Strategies for Local Economic Development
A critical and comparative analysis

discussion note

Introduction

This discussion note is prepared for practitioners, policy makers and decision takers involved in issues around Local Economic Development (LED), based on a course given at Duke University.[1] The discussion note does not focus exclusively on LED in Least Development Countries but instead provides a broader review of the topic. The objective is to promote discussion and awareness of the policy options and economic theory that surrounds the issue.

Local Economic Development (LED) is about development in a specific space and place. There are circumstances in which public institutions can shape the economic and social destiny of the territories and populations over which they have jurisdiction. There are also choices to be made in the model of LED. Many central and local authorities develop plans and targets for promoting the economic development of geographical areas – but this is not always the same as a coherent LED strategy. In addition, the conditions under which institutions can successfully implement an effective strategy are not always present. In thinking about LED it is important to review whether the building blocks for its implementation are in place – and if not to develop measures for putting them in place as part of the strategy.

This document:

- Proposes a categorisation of the different types of LED in practice today that helps understanding of how LED works.
- Describes why effective LED requires a strong public sector and strong institutions, and why it can be combined with capacity building if those institutions are not in place.
- Discusses some methods for financing LED and links them with the principles of public financial management and fiscal decentralisation.

Part 1: Two different interpretations of LED

What is LED? We can get to the roots of the idea by unpicking the term itself. Different interpretations place emphasis on different parts of the phrase. A review of literature and practice leads to two broad and overlapping interpretations, not mutually exclusive but each representing different approached to LED. These are definitions the definition of two Following a review of literature and practice over the last 20 years suggests I suggest two broad definitions, each embracing many types of LED. For want of a better term these will be referred to as *mainstream* LED and *locally driven* LED.

In terms of practical measures, there is a good degree of overlap between the tools, instruments and policies used in pursuing LED strategies for both types. However the emphasis and mix of instruments may be different. This categorisation is broad and it is accepted that many LED strategies do not fall neatly into this division. Some may exhibit elements of both. The two types are presented as an entry point to understanding the debates and choices within LED. Why are there different interpretations? The answer lies in the awkward relationship between *space* and *economic theory* and the different ways that different economic theories deal with the spatial dimension - this is explored further in the part 2 of this discussion note – for now let's move on to the two types.

[1]This discussion note is based on a lecture on Local Economic Development delivered at Duke University in July 2012 by David Jackson, Director of Local Development Finance at UNCDF.

Mainstream LED

This school focuses on the word *economic*. Economic development is taken to mean the growth of economic activity (the sum of goods and services produced). The local economy therefore comprises the sum of goods and services produced within a circumscribed area. So LED is the growth of economic output within that locality. The three factors of production (Land, Labour and Capital) each have a different relationship with the locality. Land is fixed and there is a defined amount, Labour is relatively mobile but there are limits to its movement and the degree to which it can be attracted into or removed from the locality, Capital can move in or out, but is also constrained to some extent by legislation, regulations and features such as the banking system. The term LED refers to development that involves (as far as possible) local manifestations of all three factors of production. For LED, as opposed to 'regular' economic activity, the objective is to retain or re-invest within the local economy a significant portion of the output, or at least the surplus value generated from the output. Land can be recycled; resources can be distributed through local wages leading to greater local consumption; and there can be an increase in sum of local capital and concomitant local investment.

The World Bank's definition of Local Economic Development is a good example of this approach.

> *The purpose of local economic development (LED) is to build up the economic capacity of a local area to improve its economic future and the quality of life for all. It is a process by which public, business and nongovernmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for* ***economic growth*** *and* ***employment generation****.*[2] (my emphasis)

For *Mainstream* LED the strategy is often to improve the competitiveness and economic performance of the locality, by developing a particular comparative advantage or by attracting inward investment. Success is measured by an increase in economic activity and can also include an increase in the value of basic socio-economic indicators (household income and other indicators). A Mainstream LED strategy can include the following policies or measures:

- Value chain analysis, SWOT analysis and other forms of research to define the comparative advantage of the locality (tourism, low labour costs, highly specialised workforce, unique agricultural product, etc).
- Incentives designed to attract capital from outside the locality to invest in the area and / or incentives that encourage investment from capital within the locality. These can include tax incentives, training of human resources, land use planning and zoning incentives and a relaxing of regulations. The incentives are sometimes tied to investments linked to the comparative advantage.
- The establishment of a development board or committee that overrides other forms of local government and has the powers to drive through the reforms deemed necessary. This can be top down – led by central government targeting a particular locality and run by a *quango* or central government department. However it can equally be the result of a coalition of local political and business leaders.
- *Mainstream* LED is often combined with other measures to expand the scope and role of private sector activity. This can include contracting out of local government functions to the private sector or the involvement of the private sector through public private partnerships.

