

## **THE DIFFICULTIES OF RETAIL MARKETING IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

**Dindayal Chaudhary\*, Dr. Ashutosh Shukla**

\*Research Scholar, Dept. Of. Management, CMJ University, Jorabat, Meghalaya, India.  
Research Guide, Dept. Of. Management, CMJ University, Jorabat, Meghalaya, India.

*Email: talksmart87@gmail.com*

---

### **ABSTRACT**

The goal of exploring these disparities between urban and rural marketing is what motivated the selection of such a broad subject. India is a large country with a diverse population that is split between rural and urban areas, necessitating a tailored marketing approach that takes into account these distinct demographic and geographic differences. In light of the many challenges and possibilities facing retailers in both rural and urban areas, we decided to focus on this particular area of study. There are many facets of marketing management that fall under the purview of retail marketing. Having started out as a customer-centric field of study, retail marketing has evolved into one of the most important subfields of management studies at institutions of higher education around the world.

**Keywords:** *Retail Marketing, Urban Areas, Comparative, Analysis.*

---

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Retail marketing has been shown to be an essential part of many modern businesses around the world. The fact that major retailers like Walmart, K-Mart, and Amazon are devoting about seven percent of their total promotional budget to retail marketing demonstrates the growing significance of this field in the modern business environment. The varying impressions that modern retail's myriad formats leave on their respective clientele have led to the term "retail" being coined by several experts in marketing management. Customers in India's rural areas, for example, have the mindset that products sold online or via other electronic mediums can't be trusted because they can't be tried before purchase, while customers in India's urban areas have the opposite mindset and prefer shopping and browsing online.

Many major corporations, including PepsiCo, Coca-Cola, HSBC, Max New York Life Insurance, and others, have hired private agencies and research organizations to help them create a model for their retail markets and gain insight into the shopping preferences of consumers in different parts of the world through the study of retail marketing. It is becoming increasingly difficult for these corporations to reach its customers in different parts of the world due to different requirements and preferences for retail formats brought about by the rapid transition in retail formats over the past 1.5 decades.

Because of the pervasive influence of the "Digital Revolution" on every sector of the global economy, the very definition of "business" has shifted. Due to this, the concept of "Electronic Retailing" was born, marking a radical shift in one of the business world's most fundamental facets: retail. Electronic retailing and marketing via electronic means are discussed in greater depth later in the thesis, but customer retention is the top priority for any retail marketer due to customers' shifting priorities in how they prefer to transact business.

Consumers living in densely populated areas are increasingly turning to the internet for both their shopping and their product research needs, which has resulted in the rise of e-commerce platforms such as Amazon, Snapdeal, and Flipkart. These businesses have amassed enormous fortunes as a direct result of this trend. In contrast, traditional brick-and-mortar establishments continue to have a high level of success in India's rural areas, which are frequented by about 70% of the country's total

population. This is because rural areas tend to be less urbanized than other parts of the country. Because of this, prominent players in the e-commerce business have finally begun to reach these markets, where they seek to convince customers to switch their buying habits from brick-and-mortar establishments to those that are available online.

The idea of retail marketing has become so globally accepted that a company in any country can sell its products to consumers in any other country with relative ease. In response to the internet's ability to reach and interact with customers all over the world, a new field of study called "Digital Retail Marketing" has emerged. Successful implementation of this tool can be seen in the United States, France, Germany, and Japan; other developing countries, most notably China, have been following the same model.

Many major corporations, including PepsiCo, Coca-Cola, HSBC, Max New York Life Insurance, and others, have hired private agencies and research organizations to help them create a model for their retail markets and gain insight into the shopping preferences of consumers in different parts of the world through the study of retail marketing. It is becoming increasingly difficult for these corporations to reach its customers in different parts of the world due to different requirements and preferences for retail formats brought about by the rapid transition in retail formats over the past 1.5 decades.

The idea of retail marketing has become so globally accepted that a company in any country can sell its products to consumers in any other country with relative ease. In response to the internet's ability to reach and interact with customers all over the world, a new field of study called "Digital Retail Marketing" has emerged. Successful implementation of this tool can be seen in the United States, France, Germany, and Japan; other developing countries, most notably China, have been following the same model.

