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Industrial decentralization and regional development in South Africa

Boshoff, Brian Charles

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> At the same time as [Government] scrapped the pass laws, it stressed that it would limit black housing land in the cities. The Group Areas Act continued to keep in white hands the land close to where the jobs are found. It was also policy to release most black housing land in deconcentration points in areas where the jobs aren't.

Furthermore, the White Papers on urbanization and industrial development have not acted synergistically. In fact, as Pretorius et al. (1986) argue, the latter states that government is committed to entrepreneurial freedom and that market forces will determine industrial growth and structure in South Africa. In fact, "South Africa has no industrial policy, but still has a dichotomous industrial location policy", with industrial decentralization incentives and Regional Services Councils inducing population to certain centres. Thus, urbanization is supported on the one hand, and decentralization on the other.

Bos (1989: 75), thus argues that "a policy for the development of intermediate (sic) size cities ... can possibly resolve the contradiction which is concealed in the urbanization and the industrial development policies of South Africa". There is no doubt that the growth of the PWV should not be restricted, and that the periphery should not be stimulated in the name of regional "balance" or equilibrium. However, as noted before, there are strong economic (comparative advantage, relative efficiency), ethical (spatial equity at least), and political (placatory) reasons for regional policy. Attention is now focused on the vehicle for achieving this spatial efficiency / equity mix.

Secondary Cities in South Africa

According to van der Berg et al. (1986:i), South African industrial development has reached a stage where import-substitution is increasingly more difficult and its potential is dwindling. Export-oriented development is becoming attractive because of the balance of payments constraint on economic growth and the limited size of the domestic market, but also because of some of the problems associated with import substitution. Firstly, import substitution often results in more dependence on imports, because of the need to import intermediate inputs and capital goods. Secondly, foreign exchange shortages through insufficient exports limit growth. Growth is also limited by the attendant policy measures of import-substitution, which result in distorted relative prices, overvalued exchange rates, limited competition and low productivity (ibid).

Export-led development has the advantages of being more efficient: dependence on the vagaries of the local business cycle is reduced, and international competition stimulates productivity and factors of production are more wisely utilised, because only products with comparative advantage are produced.

Exports give rise to employment creation and have been demonstrated to be positively correlated with a greater propensity to save. This occurs through a higher savings propensity in export sectors as well as through public saving, which often results from the taxes earned from export activity (van der Berg et al. 1986: 14).

South Africa's comparative advantage at large is in the production of unskilled labour-intensive products. Paradoxically however, exports have generally been capital-intensive since the 1970's. In other words, the Leontief paradox applied. (In South Africa, this paradox has largely been the result of factor price distortions. Capital intensive domestic production has resulted from, inter alia, relatively low interest rates and capital depreciation allowances promoting capital usage; unrealistically high exchange rates, promoting the use of imported capital equipment rather than labour; and high labour costs together with low productivity, thus contributing to substitution of capital for labour (van der Berg et al 1986: 11)). The importance of the impact of "aspatial" policies in regional development is thus demonstrated.

As far as export promotion is concerned, attention has been focused lately on the coastal metropoles. The comparative advantage of the coastal metropoles appears to lie in the production of exports using skilled labour, such as non-electrical machinery. There are, however, a number of problems concerning the adoption of either an export-led or import replacement strategy in South Africa. These include competition with American and European technology and the high labour productivity (and wage restraint) in the Newly-Industrialised Countries, especially in the Far East (Lombard et al. 1983b).

Furthermore, the manufacturing sector provides more employment and income than the mining and agricultural sectors, but its terms of trade are declining. The replacement of imports (mostly machinery, transport equipment and industrial chemicals), leads to domestic market monopolization, increased domestic production costs and even more protection against imports.

South Africa's major exports are of course mining-related, but this sector is especially subject to an extremely volatile gold price, which can result in serious domestic instability. In sum, the economy, based on heavy concentrations of capital and power, the mass employment of unskilled and semi-skilled labourers, and the export of primary products and weakly developed domestic markets will have to change (Tucker 1988: 2). Besides these economic scenarios, the increasing urbanization of blacks, estimated by Lombard et al. (1985) to increase to 63 per cent by 2000, is an important factor for economic growth.

According to these authors, this phenomenon will lead to higher incomes, which will increase the velocity of money and levels of consumer demand in the urban areas themselves. In order to achieve this though, an "orderly urbanization-inward-led industrialization strategy" must be adopted, and capital intensity in production decreased. (I' this could be achieved, even a reasonably conservative level of savings, for example 18 per cent of national income, could produce an annual growth in net income of 4 per cent.) It will also be necessary of course, to bring about changes in technology information, supply and transfer networks and production processes, so as to reflect the relative scarcities of factors of production (Thompson 1986).

