

die omgewing van Gouda, Tulbagh, Riebeeck-Wes en-Kasteel asook die toekomstige mynbousentrum Aggeneis toon ook 'n goeie groeipotensiaal.

In Tabel 4 word die groeipotensiaal van die Saldanha-, Vredendal- en Springbokkomplekse getoon. Van die totale migrasiereserwe van ongeveer 670 000 Kleurlinge sal bogenoemde drie groeipunte teen die jaar 2000 skaars 100000 trek. As gevolg van die onvermoë van die groeipunte om die migrasiereserwe te akkomodeer sal die res van die Kleurlinge noodwendig na die Kaapse metropool moet migreer. Volgens Page (3,p.3) het daar gedurende 1960 tot 1970 meer as 50 000 Kleurlinge na die Kaapse metropool gemigreer. Dit is dus duidelik dat indien daadwerklike uitvoering gegee wil word aan die beleid van desentralisasie daar groter groeikrag aan die groeipunte verleen sal moet word. Toekomstige staatinvestering en fiskale hulpmiddele by groeipunte sal 'n groter bydrae tot die totale ontwikkelingspotensiaal aan die Weskus moet lewer. Hiermee sou dit moontlik wees om die verwagte migrasiestroom na die Kaapse metropool, na die nuwe groeipunte te deflekteer.

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ECONOMIC GROWTH AND EQUITY IN THE WESTERN CAPE

by

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Over the last few decades the tenet of economic growth has been central to the policies and priorities of most nations and regions of the world. Increasingly, however, the concept of growth is being questioned. This questioning is primarily the result of a growing realization that growth is creating many problems, the magnitude of which are enormous; that in many cases the benefits of growth are not passed on to the mass of the people; and that, in the quest for economic "development", many significant societal and cultural characteristics are being destroyed (Goulet, 1971).

This paper explores the degree to which economic growth is in fact benefitting the people of the Western Cape and the processes which underlie both growth and the distribution of benefits.

Economic growth within a region can essentially be defined as increases in the regional product over time. The primary way in which benefits of this growth are distributed to the mass of people is through income. Income distribution curves, then, can be used as a measure of the degree to which the distribution of growth is equitable. This relationship between growth and distribution is highly complex, in that differing degrees of equality can exist in different sections of the curve. In those societies in which a strong correlation exists between social, cultural or ethnic characteristics and income, differentials in equality may exist not only **within** but **between** income distribution curves. The Western Cape is such a society.

Income distribution, and the concept of equity, in turn have implications for economic growth. Theoretically it can be argued that sustained economic growth, particularly in developing conditions, is dependent upon conditions of inequity, for growth is dependent upon capital accumulation; capital accumulation in turn is dependent upon savings; and large-scale savings require inequitable income distributions. The rationale is, therefore, that for a period in the development process, the achievement of growth is more significant than the attainment of improved levels of welfare or more equitable income distributions. Once sustained growth is achieved, re-distribution can occur. The developmental problem then becomes the assessment of the degree of inequality which should exist and the stage at which re-distribution should occur.

A number of factors affect the distribution of income, including the sectoral distribution of economic growth (for example whether in secondary or tertiary activity); political institutions and the degree of diffusion of political power, the organization of production and

the degree of concentration of land and enterprise; the nature of social structure (particularly as reflected in attitudes and values); the educational structure; differential natural increase rates and regional and sub-regional migration.

THE WESTERN CAPE (1)

A number of important structural changes have occurred in the Western Cape between 1960 - 1970. One of the most significant has been a decrease in total unemployment, and a relative decrease in the ratio of white to Coloured unemployed. (Table 1)

(1) Defined here as economic regions 01, 04 and 05 (fig 1)

