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FORWARD PLANNING : INTERIM REPORT NO. 4.

THE BANTU POPULATION AND ITS HOUSING AND OTHER REQUIREMENTS.

A JOINT REPORT BY THE CITY ENGINEER AND THE  
MANAGER, NON-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

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FORWARD PLANNING : INTERIM REPORT

THE BANTU POPULATION AND ITS HOUSING AND OTHER REQUIREMENTS

A Joint Report by the City Engineer and the Manager  
Non-European Affairs Department

1. INTRODUCTION:

It is proposed in this report to cover primarily the following factors:

- (a) to provide factual information regarding the growth and structure of the Bantu population;
- (b) to indicate the land available for housing and to highlight the deficiencies;
- (c) to provide information regarding the opportunities for and the extent of employment for the Bantu;
- (d) to discuss the problems of transportation from places of residence to places of work;
- (e) to recommend action that should be taken to overcome present and future problems.

Map Figure No. 1.1 defines the Group Areas proclaimed for Bantu occupation in and around Johannesburg and in the neighbouring magisterial areas. The largest complex is Soweto, situated to the south-west of Johannesburg, which it serves. Adjoining Soweto are the areas of Meadowlands and Diepkloof, which are controlled by the Resettlement Board, and which also serve Johannesburg. Adjoining Soweto is Dobsonville, serving Roodepoort. To the north-east of Johannesburg is Tembisa, serving Kempton Park, Edenvale, Bedfordview, Randburg and the suburbs north of Johannesburg. To the south-east of Johannesburg is the Natalspruit complex serving Alberton, Germiston and Boksburg. Inside Johannesburg itself is the small Eastern Township and a number of hostels housing single Bantu employed by the City Council and the Mines. Immediately north of the Johannesburg border is Alexandra, which is to be redeveloped for hostels for single males and females.

2. GROWTH AND MANPOWER:

2.1 Research Study

A comprehensive study of the growth and manpower of the Bantu

population is contained in Annexure "A". Certain of the main factors applicable to this section are summarised below.

2.1.1 The Population Structure:

The structure of the Bantu population has changed from 1946, when it comprised primarily males in the age group between 19 and 34 years; comparatively few females; and an insignificant number of children. Today, the ratio of males to females has evened out and there is a dominant number of young children.

The change during 1946-1951-1960 is shown diagrammatically on Figure 1 of Annexure "A". This endorses the fact that the Bantu have now become a stable urban community. The projections for the future up to 1980 are shown diagrammatically on Figure 2 of Annexure A, and a significant factor is the increase in the proportion of elderly people, which is a characteristic of urban communities throughout the world. Perhaps the most significant factor in this projection is the number of children, which contradicts previous projections made elsewhere, that family sizes would almost immediately decrease with urbanisation. Any appreciable decrease in the family size cannot be expected within the next decade.

2.1.2 Population Increase and Projections:

Whilst influx control over both males and females has done much to stabilise the Bantu urban pattern, immigration into the Metropolitan Area is assessed as being 50,000 in the half-decade between 1960 and 1965. Subject to the extent to which immigration is controlled, it is apparent that natural increase will prove to be the chief factor affecting the future insofar as the Johannesburg Municipal Area is concerned and particularly in relation to Soweto.

It has been estimated that the Soweto population will increase by 2.4% per annum in the period up to 1980.

TABLE 2.1 : POPULATION PROJECTIONS.

Year	Soweto			Municipal Area Including Soweto		
	Total Population	Increase	%	Total Population	Increase	%
1965	363,087			495,744		
1970	408,799	45,712	12.6	557,886	62,142	12.5
1975	460,268	51,469	12.6		145,997	26.0
1980	518,215	57,947	12.6	703,883		
<b>Total Increase</b>	<b>155,128</b>	<b>155,128</b>		<b>208,139</b>	<b>208,139</b>	

The above figures make no allowance for Bantu housed in the areas controlled by the Resettlement Board, where there is at present a population of 122,619 Bantu living in houses and 4,162 males and 132 females housed in hostels.

The natural increase in population of Soweto by 155,100 persons by 1980 immediately pin-points an urgent and immediate problem of housing.

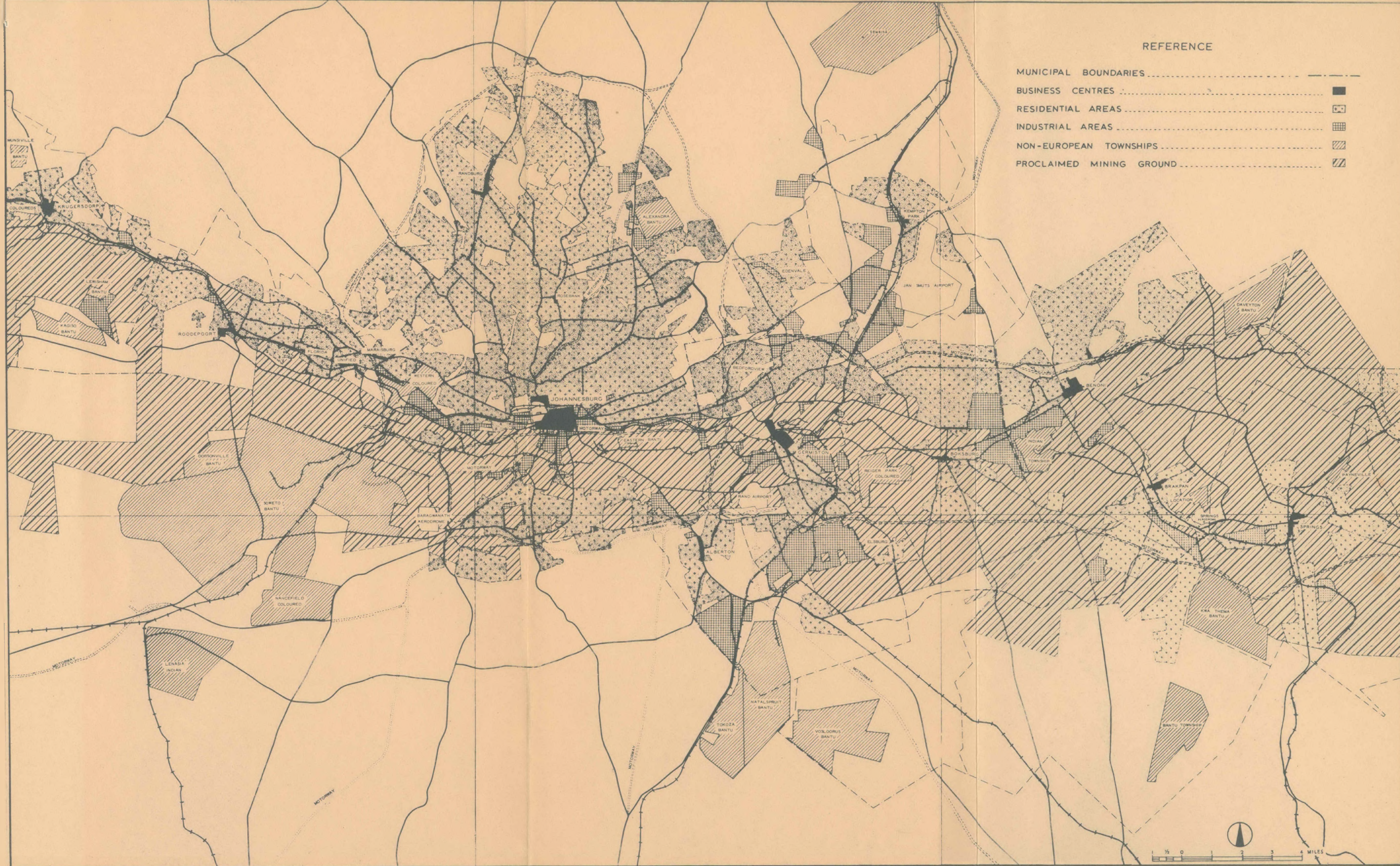
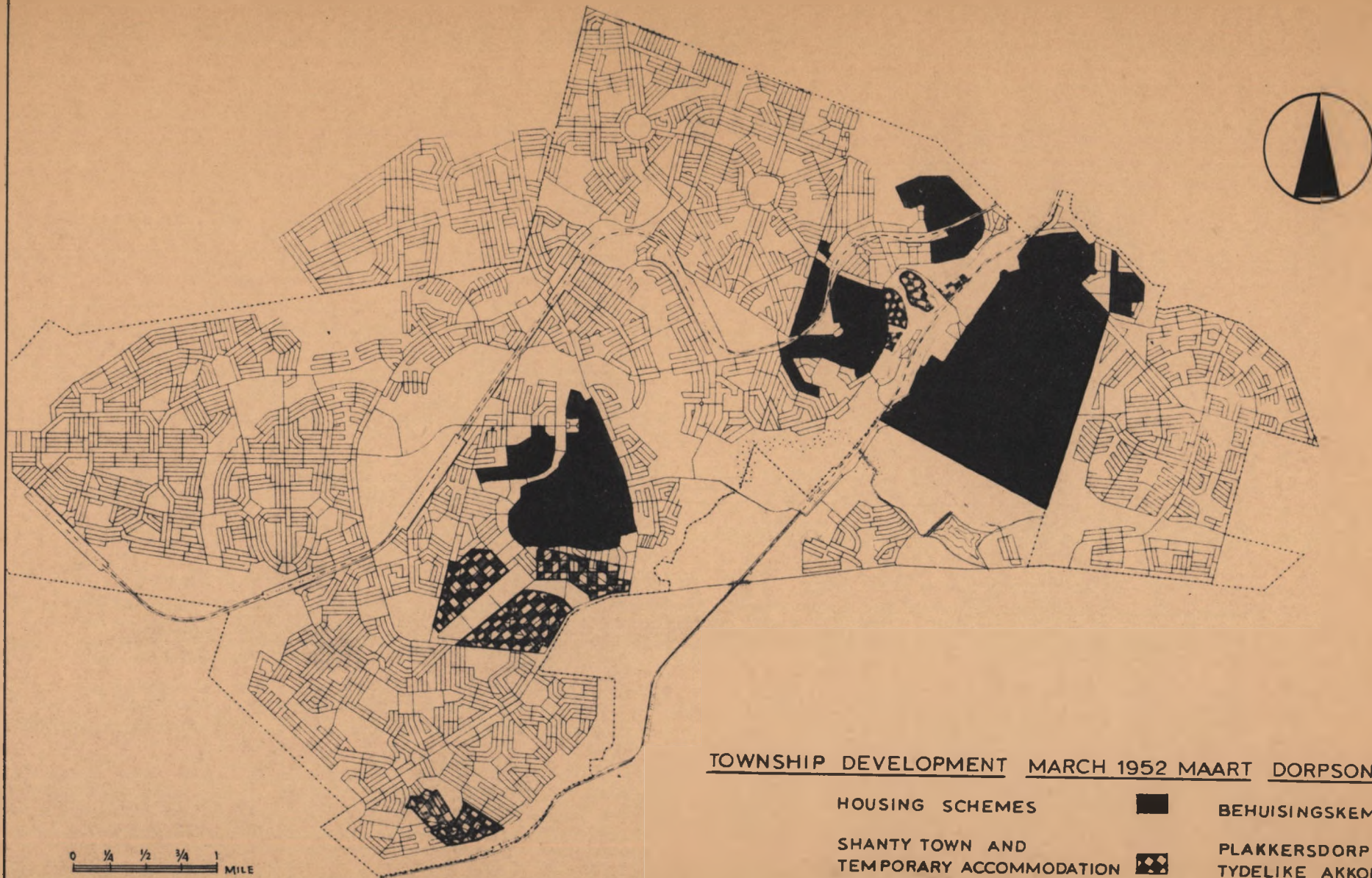