"Inward Industrialization" is something of a mantra at the moment, but remains incomplete in terms of definition and means of implementation. As the Financial Mail (29 June 1988) says, "most discussions of inward industrialization dwell on outcomes and distributions rather than economic processes - which suggests the acceptance of some government - imposed

structures". Notwithstanding this lack of clarity, opinions regarding the strategy vary - Twine (Financial Mail 12 December 1986) sees it as increasing government intervention, which is deleterious, since government cannot allocate nearly as well as the market. Yet, a captain of industry like Relly (1988: 26) reviews it favourably as a "generative force stemming from deregulation".

Some view this strategy as a description of how market forces will deal with economic isolation, whilst others wonder if it is a prescription of government structuring of the economy. The Financial Mail (ibid) cites Lombard, who says it is "simply a process of increased economic activity which would arise if the millions of poor and unemployed people could be placed in a position to earn incomes to spend on the goods and services they need".

Although import replacement and export promotion are traditional options for economic growth in South Africa, there is some support for an inward industrialization strategy because of reductions in overseas markets, sanctions, deteriorating terms of trade and the limited size of the internal market (Geyer 1988). Consumption spending and urbanization are the key components of inward industrialization. Private consumption is expected to increase from R31 000 million (1980), to R75 000 million (2000) at 1980 prices. Black consumption is expected to be 40 per cent of this amount, and this, along with population pressure, accounts for the demand side of the urbanization process. The supply side involves the provision of building materials, infrastructure and social overhead capital (ibid).

In sum, the three avenues for growth through industrialization are not mutually exclusive, and should all be exploited to maximum spatial and economic advantage. Far more research is indicated in order to ascertain which strategy should predominate in which spatial area. A case has been made for secondary cities supported by relative emphasis of an export-led strategy at the coastal metropoles, and an inward industrialization and limited import substitution in large urban areas.

The type of centres suggested by Tomlinson (1988: 23) are East London, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg and maybe Pietersburg. (This is in contrast to the type of centres recommended in an intermediate city (or to use Richardson's terminology - STIC) strategy. As Fair (1986: 75) states, the focus of such a strategy is the promotion of local, resource-based industries or agro-processing plants, and the expansion of existing local firms, which capitalize on the vitality of numerous small-scale enterprises and the significant local demand for locally produced consumer goods and services.

Although the ramifications of SCs require more research, it is clear that scarce resources cannot be wasted through the application of blanket policy measures (including incentives), which ignore regional and local contexts. Allied to the wise use of resources is the fact that those areas such as the PWV, which are already displaying significant growth, and are likely to be able to support ever-increasing populations, should not be constrained in any way. Rather, attention in areas such as the PWV should be focused on improving the efficiency and management of the city and trying to improve the distributional

aspects of growth. In any attempt to marry efficiency and equity considerations, some discipline in selecting secondary cities will be required. Assistance in these pursuits is provided by Rondinelli (1983: 205) and it becomes apparent that many of the criteria are similar to those embodied in growth pole theory: SCs should have a favourable location in terms of existing or potential growth and physical accessibility; they should have adequate services and human resources; and there should be evidence that there is existing and potential capacity to generate employment and attract new entrants to economic life.

CONCLUSIONS

There are a number of issues to consider regarding the spatial dimensions of regional policy. These include the debates relating to settlement, the absolute and relative nature of the urban hierarchy, and the relationship between aspatial and spatial policies.

It was shown that compared to wider dynamics of the economy and the spatial effects of macro-economic policies, spatial policies are of lesser effect. Yet when considered in tandem with the above policies, spatial policies can have important impacts, not least for political reasons. It is of utmost importance though that these policies are correctly timed, and implemented for sufficient periods of time.

Besides the above considerations, it was shown that there is little justification for any policy which restricts the growth of the large urban areas. The city size and rates of growth argument is of dubious validity. However, the role that cities can play in regional development should not be under-estimated.

Cities provide the spatial manifestation of agglomeration economies and innovations. The existence of large and dynamic cities in the space economy would seem to preclude any policy intervention, but this is unlikely to be the case.