Understanding the customer's wants and needs is the first step in retail marketing, which ultimately aims to make a profit by providing a service or product that the customer values. Many people conflate retail marketing with retailing, but the latter is a seller-centric business model. Everything that is done solely with the intention of making a sale to a consumer rather than with the intention of

learning about and meeting that consumer's specific demands is considered retailing. Because of this, it is reasonable to conclude that retail marketing came before retailing.

Due to the difficulty and lengthiness of the process involved in determining a customer's wants and needs, the field of Retail Marketing was developed. Customers' tastes and preferences have evolved over time, and modern consumers are savvier than ever before about the wide range of options available to them. The high reach of media and internet in the modern world means that customers are not only informed about the various products and services available, but also about the latest trends and fashion in the market; as a result, customers cannot be misinformed about anything, which has made retail marketing a further difficult task.

Seventy percent of India's population lives in rural areas, so this population of more than 85 crores has always been a target region for any retailer. This presents a unique challenge for retail marketers, but also presents a number of opportunities. Many of India's largest corporations, including Procter & Gamble, Hindustan Unilever Limited, Dabur India, the Indian Tobacco Company, etc., see greater success in the country's rural areas than in the country's urban centres.

In order to encourage sales to rural areas, where consumers may be put off by the higher price of bulk packaging, Procter & Gamble began selling shampoo and detergent in more convenient and affordable pouches. Many other businesses, including Hindustan Unilever Ltd., have seen success after adopting similar product-focused strategies. Whether in a developed country or a developing one like India or China, urban retail markets are always going to be the most common type of market.

## **2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

**Karine, H. A. J. I. (2021)** In today's global economy, e-commerce is crucial. With the proliferation of the Internet and other forms of ICT, it is projected that 2017's global e-commerce volume was \$29 trillion USD and will continue to rise. E-commerce is seen as a way to promote rapid, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, raising living standards, and reducing poverty by many countries, including the BRICS nations of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. In order to combat poverty, this essay explores areas where the BRICS countries may work together to advance e-

commerce throughout rural and distant locations. This report examines the current landscape of e-commerce development in rural and distant locations across the BRICS countries, including examples of public and private initiatives to facilitate this growth. The essay also explains the benefits of e-commerce for those who reside in less-populated places. In addition, it assesses the dangers and difficulties that already exist. The essay concludes that although BRICS countries' e-commerce is developing rapidly and creating enormous prospects, there are still problems with uneven e-commerce across regions and a lack of BRICS cooperation in this area.

**Saber, M., & Weber, A. (2019)** Many people believe supermarkets to be more environmentally friendly than discount retailers, which are sometimes criticized for their low prices and lack of customer service. So, this article aims to find out if there are significant differences between supermarkets and discounters in their sustainability messaging.

**Holbrook and Addis (2001)**, the desire for organized retail forms among consumers in Irish rural marketplaces has significantly increased over the past decade. Customers have always preferred to purchase things from unorganized vendors despite the marketplaces in Ireland remaining dispersed and disorganized ever since Ireland became independent from the United Kingdom. This particular trend continued for a number of years, during which time retailers were also able to generate goods margins as a direct result of it. However, eventually, as a result of the entry of global organized retail giants, the trend started changing, and customers began preferring to purchase goods and services from organized retailers. As a direct result of this procedure, shopkeepers began advertising and selling their wares through organized retail establishments, and buyers welcomed this development with open arms. This is a pattern that has been spotted not only in Ireland but also in a variety of other countries all around the world.

**Mc Kinsey (2000)** talks about how other experts have identified similar and other difficulties in marketing goods and services in rural areas, such as the low level of literacy, the seasonal nature of demand, transportation difficulties, distribution issues, communication difficulties, traditional ways of life, purchasing decisions, promotional media, and cultural norms. His research also showed that rural marketing is an emerging field with considerable unrealized potential because it is still in its infancy. He added that market research is a crucial area to focus on when dealing with such regions.

He added that in rural areas, the price elasticity of demand is particularly high, making it all the more important to reduce prices and the constraints they impose.

**Quester, P. G., and Cooksey, R. W. (2019)** argued that contemporary retail marketing methods are superior to their more traditional predecessors. Whether in a major city or a small town, retail markets around the world are undergoing tremendous transformation. With the passage of time, the gaps between rural and urban retail markets are narrowing, and all rural and semi-urban retail markets are on their way to modernize completely in the coming few decades. This is why retail marketing experts and market players today are more in favor of cutting-edge retail marketing strategies than archaic ones. This retail marketing approach is sweeping the world and is dramatically altering the retail landscape in suburban and exurban areas. Customers have responded positively to this strategy, which means it must be working.