FIGURE 1.1

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WITWATERSRAND



TOWNSHIP DEVELOPMENT MARCH 1952 MAART DORPSONTWIKKELING

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| HOUSING SCHEMES                            | ■ | BEHUISINGSKEMAS                          |
| SHANTY TOWN AND<br>TEMPORARY ACCOMMODATION | ▣ | PLAKKERSDORP EN<br>TYDELIKE AKKOMMODASIE |

FIGURE 3.1  
FIGUUR

SOWETO

3. HOUSING:

3.1 General:

The phenomenal development in the Soweto complex since 1952 is illustrated on the map Figure 3.1. The areas in black or hatched represent the development existing at that date. At present, in contrast, there are only 1,500 vacant sites still available for development in the Council controlled Townships.

There are several social and economic forces shaping the future housing needs of the Bantu. Some of these have already been covered in the previous chapter but the main factors can be summarised as follows:-

- (a) the large family size of 5.2 has been maintained over the past 5 years and is likely to remain steady for at least a decade;
- (b) as a result the natural increase in population will be high;
- (c) rising standards of living linked with increased income provide a demand for facilities approaching White standards;
- (d) amongst these will be a gradual increase in private car ownership;  
and
- (e) a growing demand for more space for almost every activity.

3.2 Projections: Soweto:

In 1966 there were 62,000 dwelling units erected in Soweto. On the basis that there will be no material change in family size and that the present standards of density - eight families per acre - are maintained, the housing requirements for the period up to 1980 are indicated in Table 3.1.



TABLE 3.1

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF DWELLINGS REQUIRED - SOWETO (COUNCIL CONT.)

1966 - 1980

YEAR	POPULATION	HOUSES BUILT	HOUSES REQUIRED	TOTAL SHORTFALL ON 1966 FIGURE
1966	364,897	62,000	68,848	6,848
1970	408,799)	see below	77,132	15,132
1975	460,268)		86,843	24,843
1980	518,215		97,776	35,776

The following housing schemes are being planned for 1966 - 1975 on land either owned by the Council or where its purchase has been approved in principle:

	<u>No. of Houses</u>
i) Pimville/Klipspruit:	8,000
ii) Protea (plus-minus 800 acres):	6,500
iii) Emdeni:	400
iv) Emdeni Ext. 1:	3,640
v) Dube Ext. (106):	106
vi) Naledi Buffer:	1,200
vii) Mefolo South Ext.:	1,400
viii) Suitable individual sites in existing townships:	<u>1,500</u>
<b><u>TOTAL:</u></b>	<b><u>22,746</u></b>

This represents approximately 2,840 acres of land.

Unless additional land is purchased and developed for housing purposes by 1980 there will be a shortfall of 13,030 (35,776 - 22,746) dwelling units. This shortfall will require a minimum of 1,800 acres or 3 square miles of additional land.

3.3 Projections: Bantu Resettlement Board Area:

The following information has been obtained from the Bantu Resettlement Board:-

... 6/.

	<u>Population</u>
(a) Number of dwelling units erected - 23,451	122,169
(b) Number of sites undeveloped - 2,622	13,634 *
(c) Families still to be housed -	
Alexandra † 700 families	† 3,515
Race Course † 150 families	† 750
Peri-Urban † 200 families	† 1,000
<u>TOTAL:</u> † 1,050 families	
(d) Undeveloped sites available	
(b) - (c) = 1,572 sites	8,174 *

\* Number of sites x 5.2.

Based on an average increase of 2.4% per annum by 1980 the population will have increased naturally by † 78,000 to † 200,000 persons.

This increase will require approximately 10,000 extra dwelling units of which only 1,572 will be available leaving a shortfall of 8,428 dwelling units. At eight dwelling units per acre, 1,100 acres or 2 square miles of extra land will be required.

#### 3.4 Projections; Alexandra and Eastern Bantu Township:

Alexandra has a population of † 50,000 of which 3,515 are to be rehoused by the Resettlement Board. Of the balance, a number of families will be rehoused in areas under control of other authorities. From the figures contained in Section 5.2.3 of this report it is obvious that a large percentage of the Alexandra population will have to be housed by Johannesburg.

By 1980 the natural increase in population in or from these townships will also have to be housed. Depending on the percentage Johannesburg will be required to house, the extra land required could range from a minimum of 200 acres to as much as 1,200 acres. For the purposes of this report a mean figure of 700 acres is adopted.

... 7/.

In Eastern Bantu Township the population of 3,000 + is accommodated as 628 household units although there are over 1,000 families. The 1980 natural increase will require housing on approximately an additional 100 acres.

3.5 Summary of Extra Land Requirements - 1980:

<u>Area of Increase</u>	<u>Acres</u>
Soweto;	1,800
Bantu Resettlement Board Areas;	1,100
Alexandra and Eastern Bantu Township;	800
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>3,700 = 6 Square miles.</u>

The present Soweto complex controlled by the City Council covers 21.6 square miles and the increase necessary by 1980 is over one quarter of the area of Soweto.

3.6 Hostels:

26,000 single male and female Bantu are presently accommodated in hostels in the City and Soweto. There is a waiting list of some 6,800 persons.

In the Resettlement Board area there is one hostel housing 4,162 males and land has been reserved for further hostels for 11,000 males. A hostel unit for 2,000 males is in the course of construction.

In due course Alexandra will be redeveloped to provide hostel accommodation for single males and females in connection with the "Locations-in-the-Sky" programme.

The replacement of the Wemmer Hostel is a matter of extreme urgency and hostel accommodation for a further 10,000 persons will have to be planned and executed in the immediate future.

3.7 The Problem:

The problem facing the authorities is where the extra land is to be found. Factors in connection with this follow.

3.7.1. Extension of Soweto Boundaries:

- (a) Extensions to the north, north-west and east are virtually impossible.
- (b) Extensions to the south-west will not only result in housing being developed on dolomitic ground but will also result in lengthy journeys to and from work for the inhabitants.

3.7.2. Natalspruit Complex:

An extension of the Natalspruit complex to house the increase would appear to be logical, but once again involves lengthy journeys to work and would inhibit the natural expansion of the existing Bantu townships there.

3.7.3. Other Areas:

An examination of Map Figure 1.1 reveals that another possible area is to the north-west of the City in the vicinity of the Diepsloot Sewage Disposal Works.

3.7.4. Increase in Density:

The development of multi-storey housing on a major scale does not necessarily bring in its wake a very large increase in overall density. Land for extra schooling, parks, recreation and other amenities and facilities are natural corollaries. Multi-storey development is expensive and subsidization will be necessary to bring rents within the capacity of the Bantu income. In addition there is a prejudice by the Bantu against this form of living.

It is considered, however, that the State should subsidize a fairly extensive high density development as an experiment.

4. EMPLOYMENT:

4.1 Details of Employment:

The population census of 1960 shows the following Bantu employment figures in the main industry groups in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Area:

TABLE 4.1 : BANTU EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY GROUP \*

Industry Groups	Bantu		
	Male and Female	Male	Female
Agriculture, forestry and fishing:	5,049	4,865	184
Mining and quarrying:	33,016	33,005	11
Manufacturing:	53,231	47,705	5,526
Construction:	16,438	16,394	44
Electricity, gas and water:	4,929	4,911	18
Commerce and finance:	46,690	44,591	2,099
Transport, storage and communication:	8,721	8,660	61
Government, business, recreation and personal services (1):	130,098	59,454	70,644
Unemployed and unspecified:	46,255	24,418	21,837
Total economically active:	344,427	244,003	100,424
Not economically active:	304,606	106,828	197,778
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>649,033</b>	<b>350,831</b>	<b>298,202</b>

\* Bureau of Statistics - Vol. 2, No. 9, Report on Metropolitan Area of Johannesburg.