In the first place, regional policy may be embarked upon in order to maximise a national welfare function. Secondly it may be required to rectify obstacles to the efficient functioning of the market, in terms of a neo-classical approach, or as part of a structural adjustment strategy. Lastly, policy may be justified largely in terms of value systems of planners and/or politicians. This can have an ethical and/or placatory basis.

It was suggested that the state of poverty, inequality and unemployment in the South African space economy is sufficient justification for some form of regional policy intervention. These indicators prevail at both the national and regional levels (as evidenced by comparing Gross Geographic Products and "relative development region need" in the Good Hope Plan). Considering only the spatial dimension of such intervention, it becomes clear that secondary cities are perhaps appropriate. Whilst the underlying economic base for secondary cities could be the tertiary sector associated with politico-administrative areas, the type of industrialization strategy must also be considered.

As Tomlinson (1988: 27) states:

> In the light of the existing and anticipated levels of poverty in the country, the point is not so much to create biases for or against the PWV. It is to remove distortions which harm the efficient operation and growth of the economy.

Along with the spatial dimension, the relative merits of import substitution, export-led development and inward-industrialization need to be carefully assessed. However, attempts should be made to maximise comparative advantage and to this end it appears that export-promotion could be emphasised at the coastal metropoles, and import substitution at the larger urban areas.

It is important to realise that "contemporary spatial - temporal changes in economic activity cannot be adequately explained in terms of city sizes, central place systems urban accessibility fields and urban hierarchies" (Hansen 1984: 14). This means that research should include not only the characteristics of places and systems of places, but also the dynamic inter-relations among work processes, business organization and the changing spatial division of labour.

In the end then, it is foolish for regional planners and other disciplines to claim exclusivity - the spatial and the aspatial inform one another and must be considered together. The last word belongs to Hansen (1984: 22):

> Genuine regional development is not an imported phenomenon; it is not likely to come about through government subsidies or the presence of corporate branch plants... long run regional development requires indigenous adaptability in regional production processes, that is, among technological and other innovations, organizational models, and social structures. Until there is a better understanding of indigenous regional production processes, it will still be difficult to anticipate the future, much less guide it.

C H A P T E R S I X

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND PLANNING RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

It has been shown that regional development planning and policy is fraught with difficulties. In the first place, the regional "problem" is often difficult to define - indeed, this is often done at Government whim. This opens up the regional planning discipline to the vagaries to political expediency. It also compounds the task of the regional planner who is already grappling with a new and disparate body of theory.

The body of theory itself is problematic. This is in a sense understandable because the discipline is only about 20-30 years old, and because it cuts across a number of inter-related disciplines; inter alia, economics, town planning, theoretical geography, sociology and anthropology. It may be said that the substance of regional planning revolves around concepts of "space", "development" and "planning". It is of vital importance that these be integrated if there is to be any hope of success in regional development strategies. The fact that this has not occurred accounts for much of the failure of regional strategies and theory.

Indeed, the track record of regional development planning is dismal, for regional and development problems have not been satisfactorily overcome. The question arises - is this due to the inherent difficulty of the development task or does the fault lie with regional planners? The answer is that both

share the blame: development problems are a function of resource and other endowments and the human systems which are affected by these endowments.

Regional planners, notwithstanding constantly shifting paradigms in the tools of their trade, are also somewhat at the mercy of political imperatives. South African regional strategy provides a perfect example of this - the industrial decentralization strategy has been a covert vehicle for the goals of a racially circumscribed settlement policy. Although the structure of regional policy shifts in a very dynamic socio-political and economic milieu, its bedrock has remained firm - it was hoped that blacks would be excluded from "white South Africa" and that they would exercise their political rights in homelands.

Just as the Tomlinson Commission recognized, some form of economic base would be necessary to confine people to these areas. The task fell to the industrial sector - industrialization had intuitive plausibility and was in vogue internationally as a development strategy. However, in order to avoid any contamination of the strategy of separate development, white industrial capital was initially allowed only to the border areas of the homelands. Economics would appear to have a tendency to highlight the absurdities of politics and so white capital was eventually allowed inside the homelands.

So, South African regional policy, largely unarticulated at this stage, muddled on; creating some jobs in the periphery and trying to prevent any settlement of blacks elsewhere. This was also to be accomplished by legislation, such as that relating to influx control and the Environmental Planning Act. The

Act prohibited the employment of additional black labour in the PWV, and restricted the supply of industrial land, thus driving up its price.

