

# DEVELOPMENT UNDER THIRD WORLD CONDITIONS: THE SOUTH AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

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*Alhoewel voor die hand liggend dat daar altyd ruimte vir verbetering sal wees, in sommige opsigte meer as in ander, kan daar oor die algemeen tot die slotsom gekom word dat aansienlike vooruitgang met die ontwikkeling van die nasionale state gemaak is, veral as dit vanuit 'n Derde Wêreld-oogpunt beskou word.*

*Terwyl daar selfs in Suid-Afrika groot meningsverskil bestaan omtrent doelstel-*

*lings aangaande die konstitusionele ontwikkeling van die nasionale state, ly dit geen twyfel dat, met die devolusie van administrasie vanaf die sentrale regering na die tradisionele gebiede, hierdie gebiede ontwikkelingsgewys baie gebaat het nie.*

*'n Nuwe benadering tot streekontwikkeling wat oor geografiese skeidings heen strek, en geweldig verbeterde desentra-*

*lisasie-prikkels sal sekerlik daartoe bydra dat die ontwikkelingstempo in die nasionale state verhoog word.*

*Hoewel hierdie artikel nie geskilpunte aangaande die verhoging van die lewenstandaard onder die mense in hierdie gebiede goedmaak of weerlê nie, bestaan daar egter afdoende bewys dat merkbare vooruitgang gemaak is op die terrein van onderwys, gesondheid en sosiale welsyn.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper, in the first place, is concerned with "development", a term which is easily confused with "growth" which is commonly assumed to refer only to an increase in size. In this connection John Friedmann and Mike Douglas (1978) are of the opinion that "... the contours of a possible new paradigm are beginning to emerge. Its primary objective is no longer economic growth but social development, with focus on specific human needs. According to this paradigm, development must be fitted to ecological constraints; priority attention (in agrarian economies) must be given to rural development; ... Planning, therefore, will have to be based on qualitative judgements as much as on quantitative techniques ..."

Potgieter (1982) is also of the opinion that the term "development" should be distinguished from the term "growth" which merely refers to the expansion of a system in one or more directions without a change in its structure. "Development", according to Potgieter, also means the realization of the creative potential inherent in the community structure, a process which is the result of growth over an extended period in various directions, resulting in a series of consecutive structural transformations of the community system.

In this paper, therefore, an attempt is made to consider development more comprehensively than simply in economic terms.

The reference to Third World condi-

tions, particularly in the South African context, gives rise to several questions: The first question concerns a definition of the term "Third World", and the second concerns the appropriateness of reference to South Africa as a Third World country, either partly or wholly.

Although there is no clear cut definition of the term "Third World" when used in connection with specific countries or parts thereof, the distinction between the "Third World" and other countries is usually based on relative wealth or poverty, and the relative degree of development or under-development.

However, there are also qualitative differences between the so-called Third World and other countries: There are

differences in social organization and culture, contrasting life-styles, and different perceptions of the world around us. These differences are reflected, inter alia, in population growth rates, per-capita income, levels of education and traditional systems of land tenure and government.

It is argued that a certain section of the South African community qualifies for the distinction of being part of the Third World. A number of reasons are apparent from the following statistics, which reflect the relative position of the four main population groups in terms of population numbers, levels of urbanization, population growth rates and literacy.

