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This paper reviews the concept of economic development policy as related to spatial organization, with particular reference to Lesotho. The first section provides a general discussion of spatial development policy. The second section focuses on the role of some sectors of the economy in such development programs. The last section attempts to relate the earlier material to the specific situation in Lesotho and makes recommendations for further research in the analysis phase of the Lesotho Agricultural Sector Analysis Project. Lesotho's Five Year Development Plan reflects each of the following goals either directly or by implication: increasing rural incomes, providing employment opportunities for the poor, increasing agricultural productivity, and improving living standards by extending services and facilities to the areas where the poor reside. The principal means of attaining the goals of the new strategy of dispersed development is through integrated spatial development which recognizes the role of major centers in generating growth, change, and modernization. It is necessary to define the spatial pattern of development and to integrate that pattern with the specific sectors of the economy. Industrial development is only one of the several important roles the growth foci have to play in varying development situations. Central places may also function as service centers providing specialized governmental, medical, educational, and other services. They should act as innovation-diffusing and growth-promoting centers and be able to provide employment opportunities for the surplus population of the rural areas. The aim is to build up the functions and level of services of the central place so that the regions become oriented towards them. Lesotho has identified three major project areas and thirty-six concentration areas in its agricultural development scheme.

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THE SPATIAL CONTEXT
FOR INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY
IN LESOTHO

Discussion Paper No. 4

by

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THE SPATIAL CONTEXT FOR INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN LESOTHO

Introduction

A review of the economic development programs in the less-developed countries over the last decade indicates that for the most part the results are disappointing (Meier, 1970). Progress towards economic growth and social transformation was marginal, resulting in a reassessment of planning efforts. International assistance agencies, reacting to the slow progress as outright failures of previous strategies, began searching in the late 1960's for new ways to accelerate development.

Further, the goal of development plans and aid programs shifted away from rapid industrialization to economic growth with greater social equity. More concern was given to spreading the benefits of development to larger numbers of people, especially those in absolute poverty. Since most who survive at or near subsistence levels live in rural areas or on urban fringes, the spatial focus of development policy has also shifted. Typically, the new goals are to increase rural incomes, provide employment opportunities for the poor, increase agricultural productivity, and improve living standards by extending services and facilities to the areas where the poor reside. Lesotho's Five-Year Development Plan reflects each of

these goals either directly or by implication (Lesotho, 1975).

Thus, development theorists and practitioners have turned to policies that, if they do not promote widespread urban growth, at least have extended urban-associated services, facilities, and amenities to the more isolated and disadvantaged rural areas. Presumably, this new development policy shifts investments (public and private) away from primary cities to smaller centers and rural hinterlands, without undermining existing metropolitan centers, thereby creating a spatial system that can generate and sustain more balanced development.

The purpose of this paper is to review the concept of economic development policy as related to spatial organization, with particular reference to Lesotho. The first section of the paper provides a general discussion of spatial development policy. The second section focuses upon the role of some sectors of the economy in such development programs. The last section attempts to relate the earlier material to the specific situation in Lesotho, and makes recommendations for further research in the analysis phase of the Lesotho Agricultural Sector Analysis (LASA) Project.

Spatial Development Policy

Traditionally, geography has claimed three distinct objectives: (1) to understand the unique characteristics of a place or region, (2) to discover the relation between man and his environment, and (3) to explain systematically patterns of location and spatial interaction (Morrill, 1974). Each has relevance in formulating development policy.

The study of regions is essential in examining contemporary situations in the less-developed world and in considering the problems that affect them. The difficulties arising from the physical environment are among the most intractable, and often are underestimated by development specialists. The limiting effect of harsh environments on the opportunities for human development must be evaluated, in terms of such characteristics as water supply, soils, climate, and other natural resources. Further, the complex ecological relationships between these elements need to be understood.

