parents have a legal responsibility to register the birth of a child. This must be done within 42 days of birth. Any District Registration Office can register a birth. The following information is recorded when a birth is registered:
- Name of the baby;
- Sex and date of birth of the baby;
- District and place of birth of the baby;
- Names and dates of birth of parents; and
- Addresses and occupations of the parents.

Death registration
In Northern Ireland, deaths should be registered as soon as possible and no later than 5 days after the person dies. When a death is registered the following information is recorded:
- Deceased's name;
- Deceased's address;
- Date and place of death;
- Marital status of the deceased;
- Date and place of birth of the deceased; and
- Occupation of the deceased.

This article, published by the UN in 2015, emphasises the importance of capturing vital registrations and contrasts the situation in MEDCs and LEDCs:
http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/why-birth-and-death-registration-really-are-%E2%80%9Cvital%E2%80%9D-statistics-development

LEDC Case Study: Nigeria

Nigeria faces many challenges in conducting a census. Nigeria's last census, conducted in 2006, sparked allegations of corruption, and protests resulted in more than 15 deaths. Many of the staff involved in conducting the census walked out of their jobs over lack of payment.

There is a lot riding on the results of a Nigerian census. The outcome influences funding allocations and shapes the balance of political power. Nigerian society is divided along religious lines between a majority of Muslims in the North, who traditionally control the government, contrasting with the South, which is largely Christian. Consequentially, there are regular accusations of census fraud and the process can be the source of conflict. It is therefore unsurprising that the 2006 census was the first carried out since 1991.

Violence has claimed the lives of thousands of people in Nigeria over recent decades. It was decided not to ask people about their religious affiliation in the 2006 census. Officials feared that the question would provoke violence but the decision enraged the Christian population as they were a slight minority in 2001 and were hoping for a different outcome in 2006. There are over 250 different

languages spoken in Nigeria; this in itself is a barrier to communication, which is further exacerbates the challenge of delivering a comprehensive census.

Indeed, it is likely that the 2006 Nigerian Census was not comprehensive. It is reported that there were not enough census forms and many people alleged that they were not counted. For example, it is believed that over 45,000 cattle workers were not counted as they did not appear on the census map. In 2015 a Nigerian Government Minister admitted that inadequacies in vital registration data were an obstruction to carrying out a comprehensive census.

Conducting a Census in a MEDC: The United States of America

The process of carrying out a census in the United States of America is a sharp contrast with the situation in Nigeria. Find out how an American census operates here: http://people.howstuffworks.com/census2.htm

The Centre for American Progress is an independent nonpartisan policy institute which aims to improve the lives of American citizens. They published this document in 2015. It highlights the challenges faced by the authorities in conducting the next census, which is due in 2020: https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/ChevatCensus-report5.pdf

This short video summarises the concept of a census from an American perspective: www.youtube.com/watch?v=NGR2ikS0XYc

Key Terms

Census: A count of the population, which usually happens every 10 years. It is a snapshot of the population profile, providing information about who we are and how and where we live.

Vital Registration: This involves recording all births, stillbirths, adoptions, deaths, marriages and civil partnerships. In contrast to a census, this is dynamic data – it is constantly changing.

Activity

A census gives us a variety of information about the population including their education, where they live and work, their health status and ethnicity.
- What kind of services might be influenced by census results?
- How could census results influence government spending?
- Why do you think political parties all over the world are interested in census results?
- How could the census be made more reliable in Nigeria?

Population Change

The Population Balance

The population of a country changes constantly as a consequence of births, deaths and migration flow. Natural population change is the difference between the number of births and deaths over a given period in an area.

The crude birth rate is the number of live births each year per 1,000 of people in an area. Similarly, the crude death rate is the number of deaths each year per 1,000 of people in an area. If the population increases due to a higher birth than death rate this produces a natural increase. A natural decrease is due to the opposite situation - higher death rates than birth rates.

Migration can also have a significant impact on a country's population. Long-term international migrants can be defined as people who move into and out of a country for at least 12 months. Net migration is the balance between immigration and emigration over a period.

Based at the University of Oxford, the Migration Observatory provides impartial analysis migration data in the UK. This link to their website examines the impact of migration on recent and future UK demographic trends:
www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/the-impact-of-migration-on-uk-population-growth/

Population structure

Population structure refers to the composition of males and females, of different ages, living in a particular area. This can be visually represented using population pyramids, which allow us to quickly compare population structures over time and place.

This interactive resource, developed by INED, allows the user to model change through time and make comparisons between population changes in different countries. The user can experiment by modifying birth and death rates and observe the impact on the pyramid.
www.ined.fr/en/everything_about_population/population-games/tomorrow-population/

The Demographic Transition Model

A model of population change was developed after studying the variations in birth and death rates in North America and Western Europe since the middle of the 18th century. The Demographic Transition Model (Figure 2) proposes that countries progress through stages as they develop. The distinction between the stages is made by observing the rates of births and deaths.
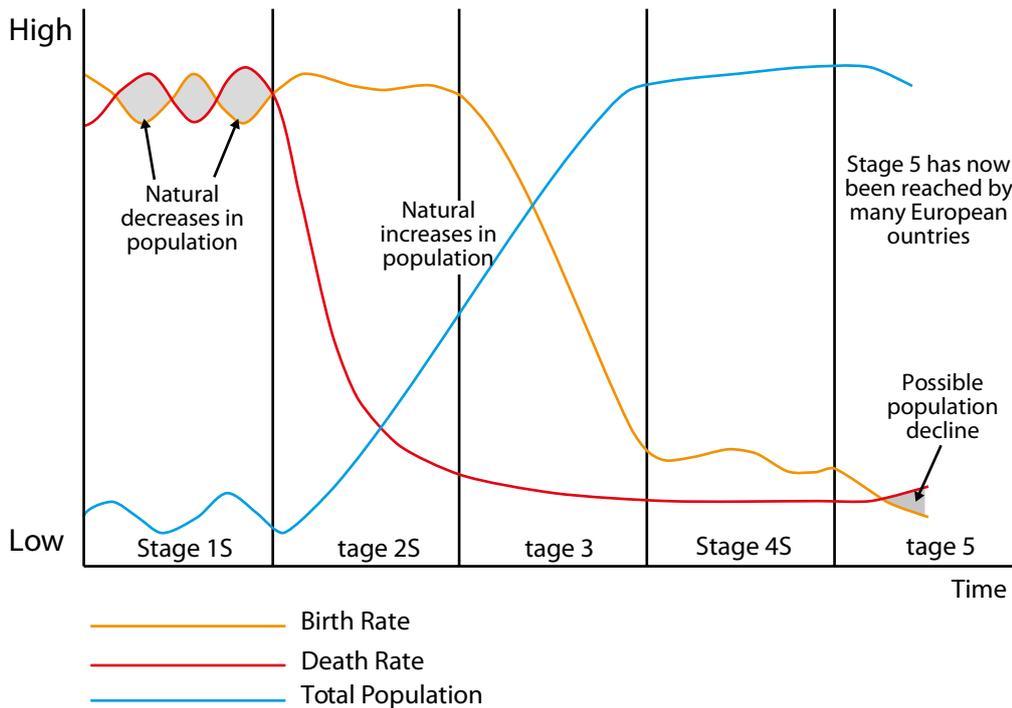
Figure 2: The Demographic Transition Model

Stage 1: High Stationary
This refers to a rural society which depends on subsistence agriculture. Today, no countries are classified as Stage 1. The demographic features include:
• high birth rate;
• high but fluctuating death rate, due to famine, war and disease;
• high infant mortality;
• low life expectancy; and
• overall population growth is low.

Stage 2: Early Expanding
Rapid urbanisation, better nutrition, improving health systems and sanitation are characteristics of this stage (for example Bhutan and Laos). The demographic features include:
• sharp fall in death rate;
• birth rate remains high;
• rapid population growth;
• infant mortality falls; and
• life expectancy increases.

Stage 3: Late Expanding
The trend for smaller families gives rise to lower birth rates, and life expectancy continues to increase (for example Malaysia). It is not unusual for countries to experience lower crude death rates in Stage 3 when compared to countries in Stage 4. This is because of their relatively young demography. The demographic features include:
• birth rate falls;
• death rate remains low;
• population growth is initially rapid but slows; and
• infant mortality continues to decrease.

Stage 4: Low Stationary

Population growth is slow and possibly negative. Fluctuations are affected by economic conditions which in turn influence the birth rate (for example the United Kingdom). The demographic features include:

- low birth rate;
- low death rate; and
- stable population.

Some theorists have suggested that here is now a fifth stage of demographic transition, characterised by very low birth rates and an aging population. Over recent decades, Germany's death rate has been higher than its birth rate. However, population growth continues to be positive due to net migration.

It is important to note that the Demographic Transition Model is exactly what the title suggests – a model, which simplifies reality. Models help us understand the world and assist in making predictions, but they omit detail and make generalisations that that means they are not wholly accurate.

Seven Billion and Counting

Just over two centuries ago the world's population was 1 billion. This video illustrates the conditions that led to the global population recently breaking the threshold of 7 billion. www.youtube.com/watch?v=VcSX4ytEfcE

Key Terms

Crude Birth Rate: the number of live births each year per 1,000 people in an area.
Crude Death Rate: the number of deaths each year per 1,000 people in an area.
Natural Increase/Decrease: If the population increases due to a higher birth than death rate this produces a natural increase; a natural decrease is due to the opposite situation - higher death rates than birth rates.
Immigration: people moving in.
Emigration: people moving out.
Net migration: the balance between immigration and emigration over a period.

Activity

Open the INED interactive resource below. Alter the different geographic zones using the toggle at the top left of the screen. Can you explain the variations in the shapes of the population pyramids?
www.ined.fr/en/everything_about_population/population-games/tomorrow-population/

Additional Resources

100 years of census: England & Wales 1911-2011:
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/taxonomy/index.html?nscl=Population
Compare the age/sex structure of your local authority:
www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/HTMLDocs/dvc183/index.html
A real time map of births and deaths:
www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2013/10/a-real-time-map-of-births-and-deaths/280609/

Europe is experiencing presently its biggest refugee crisis since World War II. Based on data from the United Nations, this site represents the crisis visually:
www.lucify.com/the-flow-towards-europe/

Population and Resources

There is a strong relationship between available resources and the population characteristics of an area. Geographers categorise resources as human or natural. Human resources are influenced by regional demographics. They include the availability and skill level of the workforce but extend to government stability, financial frameworks and the potential for economic growth. Natural resources are raw materials that can be used or modified to benefit the population. Examples include water, minerals, wind and soil. Natural resources are often subdivided into renewable and non-renewable categories.