**Yip (2018)**, a company's investment in retail marketing directly affects the effectiveness of most marketing tools and techniques. In recent decades, it has become common practice for major retailers around the world to devote between twenty and twenty-five percent of their total revenue to retail marketing. This is widely regarded as a key factor in the success of these companies, although some contemporary retail marketing experts dispute this view and instead place greater emphasis on the importance of customers' perceptions and satisfaction. Unilever, the largest consumer goods (FCMG) company in the world, spent more than any other company in the world on retail marketing tools and techniques, exceeding their annual retail marketing budget by nearly a million dollars.

**Agarwal, S., and Ramaswami, S. N. (2017)** have been conducted to determine the characteristics of customer demand for goods sold in both organized and unorganized retail outlets. The results show that the vast majority of customers are resistant to shopping at different types of stores. That is, the customer who is used to purchasing goods from unorganized retail outlets may never approach an organized retail outlet, something that requires a different kind of retail strategy altogether, and this is what most of the major retail conglomerates around the world are doing. These retail conglomerates have achieved unprecedented levels of success on both the national and international stages by responding to shifts in consumer preferences and adapting their retail marketing approaches accordingly. Retail giants like Walmart are responding to the demands of the modern

business climate and customers by adopting a differentiated strategy that allows them to meet the unique wants and needs of their customers in both rural and urban areas.

### **3. GENERAL RETAIL MARKETING CONCEPTS**

Various management specialists have researched retail marketing, and each has come to a unique understanding of and working definition for the field. The first step in retail marketing, which is focused on the customer, is to learn more about their wants and needs. It has always been a challenging and complex task to fully grasp the needs of a customer, which is why this field of study was developed. Different academics and management experts have primarily viewed retail marketing through the lenses of a discipline, a tool, and a function. Let's talk about these specifics of retail marketing in greater depth so you can grasp the whole picture.

- Methods of Studying Retail Marketing
- The Art of Spotting Market Trends
- Establishing a Clear Understanding of the Buyers' Needs and Requirements
- The Development of Appropriate Retail Marketing Instruments
- The Role of Retail Marketing in the Process
- The Role of Retail Marketing in the Company

#### **Some Of the Factors That Influence Retail Marketing**

Before addressing a consumer, a retail marketer of any kind is required to address a number of important considerations; these considerations can be categorized as follows:

##### **Preferences of the Customers**

It is imperative for a retail marketer to ensure that he conducts a comprehensive analysis upon the predominant tastes and preferences of any customer before approaching that customer. It is extremely important for any retail marketer to understand the needs and requirements of any customer before approaching that customer.

##### **Revenue from Customers**

The amount of money that a customer brings in each month is the primary aspect that determines how much money the customer allocates to their budget. This is because a customer can only purchase a given item if it is affordable within his financial constraints. Before addressing a potential client, a retail marketer has the responsibility of making certain that he has adequate background information regarding that client's income.

### **The Domain of the Customer**

Any retail marketer who wants to be successful needs to be extremely selective and careful when designing and applying tools and techniques that can be used in the best manner possible in any selective region. This means that a retail marketer cannot use a universal approach in applying the same tools and techniques in different territories. Instead, a retail marketer must design and apply tools and techniques that can be used in the best manner possible in any selective region.

### **The Current Status of The Economy**

When the economy of a country is developed, there is unquestionably a greater preference for organized and electronic forms of retailing, and the retail marketer plans and executes his strategies in accordance with this preference. Retail marketing strategies are heavily influenced by the state of the economy of any country. For example, the retail marketers for any company in countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany use an entirely different retail marketing strategy.

### **Rules And Regulations Imposed by The Government**

The numerous guidelines and laws that are enforced by the government are also an important factor that is considered when formulating retail marketing tactics. The governments of nations such as Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom, amongst others, liberalized their retail markets by 100% by allowing foreign direct investment in all formats of retail, whether single-brand retail or the multi-brand retail.