The study of man-land relationships, or ecology, stresses both the role of the environment in influencing man and man's impact on the environment. The researcher attempts to place the patterns of human occupance and activity in the context of their environment, and the ecological relationships that evolve therein (Morrill, 1974). Development policy should recognize these relationships to reinforce plans and to minimize conflict.

The study of spatial organization develops general explanations of the effect of space and spatial characteristics on man's behavior, on the patterns of human occupance and location, and on the structure of human interrelations in space. Its emphasis is on the principles of spatial behavior. It is this nomothetic approach that has the most direct link with development theory and is the focus of this section.

Traditional theories of spatial development are based on the Western concept of center-periphery relationships. The central place theory of

Christaller is based upon a market system of service centers arranged in a hierarchy, with higher order centers providing goods and services to lower order centers in a nested pattern of trade areas (Christaller, 1966). His normative model of central places in a landscape has served as a basic element in the theory of spatial organization.

Equilibrium models, extensions of classical location theory, assumed that economic processes would guide a nation automatically toward economic growth. The primate cities were centers of modernization which acted as catalysts for economic growth, from which the benefits of modernization flow outwards to revitalize the stagnating agricultural sector (McGee, 1971). This view that concentrated industrial investment in major cities creates a "ripple effect" of growth throughout the country is reflected in the major models that have governed past development thinking (Soja & Toblin, 1975). Spatial inequalities would be corrected through the unrestrained flow of production factors; and, without government intervention, disparities between urban centers and rural peripheries would eventually even out as economic development diffused from the center to the interlands (Rondinelli & Ruddle, 1976). The basis for this flow is that competition in the more developed areas of the nation (primate cities) would lead to falling returns on investments, and the decreasing yields would tempt investors to redirect their funds to the spatial frontiers (rural periphery). Thus economic development spreads "naturally" across the nation.

A frequently cited critic of this approach is John Friedmann (1966: 14), who succinctly states that "a major difficulty with the equilibrium

model...is that historical evidence does not support it." Friedmann and others (for example, Myrdal, 1957) employ a different form of the center-periphery concept, called a self-reinforcing center model, which asserts that disequilibrium is built into transitional societies from the start, and that the major urban center acts as a self-reinforcing magnet of economic development. The model identifies the inevitable polarity occurring in every nation's economic development and calls attention to a tendency for dual economies to emerge as investments are clustered in location-favored core regions. These centers, as they grow, not only drain off the best manpower from peripheral areas but restrict investment in those hinterlands by luring both capital and entrepreneurship to the more dynamic centers (Johnson, 1970). The centers thus are able to benefit from an agglomeration of activities and in the process gain external economics that give them further advantages (for elaboration see Isard, 1960). Terms of trade between the core and the periphery will tend to favor the former, since hinterlands have usually only primary products to exchange for the center's manufactured goods and specialized services. Over time, the peripheries develop a quasi-colonial relationship with the relatively more prosperous centers.

Unlike the equilibrium model, this paradigm recognizes that deviation-amplifying forces increase and solidify the core-periphery differences and may, in fact, create greater inequalities. Myrdal (1957), for example, notes that "backwash effects" can drain rural areas of resources and greater retard their development unless offset by spread effects. Historical evidence indicates that after almost two centuries of industrialization

the imbalances still exist in Western Europe and the United States, albeit less dramatic than in many of the underdeveloped nations. Since these developed nations have not achieved the regional balances, it is unrealistic to assume neat equilibria will occur in the less-developed countries.

There are several reasons for the failure of equilibrium theory to correspond with economic reality, and why one primate city or a few dominant centers continue as the focal point for investment. Location decisions in most developing countries were tightly constrained. In some cases, colonial policy established developing nations as raw material exporters to serve industrial nations, which made an entrepot, usually a major port, the only efficient location for infrastructure and services. Elsewhere, political influences shaped the pattern of spatial development, with the administrative capital becoming the center of social, economic, and cultural activities and receiving the highest priority for investment in public services and facilities. For example, the development of Maseru as Lesotho's capital city appears to begin with the establishment of a police post there by a British Commandant in 1869. The railway reached Maseru in 1905, connecting it to South African Railways (Rosenthal, 1948).