How are population levels categorised?

Optimum population: this is the population size that generates the best possible standard of living, given the technology and resources available in an area.

Overpopulation: this means that the amount available of resources is unable to sustain the current population without a decline in the standard of living. This may not simply be due to high population densities. For example, in environments like deserts (Figure 3), where there are very limited resources, even relatively small populations can put the area at risk of over-population.

©darksite/iStock/Thinkstock

Figure 3: A relatively small number of inhabitants could put this environment at risk of over-population

This *Guardian* article uses the power of photography to illustrate over-population:
www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/gallery/2015/apr/01/over-population-over-consumption-in-pictures

Underpopulation: unsurprisingly, this is the opposite of overpopulation. This happens when there are more resources available than can be utilised by the population living in an area. This scenario suggests that the area could support a greater population than it currently holds. If the population is increased then the quality of life will improve.

This article in the Globe and Mail discusses Canada's underpopulation:
www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/what-would-a-canada-of-100-million-feel-like-more-comfortable-better-served-better-defended/article4186906/

This article, also in The Globe and Mail, discusses recent developments in Canada's migration policy:
www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/can-immigrants-be-told-where-they-must-live-in-canada/article31519796/

Population Theories

Malthusian Theory

Thomas Malthus was an English clergyman and economist who lived from 1766 to 1834. He argued that population tends to increase more quickly than food production. His model is based on 'checks' which prevent the population increasing beyond its optimum level. Malthus identified two types of checks – positive and negative. Positive checks are factors which increase the death rate. For example, lack of adequate sanitation, disease or war. Negative checks refer to factors which influence fertility rates. For example, families may decide to have fewer or no children. Malthus proposed his theory during the early stage of the industrial revolution, when malnutrition and deprivation were common in rapidly urbanising Britain. He argued that the checks he identified were nature's way of restricting population growth to levels associated with the optimum-population.

Malthus suggested that food production could increase only arithmetically (1, 2, 4, 8, 16 etc.) but population growth might be geometric (1, 2, 4, 16, 252 etc.) Thus increased demand for food, associated with a growing population, soon puts pressure on agricultural land. He warned that over-cultivation and soil degradation would result in a reduction of the volume of food produced; in turn this would serve to check population growth. He acknowledged that advancements in technology could yield higher food production, but he held the view that, ultimately, limited food supply would curb population.

The current volume of food production contradicts Malthusian theory. Malthus could not have predicted the degree of technological advancement in farming. He did not foresee the improvements in transport, coupled with the extensive agricultural practises employed in vast areas of Australia and the United States. Indeed, this has led to food surpluses rather than deficits.

Malthus was a pessimist who saw population growth as a drain on resources, rather than an attribute enabling production. Indeed, many contemporary MEDCs do not produce enough food to feed their populations. Instead, they buy (import) food from other countries, choosing to concentrate their own resources on wealth production.

Despite its limitations, Malthusian theory holds some value. The theory may not be

applicable in MEDCs today but its features are evident in many LEDCs. For example, family planning has been adopted by countries such as India to control population growth. Positive checks, including wars, droughts and famines have also been all too common in LEDCs.

Boserup's Theory

Ester Boserup (1910-1999), a Danish economist, proposed her population theory in 1965. If Malthus was a pessimist, Boserup was certainly an optimist. She argued that population increases would encourage technological advancement, yielding higher rates of food production. Her theory is often summarised as, 'necessity is the mother of invention'.

Based on her research in LEDCs, Boserup argued that the threat of hunger motivates people to enhance agricultural production by developing new technologies and farming practices. She described this phenomenon as 'agricultural intensification'. Indeed, Boserup argued that population growth is a primary driver of development. However, in reality problems associated with over-population and intensive farming have degraded some land – in some instances this has resulted in desertification.

Both theories proposed by Malthus and Boserup have limitations. However, it must be remembered that they were products of their respective eras; Malthusian theory was developed against the backdrop of the industrial revolution, while Boserup's vision reflects the optimism of the space age. However, they both retain some value in the analysis and prediction of population change.

This National Geographic article poses the question: 'As World's Population Booms, Will Its Resources Be Enough for Us?' http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/09/140920-population-11billion-demographics-anthropocene/

Activity

- Under what condition do you think Malthusian theory may still be accurate in the prediction of population change?
- Can you give examples of how Boserup's theory may still be appropriate?

Fertility Policies

Sometimes governments attempt to alter the rate of population growth. In some cases it may be desirable to increase population growth (pro-natal policies). This may be due to economic or strategic motivations. For example, Germany and Japan offered incentives for large families during the late 1930s.

This paper, published in 2014, evaluates the effectiveness of government policies in increasing fertility rates in Central and Eastern Europe. http://wol.iza.org/articles/can-government-policies-reverse-undesirable-declines-in-fertility.pdf

In contrast, other governments have intervened to curb fertility rates (anti-natal policies), when their population was growing at a rate detrimental to the standard of living.

Case Study: China

The population of China more than doubled between 1955 and 1995. During its fastest rate of growth the population grew by over 24 million every year. To put that figure in context, Australia's total population was 24 million in 2016.
The government was anxious about population pressure on services and resources, fearing famine by the end of the millennium. Therefore, the government introduced a family planning programme in 1979 which restricted urban couples to having only one child. The policy was extended to the rural population in 1981.

In 2015 the government brought this controversial policy to an end.

Figure 4: A couple with their one child enjoying leisure time in a park in Shanghai.

©mmcmullan/ccea

This Guardian article and associated video reports on the effects of the policy:
www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/29/china-abandons-one-child-policy

This associated article examines the question: 'Can the planet handle China's new two-child policy?'
www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2015/nov/24/china-two-child-policy-sustainable-population

Key Terms

Optimum population: The population that generates the best possible standard of living, given the technology and resources available in an area.
Overpopulation: This means that the level of resource is unable to sustain the current population without a decline in the standard of living.
Underpopulation: The opposite of over-population; this happens when there are more resources available than can be utilised by the population living in an area.
Pro-natal Policies: The policy of encouraging people to have more children.
Anti-natal Policies: The policy of slowing population growth by attempting to restrict the number of births.

Settlement Change

Why make a distinction between rural and urban?

The distinction between urban and rural settlements is an important concept which influences government decisions. Rural and urban environments present different challenges for authorities in relation to service provision. For example, the following services have different characteristics in rural and urban environments:

- health and social care;
- housing;
- roads;
- water and sewerage; and
- education.

Also, some EU funded development programmes are offered only to rural communities while others are exclusive to urbanites. Furthermore, demography and employment have different characteristics in isolated rural areas when compared to inner cities. For all these reasons, governments and policy makers have attempted to make a distinction between rural and urban.

This BBC article, written in 2015, reports on claims that rural people are disadvantaged by austerity cuts in Northern Ireland: www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-politics-34845951

Rural and Urban Classification

Governments use different criteria to classify settlements. They include:
Population Size
Population parameters are adopted by many countries to make a rural/urban designation. For example, in England and Wales the population threshold for urban areas is 10,000 people.

The settlement classification system in England and Wales describes 4 types:
- urban (population of more than 10,000);
- rural town and fringe;
- rural village; and
- rural hamlet or isolated dwellings (also known as 'dispersed').

In Northern Ireland, NISRA adopts eight designations, labelled A – H which grades settlements in terms of population size. This can be seen on page 3 of this link: www.nisra.gov.uk/archive/demography/publications/urban_rural/ur_report.pdf

Population Density
One of the main land uses in urban areas is housing. The concentration of homes results in relatively high population density. Figure 5 shows an extremely densely populated area in Hong Kong. The limitation of using this criterion is that settlement boundary delineation is critical. For example, a hamlet with a cluster of houses within a small area could have a higher population density than a suburban street, but could you describe the hamlet as urban simply on these grounds?

Figure 5: Densely populated area in Hong Kong

© pranodhm/iStock/Thinkstock

Service Provision
The provision of services is associated with an urban settlement. In theory, larger settlements are further up the urban hierarchy, therefore they offer more services.

In Northern Ireland, this is broadly the case. Belfast is the settlement at the top of the urban hierarchy, and it has the greatest variety and volume of services. For example, it has the George Best Belfast City and Belfast International airports; it is the home of the Northern Ireland Assembly and it has the widest range of retailers. This is because the population of the city is large enough to support the wide range of services. In contrast, villages such as Gilford and Crossgar do not have a sufficient population to support such a range of services.

NISRA published a report in 2015 which recommended that settlement classification should be reviewed to more accurately represent service provision. It is recommended that drive-time to the town centre of a settlement containing a population of at least 10,000 should be one of the criteria. The NISRA report can be read here: www.nisra.gov.uk/archive/geography/review-of-the-statistical-classification-and-delineation-of-settlements-march-2015.pdf

Limitations of the Criteria
The criteria of population size, population density and service provision can give a misleading rural/urban designation when used on their own. However, when the criteria are combined they, they are likely to correct variances.

The Rural-Urban Continuum

The expansion of towns and cities has made it increasingly difficult to make a distinction between rural and urban settlements. Indeed, it is often challenging to delineate boundaries between settlements which merge into one another.

The model known as the rural-urban continuum (Figure 6) reflects the transition from urban centre to remote rural landscape. Some geographers have argued that, due to the blurred boundaries of the rural and urban environment, we are now living in a 'post-rural age'.