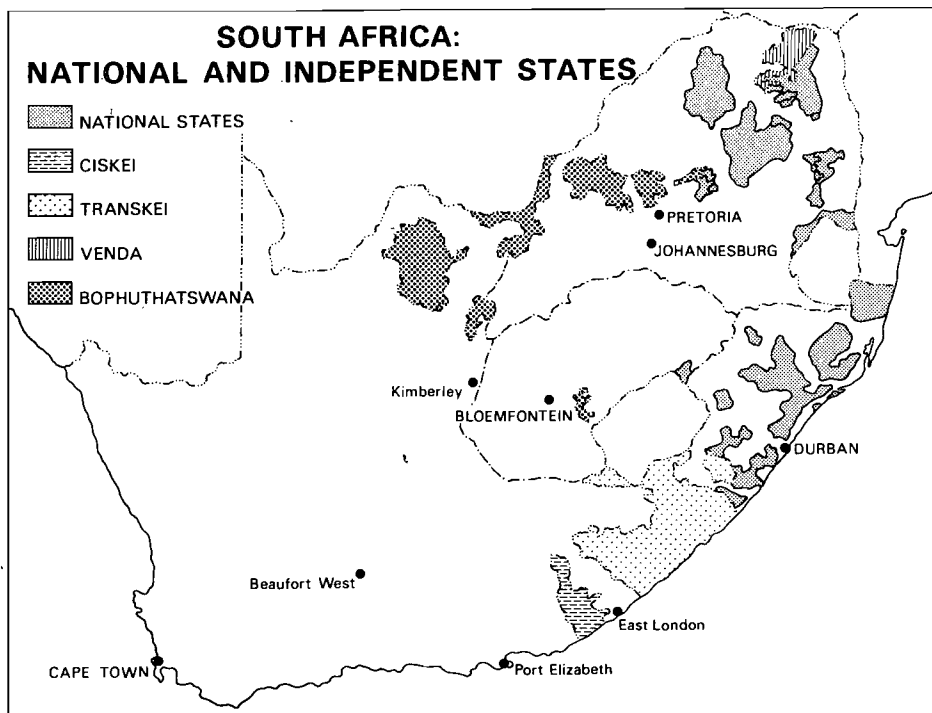


Table 1. *South Africa\*: Population figures of the Main Groups: Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Blacks. 1980*  
(X 1 000)

Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	Total
4 528	2 612	821	21 555	29 516

\*Including the national states.

Table 2. *South Africa: Urban and Rural Population 1980*  
(X 1 000)

	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	Total
Urban	4 002 (88,4%)	2 002 (76,6%)	743 (90,5%)	7 041 (32,7%)	13 788 (46,7%)
Rural	526 (11,6%)	610 (23,4%)	78 (9,5%)	14 514 (67,3%)	15 728 (53,3%)
TOTAL	4 528	2 612	821	21 555	29 516

Table 3. *South Africa: Natural Population Growth of Main Groups. 1970-1980*

Whites	0,78% per annum
Coloureds	1,80% per annum
Asians	1,76% per annum
Blacks	2,80% per annum

According to a recent survey only 66,9% of all South African Blacks outside their traditional areas regarded themselves as literate, compared with 92,4% of the Asians, 84,9% of the Coloureds and 99,2% of the Whites.

Based on these statistics and a number of other considerations, the Black population of South Africa, inside and outside their traditional areas, but particularly those inside their traditional areas, are regarded as being representative of the Third World in South Africa. Certain traditions and customs of the Blacks in their traditional areas, for example those relating to land tenure and tribal government, would seem to confirm this conclusion.

The importance of the distinction between the Third World component is twofold:

- Development techniques and strategies must of necessity take cognizance of factors and conditions which might have a material influence on the success or otherwise of such development. This paper also attempts to analyse progress made with de-

velopment in the past and possible reasons for certain failures.

- An assessment of achievements with development in underdeveloped areas in South Africa and elsewhere can only be disappointing and also grossly inaccurate should criteria of development applicable to developed and even developing countries and regions be applied.

For the sake of clarity, mention should be made of the term "national states" which can be substituted for the term "traditional Black areas". Special mention should also be made of four of these states, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (also referred to as

the TBVC countries or states) which, similar to the so-called LBS countries (Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland) which were granted their independence by Britain, have become independent from the Republic of South Africa (RSA). The other self-governing states are all in different stages of the process towards full independence. Henceforth the TBVC countries and other national states will simply be referred to as "national states".

This paper then is concerned mainly with development efforts, achievements and failures in the national states with a total population of almost 11,4 million people in 1980, (38,7% of the total population of the RSA and all the national states combined).