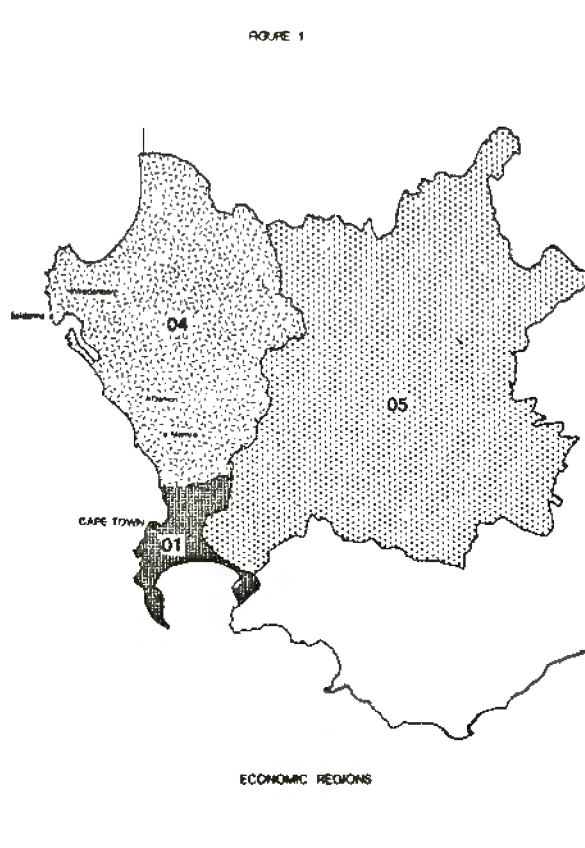


TABLE 1: PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN UNEMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC REGIONS 1960 - 1970

REGION	COLOURED		WHITE	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
01	18	6	4	2
04	9	8	4	3
05	11	6	3	3

It is apparent from this table that one of the major reasons underlying the decrease has been inter-regional migration. In each sub-region unemployment is approaching an acceptable level (taken in most countries to be about 4%).

Together with the marked decrease in unemployment, significant changes in the sectoral pattern of employment have occurred (Table 2).² It can be seen that whereas increases in Coloured employment occurred primarily in the secondary sector, the main White increase has been in the tertiary sector.

² source: Department of Statistics, 1960 and 1970 Census
³ Ibid.

TABLE 2 CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT AND WAGE RATES BY INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

Economic Region	SECTOR	WHITE					COLOURED				
		Ranking by Total Employment	Employment Changes	% Change	Wage Rate (R)	% Change	Ranking by Total Employment	Employee Changes	% Change	Wage Rates (R)	% Change
01	Manufacturing	2	2898	11	2105	21	1	37000	33	434	-4
	Commerce	1	19243	52	1788	5	3	154000	115	455	+ 15
	Construction						4	13220	106	607	+ 33
	Services	3	7753	23	1789	4	2	11002	25	313	20
	Transportation	4	5787	40	1717	38					
04	Manufacturing	4	255	27	2105	21	2	1345	81	434	-4
	Commerce	2	828	68	1788	5	3	1109	116	455	15
	Construction						4	758	73	607	33
	Agriculture	1	-911	-27	2473	-12	1	-609	-7	167	-8
	Services	3	-247	14	1789	4					
05	Manufacturing	3	-243	-3	2105	21	3	6795	67	434	-4
	Construction						4	5154	137	607	33
	Commerce	1	4818	90	1788	5	5	3814	95	455	15
	Agriculture	4	-4640	-7	2473	-12	1	3534	13	167	-8
	Services	2	2864	41	1789	-4	2	2985	17	313	20

These changes in the employment structure have led to a considerable increase in the Gross Regional Product of the Western Cape (Table 3).

TABLE 3: GROSS REGIONAL PRODUCT OF THE WESTERN CAPE, 1960 - 1970 (R1000)

	1960	1970
Agriculture	62 345	89 000
Manufacturing and Industry	193 763	516 000
Transportation and Communication	73 604	133 000
Finance and Commerce	136 939	304 000
Services	170 162	395 000
Total ⁴	636 813	1 437 000

⁴ Greater Saldanha. Bureau for Economic Research, University of Stellenbosch, 1973

The increases in employment and the rising G.R.P. have been accompanied by generally rising per capita incomes (Table 4).

When these income changes are examined dynamically (Table 5), it becomes apparent that shifts within both White and Coloured population groups are towards a more equitable distribution of income and an expanding middle income group. However, the very considerable gap between the White and Coloured groups reveals the existence of strong barriers between groups. Moreover, despite absolute increases in per capita incomes, the gap between White and Coloured incomes from 1960 - 1970 has increased, not decreased (Table. 5). This is true even in the 01 region, despite an increase in Coloured per capita income of 109%, as opposed to a 27% increase for Whites (the apparent anomaly is explained by the fact that the base from which White increases were measured was so much higher than the Coloured base).