Figure 6: Rural-Urban Continuum
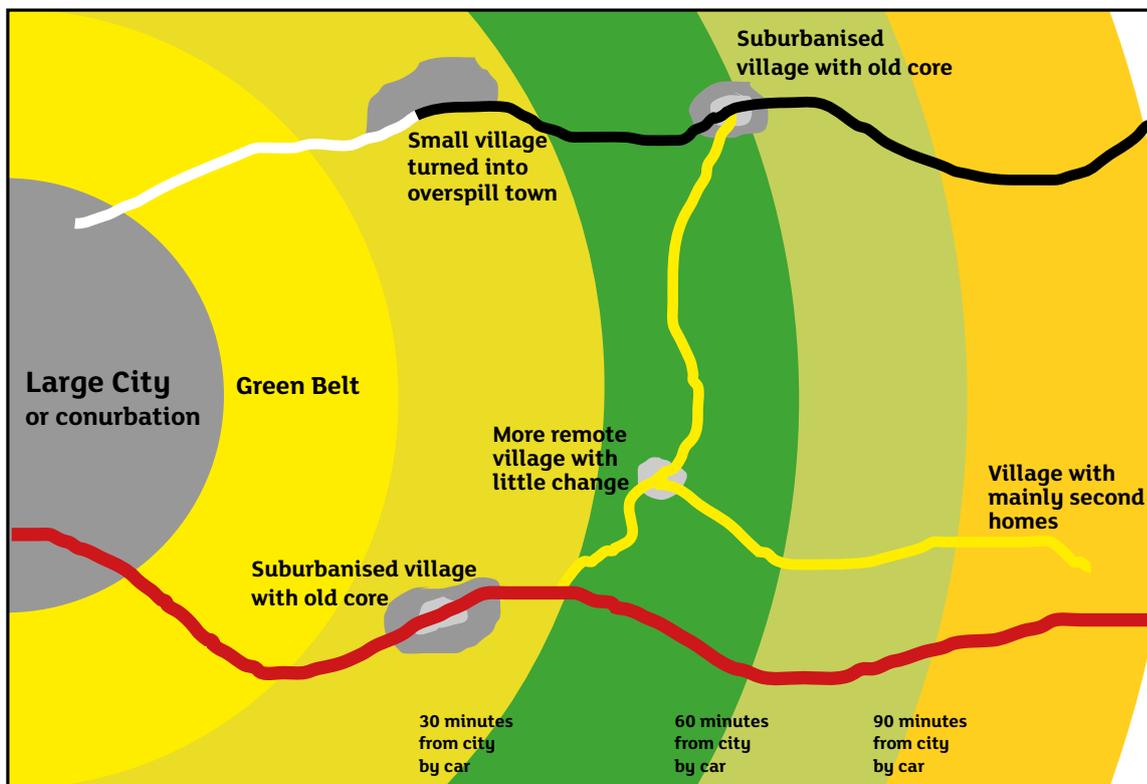
Activity

- Can you think of an example of how using one of these criteria in isolation would skew the rural urban designation?
- Do you think we are living in a 'post-rural age' and why do you hold that opinion?
- What criteria would you use to define a rural area?

Additional Reading

This Northern Ireland Assembly Research Paper explores the issues of rural isolation and poverty in Northern Ireland:
www.niassembly.gov.uk/globalassets/documents/raise/publications/2014/general/7314.pdf
At the time of writing, the Rural Needs Bill had recently been introduced to the

Northern Ireland Assembly. This is an attempt to 'rural proof' government activity. A summary of the Bill is outlined in this Research Paper. www.niassembly.gov.uk/ globalassets/documents/raise/publications/2015/dard/12815.pdf

Rural-Urban Fringe

The rural-urban fringe is the transition zone where urban expansion meets the rural world (see Figure 7). The land here is generally cheaper than areas closer to the CBD and the transport links are often well developed. This area is characterised by a diverse range of land uses. As urban settlements sprawl into the rural environment the rural-urban fringe can be site of friction and tension.

Figure 7: Distinct rural-urban fringe

©Adventure Photos/iStock/Thinkstock

This video uses Google Maps to explain issues associated with the rural-urban fringe in Northern Ireland. It was produced in 2013, but is still very relevant: www.youtube.com/ watch?v=8yEXYvjIx40

Suburbanisation

The population of Belfast reached its peak of nearly 450,000 in the late 1940s. Between 1950 and 1991 the city lost over 30% of its population. Several factors influenced this change.

The first phase of suburbanisation in Belfast occurred during the 1920s and 1930s and was driven by middle-class people, wealthy merchants and factory owners, moving out of the city to escape the overcrowded and unhealthy inner city areas. This led to the growth of areas such as Stranmillis and Malone. During the 1950s the standard of living increased for many and this enabled people to buy their own car and to enter the private housing market. Many of the new developments were located on the outskirts of the city.

Working-class housing conditions had dramatically deteriorated. The government adopted a policy of rehousing people in public sector housing at the fringe of the city in areas such as Cregagh and Braniel. New motorways and other road schemes were also built during the 1960s, which improved transport connections to central Belfast. However, they also led to the demolition of many traditional working class areas in inner city Belfast.

This resulted in increasing numbers of people leaving the inner city in favour of the suburbs. This has caused the city to sprawl and has put pressure on the suburbs to deliver the services and functions previously associated with the inner cities. Industries relocated to the edge of the city, taking advantage of the transport links and new workforce. Retail followed the trend, and out-of-town shopping centres, such as Sprucefield, appeared on suburban Greenfield sites.

Counterurbanisation

The urban fringe was put under pressure by the process of suburbanisation. Another process has emerged more recently. Known as counterurbanisation, it involves people leaving the inner city and suburbs to live beyond the metropolitan area. This has unintended consequences for growing commuter towns. Many of the people who moved to the small towns work and shop in urban centres. This can be detrimental to the sense of community in commuter towns. The associated hike in property prices is beneficial for some but problematic for other people.

Greenfield Development

The trend towards suburbanisation posed a threat to the countryside surrounding Belfast. The Mathew Plan of 1963 introduced a stop line with the aim of containing urban sprawl, protecting the rural landscape and preventing **ribbon development**. Further development was to take place around existing towns (For example, Antrim, Ballymena, and Bangor).

An area of open land, known as a **greenbel**t, was to separate Belfast from the surrounding towns. The intension was to create a green space for agriculture, recreation and forestry that was in close proximity to the urban population. The concept was only partially successful as the stop line was breached on several occasions, initially for public housing at Poleglass to the west of the city. After the initial breach private developers were also granted permission to build in places such as Four Winds in the south pf the city.

Greenfield development involves building on land that has not yet been built on. It can be attractive to developers because:
•   it is cost effective as land does not need to be adapted from a previous land use;
•   the road networks are generally good;
•   land is usually cheaper at the edge of the city than closer to the CBD;
•   the countryside is appealing to many prospective residents; and
•   planners have a blank canvas to work on.

However, building on greenfield sites is a controversial issue. It attracts criticism due to increased traffic. Also, retailers in traditional locations complain about losing out to the newer out-of-town shopping centres.

This BBC article from 2015 reports on Greenfield development: www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-32905057

The Belfast Area Metropolitan Plan (BMAP) is a development framework which was implemented in 2014. This BBC article shows the contentious nature of BMAP: www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-29068835

This video summarises the concepts of the rural-urban fringe, urbanisation and suburbanisation. www.youtube.com/watch?v=DJRDZlQZt6E

Key Terms

Rural-urban fringe: the transition zone where urban expansion meets the rural world.
Greenfield development: building on open land that has not yet been developed.
Suburbanisation: people moving out of the city.
Counterurbanisation: people leaving the inner city and suburbs to live beyond the metropolitan area.
Ribbon-development: housing or commercial buildings built along a stretch of road.

Activity

Who do you think are the winners and losers in the property price hikes associated with counterurbanisation?
Why do you think attracting large retailers to the Sprucefield retail park is controversial?

Planning in Rural Environments

Many urban inhabitants find the countryside appealing. Some urban dwellers harbour ambitions to permanently leave towns or cities; others enjoy the escape offered by a short visit to a rural environment. The rural landscape has been the subject of conflicting views as to how tourism and development should be dealt with. One of the primary challenges for government is how to balance environmental protection with accessibility to the countryside.

The countryside has increasingly become a place of recreation. This attracts visitors whose spending can provide income for rural dwellers and is a base for job creation. Tourists also demand services which can lead to further development in an area. However, development can place pressure on the land which must be managed to avoid degradation.

The primary objective of **conservation** is to protect the countryside for the future. This involves areas being designated for statutory protection. Authorities need to consider what use is appropriate for particular sites to ensure that the environment is not degraded.

There are several designations used by the government to protect the rural landscape. These include:

• Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB);
• Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI); and
• National Parks.

Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty

An Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) is ostensibly what its title describes - an area so distinctive and beautiful that it merits statutory protection. An AONB is designated due to its national importance. The primary aim of this designation is to protect and enhance the landscape for people to enjoy.

AONB designation takes account of the needs of agriculture, forestry, and other rural industries. The economic and social need of local communities is also an important consideration. While tourism and recreation is not a principal objective of this designation it is considered as a secondary issue.

The Discover Northern Ireland website features photographs from the 8 AONB in Northern Ireland. http://interact.discovernorthernireland.com/blog/8-areas-of-outstanding-natural-beauty-in-northern-ireland/

Sites of Special Scientific Interest
Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) are designated to protect their rare wildlife, plants or geology. They are usually a small, contained sites designed to protect significant features that would struggle to exist in the wider countryside without such protection.

Many of the distinctive habitats of SSSIs have developed through particular management practices such as grazing and forestry. The sites require management to conserve their features. They include topographies like peat bogs, maritime heathlands and limestone pavements. In addition to their role in protecting wildlife

and geology, SSSIs offer opportunities for people to appreciate the landscape and to engage in recreation.

The authorities responsible for managing SSSIs build relationships with landowners and land managers to conserve the sites. In Northern Ireland SSSIs are known as Areas of Special Scientific Interest (ASSIs).

This Department of Agriculture, Environment and Rural Affairs document outlines the selection criteria for an ASSI: www.daera-ni.gov.uk/topics/land-and-landscapes/areas-special-scientific-interest

National Parks
National Parks are the largest protected areas in the United Kingdom - covering 10% of the land area in England and Wales. They are designated because of their landscape features, particular wildlife and their value as a recreational resource. Over 23% of land in National Parks in England has SSSI designation. They are often remote expanses of land which present opportunities for recreation.

The National Parks were created during the 1950s with two statutory objectives:
• to conserve and enhance the natural environment; and
• to promote understanding and enjoyment of the landscape by the public.

The location of National Parks in the UK can be seen in Figure 8. This gallery of photographs, from the National Geographic, illustrates the diversity of landscapes in the National Parks of the UK.
http://travel.nationalgeographic.com/travel/parks/uk-national-parks-photos/#/watefall-climbers-brecon-beacons_30902_600x450.jpg

Figure 8: National Parks

National Park Authorities (NPAs) have the responsibility of managing National Parks. NPAs decide on all planning applications submitted in their areas. Government policy states that National Parks should be exempt from major developments. However, development is permitted in exceptional circumstances; if it can be demonstrated that it is in the interest of the public.

Controversially, MPs have voted to allow fracking for shale gas below National Parks and other protected sites. This BBC article investigates the issue: www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-35117054

National Parks not only protect significant landscapes and habitats, but are also places where people live and work. In the United States National Parks, like Yellowstone, are owned by the state. This is not the case in the UK where the much of the land is owned by farmers and private landowners.

Evaluating the case for and against a National Park in Northern Ireland

Figure 9: The Mountains of Mourne

©jkennedy561/iStock/Thinkstock

Unlike the rest of the UK, Northern Ireland is currently without a National Park. The idea of creating a National Park in the Mourne Mountains and the surrounding area has been explored. Below are extracts from an impartial, evidence-based research paper which outlines the potential positive and negative impacts.