## 2. GROWTH

### 2.1 Population

When considering growth of the Third World component of South Africa, it is certainly appropriate to consider, first of all, aspects of population change and, secondly, various indicators of economic growth.

Between 1904 and 1980 the South African population increased from 5,2 million to 29,5 million. During the same period the Black population component increased from 67,4% to 73,0%. This ratio is expected to increase further to approximately 77,2% by 2020.

The total Black population in 1980 was 21,6 million compared to 15,9 million in 1970, an increase of 35,8% or 3,1% p.a. The geographical distribution of the de facto Black population in 1970 and 1980 was as follows:

Table 4. *Geographical distribution of the Black population*

	1970	1980	Increase %
The TBVC countries	3,61	4,63 million	28,2
Other traditional areas (National States)	3,82	6,80 million	78,0
The remainder of South Africa	8,49	10,12 million	19,2
TOTAL	15,92	21,55	35,4

From the above figures it appears that the increase in the de facto population of the traditional areas (all national states including the TBVC countries) between 1970 and 1980 was from 7,43 million to 11,43 million, an increase of 53,8%, compared with 19,2% for the rest of the RSA. The increase in the total Black population during the same period was 35,4%. In 1980 53,0% of all Blacks were resident in the national states compared with 46,7% in 1970.

## 2.2 Employment

The considerable increase in the Black population in the decade of 1970 to 1980 (53,8% in the national states and 19,2% in the rest of the RSA) went hand in hand with an average annual increase of 200 000 economically active persons in the country as a whole.

In spite of this large number of new jobs per year it is apparently not sufficient to accommodate all those entering the labour market.

Table 5 reflects an estimate of the economically active population for the RSA including all the national states.

According to the 1980 census figures, however, the level of economic activity in the TBVC countries and other states was much lower than in the rest of the RSA: 23,4% and 15,8% respectively, compared to 44,2%, the average being 31,2%.

As reflected in Table 6 the average annual increase in the supply and demand of labour in the national states during 1973 to 1975 is also indicative of growth in the national states.

Despite the positive situation which is apparent from the increase in the economically active population during the period 1970 to 1980, the figures in Table 6 reflect a serious shortfall in the increase in employment in the national states. Although the position may have improved since 1975, there probably still is a considerable shortfall of employment compared to the labour supply in the national states. The inevitable consequence is that the majority of the residents of the national states are compelled to seek employment elsewhere in the remainder of the RSA.

During the period 1973-1975 36 800 persons from the national states were employed annually in the vicinity but

Table 5. *Economically active persons 1960-1980*

	1960	1970 <sup>1</sup>	1980
Whites	37,4%	40,0%	42,1%
Coloureds	36,7%	34,9%	35,5%
Asians	26,2%	28,9%	31,1%
Blacks	35,6%	34,7%	32,2%

<sup>1</sup>Estimates

Table 6. *Average annual increase in the supply and demand of labour in the national states. 1973-1975*

Geographical area	Average annual increase in the supply of labour	Average annual increase in employment	% of supply employed in national states
TBVC countries	48 700	12 518	25,7
Other National States	51 400	15 910	31,0
TOTAL	100 100	28 428	28,4

outside their own areas. This means that annually almost 35 000 (34,8%) of those entering the labour market in the national states between 1973 and 1975 had to find employment outside and further away from their traditional areas of residence, either on a temporary (or contract) or on a permanent basis.

Table 7. *Estimated number of commuters according to geographical area*

TBVC countries	213 500
Other national states	505 400
TOTAL	718 900

The estimated number of commuters in 1979 represents approximately 26% of the total of the economically active persons in 1980 as set out in Table 5 (2,77 million) compared to 36,8% which work outside but in easy reach of their own areas.

The latter figure obviously includes the recorded number of commuters and others who use more informal means of transport.