Nonetheless, all these measures failed to achieve the Government's goals and so a more articulate strategy was conceived. This was formulated into the NPDP of 1975. There was potentially more legitimacy for this strategy because it borrowed from international experience and appeared to be more technocratic than previous grand designs. On loan to South African regional policy-makers was one of the major domos of regional strategy, the chief weapon in the regional armoury - growth pole theory.

This theory underpinned industrial decentralization strategies which had been tried in a number of locations, including Europe and the USA. Building on Schumpeter's theory of innovations and Perroux's notions of the process of economic growth through key or propulsive industries, its principles were quite simple: economic growth was best achieved through industrialization, the concentration of industries would deliver cost advantages to these industries as well as attract further industries; and these centres of progress would help to spread income and jobs to these centres' hinterlands.

The appropriation of this theory meant that for the first time, a regional plan was concerned with the South African space economy as a whole. (Homelands were of course not seen as part of the South African space economy.) With the demarcation of "planning regions" and a space economy organised around nodal cores and a system of urban centres, South Africa was well on the way to spatial integration. (An integrated

functional urban hierarchy has been deemed desirable by many regional planners, because it enables the freer flow of information, innovations and so on.) But of course, integration in South Africa was undesirable in the Government view, even if it was only manifest spatially. Also, an integrated system of urban centres would cloud the achievement of separate and distinct homelands.

Government goals were not only compromised in the spatial arena, though - it was proving to be increasingly difficult and more expensive to bring about the economic self-sufficiency of the homelands. In addition, apartheid, border wars, the world economic situation, structural adjustment and mismanagement of monetary and fiscal policy were also boring into Government coffers; the help of the private sector would therefore have to be enlisted. Government and big business thus met at the Good Hope Conference in late 1981. The result was the Good Hope strategy of 1982.

This strategy resulted in a constriction in space, from 38 planning regions to eight, and later nine, development regions. It also brought about a compromise of historical separate development goals, because the borders of the new development regions cut across previously inviolate homeland borders. However, all was not lost in the area of government objectives and strategy - incentives were made more attractive in an attempt to lure capital to invest and provide jobs in the periphery. The spatial locations for these investments were "industrial development points", of which there were 49, and a number of "deconcentration points" and other industrial and ad hoc points.

It is also unfortunate that there seems to have been little co-ordination between the White Papers dealing with Urbanization and Industrial Development and the Regional Industrial Development Programme. Any comprehensive regional strategy should seek to incorporate all these thrusts as a point of departure. The lack of this co-ordination demonstrates the complexity of the task facing the regional planner, but it also shows why regional planners should extend their sphere of operation to beyond that of considering primarily (or only) the spatial dimension.

The increasing inter-relatedness of the world economy places more and more emphasis on the need to consider economic factors such as terms of trade, comparative advantage and business and product life-cycles. The intense nature of international competition means that it is imperative for countries, and indeed regions, to remain competitive. This tends to favour efficiency principles at the expense of equity considerations. A major issue to confront then, is whether there should be any intervention in the workings of the market.

There are a number of responses to this issue. Even in the neo-classical view, there is some justification for an attempt to marry the two concerns. Intervention can also be justified in terms of a structural adjustment programme. However, it is singularly naïve to separate the political realm from regional planning, and to dismiss the importance of value judgments in planning. To this extent, the motivation for a regional strategy can be covertly or overtly political. It is one of Gore's (1984) observations that regional planning (and particularly space) is just what the political economy makes it to be. Governments wish to be seen to be concerned about the welfare of populations in regions

(which are themselves defined by governments). This is particularly true if there is an ethnic or severe class difference component in the "region".

In this way, the Government can appear to give to a certain region with one hand whilst it takes with another hand from another region. This is because the high costs normally associated with regional strategies, especially those involving the decentralization of industry, have to be financed somehow, usually through taxes. An important way of appearing to confront the pathologies experienced by a region is to embark on a "spatial" strategy, for example, the targeting of areas to be the recipients of supply-led strategies of provision of industrial infrastructure.

It has been shown by Richardson (1987) that although spatial, macro-economic and sectoral policies, market trends, and the dynamics of the aggregate development process are all inter-related in a complex manner, spatial policies are the weakest of all. Once again, it is insufficient for regional planners to concern themselves with the spatial alone.

By the same token, the importance of urban systems, a functional settlement hierarchy and the negative effects of primacy have also been questioned. The city-size and rates of growth argument (that cities of a certain size exhibit diseconomies of scale) has been attacked, and the result of the debate is inconclusive. Beside the difficulties of measuring costs and benefits in a large city, it appears that the issue is more one of competent urban management than of size or rates of growth.