But regardless of initial pressures, once investment was concentrated at a site, a series of events reinforced continued concentration. In a scenario described by Rondinelli and Ruddle (1976: 16-17),

> Lower transportation costs from proximity to complementary activities, economies of scale and agglomeration, and migration of society's most talented people to the city, created multiplier effects that provided one place with a competitive advantage over all others, and attracted even larger numbers of rural people in search of economic opportunities. Resource scarcities,

> moreover, made creation of multiple centers difficult. The emphasis on foreign trade curtailed development of a domestic system of distribution and exchange, obviating the need for a geographically dispersed transportation system. Advantages of initial concentration quickly increased the primate city's competitive advantages. Additional physical infrastructure, accumulation of administrative and political power, and a stronger economic base, made it a magnate (sic) for industry, services, social and cultural activities.

This skewed pattern of spatial development constrains growth and inhibits its spread in developing nations. Although primate cities of the developing countries attract important change-inducing activities, their concentration in single locations creates dual economies, in which islands of modernization emerge from seas of poverty (Rondinelli & Ruddle, 1976: 17). The growth impulses generated by the center do not trickle down to the periphery, as predicted by the equilibrium model. The prospects for income convergence between the two become remote, or as Berry notes, "growth and stagnation polarize; the economic system remains unarticulated" (Berry, 1969: 207).

The negative elements of such dual economies indicate that alternative development strategies are needed. A mere increase in overall economic growth is not sufficient to aid the non-integrated peripheral regions (Houston & Tiebout, 19__: 440-41). Planned intervention is thus called for to at least reduce the polarity, although it appears impossible to eliminate it (Nichols, 1969). The policy chosen will vary for different countries, but it is generally true that developing countries are opting for development of their poorer regions, the stagnating peripheries, in an attempt to alleviate the dual economy syndrome. A good example of such

planning in India is found in a study by Roy and Patil (1976). This is also true in Lesotho, where specific growth objectives of the development plan include "improvement and expansion of transport and communication... (emphasizing) mountain areas" and "rational use of resources to benefit the greatest number through concentration of improvements on growth centers" (Lesotho, 1975: 21-22).

The dominance of the primate city and the absence of an articulated hierarchy of central places or growth centers seriously obstructs the balanced development of Third World nations such as Lesotho. Johnson (1970: 171) states that the Third World lacks the spatial system that provided the base for Western progress, where "...the varied hierarchy of central places has not only made possible an almost complete commercialization of agriculture but facilitated a wide spatial diffusion of light manufacturing, processing, and service industries...(and provided) employment of a differentiated variety."

In Lesotho, the primary central place is Maseru, with an estimated population of 26,300 in 1972. Only five other towns may realistically be classified as functioning as somewhat independent central places--Teyateyaneng, Butha-Buthe, Hlotse (Leribe), Mafeteng, and Mohale's Hoek (Moody, 1975). Their estimated total population in 1972 was 18,800, less than Maseru's population. Given an estimated total population of Lesotho in 1972 of 960,000 (not including about 200,000 expatriate workers living in South Africa), the country has only about a five percent urban populace. What little industry exists is clustered around Maseru. Thus the opportunity

exists for selecting those places at which future growth should be encouraged, thereby alleviating the negative effects of the dual economy while diffusing the benefits of development to a wider populace.

The importance of an articulated system of central places is noted by Rondinelli and Ruddle (1976: 17-18):

> Without accessible markets farmers lacked incentives to increase output, to modernize their technology, or to adapt products to consumer demand, contributing to rural unemployment and to what Johnson calls a "wanton dissipation of ability and talent." Without competitive markets only marginal amounts of produce are sold from near subsistence farms; and village traders easily exploit farmers who must sell their produce immediately after harvest at depressed prices. Consequently, farm income is perpetually limited, as are savings and investment, constraining farmers from obtaining technical and other inputs needed to increase agricultural production. Without a national system of production and exchange, this vicious cycle of rural poverty cannot easily be broken.