Employment, and for the same reason unemployment, is of great importance for all communities. According to Van der Merwe (1983) "gainful employment ... determines (the individual's) relationship within society at large, ... What this in fact means is that employment forms one of the basic pillars that supports the whole social framework

and fabric of any society". He continues to state that unemployment is a universal problem, even in countries of the First World, and consequently also in South Africa. He points out, however, that in South Africa "a relatively large section of the population has never been part of the formal money economy, ..."

Table 8. *Unemployment in South Africa: Black population*

June 1981	June 1982
438 000 (7,8%)*	406 000 (7,1%)*

\*Percentage of economically active Black population.  
Source: Current population survey.

According to Van der Merwe the figures in Table 8 obtained from a special "Current Population Survey" reflect much higher unemployment figures than the registered unemployment figures. Even so, the absolute level of unemployment in the case of Blacks is low compared to unemployment in most Western countries.

According to Ligthelm (1982) the average level of economic activity in the national states (19% in 1970) is low compared with the rest of South Africa (44%). The previous comment in connection with employment and economic activity in Third World situations is

relevant here: In a community where traditionally the women toiled in the fields while the men hunted and tended the livestock, generally accepted Western standards are obviously inappropriate.

Also, large numbers of contract workers who periodically spend some months at a time away from work at their traditional homes would theoretically qualify as unemployed, while such a conclusion would obviously be incorrect.

It should be noted, however, that the period from 1972 to 1975 was one of high economic growth for South Africa: an average increase in real Gross Domestic Product of 5,4% compared with 1,2% between 1975 and 1978. This could possibly mean a higher level of unemployment in the post-1975 period.

Van der Merwe (1983) concludes that "the fact remains that unemployment is on the increase and that something needs to be done about it". Van Eeden (1980) agrees that the prospects for the future are not good: It is estimated that from 1980 to 1990 the total labour force of South Africa, including the national states will increase annually with over 300 000 workers. Almost 230 000 jobs will be needed annually for Blacks alone. In the interest of the development of the national states at least 50% of these jobs have to be created in or near the areas concerned. This will at least provide jobs for those entering the market from within these areas.

### 2.3 Economic development

In 1960 the GDP of all the Black states combined (at factor cost) was only R134,6 million (2,7%), compared to almost R5 000 million for South Africa as a whole. During 1960 to 1976 the GDP of the Black states increased to almost R1 000 million or 3,6% of the GDP of South Africa as a whole. On a per capita basis the GDP of the Black states at 1970 prices increased from R42 in 1970 to R68 in 1976 (8,4% p.a.). This growth rate compares very favourably with a much lower 1,4% p.a. for the remainder of South Africa during the same period.

An analysis of the Gross National Product (GNP) reflects a much more promising situation: As a result of large numbers of workers from the national states who either commute on a regular

basis, mostly daily, or work away from their homes on a contract basis, the per capita GNP of the national states increased in real terms from R104 in 1970 to R187 in 1976 (an increase of 10,9% p.a.). The per capita GNP of the national states in 1976 compared favourably with other African states; in fact it was higher than 30 African states. An important difference, however, lies in the fact that most of these African states are less dependent on other countries for the employment of their residents. The incomes of their residents are therefore more the result of economic activity within their own borders, than is the case with South Africa's national states (1980).

### 2.4 Agriculture

Although the national states possess at least 23% of the agricultural potential of the whole of South Africa, this potential is not realized at present: In 1960 more than 80% of the total agricultural production was not aimed at the market. This proportion increased to more than 85% in 1975, which means that agriculture does not contribute towards economic development. If it is also considered that more than 60% of the workers in the Black states are employed in agriculture, it is obvious that this sector could hardly be expected to make any further net contribution to the creation of new work opportunities.

The factors which lie at the root of this problem probably are very similar to those experienced elsewhere in Africa, and other Third World countries for that matter: The communal system of land tenure and the system of tribal authorities which are traditional to the South African Black states and other African states, in certain respects are not conducive to development in Western terms.

### 2.5 Mining

Development of the mining potential of the national states is still in an exploration stage. The mining sector has also recently been subjected to considerable decreases in employment as a result of fluctuations in the world demand for platinum.