Source: Extracts from and adaptations of a Northern Ireland Assembly Research Paper entitled The Creation of National Parks within Northern Ireland – Background and Potential Impacts.

Reference Number: NIAR 249-12

Environment

Positives

Protection of natural and cultural heritage – It is anticipated that additional funding (approx. £2-4million per year) will bring benefits to habitat and species conservation.

Protection of Built Heritage - As it currently stands, built heritage is under pressure from development and insensitive renovation. National Park Authorities can increase protection by providing local advice, presenting information on cultural heritage, providing grant schemes and funding restoration projects.

Environmental Management – A National Park will provide better protection of the landscape and built heritage, slowing or stemming loss in biodiversity and habitats.

The Mourne Heritage Trust is in support of National Park status as the aims resonate with the Trust's goals for the area. Part of the Trust's rationale for supporting National Park status is to allow it to establish a long-term management plan. The Trust has major concerns relating to its ability to effectively manage the Mourne natural resource, due to limited funding and annual income. Essentially, it is convinced that the area is currently deteriorating at a rate that exceeds the Trust's capacity to manage the resource due to fairly widespread public access.

Planning – The National Park plan will identify areas where development will be restricted and will include strict guidelines in siting and design.

Negatives

Disturbance/destruction of the natural, built and cultural heritage – This can be caused by increased littering; anti-social behaviour such as graffiti; wild fires; and erosion of landscape quality through increased recreational use destroying habitats and plants.

Irresponsible countryside use – This may create conflict/tension with local land owners and farmers due to visitors' lack of understanding of land ownership patterns. This can lead to unauthorised access to land and damage to both property and relationships. Farming patterns can be upset due to disturbance of both wild and farmed plants and animals.

Property and land values – An increase in holiday/second home buyers could: increase house prices, pricing local people out of the market and leading to significant out-migration, particularly of young people. There could be a rise in the rateable value of property and a change in the social mix towards the higher socio-economic groups and retirees.

Planning – Major planning issues include: maintaining adequate social housing and resisting increases in vacant, second and holiday homes; renewable energy developments within National Parks; and telecommunication applications within the National Park areas. Many have concerns that tight planning restrictions may hamper economic development in the area, especially in relation to mineral extraction.

Recreation and Leisure

Positives
Increase in recreation opportunities: The government has already funded, through Sport NI, the creation of the Tollymore Mountain Centre as a Centre of Excellence for outdoor activities. The Sport Matters strategy identifies a number of targets to increase levels of physical activity by 2019, and the provision of incentives to use a 'National Park' may contribute to these targets.

Promoting understanding and enjoyment: There may also be broader opportunities to promote understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of the area by the public.

Negatives

Inadequate access: There may be conflicts between tourism/recreation and

landowners, especially if access points are not adequate.

Funding reductions in other areas: Any increased funding may be at the expense of funding previously provided to other areas (e.g. grassroots sports development). The capital funding available to Sport NI currently around £5-6m per annum, and the organisation has identified a £81m shortfall in the delivery of capital infrastructure for Sport Matters.

Tourism & Economy

Positives

The "National Park" name is an **internationally recognised brand**. This brand-identity may serve as powerful promotional tool within the international tourism market.

National Parks **may positively impact the regional economy**. In Wales, it is estimated that the three National Parks support 1,200 jobs, producing £177m in income to business and generating £205m in GDP.

Local economies are likely to benefit, with local shops, tourist accommodation, services (bus services, post office etc.), food and craft potentially experiencing greater demand and income. Increased tourism could potentially **attract business and investment** into that area.

Infrastructural improvements associated with the development of a National Park may have a positive overall effect on the rural economy.

Negatives

Increased tourism may lead to negative **environmental impacts**. These could include litter, erosion, fires, disturbance to livestock, vandalism, as well as increased traffic congestion and resultant pollution.

There may be negative impacts on the local economy. **Local goods may be become more expensive**, due to the impression that tourists will be willing to pay more. Local shops may stock products targeted at the perceived needs and wants of tourists rather than the needs of residents.

Demand for holiday homes may have an **inflationary impact on the local housing market**.

Designating an area as a National Park might **necessitate investment in infrastructure** and amenities to ensure customer expectations are met. This may require both public and private investment in what is a constrained economic environment.

A significant proportion of jobs created through increased tourism are likely to be seasonal and could potentially be low paid.

Transport

National Park designation is, at least in part, intended to attract more visitors. The vast

majority of visitors to areas such as the Mournes arrive by car (92%) and this already creates **considerable management problems**.

Visitor surveys, undertaken by National Park Authorities (NPAs) demonstrate that traffic and congestion are considered a threat to the special qualities of National Parks, damaging the visitor experience. Increased congestion also inconveniences residents and local businesses.

Increased traffic will mean that many **roads will require widening and resurfacing**. It may be necessary to introduce **traffic calming measures** for safety reasons within town centres. The introduction of **dedicated walking and cycling lanes** will be necessary to make these modes more attractive to visitors. The **level of investment required will be significant**.

The major concern is that the sheer volume of traffic will undermine the special qualities of National Parks, like their tranquillity, and conflict with aims to conserve and enhance the natural environment, heritage, and local character.

Agriculture

Positives

Additional income for farmers – looking to the examples of existing National Parks in GB, Ireland and further afield it is clear that many National Parks are located in areas with marginal or less favoured land, from which it can be hard to make a living. The creation of a National Park could bring additional top up payments in the form of National Park specific agri-environment schemes.

Management of visitor access – at present the issue of access to the countryside (farmland in particular) is something of minefield for farmers and people seeking access. This is due to the specific lack of legislation on access. The creation of a National Park could enable groups of landowners to develop an agreed and common framework for access.

Negatives

Increased pressure for access and increased costs for landowners – unlike other parts of the UK, the majority of land that could fall within a National Park would be likely to be privately owned. This situation has the potential to complicate issues and also raises the possibility that farmers will have additional costs to bear in terms of public liability insurance.

Plans to designate a National Park in Northern Ireland have been put on hold by the Environment Minister. This 2013 BBC article summarises his decision. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-24903525

This BBC article demonstrates local public attitude towards a National Park in 2012: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-19998105

Key Terms

Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI): areas designated to protect their rare

wildlife, plants or geology. They are known as Areas of Special Scientific Interest (ASSI) in Northern Ireland.

Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB): an area so distinctive and beautiful that it merits statutory protection.

National Park: National Parks are the largest protected areas in the United Kingdom - covering 10% of the land area in England and Wales. They are designated because of the landscape features, particular wildlife and their value as a recreational resource.

Activity

Use the contents of the Research Paper to analyse the advantages and disadvantages of designating the Mourne Mountains as a National Park.

If you were the Environment Minister what would your decision be? Give reasons for your decision.

Urban Challenges for a MEDC

Historical Context
In MEDCs, like the United Kingdom, the changing social and economic conditions have influenced the development, decline and redevelopment of the inner city.

The Industrial Revolution
During the 19th century industrialisation led to urban employment opportunities. Britain's cities expanded rapidly as rural people relocated in search of work; the urban population increased from 2 million to more than 20 million during the 19th century. Housing was built in close proximity to the factories to accommodate the workforce. Streets of terraced houses were constructed by private builders (Figure 10). As the urban population grew rapidly inner cities became characterised by high density neighbourhoods with many families living in overcrowded and insanitary conditions.

Figure 10: Typical Terraced Housing

©petejeff/iStock/Thinkstock

The Inter-War Years
During the inter-war period a new strategy of house building emerged. The Government funded the construction of over 1 million homes. At the same time, private house building expanded as mortgages became more affordable. Many middle-class families moved from the inner city to suburban developments to create what became known as 'urban sprawl'.

Post War
War time bombing destroyed nearly half a million homes in the UK and many slums still remained. The construction of prefabricated houses was embraced as a way of addressing the shortage of housing.

The Era of Tower Blocks

In the 1960s and 70s, large numbers of residential tower blocks were built to address the ongoing shortage of housing. Many families were still living in substandard accommodation. The plan was based around the assumption that people would enjoy high rise living; the move to apartment living had been embraced by many young professionals. In reality, many of the tower blocks were branded social and economic failures. They had shortcomings in both design and construction, which left the occupants dissatisfied.

Figure 11: High-rise flats at Bellsbridge, Cregagh.

© ccea

During the 1960s new peripheral estates were built at the edge of cities. These rapidly expanding suburbs accommodated many people who moved from the inner city. This edited documentary features a large planned housing estate in Manchester called Hulme. The video was produced in 1978 and documents the shortcomings of the planning decisions of that era. www.youtube.com/watch?v=S1qpf9hogI0

The 1960s also saw the decline of the manufacturing industry, which had previously employed many inner city dwellers. Widespread unemployment led to a decline in the standard of living. Many people, who could afford to, chose to leave the inner city. Much of the growing immigrant population, who came in search of employment, settled in the more affordable inner city dwellings.

Environmental impacts of inner city decline include a growing number of derelict buildings and waste ground. Some of the land used by heavy industries was polluted, requiring expensive decontamination. The deteriorating conditions did not attracted business investment and jobs largely remained lowly paid. Firms operated more successfully outside inner cities, benefiting from improvements in transport infrastructure and communication technology.

The inner city became synonymous with social and economic deprivation, characterised by:
• long term unemployment;
• deterioration in housing;
• overcrowded households;
• higher death and infant mortality rates;
• lower life expectancy;
• social segregation; and
• family breakdowns.

Many inner city areas have been gripped by a cycle of intergenerational poverty. Deprivation can have a damaging effect on children's educational attainment and well-being. This can influence standards of living as people progress from childhood into adulthood perpetuating a cycle of deprivation.

During August 2011, riots began in London and then spread quickly across many English cities. This Guardian article is the opinion of a person who was convicted of taking part in the riots. The person speaks of their shame in taking part but also talks of the inequalities which, in their opinion, fuelled the situation: www.theguardian.com/ commentisfree/2015/mar/11/london-rioters-2011-anger-inequality-distrust-police

Gentrification

When run-down areas of a city are redeveloped they often become fashionable places to live. This sometimes happens organically. For example, local artists looking for a cheap place to operate often choose run-down neighbourhoods. Consequentially, the bohemian nature of the neighbourhood attracts young affluent people, which drives up the price of property. The people who originally lived in the area often cannot afford to buy or rent the new or refurbished properties and are forced to move. There are benefits to gentrification – crime rates generally fall; the physical environment is improved; there are new business opportunities. However, the process can be a source of conflict, as demonstrated in the following links.

This BBC article reports on damage to a café in Shoreditch, London during an anti-gentrification rally. The café is owned by two brothers from Belfast.
www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-34373485

This article asks if Portland Road, Notting Hill is the UK's most gentrified street:
www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-18394017.