The significance of this widening gap can be gauged by relating per capita incomes to a measure of welfare. The Household Effective Level of Living (H.E.L.)⁵ is used for this purpose. (Table 6).

TABLE 4: AVERAGE PER CAPITA INCOME CHANGES 1960 - 1970⁶

REGION	COLOURED			WHITE		
	1960	1970	% CHANGE	1960	1970	% CHANGE
01	R98	R205	109	R712	R906	27
04 ⁷	R95	R90	-4	R708	R669	- 5
05	R84	R108	29	R629	R740	17

⁵ Source: Department of Statistics, op. cit

⁶ 1970 income figures have been deflated to 1960 prices. The deflated Household Effective Level of Living is R104

⁷ Since the Department of Statistics uses the Pascal Method of Price Index calculation, which tends to underestimate real increases when prices are rising, it is probable that the decline shown in the 04 region reflects a no change state.

⁸ This figure was derived from Potgieter (1973). The H.E.L. is equal to the Household subsistence level (equivalent to the P.D.L.) plus 50% of its own value. The figure includes the cost of food, clothing, fuel and lighting, cleansing materials and the transport costs of the head of the household to and from work only. As no H.E.L. figure was available for Whites, the Coloured H.E.L. (R283) was used for both groups. Because of the relative nature of welfare this is probably too low a figure for whites but its use does facilitate comparison.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF EARNER INCOME DISTRIBUTION CHANGES 1960 - 1970

REGION	COLOURED			WHITE		
	>R 300	R300-1600	R1800	>R 800	R800 6000	R6000
01	-5.7	+2.70	+3.47	-12.74	0.41	+13.35
04	-6.50	+5.42	+1.05	-14.83	-3.05	+11.78
05	-9.46	+6.26	+3.20	+12.08	-2.40	+14.48
AVERAGE	-7.74	+4.73	+3.01	-12.08	-2.40	+14.48

TABLE 6. PER CAPITA INCOME AND WELFARE BY ECONOMIC REGION 1970*

REGION	PER CAPITA INCOME ¹⁰	% LIVING BELOW THE H.E.L. R283	TOTAL POPULATION	PER CAPITA INCOME	% LIVING BELOW THE R283 R283	TOTAL POPULATION
01	R302	66%	597 620	R1333	16%	377 870
04	R133	89%	73 160	R984	27-28%	27 420
05	R159	58%	255 130	R1088	18%	109 333

It can be seen that widespread poverty and depression exists throughout the Western Cape and that there is considerable differentiation in economic welfare inter-racially and sub-regionally.

The extent to which income inequality influences the distribution of poverty is revealed in the Lorenz curves (figs 2 and 3) which measure percentage income inequality and in Fig. 4 which shows the absolute relationships implied in the percentage distributions.

It can be seen from these that in every case the high degree of inequality which exists contributes substantially to the problem of poverty.

The greatest degree of inequality exists along an ethnic stratification (that is, between Whites and Coloureds) but within this, there is greater disparity between Whites than between Coloureds. The only exception is in the 05 region where the extreme nature of the income inequality within the Coloured group (Fig. 4) leads to an apparent anomaly - the percentage of people living below the H.E.L. is considerably less than one would expect from the low average per capita incomes.

Thus, despite considerable economic growth in the region, the level of economic welfare of Coloureds, relative to Whites, has decreased.

Moreover, this has occurred despite an increasing share of total income accruing to the Coloured population.

There are a number of reasons for this increasing gap. Of fundamental importance is the relationship between income and population.

The population growth rate of the largest and poorest population group in the Western Cape, the Coloureds, is amongst the highest in the world (Table 8).

This is reflected in consistently higher dependency ratios for Coloureds than for Whites (Table 9) and has resulted in a rate of growth which exceeds the re-distribution in the share of total income.