In commenting on the direction for spatial development planning, Johnson (1970: 212) states that "the first objective of regional planning must be the visualization of systematic projections for the progressive development and numerical increase of properly dispersed agro-urban central places."

As suggested by the title of this paper, the principal means of attaining the goals of the new strategy of dispersed development is through integrated spatial development. This strategy recognizes the role of major centers in generating growth, change, and modernization. In fact, urban growth is concomitant with development. As Lampard (1964: 332) notes, "specialization of functions makes inevitably for specialization of area: it promotes a territorial division of labor between town and country and differentiates town from town." He contends that urbanization

"is simply the concentration of differentiated but functionally integrated specialisms in rationale locales. The modern city is a mode of social organization which furthers efficiency in economic activity."

Not only is it essential to define the spatial pattern of development, but it is also crucial to integrate that pattern with the specific sectors of the economy. Too often the development plan focuses upon the industrial sector, but "industrial development is only one of the several important roles the growth foci have to play in varying development situations" (Misra, 1972: 156). Central places may also function as service centers for their hinterland providing specialized governmental, medical, educational and other needs. In addition, they should act as innovation-diffusing and growth-promoting centers and be able to provide employment opportunities for the surplus population of the rural areas. The aim is to build up the functions and level of services of the central place so that the regions become oriented towards them (Darwent, 1972). Lesotho recognizes this spatial planning component in its identification of three major project areas and 36 concentration areas in its agricultural development scheme (Lesotho, 1975: 81-86).

While integration across sectors may seem obvious, research indicates that it does not occur in many cases. Many planning agencies deploy their installations without reference to the spatial plans of other agencies, as in the case study by Johnson (1965) in India. In a later work, Johnson (1970: 227) remarks "the most important function of central planning, the task of coordination, had been woefully neglected because of the indifference

of the planners to geographic and spatial factors." One reason for this neglect is the narrow training of many planners. But a second, less innocent, reason can be identified in terms of "pork barrel" development programs, in which decision-makers dole out projects without reference to the cumulative benefits that might result from better spatial planning. Rather than have these practices remain clandestine, it is suggested that they be built into the planning process. This would permit decision-makers to evaluate the advantages and drawbacks of such locations, and to adjust their planning accordingly. In one sense, such favoritism can be viewed positively as a means by which government expenditures are spread throughout the developing nation, making the citizens of the recipient areas more conscious of their national ties and appreciation of the benefits derived from this affiliation. (Hoyle, 1974).

To summarize, the location of social and economic activities lies at the core of development strategy. Development planning must structure the space economy to reduce the negative impact of the dual economy syndrome, and to spread the benefits of development to more people, especially those in poverty. An important device for accomplishing these tasks is careful selection of central places and their promotion through coordinated planning of public and private investment.

Location and Promotion of Central Places

A program to develop a set of central places must first select location criteria to serve the goals of the nation. For example, Lesotho's Second

Five-Year Development Plan includes target goals of increasing agricultural productivity, promotion of non-agricultural small industry, development of the nation's water and mineral resources, improvement of social services, creation of new jobs, and provision of wider participation in productive activity and social services (Lesotho, 1975).

These goals suggest that sites be chosen with the ability to assist the agricultural sector in increasing productivity, to support industrial development, to tap the natural resource base, to aid in the delivery of social services to the populace, and to provide employment opportunities to workers. One approach would be to create new towns, but most writers opt for growth points at existing centers which are already experiencing growth, or exhibit potential to do so. Siddle (1970) suggests that planners should first try to determine whether some type of central place hierarchy has begun to emerge naturally in the country as a response to existing social and economic structures and patterns of communication. In Lesotho, for example, the development plan explicitly supports maintenance of the present land tenure system, limiting alternative agricultural development policies (Lesotho, 1975: 20). The alternative, to change the existing social and spatial system and reorganize its rural functions, would be most difficult.