In some cases *Mainstream* LED has been criticised as a "race to the bottom" in which localities compete to reduce their labour costs and lower taxes in a bid to attract fickle businesses that

[2] Swinburn, Goga and Murphy (2006) Local Economic Development: A primer. Developing and Implementing Local Economic Development Strategies and Action Plans. World Bank. Washington. For more WB resources see below http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTURBANDEVELOPMENT/EXTLED/0,,contentMDK:20196572~menuPK:402644~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:341139,00.html

can then cherry pick the most attractive locations.[3] However this is not always the case. Value chain analysis and other forms of looking at comparative advantage can involve the application of some of the principles of 'high development theory' described in annex. [4] Forms of protectionism can also be introduced early on, but on the premise that the objective is not to isolate the locality from the wider economy but instead to improve its comparative advantage within it.

[3] Bond (2002) Local Economic Development Debates in South Africa. Municipal Services Project. Occasional Papers Series – number 6. University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

[4] Goetz, Partridge, Rickman, Majumdar (2010) Sharing the Gains of Local Economic Growth: Race to the Top vs. Race to the Bottom Economic Development Policies. Northeast Regional Centre for Rural Development. Pennsylvania State University. USA

2) *Locally driven* LED

A second school places emphasis on the word *development*. Development itself has many definitions but in economic and social science there is broad agreement that it involves a degree of *transformation* and not just growth, for example for Nobel prize winning economist Amartya Sen development is defined as:

> *"…the establishment of conditions and institutions that foster the realization of the potential of the capacities and faculties of the* ***human mind*** *in* ***people****, communities, and in turn, in places"*.[5] (my emphasis)

For this second interpretation not all increases in economic activity within the locality necessarily constitute LED, even if local resources are leveraged and capital is retained. Instead the key questions are what type of economic growth is preferred and for what purpose? Who will benefit? This second interpretation usually involves a more refined interpretation of the term *local*, which becomes more than a territorial unit of economic analysis, such as "the north west" or the "mountain region". Instead *local* is linked to a specific set of local institutions, including their politics and their territorial administrations. The LED strategy is connected to a local institutional environment and indeed that same environment shapes the strategy. The OECD adopts this approach when it states the objective of LED is:

> *"to reduce persistent inefficiency (underutilisation of the full potential) and inequality (share of people below a given standard of well-being and/or extent of interpersonal disparities) in specific places, through the promotion of bundles of integrated, place tailored public goods and services, designed and implemented by eliciting and aggregating local preferences and knowledge through participatory political institutions, and by establishing linkages with other places".*[6]

Whilst this type of strategy can also include elements of *Mainstream* LED, its purpose is to bring about qualitative institutional and societal changes within the locality and not just quantitative changes in the level of economic activity. These can include, for example, making a city more 'liveable' or making the economy and public finances of a region more resilient to changes in prices of the commodities it exports. Success is not only equated with an increase in economic growth nor does it necessarily require an increase in net output. For *Locally driven* LED the objectives are not only to insert the local economy in the world economy but also to increase its internal integration, resilience to outside shocks and the *quality* of its development path – recognising that quality is a subjective term whose meaning will vary from place to place. *Locally driven* LED can include the following policies or measures:

- A pro-active local government and other local institutions that actively intervene to produce a local development strategy that includes social and political outcomes in addition to purely economic ones. This could include the improvement of a cities 'liveability' or quality of life irrespective of its ranking in terms of economic product.
- Value chain analysis, SWOT analysis and other forms of research to define the comparative advantage of the locality are also included in this type of LED – however the focus may be less on defining a particular niche and more on forging both backwards and forward linkages and actively reducing dependence on external links in the chain.
- Like the *Mainstream* LED there can be incentives designed to attract capital from outside the locality to invest in the area and / or incentives that encourage investment from capital within the locality. These can include tax incentives, land use planning and zoning incentives and a relaxing of regulations. There may be a greater focus on a broader training of human resources in this type of LED and a reduced focus on tax breaks.