LORENZ CURVES OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION

FIGURE 2 -

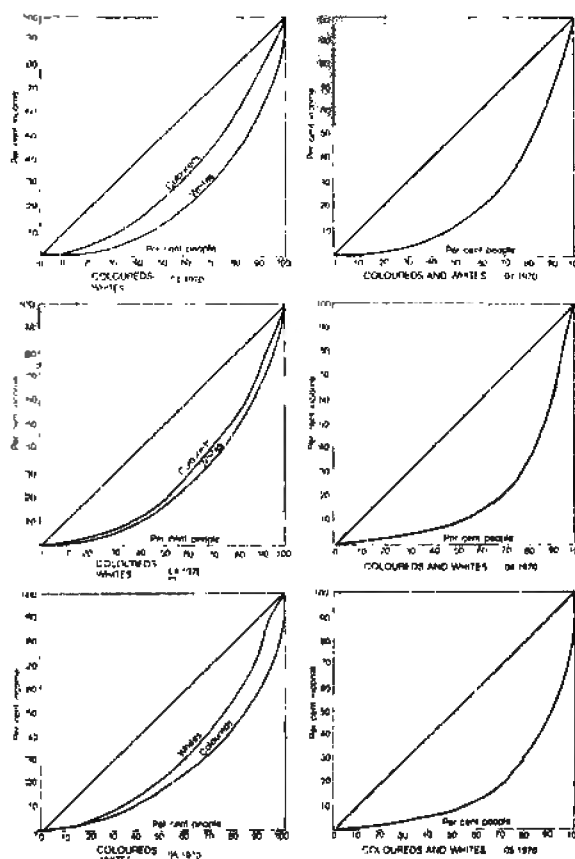


TABLE 7.11 PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN THE SHARE OF TOTAL INCOME 1960 - 1970

REGION	RACE	1960		1970	
		% OF TOTAL POPULATION	% OF TOTAL INCOME	% OF TOTAL POPULATION	% OF TOTAL INCOME
01	C	58	16	61	26
	W	42	24	39	74
04	C	68	22	73	26
	W	32	78	27	73
05	C	67	21	71	25
	W	33	75	29	75

The numbers of people below the H.E.L. were calculated by assuming that the distribution of average income per earner was a good approximation of average income per person. This assumption was found to be valid at the 0.01 level of confidence by Chi-squared analysis.

* Source: Department of Statistics of C.T.

¹⁰ Incomes given at 1970 prices.

¹¹ Source: Department of Statistics of C.T.

TABLE 8. POPULATION GROWTH AND INCOME IN THE WESTERN CAPE 1970

	COLOUREDS	WHITES
Population growth rate per annum 1960-1970	4.0%	2.1%
% of total population	58%	32%
Estimated percentage of total population 1990	65%	24%
Per capita income	R195	R1135
% Living below the household effective level of living (R283)	67%	17%

TABLE 9. DEPENDENCY RATIOS¹² BY ECONOMIC REGION 1960 - 1970

REGION	COLOUREDS		WHITES	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
01	1.74	1.55	1.06	0.85
04	1.82	1.95	1.44	1.34
05	1.67	1.80	1.49	1.30

It can be seen from this table that dependency ratios in the more highly urbanized 01 region are lower than in the poorer, more rural 04 and 05 regions. For Whites, ratios in all regions are decreasing, in 04 and 05, whereas Coloured ratios are increasing. This suggests that there is a consistent and casual interdependent relationship between per capita income and dependency and it is this relationship which more than anything else is limiting the upward shift of income for all people.

Moreover, demographic experience in many countries of the world has revealed that the concepts of population growth and welfare are interrelated - in order to reduce population it is necessary to increase welfare but the achievement of improved levels of welfare is extremely difficult in the face of high population growth.

It can thus be argued that since population growth is crucial to the problem of welfare in a developing society and since an increase in per capita welfare is the main justification for any economic policy, the yardstick against which any policy should be measured is the degree to which the policy succeeds in reducing population growth.

Another reason for the widening gap between Whites and Coloureds relates to the relationship between income distribution, type of economic activity and urbanization. Analysis of these factors reveals that there is a correlation between type and rate of expansion of economic activity (particularly secondary and tertiary activity), the degree and rate of urbanization and the degree of inequality (Tables 10, 11 and 12).

In 1970 secondary industry employed nearly twice as many Coloureds as did the tertiary sector in all economic regions. This relationship held irrespective of the absolute level or the rate of urbanization and is probably a function of job reservation and educational inequalities which together affect opportunity.

The tertiary sector employed more Whites throughout the region than did the secondary sector. The higher rates of tertiary to secondary employment were associated with higher absolute levels of urbanization.

The number of Whites in the secondary sector seems to be related to the rate of urbanization. The higher the rate of urbanization, the more Whites in the secondary sector.

Moreover, where the proportion of Whites in the tertiary sector is very high relative to those in the secondary sector, large inequalities in the distribution of income between Whites and Coloureds occur (See tables 4, 5 and 10, in relation to fig. 2). This condition is associated with a low rate but high absolute level of urbanization.