The functions of planners should be to "mold and shape existing patterns and hierarchies, rather than to create completely new structures... Growth points could be gradually encouraged with the least possible disturbance of the social order" (Siddle, 1970: 277). However, should an undeveloped

site possess locational characteristics well-suited for growth, planners should promote that place to serve the goals of growth initiation and transmission (Nichols, 1969). Such plans are occurring in Lesotho in the tourism sector, with the development of facilities at Mountain Road, and in the mining industry at Letsene-la-Terae and Kao.

Locational advantages depend in part on past decisions, such as the quantity and quality of facilities available for production, and on the existence of infrastructure and services that attract and support investment. Suitable natural resources must be available--land, water and mineral endowments, as examples. Man-made characteristics are also crucial. The transport network--rail, air, water and highway linkages--determines the cost of moving raw materials from supply sources to points of production, and finished products to distributors and markets. Public investment in water supply, waste disposal, and energy helps determine the productivity of the labor force and of entrepreneurs. Social services can contribute to the quality of human resources and to general standards of living in the community (Rondinelli and Jones, 1973). Thus it is essential that the spatial development plans of Lesotho coordinate provision of services at appropriate sites to enhance success of growth centers.

Since approximately 85 percent of Lesotho's domestic work force is employed in the agricultural sector (World Bank, 1975: 37). It is apparent that any spatial development policy concerned with social equity must direct itself to the rural areas. Johnson (1970: 179-180) posits that in peasant societies, two varieties of incentives can be distinguished:

the familial and the pecuniary, although in practice they are blended in varying proportions. The familial incentives stem from a sense of duty and responsibility to a cultivator's family. As in Lesotho, land-holdings tend to be small relative to production needs, with only occasional surpluses that can be spared from family needs and brought to the market (World Bank, 1975: 7). One consequence is a small volume of marketed produce; another is indifferent quality resulting in low prices. Thus, Johnson (1970: 181) claims "in near-subsistence agrarian economies it is hard to say whether it is the absence of markets which holds down the marketed surplus, or whether it is the low volume and poor quality of the goods which impedes the development of a network of marketplaces for agricultural produce.

The issue then is how to increase the commercial fraction of farm output in the economic development policy. Johnson (1970: 181) identifies several areas of concern. First, the cultivator needs access to inputs such as fertilizers, improved seeds, tools, and pesticides. This requires the presence of "vertical trade" in which agricultural produce is traded for these inputs. The agricultural produce must be of sufficient quality to be marketable. The exchange process, then, reflects a degree of specialization on both parties. Hence, a modern type of agriculture not only presupposes the existence of markets where produce can be sold, but also of markets where inputs can be purchased, and that both markets be spatially dispersed to be within the farmers' travel range. Planners must select locations for these markets as a basis of development of the agricultural sector.

It is helpful to digress momentarily and consider Mosher's (1969) inputs to modern farming, in which he compares the farm to an assembly line of a factory. To achieve his progressive rural structure, five basic elements are needed. There must be (1) a market center that will provide an outlet for farm produce and make available the farm inputs needed; (2) roads connecting farms to these market centers; (3) farm products that respond to consumer wants, which necessitates local verification trials of improved farm practices; (4) the services of agricultural experts who can provide to the farmers the best scientific information (i.e., an agricultural extension service); and (5) a suitable form of farm production credit to permit investment in improved agricultural technology. Since all five are highly complementary, Mosher argues that all must be planned together.

The thrust of Mosher's position reinforces the importance of a coordinated spatial development plan, one in which a variety of government agencies cooperate in providing the basic elements for near-subsistence agriculture to develop into modern farming. But one other component is missing--what incentives are present for the farmer to change his behavior? As Weitz (1971) notes, it is not sufficient to determine environmental conditions, to select the best way of utilizing material resources, and to expect the people to follow the chosen way of action. The planning effort must also be geared toward the people and their motivations. It is necessary to provoke their interest, give expression to their inner drives and aspirations, and help them toward the creation

of a new institutional structure capable of achieving the aims of development.