Case Study: Belfast, Northern Ireland

Belfast grew rapidly during the early 19th century with the development of industrial cotton spinning. The establishment of linen mills and shipbuilding then supported the growth of the city throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Just like many other cities in the United Kingdom, the inner city grew as people migrated from the surrounding rural areas in search of work in the new industries. Areas of terraced housing were built around the factories and the docks to accommodate the new workers.

Decline

However, over the last 40 and more years the population has decreased and Belfast's cityscape has changed. During the 1970s and 1980s heavy industry, located in the docks, went into a spiral of decline. Employers like Harland and Wolff laid off many of their workers; other manufacturing firms closed completely. The landscape around the docks became characterised by derelict buildings and waste ground (Figure 12), although there has been much redevelopment in recent years as discussed below.

Figure 12: Derelict buildings and waste ground in Belfast's dockland

© pjclark/iStock/Thinkstock

Divisions in the community exaggerated segregation, which was already established along religious lines. As the 'Troubles' worsened, those who could move out of the inner city, left for the suburbs. Much of the terraced housing was demolished as people were encouraged to relocate to estates built on the edge of the city. Many of the people who remained in the inner city had less disposable income: the services and shops of the inner city began to close and 26 of Belfast's 51 wards were classified as deprived by 1990.

Recovery
One of the key drivers in the regeneration of Belfast's inner city was the peace process. The paramilitary ceasefires of 1994 preceded the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, which presented the prospect of political stability. This in turn offered potential for Belfast's urban regeneration.

Laganside Corporation
The areas along the River Lagan bore the scars of deindustrialisation. People living in the areas experienced high levels of unemployment and deprivation. The cityscape was dominated by derelict former docklands and industrial sites and the river was heavily polluted.

During the 1980s many UK cities adopted a policy of large-scale waterfront regeneration. The Conservative government set up private-public partnerships called Urban Development Corporations (UDC). The Laganside Corporation was established as a UDC in 1989 with the objective of regenerating a designated area of Belfast's waterfront. It was tasked with bringing social, economic and physical regeneration to 140 hectares adjacent to the river Lagan and also 70 hectares which would become known as the Cathedral Quarter.

By 2007 over £1 billion had been invested in the area. The Waterfront Hall, Gasworks, Lanyon Place and Odyssey complex (now known as the SSE Arena) were products of the project. Other outputs included:
• over 15,000 jobs were secured;
• over 230,000 square metres of office space was constructed; and
• over 800 homes were built.

By 2000 the project had fulfilled most of its core development objectives. However, some people criticised its lack of impact on the poorest people. It was suggested that the main outcomes concentrated too much on boosting the value of property and the creation of highly skilled jobs. For example, houses around Bridge End were demolished and replaced by apartment blocks. Some people living in the communities adjacent to the Laganside development felt alienated and perceived little benefit.

Titanic Quarter

The Titanic Quarter regeneration project began in 2005. While it is led by a private company, public funders have included government departments and Belfast City Council. Phase one of the development involved the construction of:

- 475 apartments (Figure 13);
- offices (including Citigroup, which employs over 2000 staff);
- Belfast Metropolitan College;
- a hotel (Premier Inn); and
- a new building to house the Public Records Office Northern Ireland.

The Titanic Quarter is home to a science park which contains approximately 40 technology firms. A film studio is also located in Titanic Quarter. The area is attracting young, well educated workers and has become one of the more cosmopolitan parts of the city.

© RobertMayne/iStock/Thinkstock

This BBC article from 2014 reports on the expansion of Citigroup in the Titanic Quarter. It describes the type of jobs and the important links with local universities: www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-30129164

The second phase of development promises construction of more apartments and a range of shops, bars, offices and leisure facilities. The economic downturn has slowed this development; the only completed component is the 'Titanic Belfast' visitor centre. It is too early to assess the impact of the Titanic Quarter but this BBC article from 2012 describes the vision of a 'café culture'. www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-17625133

This piece is adapted from an interview, conducted in 2015, with a 27 year old graduate from Canada who lives in Belfast. The interview was originally published in www.theglobeandmail.com/

"I've been watching the city visibly gentrify around me in the seven years that I've been here," says Amelia-Roisin Seifert, a 27-year-old graduate student at Queen's University in Belfast who has travelled through Canada and the United States while pursuing her PhD in anthropology.

Ms. Seifert notes her South Belfast neighbourhood around Queen's is changing, undergoing what she calls a "hipsterification."

"My personal measure for gentrification is based on a count of indie coffee shops and yoga studios," she says. "By that count south Belfast alone is scoring at least 90."

Contemporary Deprivation Levels in Belfast
The Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA) measures deprivation using seven weighted variables. These are:
• Income Deprivation;
• Employment Deprivation;
• Health Deprivation and Disability;
• Education Skills and Training Deprivation;
• Proximity to Services;
• Living Environment; and
• Crime and Disorder.

The results of the 2010 study can be seen here. The map of Belfast on page 4 clearly illustrates the geographic disparities in deprivation levels. www.nisra.gov.uk/deprivation/archive/Updateof2005Measures/NIMDM_2010_Report.pdf

NISRA has recently been commissioned to initiate work to update the Northern Ireland Multiple Deprivation Measure 2010. The updated measures are expected to be published in 2017.

Activity
Do you think the jobs created in the Titanic Quarter match the qualifications and skills of the people who lived in the inner city originally? What are the implications?

Open the link to the Constituency Profiles of Northern Ireland. Click on the map to select an area. Explain the contrast in deprivation levels in North, South, East and West Belfast

www.niassembly.gov.uk/assembly-business/research-and-information-service-raise/constituency-profiles/

Key Terms

Redevelopment: When buildings in an area are demolished and the area is rebuilt according to new plans.
Re-urbanisation: people returning to a previously abandoned urban area.
Gentrification: When a run-down area of a city is redeveloped and becomes a fashionable place to live.

Urban Challenges for a LEDC

The world is experiencing the most rapid phase of urban growth in history. The urban environment is home to more than half the world's population and by 2030 about 5 billion people will live in towns or cities. Much of this urbanisation will occur in the LEDCs of Africa and Asia, causing social, economic and environmental pressures. In contrast, cities in MEDCs are predicted to grow at a much slower rate.

From the 1970s and 1980s many LEDC cities grew very quickly as people migrated from rural to urban areas in search of work. People also fled famine, drought or war in Sub-Saharan Africa, moving to urban centres.

The pace of population growth means that many cities in LEDCs are unable to provide the services to cater for the exploding population. The health care system, water supply, sewerage system, waste disposal and education system remain overloaded in numerous cases. The provision of such services requires significant investment and skilled people, both in short supply in typical cities of LEDCs.

The expansion of **informal settlements** is the dominant challenge facing urban authorities in LEDCs. Most migrants from the impoverished rural regions have little choice but to settle in these areas. These slums have few services and are built using whatever material is at hand. Some migrants use the slums as bridging stations between their rural existence and a settled urban life in better quality housing; others, however, remain trapped.

Normally economic segregation appears as the city expands. Cities in LEDCs are characterised by inequality; people on very low incomes live adjacent to wealthy communities. The contrast in the standard of living can be stark (Figure 14).

Employment is one of the key urban pull factors. However, many migrants lack the skills or education to secure employment in the formal sector of the economy. Indeed, the alarming rates of poverty experienced in slums contradicts the pull factors which attract people to cities. It is true that multinational companies have been attracted by low-cost labour, but the demand for jobs exceeds supply. Therefore, many people try to support themselves by working in the informal sector.

Figure 14: Contrast in housing Mumbai, India

©saiko3p/iStock/Thinkstock

In LEDCs it is common for one or two cities to dominate the entire country. The pull of these focal points has caused some to grow into megacities with populations in excess of 10 million. The expanding city exerts an increasing pull on potential migrants and exacerbates the uneven development pattern.

This BBC video demonstrates the explosive growth of megacities. www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-13990366

Case Study: Nairobi, Kenya

Kenya is one of the most rapidly urbanising countries in Africa. Many of the urban migrants have been displaced due to droughts, flooding, and under-development. Ethnic violence linked to the presidential election displaced hundreds of thousands of people during December 2007 and January 2008. Many of the displaced people sought safety in the capital city, Nairobi. In addition, some rural communities have been victim to cross border attacks from armed militia from neighbouring Somalia. In pastoral areas, cattle-rustling also persuaded people to move away from their rural way of life.

Nairobi is growing rapidly. In 1991 the population was 1.3 million and by the last census, in 2009, it was home to more than 3 million people. Most of the newcomers from rural areas seek refuge in the informal settlements where they believe they will have a better chance of finding a job. It is estimated that 75% of Nairobi's population live in a slum. Whilst the migrants may feel more secure and conditions may be marginally better than from where they came, Nairobi's slums are a scene of deprivation.

Figure 15: Daily life of local people Kibera slum, Nairobi, Kenya

©AlexanderXXI/iStock/Thinkstock

Kibera is an example of a slum in Nairobi. Many people come in search of employment; Kibera is near the industrial zone of Nairobi. However, 50% of Kibera's population is unemployed and those who find jobs in the adjacent industrial zone are typically employed in low-skilled positions earning little.

The state owns the land Kibera stands on, but the government refuses to officially acknowledge the settlement. As a result, the development of services is constrained. The government does not provide waste disposal services, which exacerbates the spread of infectious disease. Only about 20% of Kibera has access to electricity and many of the occupants who are connected to a supply cannot afford to pay the associated cost.

The people of Kibera have very restricted access to clean drinking water and sanitation is extremely poor; people sometimes have no option but to collect drinking water from the same places that are used for sewage disposal. There are no government clinics or hospitals in Kibera. The people rely on charities and churches to provide health care. Levels of HIV infection are high and people are encouraged to avail of free HIV tests. The living conditions in Kibera means that average life expectancy is low for its residents.

Crime levels are high. This is exacerbated by the wide availability of a cheap alcoholic brew called Changaa. Drug use is also becoming a problem. The combination of Kibera's high unemployment rate and increasing incidence of substance abuse has led to a high incidence of violence.

This video reports on informal sector employment in Nairobi, Kenya:
www.youtube.com/watch?v=W-lBVV_kbs8

In this UNICEF video a 15 year old video shares details about his difficult life in a

Nairobi slum:
/www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Qeuipi5x0g
These videos, produced by Amnesty International, tell the story of Kibera from
different perspectives.
Kibera: Michael's story www.youtube.com/watch?v=7sQlPj6QzUo
The Women of Kibera: www.youtube.com/watch?v=FaamPV4YDHU

Key Term

Informal settlement: city slum with few services, built using whatever material is at
hand.