## **Education and Awareness for the Consumers**

Keeping in mind the level of consumer education and awareness is one of the most essential considerations that has to be made while pursuing the strategy of retail marketing as it is one of the most critical variables that need to be considered. Customers with varying degrees of awareness and education are persuaded in a variety of ways, and as a result, the retail marketer needs to devise a variety of strategies for dealing with different types of customers in order to be successful. Retail marketing is a tool for first persuading the customer and then selling the product to the customer.

## **4. TOOLS FOR RETAIL MARKETING THAT ARE COMMON IN INDIA**

A few of the most popular retail marketing strategies in India are:

### **Advertising Through a Digital Platform**

Retail marketers in India mostly employ television, radio, the internet, and other electronic media to raise product awareness among potential buyers. Almost all retail marketers use electronic media to inform clients about the product they are trying to sell because of the medium's widespread reach and appeal. Companies like Unilever, Procter & Gamble, Videocon, Dabur Ltd., etc., that are among India's most successful depend significantly on electronic media to communicate with their many potential clients.

### **Printed-Media-Based Advertising**

Just as the electronic media has a wide reach across the country, so too does the print media. Various types of print media, including newspapers, magazines, local dailies, journals, etc., are favoured by retail marketers. Advertising through newspapers and magazines is a frequent way for stores to contact consumers.

### **Online Retailing, or Internet Retailing**

Marketing products and services in the modern era is all about dominating the web, which is why all businesses prioritize online channels above the more traditional ones listed above. In the past fifteen years, e-commerce and other forms of electronic retail marketing have completely reworked the

foundations of the retail marketing industry, and this trend is only likely to accelerate and spread into previously unreached regions. Almost all businesses today promote and sell their wares on online marketplaces like Amazon, Snapdeal, Flipkart, etc., and many consumers prefer to shop for and buy a wide range of items and services in this way as a result of the low prices and ease of use. In addition to the growth of e-commerce, customer feedback and endorsements on social media have had a significant impact on the promotion and sales of a wide range of products and services.

### **Promotion of a Retail Business through Customer Recommendations**

Even though word of mouth advertising is one of the oldest and most basic types of promotion, it is still a useful retail marketing strategy in the modern world. This retail marketing tactic is widely used because it costs nothing to implement and brings in substantial money while helping businesses keep their existing clientele. Companies like Old Spice, etc., that haven't promoted their products in a long time are doing well in the markets now because their products are well-liked and widely sought for. PepsiCo and Coke are two of many examples of firms that have not altered the quality or composition of their products but have yet expanded their market share through word-of-mouth advertising.

### **Offers, Premiums, And Discounts as A Retail Marketing Strategy**

Offers, premiums, and discounts (collectively referred to as sales promotion) are a powerful retail marketing tool that all businesses, but especially FMCG businesses, are using to bring in and keep customers. Amazon, the e-commerce behemoth, has made a killing with this strategy and is widely regarded as the industry leader. Tools like sales promotion have always added as a catalyst in this regard, and personal selling has also played a crucial role, because people in a populous country like India are more likely to be conservative and choose only those products and services they can try before they buy.

## **5. METHODS USED BY SOME PROMINENT RETAILERS IN MARKETING**

After establishing that retail marketing is crucial for connecting with consumers, meeting their demands, and making a profit, we now turn our attention to the retail marketing strategies of a few well-known Indian and international businesses.

### **Brands like Procter & Gamble**

For many years, Procter & Gamble (P&G) has been a well-known FMCG company in India. Given P&G's extensive product catalog, the company has employed a wide variety of retail marketing approaches. This company has been very successful in designing its retail marketing tools and applying them in the best possible manner, which is the sole reason for the high level of customer satisfaction the company enjoys. Procter & Gamble's success in attracting and retaining customers worldwide can be attributed to the fact that the company tailors its retail marketing strategies to the specific needs of each region.

This FMCG behemoth employs a wide range of strategies, including the sale of its commodities in bulk in urban areas due to the higher income and affordability of the customers, and the sale of the same commodity in small quantities using sachets and pouches in rural regions due to the reluctance of the customers to purchase those goods in large quantities. Additionally, because of India's vast population and economic potential, Procter & Gamble has kept a solid network of unorganized retailers in the country's rural areas.