It seems therefore, that one of the factors at the heart of the inequality of income distribution between Whites and Coloureds in the Western Cape is the high proportion of urban Whites employed in commerce - a condition which is associated with a high level of urbanization.

However, it has been shown that the absolute level of economic welfare is higher in more urbanized areas, and this is primarily related to the higher wage structure of those activities which locate in these areas. Moreover, when the increase in the number of employees in a sector of the economy is great, the wage rate tends to rise much more slowly, and vice versa.

The dynamics are thus clear.

FIGURE 3

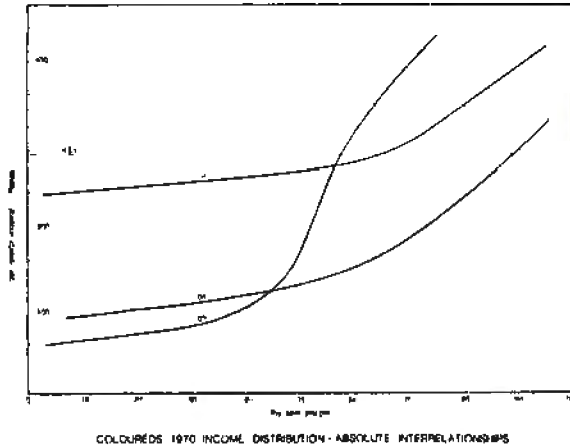
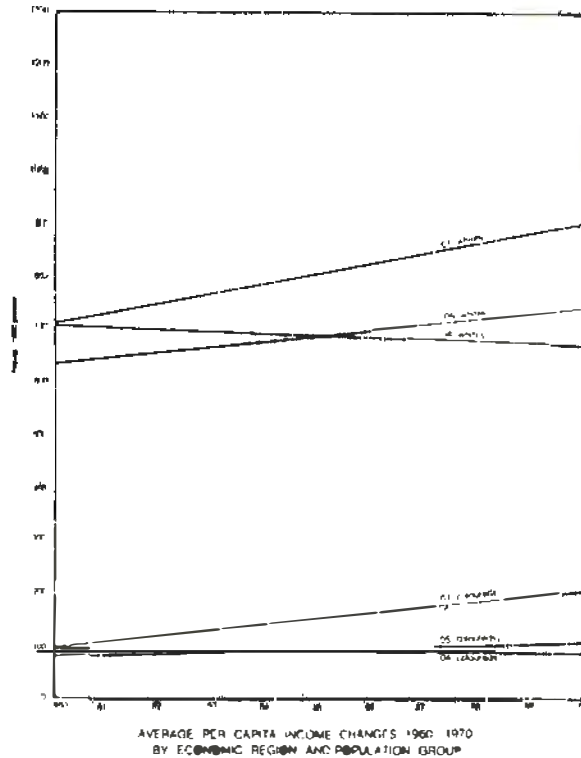


FIGURE 4



In areas with a high rate but low absolute level of urbanization the ratio of secondary to tertiary activity is high and levels of inequality are low. Moreover, since prevailing wage rates in the secondary sector are much higher than in the primary sector, the level of economic welfare (measured in terms of average per capita income) is higher than in rural areas.

As the level of urbanization increases, however, the economic base shifts towards a predominance of tertiary over secondary activity. Since barriers to employment opportunities are greater in this sector than in the secondary sector, inequalities in income distribution between races become greater. Thus although average per capita income improves, much of the improvement is dissipated through the increasing gap between the have's and have-nots. While the rate of urbanization remains high, this shift towards inequality is not so noticeable. As soon as the rate drops, however, the gap widens considerably.

¹² Taken as the ratio of the number of people with income to those without income (children, scholars, housewives, unemployed and retired persons without an income).

TABLE 10. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURES 1970¹³

Region	Pop. Group	Professional	Administration	Clerical and Related Worker	Sales Worker	Service Worker	Farm and Forestry Worker	Production and Transport Worker
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
01	C	4,3	0,14	9,4	5,3	20,2	3,2	57,5
	W	15,8	6,00	33,7	12,8	8,7	0,9	22,1
04	C	2,7	0,04	1,8	2,1	21,4	39,5	32,5
	W	7,8	2,80	18,1	10,5	12,1	28,3	20,4
05	C	3,2	0,1	3,1	3,2	18,5	35,1	36,9
	W	15,2	4,4	25,1	11,9	8,8	12,0	22,4

¹³ Data Source: Department of Statistics, Census Reports on Population, Industry and Occupation, Pretoria, 1970.

the precise level of welfare at any of the above stages is related to the factor of dependency and to the rate at which workers are moving into particular sectors of the economy: this rate, in turn, is affected by the economic base of particular areas, the rate of population growth and the spatial dynamics of migration.