Inducements that can be offered to farmers to expand their commercial output are presented by Johnson (1970). He suggests that first, preferences for goods need to be present as a motivation to grow exchange produce. Second, structured market prices may be needed to overcome potential backward bending supply curves. And third, adequate availability of requital goods is needed. The "demonstration effect" is important both in terms of introducing broader want scales to farmers as well as encouraging changes in agricultural practices. The former serves as an inducement, the latter as a means, to produce more.

In summary, any spatial development policy should effectively coordinate five elements in the agricultural sector (United States, 1967). The plan must provide (1) properly organized and satisfactorily administered markets for farm produce within reach of the cultivators, (2) progressively improving technology, (3) local availability of farm supplies and all other necessary inputs and information, (4) a means of transport for commodity exchange, and (5) incentives that will induce farmers to participate in commercial markets and adopt better farm practices. A crucial factor is obviously tied to changing the behavior of farmers with respect to production.

Spatial Development Strategy in Lesotho

As noted previously, any spatial development policy must be rooted

in the goals of the agency, and must recognize the existing spatial structure and environmental constraints of the area. For Lesotho, much of this basic information is present. The goals and objectives are specified in the Five-Year Plan (Lesotho, 1975). The spatial structure has been assessed in terms of the traditional growth pole theory (Moody, 1975). Numerous studies have been made of the environmental conditions present in the country (Smit, 1967). The major task ahead is to articulate a program of economic development which takes into account its spatial components explicitly.

It is proposed that a modified growth pole concept be applied in Lesotho emphasizing the agricultural sector. The agricultural sector is stressed because the population is overwhelmingly oriented towards agriculture. Lesotho's national goals stress social justice, maximum domestic employment, and economic independence, and an improved agriculture sector can help achieve each of these. Further, a stronger agricultural sector provides a sound base on which to build secondary and tertiary activities. Lastly, it is imperative that actions be taken to stop the loss of the country's most precious natural resource--its soil. The erosion now washes away as much as one percent of the country's soil each year (World Bank, 1975: 5), but a well designed spatial development strategy can reduce this rate.

The fundamental question of "What is development?" has not been made explicit in this paper. Traditionally, it refers to progress towards an industrial society with mass consumption. A useful distinction is made by

Boudeville (1966: 18-19) between the three concepts of growth, development, and progress. "Growth is merely a set of increases in quantities produced; development is growth plus a favorable change in production techniques and in consumer behavior; progress is development plus a diminution of social tensions between groups within a society. This set of definitions suggests that while growth is an economic process, development is socio-economic in nature, and progress is primarily a social process based on economic growth. A complementary view is held by Nyerere, President of Tanzania, who writes that development means development of people. Thus the spatial development strategy for Lesotho should concentrate on the agricultural sector to achieve not only economic growth, but also social justice--equitable distribution of goods and services. Efficiency criteria alone are inadequate.

Lesotho's Five-Year Development Plan implicitly recognizes that the concept of development refers to changes induced--that is, framed and generated by deliberate policies and development agents. These developmental changes are spread among regions and social groups through a variety of channels and contacts. In effect, diffusion of cultural and technological innovations occurs by deliberate "social engineering." Spatial development policy in Lesotho means that a long-term policy of deliberate intervention in the spontaneous development forces occurs, aimed at creating and/or controlling growth poles in geographical space.

Given the focus upon agriculture, the spatial development policy should attempt to reinforce and direct development forces towards rural centers

which would serve the dispersed rural population with essential marketing facilities and private and public services. This may be termed a policy for decentralized concentrations. If the four tier hierarchy suggested my Misra (1972: 166) is used for reference terminology, these rural centers would be classified as service centers. They would function to disseminate social and technological innovations to the rural population, to provide basic social services, and to act as market centers for locally produced goods.