### **Tobacco Company of India, Limited**

The Indian Tobacco Company is well-known for its innovative approaches to retail marketing. Tobacco, Indian Tobacco Company's biggest cash cow, is marketed and sold through unorganized retail outlets all over India, despite the fact that in today's retail world companies place a premium on organized, electronic, and innovative modes of retailing. Alongside this, ITC has placed a heavy emphasis on public relations as a retail marketing tool, using it to educate consumers about the company's products while also making philanthropic contributions to improve local communities. Because of this, customers have come to trust the company, making it one of India's most prosperous businesses. It now has branches in a number of other countries as well.

### **The Xiaomi Company**

As one of the most rapidly expanding smartphone companies, Xiaomi Corporation serves more than 90 million customers, the vast majority of whom are located in Southeast Asia. When other

smartphone makers and IT companies have prioritized opening their own retail outlets in the form of specialty stores, exclusive stores, etc., this smartphone manufacturer instead opted for the platform of electronic retailing and retail marketing to raise awareness of its products and facilitate easy sales.

Xiaomi's products are readily available and listed on electronic retail giants like Amazon, Flipkart, Snapdeal, E-Bay, Alibaba, and so on, where they can be purchased at competitive prices and equipped with the latest features; this has made the task of purchasing the devices of one's choice and paying for them a breeze for customers. Since this retail marketing strategy has proven to be so successful, many other businesses have adopted similar practices to increase product awareness and sales.

## **6. ISSUES, ADVANTAGES, PROSPECTS AND THE FUTURE OF RETAIL MARKETING**

There are a number of benefits that any retail marketer can reap from studying retail marketing, but there are also a number of challenges that must be overcome. In this article, we'll talk about the ups and downs of working in retail marketing, including the difficulties faced and opportunities presented.

### **Competition In Retail Marketing**

As a discipline, retail marketing presents a number of difficulties for businesses; a retail marketer must overcome a number of challenges on the way to his objective, making it all the more important for him to get ready for the ordeal in advance. Most of the difficulties that a retail marketer encounters can be broken down into the following categories:

### **The Introduction of Cutting-Edge Products to the Market**

In a field as rapidly evolving as retail marketing, staying abreast of the latest trends is crucial for success. Given that not all businesses are solvent and large enough to afford the costs associated with adopting new and innovative methods of operation, this presents a significant obstacle for the retail industry as a whole.

### **Adapting to the Wide Range of Consumer Preferences**

Customers' tastes and preferences evolve over time, making it difficult for retail marketers to consistently deliver products that meet shoppers' demands. This is why many stores lose customers due to obsolete goods and services; consequently, retail marketers today begin the process of determining customer needs far in advance and also keep following other relevant tools such as customer feedback and follow up just to guarantee that the needs of the customers are known in advance. In many developed countries, where consumers' tastes and preferences evolve at a dizzying pace, this is a major headache for businesses.

### **Policy Shifts in The Government's Retail Sector**

The retail industry is no exception to the rule when it comes to being impacted by laws and policies enacted by governments worldwide. Every country has its own set of laws and regulations, and any company doing business (or hoping to do business) there must follow those laws and regulations. For instance, in 2011 the government of India announced that it would not allow any foreign direct investment in the retail sector, dashing the hopes of numerous multinational corporations like Wal-Mart, K-Mart, etc., which had been looking to India as a potential new market. The small players in the Indian retail market, which relied heavily on cash transactions, were also hit hard by the government's policy of cashless transactions.

### **Prospects for Retailing Around the World**

Retail marketers have to keep up with all the changes that are taking place in the retail industry on a global scale as a result of intense international competition, which can be a significant challenge for any company. It can be challenging for retail marketers to meet the challenges of international markets when their budgets and retail marketing strategies differ from those of their competitors. In the face of competition from retail behemoths like Amazon, Kmart, Tesco, etc., smaller companies in the same market often find themselves unable to implement the same retail marketing strategy due to resource limitations.

### **Greater Consumer Knowledge**

Increased consumer education and awareness has also created significant difficulties for the various market participants. Consumers today are far savvier than their forebears were; they are well-versed in their rights, and it is extremely challenging for a business to sell such customers inferior and questionable products. Retail marketers now face an increasingly educated and demanding customer base, forcing them to devise ever-more-creative strategies in order to meet their needs. Retail marketers are under more pressure than ever before because modern consumers are so well-informed thanks to the proliferation of online resources.