[5] Cited in Pike, Rodriguez-Pose, Tomaney (2007) What Kind of Local and Regional Development and for Whom? Regional Studies vol 41,9, pp 1253-1269, December 2007. Routledge. New York

[6] OECD (2009) Regions Matter. Economic Recovery, Innovation and Sustainable Growth. OECD, Paris

- *Locally driven* LED is often co-existent with a strong local government and other local institutions. Compared with *Mainstream* LED it is less likely to be a top down initiative from central government and more likely to result from a coalition of local political and business interests. It may or may not include the contracting out of local government functions to the private sector or the involvement of the private sector through public private partnerships.

Locally driven LED can be criticised for being unrealistic in the face of global economic and social currents. There is an argument that it is almost impossible for all but the biggest or richest cities or regions to attempt to create a holistic development strategy and that it is preferable to seek full integration into the world market. Other criticisms include its tendency to be state led and that public resources may be diverted to support infrastructure and other schemes that may be wasteful and ineffective.

LED driven by regionalism

In some cases the LED policy forms an integral part of a political movement for increased autonomy or even independence from the national authorities. Pike, Rodriguez Pose and Tomany refer to the local cultural and political characteristics important for *Locally driven* LED.[7] These can extend to autonomy movements. Similar cases exist of *Mainstream* LED that seeks to capitalise on a natural resource or other comparative advantage to further autonomy. Conversely there are examples of LED policies driven by central governments seeking to consolidate control over restless territories by economic growth, assimilation and migration. Examples of the links between LED, regionalism and conflict are found in Jackson 2013.[8]

Why LED requires strong local public institutions (and strong public financial management).

There is a common feature all examples of successful LED of both types; They require strong public institutions. Effective public bodies are important for key activities such as:

- Land use planning and zoning to enforce policies that encourage the location of certain industries.
- Contract management and compliance supervision to ensure that favoured business practices are being followed – e.g. that companies are doing what they promised to do in furtherance of the strategy.
- Revenue collection.
- Litigation against those who do not pay or comply.
- Lobbying of businesses and central government agencies, including overseas institutions.
- Provision of basic services and public goods to business (including water, electricity, solid waste management, drainage, roads, internet and telephony)
- Provision of more complex services to business such as support to import, export, customs and excise, links with training, research and educational institutions.
- Policies that encourage the optimal supply of labour at the skill level and wage level required for the LED policy.

These points are important for both *Mainstream* and *Locally driven* LED. For the UN Capital Development Fund capacity building of state institutions should not be seen as an activity diverting resources away from economic development and the private sector. Instead, the right sort of

[7] Pike et al, op cit

[8] Jackson (2013) Who won and who lost? Why this is important for the role of local government in post conflict recovery. In The imperative of good local governance: Challenges for the next decade of decentralization Öjendal & Dellnäs (Eds) United Nations University, Japan

capacity building is a pre-requisite for a strong and sustainable local economy.[9] This consideration enables us to link LED with the principles of Fiscal Decentralisation covered in the course. The reader can reflect upon how fiscal decentralisation, on both the revenue and expenditure side, impacts the bullet points above. We can also note that for some cases of LED (often *Mainstream*) there may be a concomitant fiscal *centralisation*. This can occur when accountable and democratic local government bodies are replaced with *quangos* or central agencies that are empowered to lead the strategy.[10] Most importantly, these points enable us to identify the practical application for local development of some of the principles of Public Financial Management and Fiscal Decentralisation covered in the course. The next section of financing LED brings this into sharper focus.

Financing LED: Local Public Financial Management and LED strategies

Public Financing. LED related expenditure can be financed from own revenue, block grants or categorical grants. Whilst there is no fixed rule, there are issues with regard to the type of revenue applied to LED spending. The LED strategy is often pursued as part of the general mandate of local governments rather than as an agency function. This means that block grants and own revenue tend to be a principal funder of LED strategy related investments and activities. Yet central bodies can sometimes contribute to LED promotion through categorical grants. These may be from the ministry of commerce, of trade etc. If a development agency or *quango* has been established, this body may receive a generous block grant allocation with wider discretionary powers than 'mainstream' local government bodies. Successful LED strategies also involve intelligent alignment and leverage of categorical grants – whether or not their original purpose for the central agency is explicitly linked to the LED strategy.