Measuring Development

Defining Development

Measuring development allows us to compare the progress of different countries. It also enables us to track how a particular country advances over time. However, there is no absolute definition of development and the way we measure it is evolving. Until the 1990s the measure of development focussed on a country's ability to create wealth. It is easy to compare the wealth generated by countries. Wealth also goes some way to indicate level of development, but it does not tell the whole story.

Measuring the total amount of wealth tells us nothing about its distribution, nor does it give an indication of how the money is allocated to provide services for the population. It does not tell us about the impact of the wealth creation. For example - What are working conditions like? Is the environment adversely affected by the means of wealth production?

Countries which generate the same amount of wealth can deliver differing qualities of life for their populations. Since the 1990s the evaluation of development has evolved to measure the impact that wealth creation has on people's quality of life. For this reason, modern studies of development use a blend of economic and social indicators to measure development.

Economic Development

Economic structure can be an indicator of development. In general, MEDCs have highly developed economies combined with advanced technological infrastructures. MEDCs have restructured their economies, evolving from primary producers into secondary manufacturers, tertiary service providers and, more recently, engaging in quaternary intellectual activities. This is why so many LEDCs are striving to expand their industrial base. During the 19th century two thirds of the United States workforce was employed in the primary sector; today the figure is about 3%.

Economic Measures
Gross National Income per capita (GNIpc) is the most commonly used measure of economic development. It is the total economic value of all the goods and services provided by a country in one year, divided by the number of people who live in the country. The value is measured in US dollars to enable country comparisons.

Positive features
• It is easy to understand – the higher the value, the more developed the country.
• International comparisons are simple given the standardised unit of measurement.
• It gives an indication of the potential for social development.

Limitations
• The figure hides inequalities as it does not show the distribution of wealth.
• It does not account for the informal sector of the economy. This can be a substantial sector in LEDCs.
• The figure can be manipulated by government authorities.

In addition, GNI is affected by currency exchange rates - 1 dollar buys a dissimilar level of goods in different countries. This concept is known as **purchasing power**. It is explored in this article in the Economist called 'The Big Mac Index': www.economist.com/content/big-mac-index

Gross Domestic Product per capita (GDPpc) is a similar measure of economic development. It differs from GNIpc by excluding overseas earnings and profits that that leave the country going to overseas investors. It shares similar strengths and weaknesses of GNIpc.

Social Development

Social development is about placing people at the heart of development. It refers to improving the well-being of citizens. The success is linked to the well-being the whole population. It requires investment in people and the removal of barriers to **social mobility**.

Democratic structures are an important facet of this concept. The ability to elect public representatives and scrutinise their decisions, gives people the opportunity to influence the policies adopted by a country.

Social Measures

Life expectancy at birth is widely used to measure development. The overall mortality level of a population is reflected by this indicator. It is the number of years that a person is expected to live and is indicative of the social conditions experienced by the population. The World Health Organisation gives an overview of current trends at this link: www.who.int/gho/mortality_burden_disease/life_tables/situation_trends_text/en/

Life expectancy at birth is regarded as a reliable measure of development. However, it can hide regional variations. This interactive map provided by the Guardian illustrates regional variations in life expectancy across the UK: www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/interactive/2011/jun/08/life-expectancy-uk-health-mapped

Infant mortality rate measures the number of children who die before the age of 1 per 1000 live births. This is a strong indicator of health care provision, specifically antenatal and postnatal services.

Both life expectancy and infant mortality rates are easy to calculate and they allow meaningful comparisons between countries. However, the required vital registration data is not always available or accurate in LEDCs. Also, countries have differing development goals and political decisions dictate where money is spent; therefore antenatal care may be a higher priority for some states than others.

Adult literacy rate is another social measure of development. This is the percentage of adults who are able to read and write. It significantly higher in MEDCs than LEDCs. The UNESCO eAtlas of World Literacy can be found here: http://tellmaps.com/uis/literacy/

Composite Measures of Development

Composite measures are designed to reflect more accurately a country's development by incorporating a range of indicators. They are used to compare of the quality of life experienced in different countries.

The first was developed in the 1970s and called the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI). It was calculated using 3 indicators with equal weighting:
•   Life expectancy at age 1;
•   Infant mortality; and
•   Literacy.

However the PQLI faced criticism as similar trends were depicted by the variables. The United Nations developed a more wide-ranging measure, which utilised both social and economic indicators. The Human Development Index (HDI) is calculated by combining figures for life expectancy, mean years of schooling and GNIpc.

The HDI results table can be viewed here: http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/HDI

While the HDI is a more comprehensive measure than the PQLI, it too faced criticism. Some commentators have suggested that it focuses too heavily on national performance and ranking. Others suggest that it does not take technological advances into account, nor does it measure environmental impact of development. Furthermore, the indicator does not measure political freedom or human rights issues.

Key Terms
Gross National Income per capita (GNIpc): the total economic value of all the goods and services provided by a country in one year, divided by the number of people who live in the country - measured in US dollars.
Gross Domestic Product per capita (GDPpc): differs from GNIpc by excluding overseas earnings and profits that that leave the country going to overseas investors.
Life expectancy at birth: the number of years that a person is expected to live.
Infant mortality rate: the number of children who die before the age of 1 per 1000 live births.
Adult literacy rate: the percentage of adults who are able to read and write.
Composite development measures: designed to more accurately reflect a country's development by incorporating a range of indicators.
Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI): calculated using 3 indicators - life expectancy at age 1; infant mortality; and literacy.
The Human Development Index (HDI): calculated by combining figures for life expectancy, mean years of schooling and GNIpc.

Activity

Indian economist and philosopher, Amartya Sen, proposes that *'development is about creating freedom for people and removing obstacles to greater freedom. Greater freedom enables people to choose their own destiny. Obstacles to freedom, and hence to development, include poverty, lack of economic opportunities, corruption, poor governance, lack of education and lack of health.'*

Evaluate this theory. What do you think the strength and weaknesses are?
How would you define development? What indicators would you propose?

Open the UNESCO eAtlas of World Literacy: http://tellmaps.com/uis/literacy/
Describe and account for the disparities in world literacy rates.

Reducing the Development Gap

Millennium Development Goals

At the turn of the millennium world leaders met at the United Nations (UN) Millennium Summit to develop a global partnership with the aim of reducing extreme poverty. They agreed on 8 targets and set a deadline of 2015 for their achievement. This initiative is known as the **Millennium Development Goals (MDG)** and has constituted the global development framework for the last 15 years. The UN published a report on the achievements of the MDG in 2015. Some of the achievements include:

Source: The Millennium Development Goals Report, United Nations.

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
Extreme poverty has declined significantly over the last two decades. In 1990, nearly half of the population in the developing world lived on less than $1.25 a day; that proportion dropped to 14 per cent in 2015.
Globally, the number of people living in extreme poverty has declined by more than half, falling from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million in 2015. Most progress has occurred since 2000.

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education
The primary school net enrolment rate in the developing regions has reached 91 per cent in 2015, up from 83 per cent in 2000. Sub-Saharan Africa has had the best record of improvement in primary education of any region since the MDGs were established. The region achieved a 20 percentage point increase in the net enrolment rate from 2000 to 2015, compared to a gain of 8 percentage points between 1990 and 2000.

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
In Southern Asia, only 74 girls were enrolled in primary school for every 100 boys in 1990. Today, 103 girls are enrolled for every 100 boys.

Women have gained ground in parliamentary representation in nearly 90 per cent of the 174 countries with data over the past 20 years. The average proportion of women in parliament has nearly doubled during the same period. Yet still only one in five members are women.

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
The global under-five mortality rate has declined by more than half, dropping from 90 to 43 deaths per 1,000 live births between 1990 and 2015.

In sub-Saharan Africa, the annual rate of reduction of under-five mortality was over five times faster during 2005–2013 than it was during 1990–1995.

Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health
Since 1990, the maternal mortality ratio has declined by 45 per cent worldwide, and most of the reduction has occurred since 2000.

In Southern Asia, the maternal mortality ratio declined by 64 per cent between 1990 and 2013, and in sub-Saharan Africa it fell by 49 per cent.

In Northern Africa, the proportion of pregnant women who received four or more antenatal visits increased from 50 per cent to 89 per cent between 1990 and 2014.

Goal 6 Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other disease
New HIV infections fell by approximately 40 per cent between 2000 and 2013, from an estimated 3.5 million cases to 2.1 million.

By June 2014, 13.6 million people living with HIV were receiving antiretroviral therapy (ART) globally, an immense increase from just 800,000 in 2003. ART averted 7.6 million deaths from AIDS between 1995 and 2013.

Over 6.2 million malaria deaths have been averted between 2000 and 2015, primarily of children under five years of age in sub-Saharan Africa. The global malaria incidence rate has fallen by an estimated 37 per cent and the mortality rate by 58 per cent.

Goal 7 Ensure Environmental Sustainability
Terrestrial and marine protected areas in many regions have increased substantially since 1990. In Latin America and the Caribbean, coverage of terrestrial protected areas rose from 8.8 per cent to 23.4 per cent between 1990 and 2014.

The proportion of urban population living in slums in the developing regions fell from approximately 39.4 per cent in 2000 to 29.7 per cent in 2014.

In 2015, 91 per cent of the global population is using an improved drinking water source, compared to 76 per cent in 1990.

Goal 8 Develop a global partnership for development
Official development assistance from developed countries increased by 66 per cent in real terms between 2000 and 2014, reaching $135.2 billion.

In 2014, Denmark, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom continued to exceed the United Nations official development assistance target of 0.7 per cent of gross national income.

Internet penetration has grown from just over 6 per cent of the world's population in 2000 to 43 per cent in 2015. As a result, 3.2 billion people are linked to a global network of content and applications.

The UN reports the dramatic progress that has been made through targeted intervention, backed by financial commitments and political support. However, it concedes that there are shortfalls. The very poorest people on the planet are being left behind, particularly those in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Worldwide, women and young people are more likely to live in poverty than other sectors of the population.

Goal 1 shortfalls: Hunger has fallen on a global scale but it is projected that undernourishment will rise dramatically in the Middle East. In a report published in 2014 the UN suggested that the war in Syria has set the country back 3 decades in terms of human development.

This 2016 BBC article, which includes some potentially disturbing video content, reports on the besieged village of Madaya, Syria.
www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-35255012

Goal 5 shortfalls: There are imbalances within many developing counties. Urban areas have experienced much greater advancements in maternal health than rural areas. Only 56% of births in rural areas are attended by skilled health personnel. In contrast, 87% of births in urban areas are attended by skilled health personnel. In Central Africa, this disparity is even more striking at 32% opposed to 84%.