	Male & Female	Male	Female
Domestic Service:	86,434	22,005	64,429
Government Service:	17,152	16,910	242

The main employment categories for both male and female were domestic servants (86,434), manufacturing (53,231), commerce and finance (46,690), mining (33,016), government service (17,152) and construction (16,438).

As yet, female Bantu have not entered the manufacturing industry to any large degree, Coloured females are employed extensively - 4,340 out of a total female population of 30,560 are employed in the manufacturing industries. Only 286 Coloured females are employed in commerce and finance. The bulk of the female Bantu, as is reflected in the above table, are employed in domestic service.

A large percentage of male Bantu are migrant labourers in Johannesburg on temporary permit and in the following section it is proposed to provide details in respect of the household heads in Soweto.

4.2 Nature of Employment of Bantu Household Heads in Soweto:

In 1962 the University of South Africa \* conducted a socio-economic study of residents in the Bantu townships in Soweto. The following tables were extracted from the report:

TABLE 4.2: DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN THE BANTU TOWNSHIPS BY OCCUPATION.

Occupation	%
Professional:	1.8
Proprietor or Managerial:	4.8
Skilled Labour:	1.1
Semi-skilled Labour:	22.2
Unskilled Labour:	56.8
Administrative and Clerical:	3.9
Pensioners:	2.5
Housewife, no occupation or unemployed:	6.9
TOTAL:	100.00

At the same time information was obtained of the standard of education relative to the household heads, viz:-

\* Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa  
Research Report No. 6 1963.

TABLE 4.3: STANDARD OF EDUCATION

Standard of Education	%
No Schooling:	39.2
Evening School only:	.4
Day School (1 - 3 years):	7.2
Day School (4 - 6 years):	27.5
Standard 6:	19.2
Standard 8:	4.1
Matriculation:	1.1
University Degree:	.1
Teachers' and other diplomas:	1.2
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The two tables must be considered together in considering the Bantu as a potential labour force. Firstly, in regard to educational standards, only 6.5% of the household heads have a standard of education higher than Standard 6. This means that the part played by the Bantu in the economy of the City must for some considerable time remain firmly in the unskilled category. Figures in connection with schooling in Soweto as at the 30th June 1965 show that 77,364 children were attending school, but of these only 3,754 or 4.8% were attending high school. It can be expected that in the period up to 1985 an increasing number will aspire to and achieve a higher education and will be absorbed into the economy of their own areas, the Bantustans, and to a certain extent, in the economy of the City, depending on the opportunities afforded to them in terms of the existing legislation.

The main sources of employment for the household heads are in the central city in an unskilled capacity, in industry and in construction. The public sector, i.e. the government departments and the local authorities, are also employers of large numbers of Bantu.

4.3 Employment Facilities in Townships:

To date, facilities and opportunities for employment in the townships are minimal and whilst there are no accurate figures in this regard, the following facts provide a fair background:

At the 30th June 1965 there were 1,530 businesses in Soweto. The employment and self-employment figures would probably total no more than 2,000. Over and above these, there are the Bantu employed by the Council and the Government in Soweto and an estimate of these is 4,000.

Soweto, consequently, can offer only 6,000 work opportunities for its 377,000 inhabitants and whilst the work opportunities will grow, it is not considered that these will be a significant factor in the immediate future.

4.4.

Employment: Central Area and Industrial Areas:

Details from the "At Work Study" of the number of Bantu employed in the business, commercial and industrial activities of the central area and the number employed in the pure industrial areas are not yet available.

However, figures have been extracted for the Industria complex - approximately 29 acres of industrial land made up the sample - and for the Central Area, where approximately 69 acres of land was sampled. The figures for Industria show that  $\pm$  47 Bantu are employed per industrial acre of ground. Early in the 1950's the Bantu Affairs Department conducted a similar study of this complex and a figure of 25 Bantu per industrial acre was derived. There has been, consequently, a doubling of the Bantu labour force per industrial acre since then.

In the central area the figures vary considerably according to the intensity of development on the site and the use being conducted. Where there are residential



buildings in the sample zone the figure is as low as 156 per acre, increasing to 219 per acre where industrial activities are strong. These figures are based on actual numbers in existing buildings. If the sample areas are to be developed to the full extent permitted under the Town Planning Scheme in terms of the dominant uses existing, the employment figures would be approximately 220 per acre where flats are present to 500 per acre where the uses are dominantly industrial.

The Central Area, with its surrounding complexes, is a major employment centre for the Bantu.

The extent to which the Bantu is employed in the Central Area is revealed in the figures of the number of passengers boarding trains in the evening peak.

The stations serving the Central Area primarily are Westgate, Faraday and Johannesburg and it will be noted that some 38,500 passengers (57% of the total) board trains during the evening peak. Of these, probably 33,000 would have come from the Central Area.

Finally, it must be stated that the Central Area is now developed to approximately 50% of its potential. At the existing rate of development and redevelopment, new development is providing additional work opportunities for some 1,500 Bantu per annum.

\* TABLE 4.4 : TRAIN PASSENGERS LEAVING STATIONS IN THE JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPAL AREA : NON-WHITES : OCTOBER 1965.

Boarding Stations	Total 4 a.m.- 11 p.m.	Peak 4.15 p.m. - 6 p.m.	Estimate of Work Area Complex
<u>Rand Mineral Line</u>			
Westgate	22,102	13,183	Central Area and Industrial
Faraday	13,952	8,244	Central Area and Industrial
Village Main	2,443	1,744	Industrial
Booyens	4,975	3,347	Industrial
Crown Gardens	4,437	3,270	Industrial
	<u>47,909</u>	<u>29,788</u>	
<u>Main Suburban Line</u>			
Cleveland	2,423	1,636	Industrial
Tooronga	2,663	1,230	Industrial
Denver	3,238	1,158	Industrial
George Goch	5,981	3,519	Industrial
Jeppe	19,136	11,846	Industrial
Doornfontein	13,371	8,667	Industrial
Johannesburg	37,682	17,103	Central Area, Industrial and Suburbs
Braamfontein	13,986	7,833	Industrial and Suburbs
Mayfair	5,343	2,823	Industrial and Suburbs
Grosvenor	774	202	Suburbs
Langlaagte	4,237	1,728	Industrial
Croesus	14,691	9,787	Industrial
TOTAL:	<u>123,525</u>	<u>67,532</u>	
GRAND TOTAL:	<u>171,434</u>	<u>97,320</u>	

\* Figures supplied by the South African Railways and Harbours.

4.5 THE GROWTH OF EMPLOYMENT - BANTU MALES.

4.5.1 PAST TRENDS:

The following analysis is based on the official records of the Registration Branch and Employment Bureau of the Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Department.

During the period 1962 - 1966 the growth of employment in the Johannesburg proclaimed Labour Area (Johannesburg Municipal Area, Soweto (including the Bantu Resettlement Board) and a small proportion of Alexandra, (12,500 persons), amounted to 42,373 jobs.

This represented an average rate of growth of 4.3% per annum (Table 4.5). The male labour force was thus increased on the average by some 10,600 persons in each year during this 4 year period.

TABLE 4.5  
EMPLOYMENT TRENDS - BANTU MALES -  
JOHANNESBURG PROCLAIMED LABOUR AREA  
1962 - 1966

Year	Total Male Labour Force	% Increase	Growth in Employment
June 1962	225,578	-	-
June 1963	239,510	6.1	13,932
June 1964	243,001	1.5	3,491
June 1965	251,984	3.7	8,983
June 1966	267,950	6.3	15,966
			42,372
Average rate of growth per annum		4.3%	10,593

The relevant figures as to the source of new labour entrants is available only for July 1965 to June 1966.

TABLE 4.6  
SOURCE OF NEW LABOUR ENTRANTS - BANTU MALES -  
JOHANNESBURG PROCLAIMED LABOUR AREA  
JULY 1965 - JUNE 1966.

Source	New Entrants	
	Number	%
Johannesburg Proclaimed Labour Area:	3,090	17.87
Elsewhere:	14,204	82.13
	17,294	100.00

It is obvious from Table 4.6 that the natural increase in the male working population of Johannesburg was not sufficient to meet any substantial increases in the demand for labour. The demand relied largely on the immigration of males from outside the proclaimed area.

4.5.2 FUTURE TRENDS:

All projections are highly problematical as future changes in the level of economic activity; productivity; and economic policy will all affect future manpower requirements. Because of the unpredictability of these economic factors, any future labour trends can only be forecast on the basis of known past trends.

Three projections have been set out:-

- 1) The first is based on the assumption that the average annual rate of growth of the Bantu male labour force in the Johannesburg proclaimed area over the past four years will remain unchanged at 4.3% for the period of the projection, that is 1966 - 1980.
- 2) Since the period 1962 - 1966 was on the average one of abnormal economic expansion, a second projection was based on a slower average annual rate of growth of 3% per annum, in the male labour force.
- 3) In view of the present official policy of discouraging the further growth of employment opportunities for the urban Bantu, a third projection was based on

an even more conservative estimate of the annual rate of increase of 2% per annum, in the male labour force.