Expenditure assignments and budgeting. There are various types of local public expenditure relating to LED. Public infrastructural goods such as roads, bridges, market places, drainage and irrigation structures, ports and quays etc. have local economic impact and the choices can be dependent on the strategy pursued. This will require application of the local government's own development / investment / project resources in the development budget (assuming these exist) and successful lobbying for the concomitant responsibilities of other bodies responsible for other public goods such as the energy grid, rail and major highways. A second form of expenditure for LED is for the soft side of strategy implementation. This is normally resourced from the recurrent budget and includes the staff, lobbying, communications, publicity and negotiation required to push the strategy forwards. Where recurrent resources are tight a 'project' within the development budget is sometimes created as a vehicle to further the strategy. In larger local governments special departments for economic development often include these features, and staffing, under their budget allocation.[11] However in both small are large local bodies many of these items are billed under the office of the mayor / chief executive / administrator. Indeed this can be another way to pursue such a strategy under recurrent budget constraints. Finally departments responsible for planning, and for land use planning, are usually involved.

Private investment. LED is about increasing the investment and retention of capital within a local space. The debates within LED are about the purpose to which that capital is put, not about the desirability of increased investment. Public money can be used to attract, co-finance with, and leverage private resources. In this context policy makers need to ensure that the distinction between local government responsibility for public goods and its accountability to the citizen is not confused with private investment, private goods and the importance of a rate of return and

[9] Shawa, Aladeen. (2008) The Role of Local Government in Promoting Local Economic Development, an Evolving UNCDF Approach. In @local.glob Global Thinking for Local Development, Issue 5, 2008. ILO, Turin

[10] Quango is an English acronym referring to "Quasi Autonomous Non Governmental Agency.

[11] Jackson (2011) Effective Financial Mechanisms at the National and Local level for Disaster Risk Reduction, UNISDR, Geneva http://www.preventionweb.net/files/18197_202jackson.financialmechanismstosup.pdf

profit for private investors. This is an important yardstick for evaluating whether financing mechanisms that encourage private resources are relevant, legal, ethical and appropriate. Some methods for using public resources to promote local investment include:

- Public private partnerships, of which we can highlight four types:
    - *Contracting out / outsourcing* in which local government contracts private companies to provide services or investments, which themselves can be part of an LED strategy. For example the contracting out of road maintenance, port and shipping facilities, customs and excise services to private providers as part of a drive to increase import and export capacity.
    - *Private Finance Initiative*, where the private sector provides investment capital (financed from debt and equity) to finance infrastructural investments and /or run public services whilst the public sector both underwrites the debt and pays regular fees for the services themselves. For example private finance builds a hospital and then runs the hospital. Public money underwrites the loan taken out to build the hospital and then also guarantees a contract to the private entity to provide healthcare for at least 10 years.

      The two types of PPP listed above are often applied to generic public services – the examples given are of how they could apply to LED. They are not always more efficient than direct public sector investments and indeed can sometimes be more wasteful, particularly if there is weak local government capacity for the analysis, development, negotiation and management of the Public Private Partnership.
    - *Non-recourse project financing*, in which the public sector provides collateral (land or property) and maybe takes an equity stake in part of a private project, assuming some of the risk. This enables a private borrower to raise capital without providing collateral and without assuming liability for the money borrowed (the public sector becomes liable and in the last resort can use the land or property to repay the loan if the private initiative fails). The purpose of non-recourse project financing to LED is that it can attract in private investment to a LED strategy by making key components of the strategy more viable. For example a rural coastal area may require a large cold storage warehouse and a network of cold storage trucks in order to transform the local fishing industry from artisanal to a value added and consumer oriented business – that also improves nutrition. All the other pieces of the supply chain are in place (market demand, retail network, potential processers and packagers, regular supply of fish etc.) and the non-recourse project finance will make it profitable / viable for a private operator to provide cold storage.[12]
    - *Credit enhancements or grants* to private companies to encourage investment. These can range from straightforward grants, discounts, and other subsidies to more complex arrangements involving commitments from both the public and private sector.
- Other forms of public finance for private investment that do not involve public private partnerships
    - *Tax, fee and regulatory support.* This involves favourable zoning policies for the location of certain economic activities and variable tax and fee rates to favour those activities or to discourage other activities that do not fall within the LED