### 2.6 Industry

A government programme for the de-

centralization of manufacturing industry to the national states or their immediate environs has been in operation for more than two decades. From 31 March 1975 to March 1978 capital investment by industrialists and semi-government corporations increased at an annual average of R62 million. Employment in industry during the same period also increased, at an average rate of over 3 400 job opportunities annually. Most of the success with the decentralization programme unfortunately has been experienced in the areas of influence of the major urban and metropolitan concentrations.

According to a BENSO report (1981) the 447 small-scale industrial establishments in 1980 employed 17% of the total persons employed in industry. They contributed 14% to the total value added by industry.

In Sierra Leone small-scale industrial establishments employed 95% of the total industrial employees and contributed 43% of the industrial value added in 1974 to 1975. The corresponding percentages for Colombia were 69% and 32% (1972), and the Philippines 79% and 14% (1974) (Liedholm and Chuta, 1976, p. 13).

While the shares of small-scale industry in employment and value added were lower in Bophuthatswana, they are still significant especially since the ratio of the two shares compares favourably with that of the other countries mentioned, indicating a higher degree of efficiency.

### 2.7 The tertiary sector

According to Van Eeden (1980), commercial facilities in the national states, although quantitatively reasonably adequate, are qualitatively still much inferior to similar facilities outside these areas, with the result that in 1975 as much as 44% of the purchasing power of residents of these states (R1 327,6 million) was actually lost to areas outside. A small inflow of purchasing power resulted in 15,8% of the total Black purchasing power (R4 700 million) being spent in the national states in 1975.

It is estimated that the tertiary sector was responsible for 35 800 jobs in the national states in 1978.

Van Eeden (1980) concludes that de-

velopment in the tertiary sector to date has been unsatisfactory.

### 3. DEVELOPMENT

Having now dealt with aspects of growth, other matters which are inherent in the definition of "development" according to Friedmann and others (see par. 1) are now considered.

The Appendix at the end of this paper contains certain statistics reflecting progress in the national states with the development of the human potential of its inhabitants. Some conclusions can be drawn from these:

#### 3.1 Education

From 1975 to 1979 the number of classrooms increased almost sixfold in the case of all South African Blacks, and more than eightfold in the case of certain states.

The increase in pupils and teachers were also considerable (pupils increased by 74,3% overall) but the most significant improvement was in the pupil to teacher ratio: the average improved from 54,3 to 48,0 (11,6%) and the best from 58,5 to 51,0 (other national states) or 12,8%. (Table A1)

The current expenditure on education also increased from R182 million in 1976 to R426 million. (Table A2)

#### 3.2 Health

The 1979 figures Table A3, *inter alia* reflect the ratios of clinics per 1 000 population and the number of hospital beds per 1 000. From these it appears that the TBVC countries have a marked advantage over the other national states. This situation most probably is the result of the devolution of administration from the RSA government to the governments of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. Further improvements can obviously be expected in the TBVC countries as well as in the other states where the progress towards self-government is continuous.

Table A4 shows the increases in expenditure by different departments of the national states, excluding Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. The comparison of Works, Education, Agriculture and Forestry, Justice and Health is

Table A1.

#### Education in the national states: Number of Classrooms, Pupils and Teachers. 1975, 1979

Number of classrooms			% increase p.a.
	1975	1979	
TBVC Countries	3 784	27 114	616,5
Other national states	2 924	27 105	826,9
Rest of RSA	5 763	26 478	359,4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12 471</b>	<b>80 697</b>	<b>547,0</b>

#### Number of Pupils and Teachers and Pupils per Teacher

		1975	1979
TBVC Countries	pupils	1 200 513	1 477 563
	teachers	22 582	31 153
	pupils/teacher	53,2	47,4
Other national states	pupils	1 156 279	1 166 107
	teachers	19 773	32 636
	pupils/teacher	58,5	51,0
Rest of RSA	pupils	1 363 263	1 479 142
	teachers	26 117	32 576
	pupils/teacher	52,2	45,4
<b>TOTAL</b>	pupils	<b>3 720 055</b>	<b>4 622 812</b>
	teachers	<b>68 472</b>	<b>96 365</b>
	pupils/teacher	<b>54,3</b>	<b>48,0</b>

Table A2.