Each service center must be sensitive to the concerns of the region which it serves; while relating to the comprehensive development plan. The interdependence of the regions, especially to the developing core around Maseru, must be stressed. As Lesotho strives to become more economically independent from South Africa, Maseru should serve as the major center of employment for excess labor from the rural areas and of manufactured goods to be purchased by farmers. In turn, the rural areas depend upon the cash income earned by migrants in jobs in Maseru, and the services provided by the center. Lower order goods and services are provided in smaller centers located throughout the country. The smaller centers (service centers) may also develop selected secondary and tertiary activities, as reflected in their resource base. Examples are resort facilities at Oxbow and mining at Letsene-la-Terae.

Strategies must be designed for each region of Lesotho, with input from representatives from the area. A lack of sensitivity to local needs and customs will greatly reduce the likelihood of success. It is not

sufficient to merely provide services and information; a program must also work for their acceptance and adoption. Therefore, the spatial development policy must be integrated with a set of functional policies (social, cultural, institutional) that will achieve community involvement and development as well. The goal is to achieve a greater degree of integration of the nation's spatial economy while remaining sensitive to regional concerns. The result is economic development in all the regions simultaneously, but not necessarily at the same rate or of the same type.

The functional policies component of the overall development plan should serve to provide the farmer with needed information and inputs to increase production, such as erosion controls, livestock management, fertilizers, cultivation practices, and farm machinery. In addition, satisfactorily administered markets for farmer's produce, conveniently located to the producers, should be provided. The service centers would serve this purpose.

The spatial development policy should also improve the transportation links to service centers. The purpose is twofold--to provide farmers with access to markets, information, and inputs, and to provide an outlet for produce brought to the service center (Stanley, 1971). Road transport, because of its versatility and flexibility, represents the most useful mode for economic and social progress (Fromm, 1965).

Lesotho, with its mountainous terrain, represents a challenge to the development of any mode of transport. Roads, however, provide relatively low cost facilities for the movement of goods and people that

can be used by all. This is especially true given the alternative--air service. It is doubtful that railroads would be economically justified, given the high cost of construction and lack of demand for the bulk movement of goods. Another advantage of roads is that the local population can be employed in construction and maintenance projects. Improved transport facilities are essential in developing the commercial agriculture potential of Lesotho, and road planning must be one component of the spatial development policy (Roughton, 1974).

Road development is also important in promoting industrial and tertiary activity in Lesotho. Road access to natural attractions, such as the Oxbow area, the Sehlabathebe Park, and the Maletsunyane Falls, would increase tourist activity and associated employment in that sector (Moody, 1975). A final consideration in road planning is political in nature. At present, there is very poor connectivity between the regions in Lesotho. Many areas have direct connections to South African towns and little access to Lesotho towns. The result is lessened economic activity and marketing in the country, and greater economic dependence upon South Africa. Road facilities directed toward internal development of Lesotho should help reduce that dependence.

The last component of a spatial development policy for Lesotho is the creation of incentives to induce farmers to participate in commercial markets and adopt better farm practices. Full treatment of this matter is beyond the scope of this discussion paper, but the potential of an extension-type program should be explored. This factor is crucial to the success of developing Lesotho's agricultural sector.

Summary

A major area of concern to the LASA Project is the need to make explicit the functional and spatial pattern of economic development. It is unrealistic to expect, based upon the experience of other developing countries, that the dual economy syndrome will not occur in Lesotho. But a carefully designed and implemented spatial development policy can minimize this problem. In this regard, it is essential that criteria for site selection be developed from national development goals, and growth centers be chosen accordingly. Further, an administrative framework needs to be created to coordinate the planning and the investment decisions of the development program. Two areas in particular that deserve elaboration are the transportation and communication sector and the extension program. The former should focus upon the improvement of accessibility to the central places, the latter on a system for delivering and demonstrating innovations to the rural populace as well as generating feedback from the people regarding their needs and concerns.

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