The future pattern may well fall in the region of the second projection.

TABLE 4.7  
EMPLOYMENT PROJECTIONS - BANTU MALES -  
JOHANNESBURG PROCLAIMED LABOUR AREA  
1966 - 1980.

MALE LABOUR FORCE

Year	At 4.3% Average Annual Rate of growth	Growth in Em- ployment	At 3% Average Annual Rate of growth	Growth in Em- ployment	At 2% Average Annual Rate of growth	Growth in Em- ploy- ment
1966	267,950	-	267,950	-	267,950	-
1970	317,096	49,146	301,579	33,629	290,037	22,087
1975	391,392	74,296	349,610	48,031	320,221	30,184
1980	483,094	91,702	405,291	55,681	353,548	33,327
		<u>215,144</u>		<u>137,341</u>		<u>85,598</u>
Average rate of growth per annum		15,367		9,810		6,114

The extent to which the projected increase in labour demand can be satisfied by the normal natural increase of the resident Bantu male labour force and the extent to which reliance will still have to be placed on Bantu male immigration is examined below:-

Calculations of the estimated Bantu male working population from local supply during the period projected, i.e. 1966 - 1980, were based on the following assumptions:-

- 1) That 51.6%\* of all Bantu males living under family conditions were and would continue to be economically active.
- 2) That 100.0% of those Bantu males living in Hostels and Compounds and privately housed in 1966 were and would continue to be economically active and that

this number would remain constant throughout the projected period since there would be no natural increase.

The results of the calculations are given in Table 4.8.

TABLE 4.8

PROJECTED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE RESIDENT MALE BANTU POPULATION: JOHANNESBURG PROCLAIMED LABOUR AREA.

1966 - 1980

RESIDENT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE BANTU MALES

Year	Council Controlled	Bantu Resettlement Board	Eastern Bantu Township	Elsewhere **	Total
1966	90,866	29,083	815	147,186	267,950
1970	102,306	31,977	943	147,186	282,412
1975	115,186	36,001	1,095	147,186	299,468
1980	129,688	40,534	1,269	147,186	318,677
** Hostels, Compounds, privately housed and an estimated 12,500 Bantu males from Alexandra.					

Table 4.9 indicates that the projected labour requirements in each five year period will be greater than the labour force expected from the resident population. This shortfall in the labour supply varies from an insignificant 2,500 Bantu males per annum, (under the 2% assumption) to ~~5,000~~<sup>6,000</sup> Bantu, males per annum (under the 3% assumption). Under the 4.3% assumption the shortfall reaches the figure of 12,000 Bantu males per annum.

\* The Trend and Pattern of Fertility in Soweto 1963.

TABLE 4.9

PROJECTED SHORTFALL BETWEEN THE RESIDENT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MALE BANTU POPULATION AND THE REQUIRED BANTU MALE LABOUR FORCE 1966 - 1980.

Year	Total Resident Male Labour Force	Total Male Labour Force at 4.3% Average Annual Rate of Growth	Short-fall	Total Male Labour Force at 3% Average Annual Rate of Growth	Short-fall	Total Male Labour Force at 2% Average Annual Rate of Growth	Short-fall
1966	267,950	267,950	-	267,950	-	267,950	-
1970	282,412	317,096	34,684	301,579	19,167	290,037	7,625
1975	299,468	391,392	57,240	349,610	30,975	320,221	13,128
1980	318,677	483,094	72,493	405,291	36,472	353,548	14,118
			164,417		86,614		34,871
Average Annual Short-fall			11,744		6,187		2,491

The implication of this analysis is that the future requirements of the Bantu male labour force cannot be met by natural increase and that continued immigration of Bantu males will be necessary. The volume of this immigration will depend on the future rate of economic expansion.

4.6 GROWTH OF WAGES AGAINST RISING COSTS:

It is not a simple matter to equate the growth of wages against rising costs, but certain information is available which provides a guide. Since 1945 the wages in two of the main sources of employment, namely manufacture and construction, have more than doubled, as the following table illustrates:-

TABLE 4.10  
GROWTH OF WAGES.

Year	Manufacturing R per annum	Construction R per annum
1945-1946	200	188
1960-1961	370	341
June 1964	456	432

Professor Samuels, Head of the Department of Economics at the Witwatersrand University, indicated in a recent broadcast that costs in South Africa since 1930 have doubled over each 20 year period. This means that costs compounded annually increase by approximately 3.5% per annum. The increase in wages tabulated above provides figures compounded annually at 4.4% per annum for the manufacturing group and 4.5% for the construction group. Thus the general mass of the Bantu have not really improved their position financially in the two decades 1946 - 1966.

The 1962 survey produced interesting figures on expenditure incurred by households in the Bantu townships. These figures are recorded for more detailed analysis and comparison in the future.

TABLE 4.11: AVERAGE EXPENDITURE  
OF HOUSEHOLDS - JOHANNESBURG.

Item	%
Food:	41.9
Clothing, footwear, etc.:	8.8
Hire purchase instalments:	5.0
Washing and Cleaning materials:	3.3
Cigarettes and Tobacco:	3.3
Bantu Beer and Alcoholic Beverages:	<u>3.9</u>
Total Commercial:	66.2
Services (fuel, light, taxes, education, etc.):	12.2
Transport:	6.0
Housing:	8.4
Miscellaneous:	<u>7.2</u>
Total:	100.00



TABLE 4.12: EXPENDITURE ON MAIN EXPENDITURE  
GROUPS ACCORDING TO INCOME \*

Monthly Income Group R	Food %	Clothing and Footwear %	Housing, Fuel and Light %	Transport %	Other %
0 - 9.99	54.9	3.5	26.6	-	15.0
10 - 19.99	49.1	4.6	28.2	3.9	14.2
20 - 29.99	45.3	5.7	25.2	5.6	18.2
30 - 39.99	43.2	6.5	20.1	5.5	24.7
40 - 49.99	44.4	7.3	17.7	5.9	24.7
50 - 59.99	42.9	8.7	16.7	6.0	25.7
60 - 69.99	42.0	8.6	15.1	5.8	28.5
70 - 79.99	41.8	9.5	13.8	6.2	28.7
80 - 89.99	41.5	10.2	13.3	6.1	28.9
90 - 99.99	41.2	10.2	12.8	6.8	29.0
100 +	37.1	11.8	9.8	6.4	34.9

\* Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa, Research Report No. 6, 1963.

These tables pinpoint that poor families, once they have paid for their housing, food and travelling, have virtually nothing left over for clothing, household goods or other amenities. In periods of inflation it is this section of the community which is the most seriously affected.

4.7 SUMMARY:

(a) It is obvious that the Bantu is as integrated into the commercial and financial economy of the City as he is in the industrial and services economy.

(b) As yet the female Bantu has not entered the employment field in industry and financial and commercial activities to any marked extent.

(c) The standard of education which the average Bantu can attain will limit the efficiency of the Bantu labour force for the foreseeable future.

(d) Scope for employment within the Bantu Group Area appears to be limited and unlikely to be of any importance for the period ending in 1980.

(e) The Central Area and its immediate environs is an important generator of Bantu Work opportunities.

(f) The demand for Bantu labour in the economy of the City is unlikely to be met by natural increase.

(g) Bantu wages barely keep pace with the rising costs of living and are a matter for extreme concern.

5. TRANSPORTATION:

5.1 Railway Service:

Details regarding the increase in passengers carried by the Railways to and from Soweto are contained in the following tables:-

TABLE 5.1: SOWETO \* TO JOHANNESBURG  
(ALL STATIONS)

Date	Full Day 4 a.m.- 11 p.m.	In crease	%	Peak 4-8 a.m.	In- crease	%	Height of Peak 5.30 - 7.15 a.m.	In crease	%
October 1963	153,837			124,651			87,046		
October 1964	166,868	13,031	8.5	134,643	9,992	8.0	96,728	9,682	11.1
October 1965	180,450	13,582	8.1	145,973	11,330	8.4	103,181	6,453	6.7

TABLE 5.2: JOHANNESBURG TO SOWETO \* (ALL STATIONS)

Date	Full Day 4 a.m.-11 p.m.	Increase	%	Peak 4.15-6 p.m.	Increase	%
October 1963	155,541			85,623		
October 1964	164,744	9,203	5.9	91,107	5,484	6.4
October 1965	171,434	6,690	4.1	97,320	6,213	6.8

\* Includes Resettlement Board areas of Meadowlands and Diepkloof.

The percentage increases for the height of peak travel will, in all probability, decrease over the years and the actual figures will depend on whether Soweto is increased horizontally and whether densities will be increased by vertical expansion. Should the increase in peak hour travel average at 5% compounded annually, then by 1980 the passengers requiring transport at the height of peak hours will be double. By 1985 the figure will be well over 250,000. This will throw an impossible burden on the existing service which has little prospect of being improved to meet the need.

A study conducted independently by the Research Section of the Non-European Affairs Department comes to the same conclusion that by 1983 some 250,000 Bantu will require transportation from the Bantu Areas. Details of this study are contained in Annexure B.

Planning for alternative forms of transportation must be taken up immediately with the Railways Administration.

5.2 COMMUTING BY OTHER MEANS:

5.2.1 Car Ownership:

In 1965 it was estimated that 19,500 vehicles were owned by the Non-White race groups. Of these, 13,800 were owned by Bantu, 3,700 by Asiatics and 2,000 by coloureds. This ownership applies to the whole magisterial area and includes Alexandra and Eastern Bantu Township; but unfortunately the figure of 13,800 has not been broken up into figures of place of residence. The White group in 1965 owned 169,000 vehicles.