#### Current expenditure on Black education 1976-1981 R'000

	1976/1977 <sup>1</sup>	1980/1981 <sup>2</sup>
TBVC Countries	63 528	150 393
Other national states	52 774	123 111
Rest of RSA	65 805	152 905
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>182 107</b>	<b>426 409</b>

<sup>1</sup> Actual expenditure

<sup>2</sup> Preliminary figures

Table A3.

#### Health facilities Number of Clinics, Clinics/1 000 persons and beds in hospitals. 1979

TBVC Countries	clinics	401
	clinics/1 000	0,82
	hospital beds	16 037
	beds/1 000	3,28
Other national states	clinics	346
	clinics/1 000	0,59
	hospital beds	17 324
	beds/1 000	2,95
<b>TOTAL in national states:</b>	clinics	<b>747</b>
	clinics/1 000	<b>0,69</b>
	hospital beds	<b>33 361</b>
	beds/1 000	<b>3,10</b>

Table A4. *Expenditure according to development programme by various authority institutions (R'000)*  
*All national states, excluding Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.*

	Dept. of Chief Minister	Finance and Economic Affairs	Interior	Works	Education	Agriculture and Forestry	Justice	Health	Total
1976/77	6 154		30 977	102 434	63 072	21 043	3 048	36 088	762 816 <sup>1</sup>
1977/78	8 721		39 850	99 356	73 193	24 504	4 330	46 885	296 839 <sup>1</sup>
1978/79	11 071	16 598	10 937	84 622	98 176	35 417	6 097	113 998	376 916 <sup>1</sup>
1979/80	11 469	10 293	12 976	103 095	111 574	37 236	8 389	132 443	427 475
1980/81	21 808	15 240	19 998	141 254	154 211	47 469	9 938	161 450	571 368
% increase									
1976-1981	254,4	—	35,4	37,9	144,5	125,6	226,0	347,4	117,4

<sup>1</sup> Actual expenditure

significant:

- Works shows an increase of only 37,9% whereas all the others have more than doubled between 1976 and 1980, the highest being Health with 347,4%. This trend is rather encouraging, especially since physical infrastructure is usually regarded as a high priority in developing countries.
- The significant difference between expenditure on Health and Education is probably the result of a relatively more favourable situation of education in the period prior to 1976.
- The large increases in the departments of the Chief Minister and of Justice is indicative of the transfer of government authority from the RSA government to the regions and to local areas.

Increases in government employment in the national states between 1975 and 1979 (Table A6) appear to confirm the above conclusion: The TBVC countries which since 1976 have completed their constitutional development towards full autonomy show an increase of 44% in government employment, compared to only 11,1% for all the other national states. The average increase for all the states during the four years is almost 30%.

### 3.3 Land tenure

According to Jeppe (1980) increasing poverty in Third World countries has for some time now been one of the most vexing international problems. He

Table A5. *Welfare Institutions. 1979 (Children's homes, youth camps, resorts, places of safety, houses for the aged, for the blind or deaf, handicraft centres, etc)*

Institutions/persons		
TBVC Countries	number of institutions	54
	persons	5 699
Other national states	institutions	43
	persons	3 635
TOTAL	institutions	97
	persons	9 334

Table A6. *Government employment in the national states. 1975-1979*

	1975	1979	% increase
TBVC Countries	75 959	109 365	44,0
Other national states	56 967	63 312	11,1
TOTAL	132 926	172 677	29,9%

(Source: Statistical Survey of Black Development: Bureau for Economic Research, Pretoria 1980)

refers to international organizations such as the FAO of the United Nations, OECD and its section known as DAC, and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), which spend large amounts to improve food production but with little success.

A large part of the problem lies in the inability to realize the agricultural potential of Third World countries, and the question is to what extent this is influenced by traditional systems of rights in land.