Goal 7 shortfalls: The UN reports that the proportion of people living in slums has reduced from 39% in 2000 to 30% in 2014. This surpasses the target set by the MDG. However, the speed of urbanisation means that while the proportion has fallen the actual number of people living in slums continues to grow; it is estimated that in 2015 more than 880 million people lived in slums, compared to around 790 million in 2000.

The UN reports that ozone-depleting substances have been virtually eliminated and the ozone layer is expected to recover by mid-century. However, carbon dioxide emissions rose by over 50% between 1990 and 2015. In 2015, over 40% of the world population was affected by water scarcity. It is anticipated that this figure will rise.

Agenda for Sustainable Development - Global Goals

The UN recognised that while great progress had been made by adopting the development framework laid out in the MDG, there has been uneven development and there have been deficiencies. It is estimated that 800 million people still live in extreme poverty.

With the expiry of the MDG in 2015, a new era of development strategy was embarked upon by the UN. **The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development** is composed of 17 **Global Goals** and 169 targets which build on the work of the MDG and aims to address the shortcomings.

This interactive resource compares the MDG to the Global Goals: www.theguardian.com/global-development/ng-interactive/2015/jan/19/sustainable-development-goals-changing-world-17-steps-interactive

The MDG focused primarily on LEDCs, whereas the Global Goals are intended to be relevant to all states. The Global Goals also concentrate more on environmental and ecological challenges than the MDG. The basis for this strategy is that human life relies on a healthy planet. Some have suggested that multitude of targets may be too broad and unwieldy to measure. It is much too early to evaluate the effectiveness of the Global Goals but some have questioned the ability of economic growth to deliver the objectives. This article from the Guardian, written by Jason Hickel of the London School of Economics, explains that position.

www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/sep/23/developing-poor-countries-de-develop-rich-countries-sdgs

Further Reading

In this article a Chief Economist from the World Bank critiques the costing of the Millennium Development goals. Interestingly, he was responsible for calculating the cost. www.brookings.edu/blogs/future-development/posts/2015/03/02-costing-millennium-development-goals-devarajan

The Global Goals: All You Need To Know: www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jan/19/sustainable-development-goals-united-nations

Globalisation

Globalisation refers to the increasing connectivity and interdependence between countries. It normally refers to economic markets but includes the spread of ideas, culture and political systems. This has been enabled by advances in technology, communication and transport. The internet is an obvious example which has enhanced connectivity and the adoption of standardised container sizes has enabled goods to be shipped around the world at low cost (Figure 16).

Figure 16: Standardised containers on the dockside at Cartagena, Columbia

© mmcmullan/ccea

Figure 17: A Container Ship on Lake Gatún on its transit through the Panama Canal

© mmcmullan/ccea

Another factor which has accelerated globalisation is the reduction in trade barriers. For example, since the break-up of the Soviet Union trade has been opened up to former communist countries. Technological advances have assisted the flow of capital around the world. It has become easier for firms to locate abroad and repatriate profits. The growth of Multinational Corporations (MNC) has been a key driver of globalisation.

MNCs operate in more than one country and have access to international markets. Their headquarters are nearly always in a MEDC. However, they have branches, factories or workshops in other counties which are often located in LEDCs. Many MNCs are vast, generating more profit than the GNI of small countries.

The scale of MNCs and the vast number of people they employ means that they can exert both economic and political influence. The prospect of job creation is a strong incentive. Conversely, the threat of withdrawal from a country is a powerful influence on national government policies. The control of MNCs extends across all sectors of the economy from primary to quaternary.

Positive developmental impact of globalisation on LEDCs
The primary of benefit of MNCs locating in LEDCs is the opportunity of employment. The employees often receive training and, therefore, develop their skills. The arrival of MNCs has a positive impact on the level of education in general.

The prospect of attracting a MNC is an incentive for LEDC governments to improve the country's infrastructure. MNCs often give financial assistance to facilitate this process. The arrival of MNCs brings new technologies and new ideas, which can accelerate development. MNCs pay corporation tax in the host countries. This generates income for the government which in turn can assist development. However, there have been many recent media accounts of MNCs avoiding tax. This article reports on that scenario:
www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/jun/02/tax-dodging-big-companies-costs-poor-countries-billions-dollars

Hosting MNCs opens the country to the global economy. It sends a message to other MNCs that the country is open for business. It also enables it to become an exporter of manufactured goods, rather than exclusively primary produce. MNCs create potential for the development of indigenous companies, supplying components to the larger international corporations.

Globalisation does not exclusively refer to the economy. Countries have become more politically connected, cooperating on economic trade deals, environmental initiatives and social development projects. Borders have been opened to promote the free flow of money and people.

The ability to share information between countries has allowed us to combat more effectively global crime syndicates. Tackling issues like terrorism, human trafficking and drug running depends upon international cooperation.

Globalisation has diffused 'western popular culture' around the world; sport, music, television and film have become global commodities.

Negative developmental impact of globalisation on LEDCs
The majority of MNC profits are repatriated back to the corporation headquarters,

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which are invariably located in MEDCs. The jobs created generally offer little security. MNCs are under no obligation to remain in a country. If operation becomes too expensive or too risky due to political instability they have little hesitation in relocating to more favourable conditions. This triggers local job losses and may have serious repercussions for indigenous businesses supplying the MNC.

MNCs have been reluctant to locate in the world's poorest countries. Lack of infrastructure and the risk of civil unrest means that these countries have not reaped the economic benefits of globalisation.

The primary interest of MNCs is maximising income for the company. This may involve training employees, but only to the requirements of the company. Poor working conditions in LEDCs have been well documented. This is especially true in indigenous companies not owned by but that supply MNCs.

Aid
Aid, also known as Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) is when resources are provided to a country. It can be provided by other countries, businesses, organisations or individuals and takes many forms. This includes money, clothes, technical expertise, rescue equipment or health provision.

Official aid is provided by governments. There are two main categories – **bilateral aid** and **multilateral aid**. Bilateral aid is assistance given by one country to the government of another. Multilateral Aid involves several countries providing funds to organisation like the United Nations, World Bank or International Monetary Fund. These organisations coordinate development initiatives and responses to environmental or humanitarian crisis.

Non-governmental or voluntary aid is provided by charities which are often referred to as **Non-Governmental-Organisations (NGOs)**. This type of aid is delivered on a much smaller scale by organisations like Oxfam and Save the Children. NGOs provide both responses to emergency situations and deliver long term development initiatives. Aid can have can have a tremendous impact on the lives of people living in LEDCs. For example, multilateral aid has helped deliver the successes of the Millennium Development Goals. Many lives have been saved by short term aid provided in the face of humanitarian crisis. The state does not provide services like health care in slums like Kibera, Nairobi. Instead, people rely on charities to provide vaccinations and retro-viral drugs.

While few people deny that it is our moral imperative to provide aid in the case of a humanitarian crisis, the approach of using aid to develop countries has been criticised. The most obvious criticism is that much of the money is wasted through bad management or, worse still, misappropriation by corrupt officials.

Furthermore, much of the aid provided through bilateral agreements comes in the form of tied aid. This comes with restrictions on what the money can be used for. For example, support is often given with the proviso that the money is spent on goods and services produced in the donor country.

Some suggest that the approach to food aid has done little to assist African farmers. Often food, grown in MEDCs, is shipped to LEDCs, flooding the market and driving prices down. This has the effect of devaluing the farmers' produce, putting many out of business.

Foreign aid is politically sensitive. The links between development and democracy have been debated for years. Some people argue that solid democratic governance is required for development. Others advocate that development is a priority and democracy will follow. Providers of Multilateral aid have been accused of giving only to countries that support western values. It is also argued that an endless stream of financial support is a good way to keep a bad government in power.

In 2016 UN Dispatch published 3 charts that describe the 'State of Foreign Aid': www.undispatch.com/3-charts-that-explain-the-state-of-foreign-aid/

Key Terms

Millennium Development Goals (MDG): UN global development framework from 2000-2015.
Global Goals: UN global development framework from 2015-2030. This initiative builds on the work of the MDG.
Globalisation refers to the increasing connectivity and interdependence between countries.
Official aid: resources provide by governments to other countries.
Bilateral aid: assistance given by one country to the government of another.
Multilateral Aid: involves several countries providing funds to organisation like the United Nations, World Bank or International Monetary Fund. These organisations coordinate the delivery of aid.
Non-governmental or voluntary aid: provided by charities which are often referred to as Non-Governmental-Organisations (NGOs).

Case Study: Uganda

Economic Globalisation
Uganda, officially the Republic of Uganda, is a landlocked country in East Africa. It is bordered to the north by South Sudan, to the west by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to the southwest by Rwanda, to the south by Tanzania and to the east by Kenya. Uganda is the world's second most populous landlocked country after Ethiopia. Uganda gained independence from Britain in October 1962 and became a republic maintaining its membership of the Commonwealth of Nations. Since gaining independence, Uganda has experienced rapid population growth; in 1960 the population was 6,788,210. By 2015 estimates put the Ugandan population at 39,032,380.

Uganda's economy is essentially agricultural. This sector employs 80% of the working population. Development has been hindered by political instability. The governments of Milton Obote (1967-71) and Idi Amin (1971-79) did considerable damage to the economy. Obote abolished the traditional kingdoms and was declared executive president without elections first taking place. Amin ruled as dictator with the support of the military. He carried out mass killings, mainly in the north of the country, to maintain his rule. Amin also forcibly removed the entrepreneurial Indian minority from the country which left the economy of Uganda in ruins.

During the 1990s foreign investment in agriculture and core industries was encouraged. The adoption of the '1991 Investment Code' offered tax breaks and other incentives to foreign companies. At this time, the Uganda Investment Authority was

also created to encourage potential investors.

The economy developed during the 1990s and early 2000s, and was praised by the World Bank for its policies on privatisation and currency reform. Uganda has been relatively stable in recent years and this has helped it to secure international support and loans.

Uganda's National Planning Authority has developed a strategy called 'Uganda Vision 2040' with the objective of becoming a modern and prosperous country by the middle of this century. This is to be delivered through the implementation of successive 5-year National Development Plans. The first plan was launched in April 2010.

Source: Uganda 2010 National Development Plan

This is an extract from the plan:

> *To effectively exploit the opportunities presented by industrialization, specific fundamentals will be strengthened including infrastructure development, human resource development, science and technology and good governance. Specific efforts will be geared towards attracting leading multi-national corporations in key industries that will stimulate faster technology transfer.*

Uganda has attracted a large number of foreign companies already, largely due to the natural resources available in the country. The country's membership of African trading blocs like COMESA is an incentive to foreign investors. Favourable trading conditions have attracted companies like Phoenix Logistics and Standard Bank.