This furnishes a further indictment of South African regional policy. It has long been mooted in this country that cities (especially the PWV) are too large and that a decentralization programme would be necessary to overcome diseconomies in cities. Whilst this was the "carrot" aspect of strategy, it was accompanied by a "stick" side, in the form of the Environment Planning Act and legislation relating to influx control. The necessity to appease all the homeland leaders resulted in a situation where growth poles were littered about the space economy. In terms of purely economic logic, there is little chance that such a dilution of effort could be sustained, except at substantial opportunity cost.

There is even less justification for a policy which has cost the taxpayer at least R700 million per annum, when some of the maladies facing the South African economy are considered. The levels of South African poverty, unemployment and inequality are substantial and the impact of the world economy, sanctions, and the deteriorating domestic economic situation - where South Africa is undergoing a painful structural adjustment programme, with declining gold and foreign reserves - simply does not permit a waste of resources such as that of the decentralization programme.

It would seem, then, that the problems associated with growth pole theory and the failure of the decentralization strategy call for the total abandonment of the policy. This will be difficult both politically and legally, since the Decentralization Board is committed to providing incentives for another few years. Furthermore, it will be difficult to sell the abandonment of growth poles to homeland leaders, even though the 1982 Strategy is supposed to cut across

cut across homeland borders in favour of wider development regions.

However, it has been argued that there is another route to follow other than total abandonment of the policy...

Planning Recommendations

Growth poles still provide a conceptual vehicle for distributing growth across space. However, the place in space where this is to occur should be carefully considered and should meet a number of criteria. Inherent in these criteria is the principle of concentration (with limited dispersal) and the advantages of agglomeration.

In contrast to growth pole theory though, an extension of the theory, to that of a secondary city strategy, is proposed. Secondary cities seem to have suffered from the same terminological anarchy as did growth pole theory. The strategy has been confused with that of an intermediate city strategy. The latter focuses on smaller cities and agricultural and rural and small-scale industrial development. Secondary cities, on the other hand, focus on larger scale industrial development as well as tertiary sector development. In this regard, they can easily be politico - administrative centres, thus reinforcing the notion of them serving as federal capitals.

It is important to note that this dissertation has dealt only with larger-scale industrial development and not the other forms of regional strategy such as rural development. It is essential to stress though, that maximum diversification of regional strategy should be striven for, especially in highly competitive environments.

"Who gets what and where" is both a political and an economic issue. It is true that economic progress does not appear everywhere at the same time, but spatial inequalities can result in a number of socio-political problems. The issue then, is not only growth efficiency, but also social justice and equity.

As Aboyade (1979), cited in Gana (1981: 198) points out:

> There is a basic locational conflict between the profitability requirement of the private enterprises who in fact provide the bulk of industrial investment, the diversification pursuit of the policy-maker wanting to maximise some vague notion of economic welfare and the high expectation of local communities all over any developing country for industrialization to take place in their respective areas.

In the view of the unbalanced growth theorists (subscribed to in this dissertation), concentration is able to enhance growth efficiency in view of agglomeration economies. But these "elegant arguments - about the superior advantages of concentrating resources in a few core regions, or promising growth centres, cannot stand the fiery pressures of voices from the periphery" (ibid: 197).

In the light of the above statements and of the value system adopted here, which seeks an equity / efficiency mix, some planning recommendations can be made.

Firstly, the role of the regional planner and the available tools of the trade need to be redefined. It is argued that the regional planner could usefully adopt the role "regional manager"; in other words an overall perspective on the pathologies and processes

obtaining in any region (and its sibling regions) should be striven for. For regional planners to scurry into a niche of spatial expertise alone is utterly restrictive. As Gore (1984) has said, the regional planner needs to be an "impossibly flexible expert" in a number of inter-related disciplines. A goal that could be achievable however, is that the planner become capable in managing and directing the inputs from various disciplines towards a certain goal; in this case the goal of balancing equity and efficiency considerations.

At the same time that regional planners should expand their role, this should not lead to the assumption of an omnipotence which results in excessive planning. There are many who feel that the "do nothing option" is preferable.

To compound this, it has been shown that the spatial impacts of policy are far weaker than those of macro-economic and sectoral policies. This is to say that it is not entirely the responsibility of a regional plan to bring about equity and efficiency. A completely centrally determined regional policy can detract from the innovative and more locally appropriate actions of *in situ* entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, it is the view of this dissertation that the achievement of the above goals will require some intervention.