According to Jeppe systems of land tenure should, apart from improving

agricultural production, also assist in improving social and political stability. In addition it should help to satisfy economic needs such as industrial development and urban development generally. Increased population and economic pressures on natural resources lead to increased pressures on traditions and conventions which regulate orderly and productive land utilization. Demands resulting from these pressures may lead to a re-assessment of the existing systems, with challenging political, social and economic consequences for the governments concerned.

Considering the fact that a large per-

centage of the residents of the national states are farmers who mainly practise subsistence agriculture, it is important that the increase of agricultural productivity, and the transfer from a subsistence to a money economy be accorded a high priority. Changes in the existing system of land tenure could and should play an important role in this development process.

Land tenure is also of particular significance in urban areas where large numbers of people live and work under conditions vastly different from those in the rural areas, and where orderly, planned development is severely hampered by constraints on land availability for use by the private and public sectors.

According to Jeppe consideration should be given to the application of one or more of the following systems in Bophuthatswana:

- Promote individual enterprise and initiative and therefore ownership rights.
- Promote enterprise and control of economic activities by the state in some form, e.g. state-controlled collective farming, etc.
- Promote traditional (communal) tribal farming along the lines of the characteristic system in Africa and the tribal areas in Bophuthatswana.

From the results of Jeppe's and other similar research, it appears that existing systems of land tenure and tribal government play an important part in the success, or rather the lack of success, with respect to development in Third World countries.

### 3.4 Urbanization and Housing

Although the urban component of the Black population increased from 12,6% in 1911 to almost 40% in 1980, until 1960 most of the process of urbanization took place outside the national states. At that time only three formal towns with a total of 2 000 conventional houses existed in the national states. This means that up to that time all or most of the residents of the national states were housed in traditional rural settlements. In 1978 the total number of urban residents of the national states totalled over 1,5 million people, an increase in the urban residents of the national states from 9,5% of all ur-

banized Blacks in the RSA to 21,5% in 1978.

In all the national states, excluding Transkei, the number of housing units in proclaimed (formal) towns increased from 126 928 in 1975 to 188 359 in 1979 (48,4%). The corresponding increase for all national states excluding the TBVC countries was from 71 981 units in 1975 to 126 446 units in 1979 (75,7%).

It is apparent from these figures that a relatively small percentage (say 10-15%) of the people residing in the national states are at present housed in a conventional manner (compare the total population of the national states, excluding the TBVC countries, of 6,80 million in 1980).

Even at 15%, and in Third World terms, the level of conventional housing in the national states with a predominantly rural population (86%) is high. Traditional housing under typical rural conditions where residential densities, generally speaking, are low and where traditional building materials usually are freely available, is acceptable and adequate in Third World conditions. Past experience, also in South Africa, has in fact proved that traditional or informal housing under these conditions is acceptable.

### 4. CONCLUSION

Although there obviously will always be room for improvement in some respects more than in others, a general conclusion is that considerable progress has been attained with the development of the national states, especially when viewed in Third World terms.

Although there is considerable difference of opinion about the aims regarding the constitutional development of the national states, even in South Africa, there is no doubt that development in these traditional areas has gained considerably from the devolution of administration from the central RSA government to these regions.

A new approach to regional development which will transcend geographical boundaries, and vastly improved decentralization incentives will most definitely assist in increasing the rate of development in the national states.

Whilst this paper has not proved nor disproved contentions regarding im-

provements which are taking place in the quality of life of the people of the areas concerned, there is, however, adequate evidence to prove that progress has been made, notably in the areas of education, health and social welfare.

Areas where future efforts towards development should be concentrated are, *inter alia*:

- Agricultural development, with specific attempts to overcome land tenure constraints. This is also important for development generally.
- The informal sector, especially in the sphere of small-scale industry.
- The tertiary sector generally should receive high priority, also through direct government subsidies.
- More attention should be given to solutions which have been successful in Third World development elsewhere.

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