These MNCs have created employment opportunities in Uganda. They have also accelerated the development of indigenous companies, generating further employment opportunities. It is estimated that almost half of Uganda's working population is reliant on MNCs operating in the country.

The discovery of commercially viable oil deposits has greatly improved Uganda's development prospects. This will allow Uganda to reduce its level of fuel imports and pay for infrastructure development. It is anticipated that this will attract more MNCs. The discovery of oil is expected to have a great effect on public finances but there are concerns over the environmental impacts that could accompany the process of extraction.

There is also evidence of globalisation at Entebbe Airport. Before 2006 the flights to the international airport were very limited. Now it hosts many international carriers such as British Airways, KLM and Emirates. Passenger traffic flowing through the airport has been increasing at a rate of 10% per year, demonstrating global connectivity. Tourism is earmarked as a means of growing the Ugandan economy.

However, while there has been relative political stability and socioeconomic development since the 1980s, there are a number of factors which impede foreign investment. The inadequate physical infrastructure and the lack of a skilled workforce restrict the country's ability to produce goods efficiently and transport them speedily to markets overseas.

Many of the employees of MNCs are engaged in low-skill work and remain illiterate. In many cases wages are low, working conditions are undesirable and child labour

has been reported in some foreign companies. MNCs are currently concentrated in cities, so rural areas have received few of the employment opportunities which have benefited their urban counterparts.

Uganda's stability is impressive only in relative terms. In 2010, Al-Shabaab suicide bombers killed 74 people as crowds assembled to watch World Cup screenings in Kampala. Incidents like this could dissuade MNCs from locating in Uganda. There were strikes and protests in Kampala and other urban centres following the 2011 Ugandan elections. At the time of writing Uganda is preparing for the 2016 elections, in what will be President Museveni's 30th year in power. It is expected that there will be political tension during this period, which is not attractive to foreign investors.

Aid and International Relations
During the 1990s and early 2000s the government built effective relationships with international development partners. Uganda became the first country to receive assistance from the Heavily-Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. This debt relief scheme was coordinated by the IMF and World Bank.

However, the prospect of securing aid deteriorated due to the international financial crisis of 2007/8. Ongoing austerity measures in MEDCs have meant that Uganda's total aid fell from 9.6% of GDP in 2004/05 to 4.5% of GDP in 2010/11. This was exacerbated when US$ 300 million in aid was frozen in 2012/13, due to a breakdown in trust between donor countries and Uganda. This reduction in aid has delayed large-scale infrastructure projects. In addition, it has become more regular for donors to support projects rather than give money to the government to spend at its discretion. Many projects have not received funding as planned.

The country had another setback in 2014 when the World Bank postponed a loan (US$ 90 million) because of Uganda's anti-gay law, which sustained much international criticism. The loan had been intended to enhance Uganda's health services.

Measuring Uganda's progress
Uganda has been successful in in achieving Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 1 ahead of schedule - halving the proportion of people below the poverty line before 2015. The poverty gap has also reduced. People living below the poverty line are less poor today than in the past. Economic growth has been closely linked with attracting MNCs and the government plans to accelerate this trend through adopting recommendations of its 'Vision 2040 Strategy'.

Other areas have been slow to develop in Uganda. Education faces many challenges - many children are unable to complete their primary education. In 2016, UNICEF reported that the primary completion rate was 36% (the rate among the population aged 3-5 years above primary graduation age). Maternal mortality (the annual number of deaths from pregnancy related causes per 100 000 live births) is still very high (310 deaths per 100 000) and the incidence of reported HIV infection has recently increased, adult HIV prevalence is 7.2%. There have also been reports of depleted environmental resources including forest cover and deteriorating soil fertility. Uganda's MDG progress is summarised in this report: www.undp.org/content/dam/uganda/docs/UNDPUg-2013MDGProgress%20Report-Oct%202013.pdf

Further Reading

This article reports that palm oil producers, backed by the UN, have been taken to court by evicted farmers: www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/mar/03/ugandan-farmers-take-on-palm-oil-giants-over-land-grab-claims

This article reports on the success of an internationally backed agricultural scheme: www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2014/aug/05/kenya-uganda-rwanda-dairy-farming-training

This article reports on how fake seeds are keeping Ugandan farmers poor: www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2014/jul/16/fake-seeds-uganda

This article reports on the style of 'democracy' evident in Africa: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/burundi/11614000/African-presidents-dilemma-Should-I-stay-or-should-I-go.html

The Last King of Scotland is a critically acclaimed film which tells the fictional story of a young Scottish doctor who travels to Uganda:
www.imdb.com/title/tt0455590/

Emerging Markets

The World Bank coined the term emerging markets in 1981, but it was not until the 2000s that such economies began to develop rapidly. Countries identified as emerging markets are designated due to their growth potential. It has been estimated that they represent 20% of the world's economies and 80% of the population.

The term is loosely defined on purpose. This means that both large and small states can be designated as emerging markets. For example, China is a member of the group even though it is recognised as an economic powerhouse. It is designated as an emerging market because of its potential. It shares this trait with smaller countries like Morocco. Both countries share this status because of their plans for economic reform, opening their markets to the globe.

Emerging markets are typically in economic transition, changing from a closed economy to an open market economy. Countries of the former Soviet Union are good examples. Many emerging markets have reformed their exchange rate system to promote stability, attracting foreign investment. The arrival of MNCs is another characteristic of this group. This generally leads to investment in infrastructure.

BRIC

The Chief Economist at Goldman Sachs coined the acronym BRIC in 2001. He was referring to a group of 4 large countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) with tremendous potential for economic development. The BRIC countries were picked out from the other emerging markets because they were expected to grow to become the world's largest and most influential economies in the 21st century. Their size was regarded as a particular advantage – the 4 countries are collectively home to more than 2.8 billion people. They also span more than 25% of the world's land mass. In 2010 South Africa joined the group. The acronym was modified to BRICS, reflecting the African country's membership. Nigeria had been a contender for membership on account of its size. However, South Africa was chosen due to its immense natural resource base, established infrastructure and advanced financial systems. Previous to the term BRICS being coined, the countries had never worked collaboratively and were separated both spatially and culturally. That situation has changed; the 7th BRICS summit was held in 2015 and focussed on the development of a multilateral bank operated by the BRICS states. Its establishment would offer an alternative to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Figure 18: The BRICS Group

The speed of BRICS country growth in the 2000s had a positive impact on global income distribution. It appeared that the global economy was converging as economists had long predicted. However, the BRICS group has been struggling for some time. Brazil and Russia are in recession and China is slowing down.

MINT

With the slowdown of the BRICS, investors turned their attention elsewhere. The investment firm Fidelity coined the acronym MINT in 2011. This represents a group of four countries (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey) that also show economic growth potential over the coming decades.

The MINT countries have smaller economies than their BRICS counterparts, but have been identified because their large, young populations present a significant human resource. Also, MINT countries have governments that are pro-business and their geographical locations are advantageous to trade.

Despite the potential for MINT economic development over the coming decades, they face challenges. There are allegations of corruption in the governments, businesses and banking sectors of all 4 countries. Inadequate infrastructure is restricting growth and societal problems like high crime rates and inequality are shared by the MINTs. The emerging markets can no longer be described as a group experiencing collective growth; it is, instead, a mixed picture. For example Brazil is struggling as Mexico flourishes; Turkey's position is deteriorating while the Philippines is in ascension. Much of this can be attributed to the slowdown in China. This has lowered commodity prices which, along with political crises, has damaged the economies of commodity exporters such as Russia and Brazil.

Case Study: Mexico

Mexico is a success story, against a backdrop of global economic stagnation in Latin America. Its economy is growing and unemployment is falling, which is in contrast to Brazil – the region's leading economic success to date. Brazil's economy is projected to contract by 3.3% in 2015 while Mexico's is growing at a rate of 2.5%. Mexico's economy is worth US$ 1.26 trillion. It has grown to be the 15th largest economy in the world. Inevitably, this begs the question - how?

Mexico's success is in part due to its alignment with international partners. Mexico was the first Latin American country to join the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1994. More recently, while Brazil has focused its attention on building trade relationships with China, Mexico's economy is closely associated with the United States. As the Chinese economy slows the Brazilian economy suffers; whereas Mexico is benefiting from the American economic recovery. Mexico's trade with the United States has risen to the value of US$ 500 billion per year.

Mexico has been successful in building its manufacturing sector. It has a young, well educated workforce which is well suited to this growing sector. In addition, competitive labour and energy costs, combined with the pro-business policies of the Mexican government, have made the country an attractive place for foreign investment. The Canadian aerospace company Bombardier employs over 4,000 people in Mexico. Multinational companies like Ford, Volkswagen and General Motors are located in the country, exporting cars to the

United States and further afield. It is not only the multinational giants that are choosing to locate production in Mexico; an increasing number of small foreign manufacturers are choosing to establish production facilities in the Mexico instead of China.

Figure 19: Mexico City

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The value of Mexico's exports is approximately US$ 1 billion per day. This is over ten times the value of exports in in 1994. This in part due to the North American Free Trade Agreement which gives Mexico a competitive trade advantage over other countries.

Mexico is investing in the Research and Development sector, helping the country access wider international markets. Mexico has also diversified its economy by growing its financial sector. This has fuelled stock market growth. In addition, some of the country's oil fields have been opened up to foreign investment which offers potential for more economic growth.

Mexican development is not without its challenges. Mexico has the second highest level of economic disparity between the rich and the poor of all the OECD member states. Also, over a quarter of GDP is generated in the informal sector which employs nearly 60% of the workforce. Although, the government passed legislation that reformed employment rights in 2012 this does not apply to the informal sector.

Credit and banking is also a weakness. Millions of Mexican people do not have bank accounts. Low rates of commercial lending has depressed entrepreneurship and held back economic growth. Unfortunately, ransom related kidnapping and drug trafficking are examples of criminal activity which afflict Mexico. Still, for all its challenges Mexico has overtaken Brazil as the key economic player in Latin America.

Key Terms

Emerging Market: less economically developed countries identified due to their economic growth potential.

BRICS: Initially four countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) identified because of potential for economic development. Their size is regarded as a particular advantage. A fifth country, South Africa, joined in 2010.

MINT: Four countries (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey) that also show economic growth potential. The MINT countries have smaller economies than their BRICS counterparts, but have been identified because their large, young populations present a significant human resource.

Activity

Which country is the most important emerging economy in Africa? Is it South Africa or does Nigeria deserve this accolade? Research this topic and present an argument for your decision.