[12] Bond, Platz and Magnusson (2012) Financing small scale infrastructure investments in developing countries. UN Desa Working Paper No. 114

strategy. An example could include the encouragement of both public and private educational and training institutions in an area that was originally industrial but now derelict. This could be part of an LED strategy to improve the skills of the local workforces and to attract other skilled workers – in order to move the locality away from low value added processing towards other activities.

- *Labour market support*. For example the subsidy or provision of specific training or the provision of incentives (such as housing discounts) for staff to move to an area. Labour market support is usually targeted towards specific sectors that are related to the LED strategy.

- *Provision of public goods and services with economic impact.* Finally, all successful LED strategies involve the leverage of local investments and services to further the strategy. Many weak and ineffective LED plans are characterised by holistic approaches that look good on paper. These may be written by the planning department but not followed through by the local government's own spending priorities (including that of the sectors and agency functions). For example there is little point in an LED strategy that favours developing the mountain region if health, education and transport services continue to favour the lowland region. A successful development of the mountains would require a re-focussing of line agency priorities to provide a conducive environment for investment and employment in the mountains.

Conclusion of part 1

This discussion note has demonstrated that whilst there is a huge range of literature, analysis and case studies, the real world examples of LED strategies can be understood and appreciated through the lens of *Mainstream* and *Locally driven* LED – whilst accepting that in practice these two types are not always mutually exclusive and can co-exist within a single LED strategy. The discussion note has emphasised that effective LED requires strong and effective public institutions, and that LED is not a substitute for local government capacity building in public financial management and fiscal decentralisation. Finally, the discussion note has outlined the various ways in which public finance can contribute to an LED strategy, recognising again that this requires strong institutions to ensure the protection of the public interest, the effectiveness of the strategy and minimise the potential for conflicts of interest and corruption. The reader can reflect on how the principles of fiscal decentralisation and public expenditure management referred to elsewhere in the course can be applied to the specific case studies of LED presented. In discussion note is further detail on the role of LED within economic theory and a list of LED resources.

Part 2: LED in economic theory

The roots of LED in economic theory help us understand why there are different approaches to LED amongst policymakers and which type is most appropriate for a given situation.

Economic theory rests on its basic premises about what creates value. There are three sets of economic assumptions that underpin most analyses.[13]

- Neo liberal economics is based on the assumption that there is no intrinsic value apart from market value, and individuals maximising their utility determine market value. Therefore the price of something is equal to its value and is a reflection of its utility;
- Keynesian economics considers that value is derived from inputs to the production process and is influenced by wider factors such as aggregate demand and social institutions.
- Marxist thought holds that value is created by labour in the production process and capital accumulated from the surplus extracted from this process (the net profit) - the price of a good only represents a nominal and ephemeral exchange value.

[13] Cole, Cameron and Edwards (1983), Why Economists Disagree. Longman, New York.

Whichever set of assumptions you choose, neither incorporates space and distance into its calculations, all three are spatially blind. The roots of Local Economic Development theory within economics, therefore, can be found in the attempts to introduce a spatial dimension into the equation - linking economics on the one hand with distance and with factors such as the effects of topography (mountains, rivers) on travel time on the other hand. Below we briefly review how economists from all three traditions of thought have accommodated considerations of spaces and places.

Neo liberal thinking was dominant from the 1980s until the recent economic crisis. For this model a key objective of economic policy is to "get the prices right". This means limiting the effect of subsidies, regulations and taxes so that the true market price of land, labour, goods and services can be set free. When correct price signals are sent the *invisible hand* will be most effective and resources will be efficiently allocated. The ideal of perfect competition is used as a compass to guide policy measures. Yet space means introducing a friction of distance. There cannot be perfect competition over space because some places are closer to the market, to labour, to information and to usable land than others. This produces imperfect competition which affects prices in ways that cannot easily be modelled by micro economic analysis and regression equations.