The following table provides a comparison between vehicle ownership ratios of the two major race groups in 1965.

Race Group	Population	Vehicle Ownership	Population per Vehicle.
White	433,000	176,600	2.45
Bantu	377,249	13,800	27.0

Unfortunately there are no suitable statistics on which to estimate the number of vehicles owned by Non-Whites prior to 1965, consequently it is not possible to determine trends nor to make predictions. This is one study which will have to be dealt with in the future as it will have a very important bearing on variations of the transportation plan in relation to Soweto and the other Non-White areas.

It can be stated, however, that car ownership is closely related to wages and any appreciable increase in the wages of the Bantu will reflect an increase in car ownership.

5.2.2 Vehicle Movements:

Surveys of movements in and out of Soweto on the main two exit roads, namely the Orlando Road North of Noordgesig and the Old Potchefstroom Road, west of Baragwanath Road, reveal an increase, and once again these counts must be conducted over a number of years to establish a pattern.

The vehicle movements for a twelve hour period are:

Orlando Road:

Year	Into Soweto	Out of Soweto	Total
1963	3,052	2,580	5,632
1965	3,108	2,563	5,671

Old Potchefstroom Road:

Year	Into Soweto	Out of Soweto	Total
1963	2,085	2,108	4,193
1965	2,749	2,240	4,989

These figures indicate, as expected, no great change in the vehicle movements over the two year period, but periodic traffic counts should be conducted in the future to gauge any trends in this mode of commuting to work.

5.2.3 Bus Commuting:

There is no bus service of any significance carrying passengers from Soweto to the City. The desirability of a

service being instituted on express bus service lines is a matter that should receive early consideration to relieve the heavy overloading of the Railway service. The arterial link at present being planned (Project 6) would be the ideal route for this service and every step should be taken to expedite its construction.

It is estimated that 10,500 Bantu living in Alexandra Township and working in the Johannesburg Proclaimed Area are transported daily by the P.U.T.C.O. bus service, and approximately 2,000 travel daily by taxi or car.

6. SUMMARY OF FACTORS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

6.1 Factors:

- 6.1.1 Natural increase in the Bantu population will result in the population of Soweto increasing from 363,087 as in 1965 to 518,215 in 1980, an increase of nearly 50%. This excludes the natural increase in the Resettlement Board areas of Meadowlands and Diepkloof.
- 6.1.2 This increase will require a Group Area of a minimum of six additional square miles to be established.
- 6.1.3 Despite this increase, work opportunities in Johannesburg will exceed available labour unless mechanisation of industry to a greater degree comes about.
- 6.1.4 An increasing proportion of Bantu are employed in the commercial and financial economy, resulting in heavy commuting to the central area.
- 6.1.5 It cannot be visualised that the railway service which is tied to Main line and other suburban services can cope with the increased commuting demand.
- 6.1.6 Increases of Bantu wages are not sufficiently above increases of cost of living to permit the erection of higher density development without subsidisation of rents.
- 6.1.7 Transport costs at present take approximately 6% of the Bantu's income. Siting of group areas further afield will add to these costs.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS:

- 6.2.1 That representations be made for the creation of further group areas for the Bantu, bearing in mind that the Soweto complex is now virtually circumscribed.
- 6.2.2 That in this connection consideration be given to the Natalspruit area and the vicinity of the Diepsloot Sewerage Farm.
- 6.2.3 That representation be made for the subsidisation of rentals in high density development to permit this to become a practical possibility and a pilot scheme be formulated.
- 6.2.4 That urgent representations be made for investigations to be instituted by the authorities for the provision of further commuting facilities between Soweto and the City in the form of additional rail routes or monorail or express bus routes.
- 6.2.5 That relative to recommendation 6.2.3 the construction of the arterial route between Soweto and the City (Project 6) be expedited as fast as possible.
- 6.2.6 That the Central Government be requested to press for the further mechanization of industrial activities.
- 6.2.7 That, at the same time, in pursuance of expressed Government Policy to redress the population imbalance as between the urban and rural areas, the Government be respectfully asked to expedite by every means in its power, the creation of employment opportunities in the Bantu homelands.

POPULATION GROWTH AND MANPOWER IN  
THE JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA  
AND THE JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPAL AREA.

INTRODUCTION: A. JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA:

Of all the characteristics of Johannesburg's Bantu population, one stands out most significantly: the rapid rate of growth, at first mainly by immigration and more recently by natural increase.

The first Census of the Johannesburg Metropolitan area taken in 1911 showed a Bantu population of 101,971. In 1921 when the 2nd Census was taken 118,652 persons were counted indicating an average annual increase of 1.5%. Since 1921 the Bantu population has grown very rapidly, well above the Bantu national average. Between the 1921 and 1936 Censuses the average annual rate of increase was 4.6%, and between the 1936 and 1946 Censuses it increased by 5.3%. This period of abnormally high increase was followed by more moderate but still substantial increases.

TABLE I.

AVERAGE ANNUAL PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN BANTU  
POPULATION - JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN  
AREA CENSUS 1911 TO 1960 AS COMPARED  
WITH NATIONAL AVERAGE.

CENSUS YEAR	JOHANNESBURG POPULATION	METROPOLITAN AREA % INCREASE (Average Annual)	REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA % INCREASE (Average Annual)
1911	101,971	-	-
1921	118,652	1.5	1.57
1936	231,889	4.6	2.29
1946	387,847	5.3	1.73
1951	465,266	3.7	1.79
1960	622,831	3.3	2.65

Prior to the war years the Bantu population had been transient and the increase in permanent settlement very slow. But in recent decades and especially since 1946 an increasingly important contribution has been made by natural increase, as opposed to immigration. This is primarily the result of the more settled and balanced composition of the population, which was largely brought about by the strict application of regulations controlling the immigration, in the first instance of Bantu males and since 1963 Bantu females, into urban areas.

Today future growth rates of the Bantu population in the Metropolitan area depend primarily on natural increase rates, i.e. the excess of births over deaths. Reliable birth statistics are lacking, but the available evidence does not indicate a decline in the Bantu birth rate, which is high (between 38 and 42 per 1,000 population). This trend has been accompanied by a relatively low and declining death rate (1962 - 10.19 per thousand).

1. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE GROWTH OF THE BANTU POPULATION:

(a) IMMIGRATION:

The main contribution to the growth of the Bantu population prior to the 1950's was by virtually unrestricted immigration, predominantly male. During 1952 restrictions were imposed which greatly limited the net inflow of males. Increasingly restrictive legislation further reduced the inward movement of both male and female migrants in the 1960's. The postwar period has seen the change from a transient migrant population to a more stable and settled one. The part played by immigration in the growth of the Bantu population is now relatively insignificant. These trends are clearly reflected in the sex ratio, in the proportion domiciled in the Johannesburg Metropolitan area, and in the recent age and sex composition of the Bantu population.

(i) Sex Ratio:

Table II illustrates the trend towards a balanced sex ratio in recent decades. For some 50 years the Bantu male was the more migratory, and as a consequence there has been a striking disparity in the sex ratio. Since 1951 immigration has been selective in favour of the female, and today the sex ratio is more or less balanced.

TABLE II  
SEX RATIOS OF THE BANTU  
POPULATION - JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN  
AREA 1911 - 1960 CENSUSES AND 1965  
NON-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT ESTIMATE.

CENSUS	MALES PER 100 FEMALES
1911	2240.4
1921	771.4
1936	273.5
1946	176.8
1951	147.8
1960	117.6
1965	103.1

The Bantu people are in the early phase of their urbanization and still carry with them the large family tradition. The more marriages are made possible by the improvement in the sex ratio, the more large families there will be, and the more the birth rate will profit.

(ii) Domicile:

The proportion of the Bantu population domiciled in the Johannesburg Metropolitan area provides another indication of the relatively less transient nature of the present day population. In the 1960 Census 53.9% of the total Bantu



population enumerated in the Metropolitan area were domiciled in the area.

(iii) Age and Sex Structure:

The effect of past migratory movements upon the age structure of the Bantu population is illustrated by a comparison of their age and sex distributions for the Census years 1946, 1951 and 1960 (Figure I).

The 1946 pyramid shows that in 1946 the Bantu population still consisted predominantly of male migrants. The number of males within the age groups 20-39 years was disproportionately high, giving an abnormally high ratio of young adults to children and old people. By 1951 substantial changes had occurred in the age structure. Immigration of women had obviously been very significant as evidenced by the 'bulge' between the age groups 20-39 years. Accompanying the increase in the number of women in the childbearing ages was a marked increase in the numbers of children. Between 1951 and 1960 when immigration declined the most important development has been the trend away from the previous preponderance in the young and middle age groups to a rapid expansion in the youngest age groups.

(b) NATURAL INCREASE:


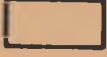
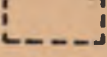
The previous analysis indicates that future growth in the Bantu population will be governed primarily by natural increase.