DISCUSSION

Despite considerable economic growth in the Western Cape in the last 10 years, there have been only slight improvements in the

TABLE 11. PERCENTAGE RATE OF URBAN POPULATION GROWTH

REGION	1946-1951	1951-1960	1960-1970
01	30	28	36
04	21	24	41
05	19	33	33

TABLE 12. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE, URBANIZATION AND INEQUALITY 1960 - 1970

REGION	RATE OF URBAN POPULATION GROWTH	DEGREE OF INEQUALITY	COLOURED INTER-SECTORAL RELATIONSHIP	WHITE INTER-SECTORAL RELATIONSHIP
04	41%	LEAST MARKED	$\frac{\text{SECONDARY}}{\text{TERTIARY}} = \frac{1.0}{1}$	$\frac{\text{TERTIARY}}{\text{SECONDARY}} = \frac{5.1}{1}$
01	36%	LESS MARKED	$\frac{\text{SECONDARY}}{\text{TERTIARY}} = \frac{1.5}{1}$	$\frac{\text{TERTIARY}}{\text{SECONDARY}} = \frac{9.0}{1}$
05	33%	MARKED	$\frac{\text{SECONDARY}}{\text{TERTIARY}} = \frac{1.5}{1}$	$\frac{\text{TERTIARY}}{\text{SECONDARY}} = \frac{101.4}{1}$

absolute levels of economic welfare for the mass of the inhabitants and the gap between the have's and the have-nots is increasing, thereby worsening the perceptual aspects of this welfare (Dewar & Cort, 1974).

It has been shown that basic to this widening gap are considerable inequalities of income which occur along a number of fronts:

- (a) Inequalities within racial groups and particular sub-regions;
- (b) Inequalities within racial groups but between sub-regions (particularly those with marked urban/rural differences);
- (c) Inequalities between racial groups at each of the levels mentioned above.

It has been shown, too, that these income distribution patterns are affected by a range of complex and interrelated factors including population growth, dependency ratios, migratory patterns, levels of urbanization, occupational structure and discrimination.

It is now necessary to explore the relationship between inequality and economic growth more precisely.

The first question that must be asked is whether or not increasing inequality in the Western Cape is a natural process of economic growth (Kuznet)¹⁴. Kuznet suggests that in the earliest stages of economic development, growth of the non-agricultural sector is accompanied by urbanization and a widening of occupational and other differentials which in turn lead to income inequalities.

In later stages, the narrowing of intersectoral differences, an expansion of education and other factors causes a reduction in income differentials.

The degree of structural differentiation in the 01, 04 and 05 regions, and the fact that in none of these sub-regions are more than 50% of males employed in agriculture,¹⁵ suggests that the economy as a whole, and the economies of each of the sub-regions, are beyond the transitional phase of economic development.

¹⁴ Quoted in Baster, 1970, p. 19

¹⁵ This figure and a per capita GNP of U.S. \$500 are used by United Nations Research workers as yardsticks to indicate the end of the transitional phase of economic development (Baster, 1970)

Another alternative is that the Coloured and White groups are at different stages of economic development. There would seem to be some justification for this view as the main wave of White rural-urban migration started in the 1930's. The equivalent Coloured wave occurred in the 1960's.

Obviously this has had some effect. However, the increasing structural differentiation within both regional and sub-regional economies, the lessening of inter-sectoral differences and the fact that the economy as a whole is beyond the transitional stage of development, indicates that income inequalities should be decreasing, not increasing.

It thus appears that the problem of income inequality does not lie in the process of economic growth. Consequently a narrowing of the per capita income gap cannot be expected to occur through the 'natural' forces of economic development.

The second question which must be posed is whether or not income inequality is necessary for growth in the Western Cape.