### **Potential and Limitations of Retail Marketing**

The primary goal of any business is to enter markets where there is a good chance of making a profit. Using retail marketing is a great way for businesses to reach out to potentially lucrative new markets. It is crucial for the retail marketer to analyze the various markets available in various countries and territories and select the ones that are most promising and profitable. Assuming excellent retail marketing practices are followed, this is feasible.

### **Capacity to Serve Variable Markets**

Every population or market is made up of subsets or sections, and for a business to thrive, it's crucial that it cater to each of these distinct groups and meet their individual needs. Because of the specialized nature of retail marketing, it is able to meet the needs of each market segment independently, which can help a business maximize its potential and more easily accomplish its objectives.

## **7. CONCLUSION**

A common misunderstanding is that retailing is the same thing as the study of retail marketing. Since the primary goal of any retailer is to make a certain amount of money within a certain amount of time, and since retailing is a sales-oriented function that begins with the retailer's needs, this is the primary focus of any retail operation. Only after considering retail marketing and identifying the target audience and their preferences can the next phase of business, retailing, begin. Studies in

management classify retailing under the sales function.

In order to initiate and complete a sale with a customer, retailers must take certain steps. These steps may include accepting payment in cash or via an electronic payment system, depending on the customer's preference and the retailer's or government's policies. Also included in this process is the provision of physical or digital evidence of the transaction, such evidence typically taking the shape of a bill serving as proof of the transaction. So, these are all things that can be considered part of retailing.

Retail marketing, on the other hand, came before it and entailed carrying out a wide range of activities focused on learning about and meeting customers' needs in the most efficient way possible. Consumers are the focal point of retail marketing, which is not a sales-driven function like retailing. The primary goal of retail marketing is not to generate sales or meet the revenue targets of the organization, but rather to predict what customers want and need, their expectations, their level of awareness, their income, the amount they are willing to pay for any product or service, and the channels through which they prefer to make purchases.

## REFERENCES

1. Karine, H. A. J. I. (2021). E-commerce development in rural and remote areas of BRICS countries. *Journal of Integrative Agriculture*, 20(4), 979-997.
2. Saber, M., & Weber, A. (2019). How do supermarkets and discounters communicate about sustainability? A comparative analysis of sustainability reports and in-store communication. *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 47(11), 1181-1202.
3. Abu-Lughod, Lila (2000) The objects of soap opera: Egyptian television and the cultural politics of modernity. In Kelly Askew and Richard Wilk (eds) *The Anthropology of Media: A Reader*. Blackwells, Oxford. 376–393. (Reprinted from *Public Culture* 5 (3), 1993, 493–513.)
4. Allen, A. (2001) Environmental planning and management of the peri-urban interface. Keynote paper presented to the conference: Rural–urban Encounters: Managing the Environment of the Peri-urban Interface. Development Planning Unit, University College London, 9–10 November 2001.

5. Anonymous (2002) Information and communication technologies (ICTs). *The Courier* 192 (May–June), 33.
6. Bakker K. (2003) Archipelagos and networks: urbanization and water privatization in the South. *The Geographical Journal*, 169 (4), 328–341.
7. Beall, J. (2002) Living in the present, investing in the future – household security among the poor. In C. Rakodi with T. Lloyd-Jones (eds) *Urban Livelihoods: a People-Centred Approach to Reducing Poverty*. Earthscan, London. 71–87.
8. Chan, K. W. and Zhang, L. (1999) The Hukou system and rural–urban migration in China: processes and changes. *China Quarterly* 160, 818–855.
9. Dayaratne, Ranjith and Samarawickrama, Raja (2001) Empowering Communities in Managing Rural Urban Encounters: The Concepts and Practices of the Housing and Community Development Program in the Peri-Urban areas of Colombo. Paper prepared for the conference: Rural–urban Encounters: Managing the Environment of the Peri-urban Interface. Development Planning Unit, University College London, 9–10 November.
10. Englund, Harri (2002) The village in the city, the city in the village; migrants and Lilongwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28 (1), 137–154.
11. Fang, S., Fang, C. and Zhang, X. (2003) Agricultural research and urban poverty: the case of China. *World Development* 31 (4), 733–741.
12. Hodder, R. (2000) *Development Geography*. Routledge, London.