Economic geographers or spatial economists such as Von Thunen, Weber and Christaller developed early LED models to explain why firms locate in certain places and how distance means different types of economic activities are clustered or arranged in concentric circles around the core of an urban centre. Or how markets have hexagonal shapes and are nested, like Russian dolls, in a hierarchical order (for example the local market for perishable goods or for FM radio stations are nested within larger markets for nationally distributed food or for national media channels. These attempts to explain the spatial manifestation of economic activity were largely ignored by mainstream neo liberal economists and policy makers because it was difficult to apply microeconomic modelling and regression analysis to them.[14]

A different type of spatial economics emerged within the Keynesian tradition. This includes what Krugman refers to as 'high development theory' and a separate but connected set of ideas known as 'dependency theory'. Both were influential in development thinking and in LED models applied in development policy between the 1950s and 1980s. 'High development theory' assumes economic activity within a locality creates benefits (known as pecuniary externalities) to other economic activity in that locality. However the amount and type of benefit will depend on the type of economic activity. For example 'backward linkages' are created if investment in the production of a particular good or service creates demand for local producers of inputs for the production process. This is not always the case. For example apart from labour, an export-oriented mineral mine may not require any locally produced services or goods. Dependency theory highlights geo-economic centres and peripheries and argues that if a locality in the periphery prematurely opens up trade with the centre this creates a situation in which the centre systematically underdevelops the periphery.[15] This is because, for example, exporting raw agricultural produce rather than processing it within the locality weakens local economic integration and instead inserts the local economy within the global economy under worsening terms of trade. The policy response was to limit and control trade with measures such as import substitution and local protectionism. Incidentally the discussions about *Mainstream* vs. *Locally driven* LED echo these earlier debates.

There is value in Marxism as an analytical tool – yet it is also largely spatially blind. The labour theory of value describes how capital is accumulated by the extraction of the surplus value from the production process and that this process tends towards growing polarisation and inequalities as a *necessary* part of the process of capitalist growth (Marxism does not admit the notion of

[14] Krugman. (1995) *Development, Geography and Economic Theory*. United States of America: MIT Press.

[15] Prebisch (1950), The Economic Development of Latin America and Its Principal Problems (New York: United Nations, 1950)…. See also Frank (1967) Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. Monthly Review Press.

sustainable and equitable growth). Scholars have linked the process of capital accumulation with the locality and its specific institutional qualities and political culture. This helps to explain how factors such as the strength or weakness of trade union movements, or the level of education of workers, can affect LED. It also helps an appreciation of who benefits and who loses in each policy option.[16] In conclusion, whilst economics has a problem with space there are notable exceptions and in some forms of LED have been around for a long time.

Further resources on LED

Pike, Rodriguez-Pose, Tomaney (2007) What Kind of Local and Regional Development and for Whom? Regional Studies vol 41,9, pp 1253-1269, December 2007. Routledge. New York

Potter, J. et al. (2012), Clean-Tech Clustering as an Engine for Local Development: The Negev Region,
Israel, OECD Local Economic and Employment Development (LEED) Working Papers, 2012/11, OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k98p4wm6kmv-en

Bond, Platz and Magnusson (2012) Financing small-scale infrastructure investments in developing
countries UN DESA working paper 114. United Nations, New York

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Success: Statecraft in the South. New York: Palgrave.

Government of South Africa. National Framework for Local Economic Development 2006-2011.
Tomany (2010) Place Based Approaches to Regional Development: Global Trends and Australian Implications. A report for the Australian Business Foundation.

OECD resources
http://www.oecd.org/cfe/leedprogrammelocaleconomicandemploymentdevelopment/leedtrentocentreitaly.htm

World Bank resources
http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTURBANDEVELOPMENT/EXTLED/0,,contentMDK:20196572~menuPK:402644~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:341139,00.html

ILO resources
http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/employment-°©-promotion/local-°©-economic-°©-development/lang-°©--°©-
en/index.htm

Global LED portal
http://www.ledknowledge.org/

[16] Harvey, D. (2006) *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a theory of uneven geographical development*. London: Verso Books…. See also Massey D (1995) *Spatial Divisions of Labor: Social Structures and the Geography of Production (2nd edition)*. Malaysia: Routledge.