Regional planners need further restrictions imposed on them. They will not only have to ease out of the comfort zone provided by spatial analysis alone, but will have to integrate their conceptions of space with the numerous development theories and processes existing in the literature and in the real world. This is difficult enough to do, and it is tempting to

restrict planning interventions to one sector alone. Normally the sector chosen is the ndustrial sector - it has intuitive appeal and is relatively easy to implement. Other sectoral thrusts such as the primary, tertiary and quaternary sectors cannot be ignored though. It is essential that maximum diversification of regional strategy is striven for, especially in highly competitive environments.

In order to achieve an efficiency / equity mix, there is a need to distribute growth across space (and within space). However, it is also necessary to provide the conditions which enable growth to occur in the first place. To this end, an important principle of the advantages of concentration has been espoused. Growth poles still provide a vehicle for distributing growth across space, despite the problems associated with the theory and its implementation. Although the theory has generally been accused of exacerbating inequalities, it is important to note Mabogunje's (1980) observation that growth poles in fact provide a means for the achievement of **distributive justice.** The theory must therefore be unshackled from its racial accoutrements and not allowed to be compromised at political whim.

The fact that only a few secondary cities can be supported in a country, is much the same as Richardson's (1978) injunction that only a few growth poles could be upheld. Similarly, secondary cities, (or "extended growth poles") should satisfy a number of criteria relating to favourable location, adequate human resources, service capacity, and past growth performance, as well as reasonable population densities (Rondinelli 1983). It is precisely the lack of adherence to these criteria which has accounted for the failure of most industrial decentralization policies worldwide.

Rondinelli has suggested an ideal secondary city population figure of around 100 000. This is difficult to achieve in a typically South African scenario - although many cities may indeed contain this many people, this is frequently the result of relocation or the effects of apartheid. Low per capita incomes are problematic. Instead, demographic criteria for selection of SCs could include not only consideration of population density, but also physical size, the non-agricultural labour force, the mix and diversity of functions located within a city, physical characteristics and relationships with other towns in the space economy. Lower income activities such as rural agriculture and the informal sector are perhaps more suited to intermediate cities.

It is vital to consider the full gamut of forces operating in the space economy and take into account such factors as government policies and the domestic and international economic context. The dissonance between the White Papers on Industrialization and Urbanization has been highlighted.

As Bos (1989: 61, 62) puts it:

> the only explanation for South Africa's deviation from what seems economically justifiable urbanization and industrialization policy can be political considerations, otherwise it would not be policy to concentrate decentralization in semi-rural areas or to disperse development efforts over so many development points.

The necessity of considering economic factors and the types of industries was outlined by Black et al. in the discussion that takes Region D as an example. The main principle here is that of comparative advantage.

Similarly, Lombard (1983b) and van der Berg et al. (1986) have outlined the need to consider broad industrial development strategies such as import substitution, export-led development and/or inward industrialization. It goes without saying that any secondary city strategy requires empirical and contextual analysis. By the same token, the policies for developing a system of secondary cities demand careful and contextually appropriate investigation.

After Rondinelli (1983: 200), these policies might include:

a) strengthening existing secondary cities (by essentially supply-led measures), such as extending economic support services, improving physical infrastructure, stengthening the economic base and employment structure, and building up the planning, administrative and financial capacity of local governments; and/or
b) upgrading smaller cities and towns to intermediate size (by diversifying rural service centres' economies, for example); and creating and improving linkages among secondary cities and larger and smaller settlements.

The exact nature of any financial inducements accompanying such policy will also have to be carefully investigated - one thing that is clear is that blanket incentives are not optimally effective. Furthermore, "one should strive to do no more than influence decisions at the margin, and should not be prepared to pay a great deal for that influence" (Tomlinson 1986: 64).

What is suggested then, is an approximation of the French style of "indicative planning", which transforms planning into a vast co-operative market research project.

> In other words, following on market research and the identification of target markets, corporate decision-makers should review the inter-related series of investments necessary to exploit these markets and attempt to achieve a degree of consensus regarding the decision to carry out those investments (Tomlinson 1986: 65).

Despite the need for more research, some proposals can be made as to possible secondary city candidates in the South African space economy. East London, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg, and perhaps Pietersburg are potential secondary cities, as Tomlinson (1986) has suggested.

Finally, it can be asserted that there is a case for a limited form of decentralization. The form of this proposal differs markedly from that obtaining in South Africa at present. Decentralization is viewed as a means not of separating and distributing population, but of striving for a balance between spatial and social efficiency and equity.

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