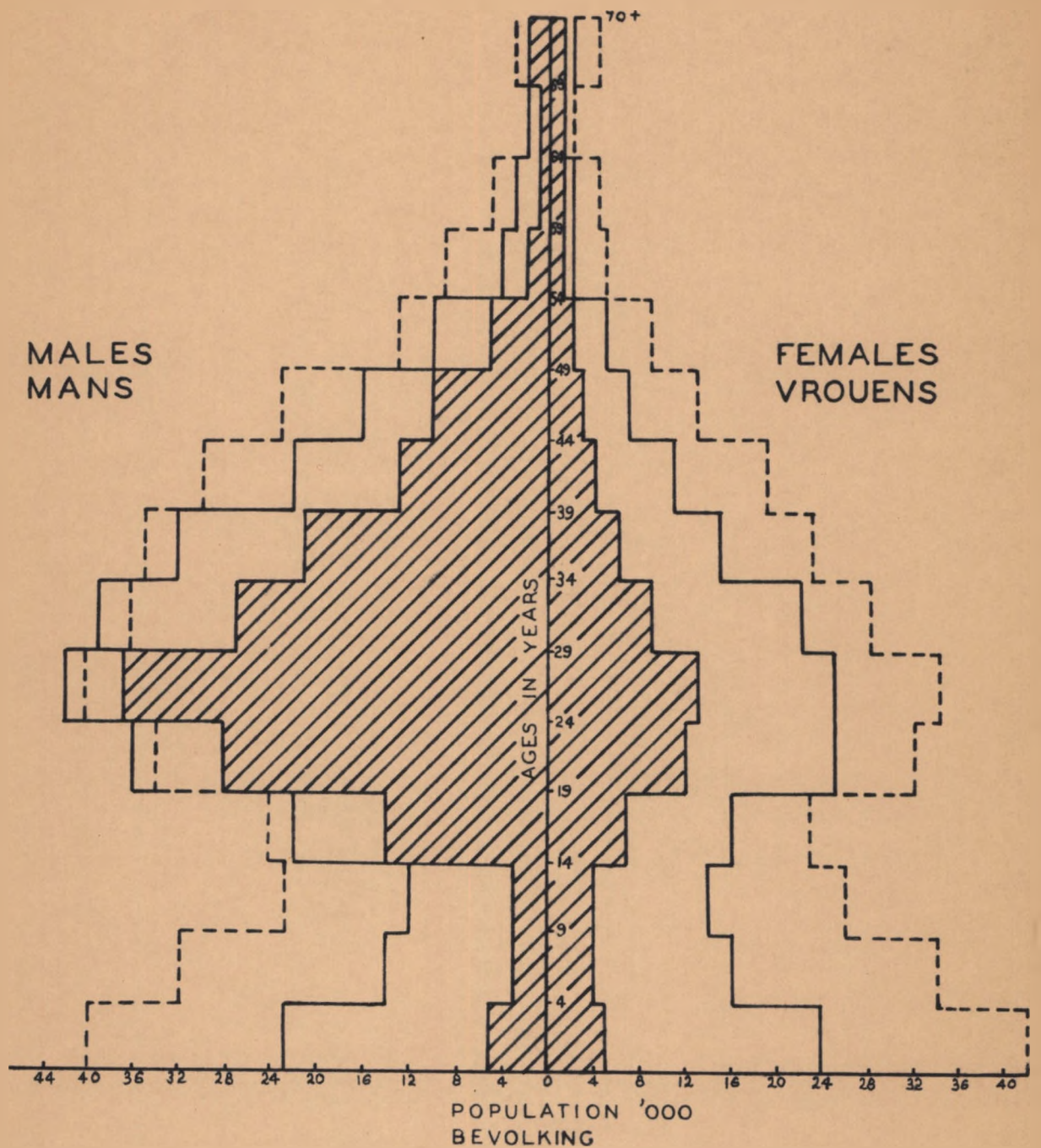
The Bantu population is characterised by very high birthrates and steadily declining deathrates. There is, as yet, no evidence of a decline in the birthrate and it is even possible that birthrates may rise as traditional contraceptive practices, such as prolonged lactation, with consequent restrictions on intercourse, breakdown under urban conditions. The sex/age composition of the Bantu population in the Metropolitan area seems favourable to a high rate of natural increase. The population includes relatively large numbers of young adults, that is persons who are of an age to produce children and of an age of low mortality (Figure I). The consequent tendency towards rapid growth, however, will not materialize unless a certain volume of immigration is permitted. If it ceases potential rates of growth will not be realized because the number of females in the 0-19 age groups is insufficient to replace those enumerated in the 20-34 age groups, i.e. the reproductive ages and the number of births must eventually decline relatively.

Two very important consequential results will flow from such a trend:-

- (a) The 'bulge' which is presently located in the 20-49 year age group will move upwards as time goes on and there will be a considerable increase in the number of aged unproductive persons, unless emigration becomes a factor, and
- (b) There will be a gradual decline in the proportion of the working population both male and female.

Future growth rates are highly problematical and depend largely on political and economic factors.

	1946 CENSUS SENSUS
	1951 CENSUS SENSUS
	1960 CENSUS SENSUS



ANNEXURE A AGE & SEX STRUCTURE OF BANTU POPULATION GROWTH — JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA

BYLAE A OUDERDOM EN GESLAGSAMESTELLING VAN DIE BANTOE-BEVOLKINGSAANWAS — JOHANNESBURGSE METROPOLITAANSE GEBIED

FIG. 1

An analysis of the projections made by Professor L.T.Badenhorst \* illustrates clearly the effects on trends if immigration and emigration ceased completely. Figure 2 illustrates visually the growth and changing pattern in the age structure of the Bantu population under these conditions.

The average annual rate of growth is predicted to decline from 3.3% to 1.2% between 1960-1970, and thereafter will remain constant at about 1.3% during the remainder of the projected period i.e. 1960-2000. This reflects the decline in the number of women of reproductive age and the resultant decline in the relative number of births.

TABLE III  
AVERAGE ANNUAL PERCENTAGE INCREASE -  
BANTU POPULATION JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA.  
1960 - 2000.




YEAR	NUMBER	% AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE
1951	465,266	-
1960	625,110	3.3
1970	703,040	1.2
1980	794,620	1.3
1990	898,460	1.3
2000	1,035,570	1.4

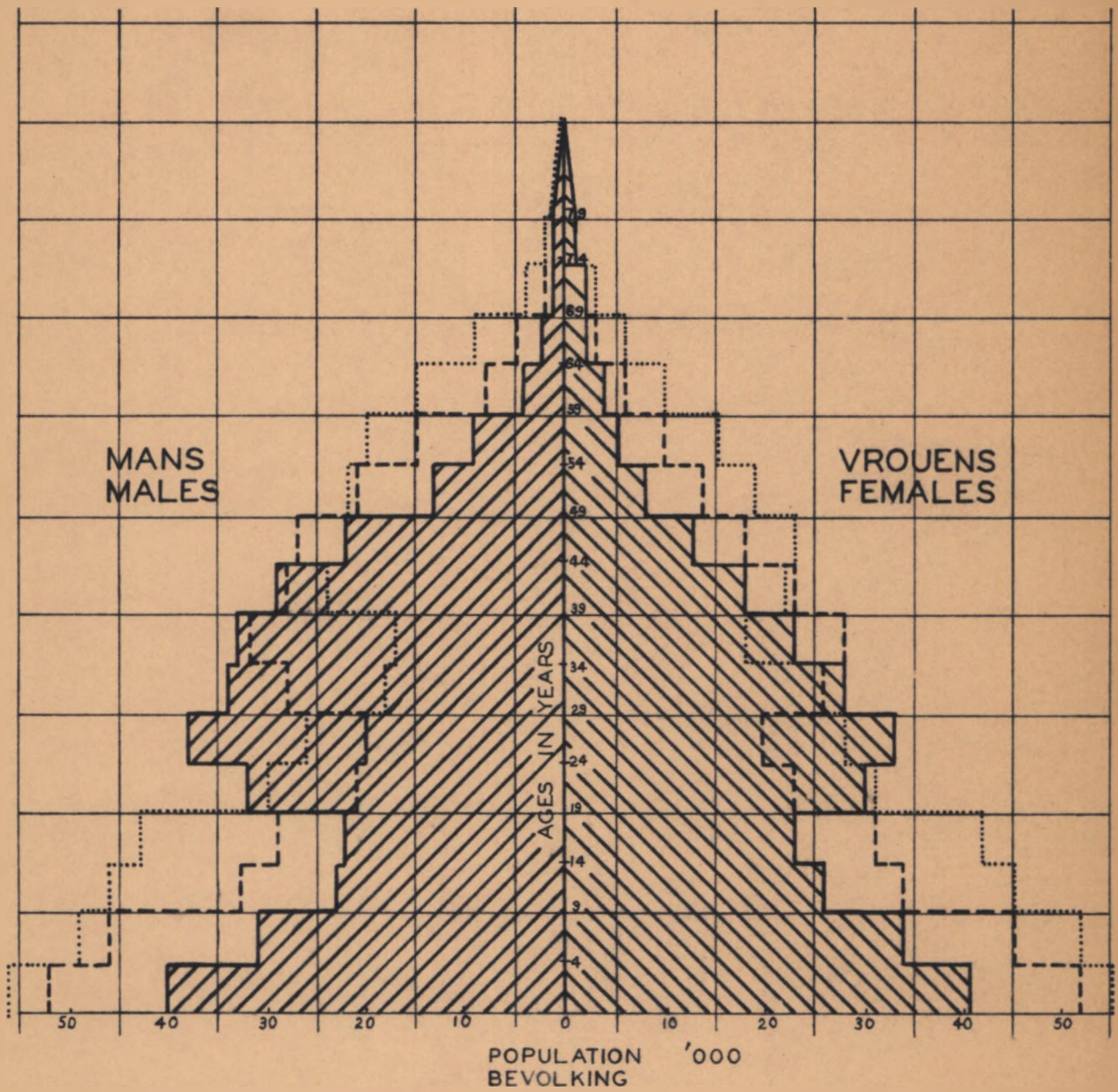
During the next 20 years the proportion of aged in the Bantu population will increase from 1.8% in 1960 to 3.3% in 1980. This effect is the direct result of the 'current' age structure - the upward rising bulge of the age pyramid causes an increase in both the number and proportion of the aged (Figure II). In the period 1980 to 2000 the upward trend will continue and by 2000 the proportion of aged will be as high as 6.1% of the total Bantu population.