Maddison's work in India and Pakistan throws serious doubt on the theory that inequality is necessary for, or in fact, substantially encourages, economic growth (Maddison, 1971)

However, even if it is accepted that inequality is desirable before a stage of sustained growth is reached, it has been clearly demonstrated in this paper that this stage has, in fact, been reached in the Western Cape.

Moreover, it is held here that economic growth and inequality are **incompatible** for the inevitable result of the widening gap will be increased misery and social and political disruption, and the effects of this will manifest themselves in declining labour productivity, thereby effectively setting a limit to economic expansion. This is already happening and even now labour productivity is the biggest obstacle to economic advancement in the region.

Thus it can be stated that inequality is not an inevitable result of growth; moreover, ultimately inequality must negatively affect growth

the primary reasons for the inequality are discriminatory attitudes on the part of White employers (reflected in informal, as opposed to statutory, job reservation and unequal rates of pay for equal work) and differences in educational opportunities, which influence the distribution of skills. Moreover, this economic and functional inequality is paralleled by (and, to a degree is casually interrelated with) an unequal distribution of effective political power, making the situation in the Western Cape strongly analogous with conditions in Pakistan prior to the catastrophic events of March 1971, which resulted in the formation of the Republic of Bangladesh (Maddison, 1971).

There is an urgent need for change. It is apparent that economic growth **per se** is not sufficient to increase economic welfare and that, in fact, it is possible to achieve a better general well-being with a lower rate of growth if distribution is more equal. Moreover, unless change is instituted the welfare situation is likely to deteriorate rapidly. At the heart of this problem is population growth. It has been shown above that rapid population growth and

income inequality feed upon each other. A highly unequal distribution of income is "inherently inconsistent with development", as it "delays within families the modernization process that is a pre-requisite to spontaneous fertility decline and thus sets back the positive contribution to growth and development" (Kocher, 1973). Thus income redistribution is not only necessary in order to improve the levels of economic welfare in the short-run, but also to tackle the basic problem of population growth.

The "growth-first-and-let-distribution-come-later" principle has derived from a pre-occupation with savings and physical capital accumulation as the basis for development. It is now apparent that human capital formation, which is in itself a redistributive as well as a productive measure, may well be more important than physical capital formation.

It appears from the above analysis that the main areas in which action can be directed to trigger the necessary re-distributive measures are the interrelated fields of education, land reform, levels and rates of urbanization, occupational structure and population control itself.

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VERSTEDELIKING IN BOPHUTHATSWANA

deur
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Die vestigingspatroon van die bevolking van Bophuthatswana is iets besonder: die bevolking toon 'n sterk neiging om in groepsaam te woon, en alleenstaande plattelandse wonings kom feitlik nie voor nie. Maar die nedersettings waarin die groepe voorkom is hoegenaamd nie homogeen van aard of funksie nie.

Daar is inderdaad minstens vier soorte nedersettings wat elkeen weer onderverdeel kan word. Eerstens is daar wat bekend staan as die moderne dorpe en stede: dorpe wat as sodanig deur stadsbeplanners ontwerp is met geordende straatpatrone en rasionele erfgroottes. Verreweg die meeste van hulle is in hoofsaak woondorpe, maar een, Babelegi, is 'n moderne nywerheidsdorp sonder enige residensiële funksie, en nog een wat tans (1977) in aanbou is, is Mabatho, die hoofstad van Bophuthatswana, wat afgesien van sy normale funksies ook 'n sterk administratiewe funksie sal hê

Die tweede groep nedersettings word by gebrek aan 'n beter benaming genoem Uitgemete Nedersettings. Dit is hoofsaaklik plekke waar mense wat deur hervestiging in die tuisland beland het woon, en hulle word gekenmerk deur reghoekige straatpatrone met groot erwe waarop minstens in teorie op klein skaal geplant gesaai kan word hoewel dit in verreweg die meeste gevalle nie geskied nie. Soms is sodanige nedersettings ook die setel van 'n plaaslike kaptein, sodat hulle in dié gevalle ook 'n administratiewe funksie op klein skaal vervul.

Die tradisionele Tswana-nedersettingspatroon vind uiting in wat bekend geword het as statskomplekse. Dit is nedersettings wat soms verrassend groot kan wees en myle ver kan uitstrek. Die inwoners woon gewoonlik in groepies van twee of drie huise vir elke gesin, en die persele is in 'n amorfe patroon gerangskik sodat strate tussendeur moet kronkel, soms breed en soms smal al na

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