TABLE IV.  
NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS  
AGED 65 YEARS AND OVER - BANTU POP-  
ULATION JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA.  
1960 - 2000.

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION 65 +	% OF TOTAL POPULATION
1960	11,400	1.8
1970	14,130	2.0
1980	26,440	3.3
1990	45,360	5.0
2000	62,870	6.1

\* Report on the Future Population of the Witwatersrand and the Probable Fresh Meat Requirements 1960-2000 - L.T.Badenhorst - 1963.

-  1960 CENSUS SENSUS
-  1970 PROJECTED BERAAMDE
-  1980 PROJECTED BERAAMDE



ANNEXURE A      PROJECTED AGE & SEX STRUCTURE OF BANTU  
POPULATION — JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA

BYLAE A      BERAAMDE OUDERDOM EN GESLAGSAMESTELLING VAN  
BANTOE - BEVOLKING — JOHANNESBURGSE METROPOLITAANSE GEBIED

FIG. 2

The amount of labour available is determined primarily by the size and structure of a population, since these factors establish the maximum limits of the number of persons who can participate in economic activity i.e. the number of workers available for employment. An analysis of trends in the sex/age structure therefore shows, approximately, trends in the absolute size of the labour supply. The analysis is on the basis of predicted changes in the number of males 15-64 years of age. The results indicate that the potential male working population will grow at an annual rate of less than 1% in each decade between 1970-2000. Between 1960 and 1970 an absolute decline in the potential male labour force is predicted.

TABLE V.  
NUMBER OF MALES AGED 15-64 YEARS -  
BANTU POPULATION JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA  
1960 - 2000.

YEAR	MALES 15-64 YEARS	% INCREASE/ DECREASE
1960	235,230	$\left. \begin{array}{l} -3.3 \\ + \\ 3.0 \end{array} \right\} \left. \begin{array}{l} 12.2 \\ + \\ 28.5 \end{array} \right\}$
1970	227,780	
1980	242,360	
1990	263,990	
2000	302,270	

The importance of the above analysis lies in the fact that it does give some indication of trends should political factors ignore economic needs. Should net migration \* decline much further or cease, the growth in the Bantu male labour force will be insufficient to meet the needs of a growing and expanding economy.

It is not considered that the aged section of the population will in fact increase at the predicted rate. a large proportion of the present labour force are still migrants and have no domiciliary rights.

Between 1960 - 1965, it is estimated that the Bantu population in the Johannesburg Metropolitan area increased from 625,110 persons to 713,808 persons. This increase represents an average annual increase of 1.4%. Since Badenhorst predicted that by 1965 the population would be 663,400 persons, if no emigration or immigration took place, some 50,408 of the estimated increase between 1960-1965 must be largely the result of net migration, during these 5 years. These figures imply that immigration is still a significant factor in the growth of the Bantu population. Whether, however, it is sufficient to meet future Bantu labour demands is a matter of conjecture.

\* Difference between the total number of persons arriving and the total number leaving.

The foregoing analysis has revealed that the most vital trend is the interdependence of total population growth and the potential labour force. If growth rates are reduced the potential labour will also be reduced and vice versa.

B. JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPAL AREA AND SOWETO.

The Johannesburg Municipal area and Soweto fall within the Johannesburg Metropolitan area. In 1965 some 69% of the total Metropolitan population lived in areas under the control of the Johannesburg City Council. It is submitted that the same forces which shaped the growth and structure of the Metropolitan area, shaped that of the Municipal area and Soweto, and that therefore future growth patterns and trends will closely resemble those of the Metropolitan area as discussed above in detail. This submission is based on the fact that the sex ratio and the proportions of the total population living under family conditions are almost identical in the two areas. Unfortunately no figures are available for the age breakdown in the whole of the Municipal area and Soweto.

TABLE VI.  
SEX RATIO AND PROPORTION OF TOTAL  
POPULATION HOUSED UNDER FAMILY CONDITIONS -  
JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA AND JOHANNESBURG.  
MUNICIPAL AREA INCLUDING SOWETO - 1965.

	JOHANNESBURG METROPOLITAN AREA	JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPAL AREA
Sex Ratio *:	103.1	103.4
Proportion of total population living under family con- ditions:	74.9	73.9

\* Males per 100 females.

An estimate of future Bantu population growth in the Municipal area between 1965 - 1980 has been made. It has been assumed that the average annual rate of growth is in the region of 2% and not 1.3% as evidenced by Badenhorst's projections. Badenhorst assumed gradually declining birth rates. However, a survey carried out in Soweto in 1963 showed no evidence in support of this contention. In fact even in the foreseeable future there was no indication of a probable significant decline. It is therefore contended that an average annual rate of growth of 2% would be a more realistic figure. Two projections have been made. The first is based on natural increase only and the second includes an allowance for nett migration. The projections have been limited to a period of only 15 years because of the uncertainty attached

to future immigration policy. In addition the longer the period of projection the greater is the potential margin of error.

TABLE VII  
BANTU POPULATION JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPAL  
AREA INCLUDING SOWETO 1965 - 1980.

Year	COL. A.	COL. B.
	Total Population on the Assumption of Natural Increase only.	Total Population Natural Increase Plus Nett Migration.
1965	495,774	495,774
1970	547,374	557,896
1980	667,242	703,883

Again the validity of the above figures is entirely dependent on the accuracy of the migration assumption. For example the figures in Col. A. will not be valid unless nett migration is reduced to zero. The validity of the figures in Col. B. depends on the extent to which the nett migration estimate has been accurately forecast - an almost impossible task. As Badenhorst says 'if during the period under discussion, there should be a change in Government policy in respect of the movement, settlement and resettlement of the Bantu population or even a relaxation in the application of the control measures, the picture may be quite different'.

As previously stated growth trends in the Municipal area and Soweto will follow the same pattern as those exhibited in the Metropolitan area. If the situation arose where nett migration were reduced to zero (Col. A.), an increase of some 1% per annum in the potential labour force would not be sufficient for any demand generated by a growing economy. The projections in Col. B. are based on the assumption of gradually declining nett migration rates. These projections imply a much higher rate of growth in the potential labour force. Whether this predicted increase will be sufficient, will be entirely dependent on the rate of expansion of the economy.

It must be stressed that in the discussions of labour force needs it has been assumed that the available labour force is basically inefficient, that is of low educational standard. If in fact the efficiency of the labour force were vastly increased, a slow rate of growth would not necessarily imply the conclusions reached above. This point is discussed more fully under the next section.

C. SOWETO:

In 1965 it was estimated that 363,087 persons were housed in Soweto under family conditions. This figure represents 73.2% of the total Bantu population under the control of the City Council of Johannesburg. The balance lived either in hostels or compounds or were housed at their places of work. (See Annexure A).

The population of Soweto represents the stable settled Bantu community of Johannesburg.

In 1963 projections of the Bantu population living in Soweto were made, based on the results of a Survey \* carried out by this Department. The projections were based on the assumption that future growth would stem from natural increase only. Such an assumption is valid in this area, since no Bantu can qualify for a house in Soweto unless he was either born or has been in continued employment for a minimum period of 10 years (one employer) or 15 years (more than one employer) in the urban area of Johannesburg.

The projections implied that the Bantu population of Soweto would increase very rapidly during the period 1965 - 1980. The average annual rate of increase would be in the region of 2.4%.

TABLE VIII  
BANTU POPULATION - SOWETO  
1965 - 1980.

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	% INCREASE
1965	363,087	-
1970	408,799	12.6
1975	460,268	12.6
1980	518,215	12.6

Such an abnormally high rate of growth has important social and economic repercussions.

Apart from the enormous increase which the growth would generate for additional social services (housing, schooling, etc.), the present low standard of living would be perpetuated and economic development retarded because high birthrates and high dependency rates are synonymous. The effects are that a disproportionately large share of income is spent on rearing children, thus educational standards remain low. Families cannot afford to allow children to remain economically unproductive and thus schooling is cut short. Low per capita income is maintained because educational standards are low. Consequently the labour force is prevented from becoming more efficient. It follows that the population with its low per capita income will be able to contribute very little towards the cost of the provision and maintenance of essential social services.

The solution would seem to be in lowering the birthrate and thereby reducing the rate of growth. Emigration is unlikely unless enforced by legislation. A reduction in the rate of growth, however, would eventually also reduce that proportion of the labour force supplied by Soweto. This would aggravate the potential labour shortage and should immigration be curtailed any further the position would quite likely deteriorate to the point where the Bantu labour force would decline absolutely. This decline would not seriously affect the economy

\* The trend and pattern of fertility in Soweto -  
An urban Bantu Community - 1963.



if an improvement in labour efficiency could compensate for the decline in numbers.

This would eventually happen if the birth rate in Soweto were reduced. The reduction in the birth rate would eventually lead to higher educational standards which in turn would eventually lead to a more efficient labour force.\*

It must be stressed that a reduction in birthrates is easier said than done. Demographic studies have shown that a decline in the birthrate is brought about by changing attitudes towards family limitation. The groups of the population, however, who first adopt new attitudes and practices are usually small in number, so that the general level of fertility only declines gradually over a long period of time. Any increase in educational standards must wait upon the decline in the birthrate to reduce the size of the family, before it can be effective and thus finally increase the efficiency of the labour force. The whole process will, in fact, take generations.

Although the creation of an efficient and stable labour force is a long term process it is an absolute essential in any economy. Unless and until it is achieved, continuous new injections of immigrants into the urban area will be necessary.

D. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS:

The growth and structure of the present Bantu population in both the Johannesburg Municipal and Metropolitan areas are the direct reflection of past migratory trends. The population is now more settled than migratory and future rates of growth will stem primarily from natural increase.

If no further restrictions on immigration are enforced, growth rates and probably the size of the labour force will be kept at a satisfactory level. If, on the other hand, immigration is further curtailed or totally restricted, the growth in the Bantu labour force will be inadequate to support any growth in the economy. However, it must be stressed that any major change in the rate of economic growth would render any predictions as to adequate size of the labour force null and void.

When considering growth rates and manpower trends, the most important factor is the complete interdependence of these two variables on one another. If growth rates are reduced the potential labour force is also reduced and vice versa.

\* This is, of course, an oversimplification of the problem. Improved economic incentives, that is, better occupational opportunities, pension schemes, etc., will have to go hand in hand with higher educational standards. The primary need, however, is higher educational standards to equip the Bantu labour force to take full advantage of any economic incentives.

This is the overall picture, but when the growth rates and the social and economic consequences of such growth rates, among the settled part of the community, that is, the Townships, are examined, an additional complication is introduced. Growth rates in the Bantu Townships are too high for economic development and the costs of providing essential social services for the predicted increase will be astronomical. It must, therefore, be generally accepted that growth rates should be reduced. Reduction, however, would lead eventually to a reduction in the proportion of the total labour force supplied by the townships. Although such a reduction would also eventually lead to a more efficient labour force, this trend would take many generations before effective, unless extraordinary methods of a "crash training programme" are invoked, similar to the Cott Scheme, or the intensified training of Bantu building workers by the Government and the Housing Division in the period 1956/1962. Therefore in the interim period, that is, between the actual decline in the size of the labour force and its improvement in efficiency, the Bantu labour force would have to be bolstered by additional immigration over and above predicted future levels.

The problem boils down to the need to create an efficient and stable labour force. An efficient labour force does not need to be as large as an inefficient one, because one efficient worker will be able to do the work of two or more inefficient workers. Only with a stable efficient labour force will urban areas be freed from their dependence on a certain volume of migratory inefficient labour.

CITY OF JOHANNESBURG  
NON-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.  
FUTURE RAIL TRANSPORT: SOWETO

"In 1965, the South African Railways took a survey of the number of passengers travelling from Soweto, the Bantu Resettlement Board Areas, Lenz, Kliptown and Nancefield to Johannesburg. The following figures were obtained:-

From 4.00 a.m. - 8.00 a.m. - 145,973 passengers.  
From 8.00 a.m. - 11.00 p.m. - 34,477 passengers.

It is assumed that all passengers travelling between 4 a.m. and 8 a.m. are economically active and therefore are daily travellers to their place of work. Passengers during the period 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. are probably casuals, that is, not daily commuters and therefore are ignored for the purpose of this report.

For the final projected calculation of the number of daily train commuters between 4 a.m. and 8 a.m. during the period 1963 - 1983 see Table III, Page 3.

In order to assess what proportion of those passengers travelling between 4 a.m. - 8 a.m. (i.e. 145,973) are Soweto (Council controlled) residents, the following two methods were used and applied to the relevant 1965 data:-

	<u>Number</u>
I. (a) 51.6% of * the total male population of Soweto is economically active:	90,866
(b) 28.0% of * the total women of Soweto aged 15-64 years are economically active:	27,906
(c) All Hostel residents of Soweto are economically active:	14,162
Total economically active (Soweto) 1965:	<u>132,934</u>
II. Total number of Households - Soweto 1965:	61,864
Average number of Earners per Household: +	<u>1.72</u>
Total number of Earners (Family Conditions):	106,406
Total number of Hostel Residents (Soweto) 1965:	<u>14,162</u>
Total Economically Active (Soweto) 1965:	<u>120,568</u>

\* Percentages based on 1963 Fertility Survey - Non-European Affairs Department.

+ Income and Expenditure Patterns - Urban Bantu Households Johannesburg Survey 1963 - Bureau of Market Research - University of Pretoria.

The above calculations imply that the total number of economically active persons in Soweto in 1965 was between 120,568 - 133,611. As both methods of calculation are theoretical and neither has a better claim to validity than the other, the average between these two figures was taken and it is assumed that the resultant figure - 127,000 was the economically active daily commuting population of Soweto in 1965. It is estimated that some 16% of this figure, that is 21,000, commuted daily by road. Therefore it is estimated that the balance, approximately 84%, i.e. 106,756, economically active persons commuted daily by train in 1965.

In order to estimate the probable future number of daily commuters during the peak hours 4 a.m. - 8 a.m. from Soweto to the Johannesburg area, the following theoretical bases were used:-

- (1) The calculation has been based on the 1963 Fertility Survey projections of total population in Soweto (Council controlled).
- (2) It is assumed that the proportions of total economically active population will remain unchanged during the period 1965 - 1983.
- (3) It is assumed that the proportion of the total economically active population travelling daily to work by train during peak hours, will also remain unchanged during the period 1965 - 1983.
- (4) It is assumed that during the period 1965 - 1983 there will be no immigration into Soweto or emigration.
- (5) It is assumed that one additional male hostel, accommodating 7,000 persons will be built between 1965 - 1968, and that no other hostel accommodation will be provided in Soweto.

On these assumptions the following estimates of the number of persons using the trains daily during peak hours were made:-

TABLE I  
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF DAILY TRAIN COMMUTERS  
DURING 4.00 A.M. - 8.00 A.M. : SOWETO (COUNCIL  
CONTROLLED) TO JOHANNESBURG AREA 1965 - 1983.

Year	Total Economically Active	Total Train Commuters 4.00 a.m. - 8.00 a.m.	% Increase
1963	108,037	90,995	
1965	127,090	106,756	17.3
1968	154,653	129,908	21.7 *
1973	174,949	146,957	13.1
1978	197,705	166,072	13.0
1983	222,659	187,034	12.6

\* This comparatively large increase is due to the 7,000 males accommodated in the additional hostel, which is to be built.

Table I indicates that during the 20 year period 1963 - 1983 the total number of train commuters from Soweto (Council controlled) will increase by 105.5%.

The above estimate is in respect of Soweto (Council controlled) areas only. Since commuters from the Soweto area to the Johannesburg area also include residents of Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Lenz, Kliptown and Nancefield, the following estimate of the number of daily commuters during peak hours, from these areas, has been made:-

TABLE II  
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF DAILY TRAIN COMMUTERS  
DURING 4.00 A.M. - 8.00 A.M. - BANTU RESETTLEMENT  
BOARD AREAS. LENZ. KLIPTOWN. NANCEFIELD TO JOHANNESBURG AREAS  
1965 - 1983.

Year	Total Train Commuters 4.00 a.m. - 8.00 a.m.
1963	33,656
1965	39,217
1968	47,727
1973	53,979
1978	60,996
1983	68,681

It is probable that the above figures are somewhat underestimated since Nancefield is due for development as a Coloured area.

The combined figures for Table I and Table II give the estimated projected number of daily passengers travelling during peak hours from the South Western Bantu Areas (including Nancefield, Kliptown and Lenz) to the Johannesburg area.

TABLE III  
ESTIMATED TOTAL NUMBER OF DAILY TRAIN  
COMMUTERS: 4.00 A.M. - 8.00 A.M. - SOUTH WESTERN BANTU  
AREAS. NANCEFIELD, KLIPTOWN AND LENZ TO JOHANNESBURG  
AREA.

Year	Total Number Daily Train Commuters 4.00 A.M. to 8.00 A.M.
1963	124,651
1965	145,973
1968	177,635
1973	200,936
1978	227,068
1983	255,715

In addition to the Annual Survey of the number of passengers travelling from Soweto Stations to the Johannesburg area, the Railways also conduct a survey of the number of passengers embarking at various stations within the Johannesburg area and proceeding to areas south west and south east of the city. These figures indicate that there is no significant change in the proportions of Bantu embarking at the various stations in the Johannesburg area.

TABLE IV.

PASSENGERS FROM JOHANNESBURG AREA TO SOWETO  
AND STATIONS SOUTH EAST OF THE CITY: 4.15 P.M. - 6.00 P.M.  
1960 - 1965.

<u>STATION</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>				
	1965	1964	1963	1962	1960
Westgate	13.5	14.2	14.7	15.6	14.6
Faraday	8.5	8.7	9.1	8.4	8.8
Village Main	1.8	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.3
Booyens	3.4	2.7	3.3	3.2	3.3
Crown	3.4	3.2	3.1	2.9	3.4
Cleveland	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.9	-
Toorong	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.1	-
Denver	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.1	-
George Goch	3.6	3.1	3.1	2.6	-
Jeppe	12.2	12.0	12.4	12.7	16.6
Doornfontein	8.9	7.7	7.9	8.6	9.3
Johannesburg	17.6	19.0	19.6	18.8	19.0
Braamfontein	8.0	6.7	6.4	6.9	8.4
Mayfair	2.9	3.0	3.2	3.3	4.0
Grosvenor	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.3	-
Langlaagte	1.8	1.7	1.7	2.0	2.0
Croesus	10.0	12.0	9.6	9.2	9.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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