

POLICIES FOR A NEW URBAN FUTURE
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POPULATION TRENDS

This publication is one of 0 series dealing with the issue of urbanisation and how South Africo is going to manage this important dynamic. It is the product of o moior five year study managed by the Urban Foundation's Urbonisotion Unit under the aegis of the Private Sector Council on Urbcmisotion - 0 forum which brings together the moior employer bodies, leaders from both urban and business communities and The Urban Foundation.

The study has involved considerable research by 0 wide range of academics under the guidance of 0 number of working groups, the synthesis of that research, the development of policy proposals on the basis of the research recommendations and the testing of both the research findings and the policy proposals with 0 very large range of people.

The intention in publishing this and other reports is to provide access tor all interested parties to the work of the Private Sector Council. In this way it is hoped that the debate on this critical cholienge tocing South Africa wiH be able to move forward on the basis of on understanding of the real issues facing the country.

With the completion ot the study and consequent publication ot its findings it is appropriate at this point to thank all those involved - the Chairman, the individual and organisational members of the Private Sector Council, the chairmen and members ot the working groups, the large number of researchers and consultants, those who participated in the many discussions to test the thinking that was emerging and most of all Ann Bernstein and the members of The Urban Foundation's Urbonisotion Unit who managed what hos been on extremely complex and demanding process.

This has been 0 proiect to which many have contributed. Its goal QQ is that ultimately the lives of millions of South Africans should benefit. i

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D Lvon Collier

Chiet Executive: Urbon Foundation

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INTRODUCTION

- INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

South African demographic realities have been changing rapidly, and will continue to do so in the future. The shifting size, characteristics and distribution of the South African population are clearly key considerations for effective national development planning. Thus, whilst a number of considerations have motivated the Urban Foundation to undertake a comprehensive analysis of South African demographic trends, one has been most important: the widely perceived need for a single body of balanced, accurate and internally consistent data on demographic trends for the country as a whole.

This document therefore summarises the results of several years of Urban Foundation and Private Sector Council research into South African demographic trends. It also summarises the development and planning-related policy implications of these trends. As such, the document provides an important empirical context for the other Urban Foundation and Private Sector Council research and policy documents to be released subsequently in this series.

- HISTORY OF URBANISATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

An understanding of both the motivation for, and the emphasis of the present document may be assisted by brief reference to the history of urbanisation and demographic change in South Africa.

At various stages in South African history, including periods earlier in this century, there have been phases of rapid urbanisation. For example, during the 1930s, South Africa experienced the large-scale rural-urban migration of white South Africans.

For most of this century, however, South African society has been structured so as to prevent large-scale black urbanisation. In essence it was officially believed that cities were for white people, that black South Africans were only (temporary sojourners) in these urban areas, and that they should live in the predominantly rural 'reserves'.

The implications and consequences of this approach have been immense, but increasingly apartheid ideology has come into conflict with the realities of a modern South Africa: the reality of a single, interdependent economy; a growing and irreversible rate of urbanisation; and the concomitant interdependency of black and white South Africans.

This conflict between traditional policy and socio-economic realities is to some extent now being incorporated into changes of official rhetoric and certain aspects of public policy. There are, however, many further policy implications that derive from recognising the magnitude and potential of contemporary urbanisation, some of which remain to be grasped by policy-makers (see

for example Bernstein, 1989)).
Moreover, the legacy of planning for urbanisation and development on a racial basis has left South African demographers with an inheritance of anomalous and often misleading census classifications. Such classifications - for example, divisions between homeland and South African' areas within the same urban region - perpetuate the traditional conflicts between socio-economic reality and official policy. In addition, the census operates on the basis of a very narrow definition of urban which is inappropriate to the complexity of the country's actual settlement pattern. For this reason, the Urban Foundation has adopted a new orientation or approach towards South African demographic data, which is explained below.

- THE URBAN FOUNDATION
APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICAN
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

The Urban Foundation (UF) approach to South African demographic data has been conditioned by four broad considerations. The first is that there is a broad range of (sometimes conflicting) estimates of the population of the various sub-areas of South Africa. and these discrepancies often bedevil rational planning and development work. if one cannot agree on where how many people are living, it is often difficult to reach consensus on planning priorities. The main reasons for such discrepancies derive from the widely acknowledged flaws in census enumeration of black South Africans. The approach that has been adopted towards such discrepancies and flaws is to find the most plausible combination of secondary estimates and adjustments to official statistics, and to adopt these as the core data for a UF Demographic Model' (see below). The second factor influencing the UF approach derives from the geographical and social units assumed in the census. With respect to geographical units, the definition of urban areas in the census, for example, does not correspond to the functional-geographical areas recognised by most urban geographers and planners (see also Coetzee, 1989). This sometimes leads to misunderstandings of both local planning requirements and the broader demographic forces at work in South Africa. Moreover, with respect to social units, the census' disaggregation of population statistics by race, whilst it is sometimes useful bearing in mind the development consequences of South Africans apartheid history, can often preclude a more holistic and realistic understanding of South African demography.

For these reasons. UF researchers have found it necessary to disaggregate and/or reaggregate census statistics into social and geographical categories that are more functional than those often used by officials, who tend to operate in terms of the assumptions of a particular political framework. The specific approach adopted here has been to distinguish between

- I Metropolitan areas
- I Cities and Towns
- I Dense (or closer) settlements
- I Rural areas.

The third category of area is only found in so-called homeland areas, because of the particular social, economic and land tenure arrangements that have operated there in the past. The other three categories of area straddle the officially-defined 'common area' and homeland areas' of South Africa (see Section 3).

The nature of urban areas as defined in the UF Demographic Model should be clarified in relation to the four categories listed above. Internationally, urban areas are defined according to density and economic criteria (ie the absence of

agricultural activity, and high population density). The first three categories of area (metropolitan, cities and towns, and dense or closer settlements) all qualify as being urban in these terms. Hence, by contrast with the census a wider, and more internationally accepted, definition of the adjective 'urban' is employed here. Instead of the more restrictive definition of urban areas, as officially-recognised, formally planned urban places, the UF Demographic Model differentiates between different types of urban settlement, but the UF notion of what constitutes an urbanised population in general is consistent with broader international definitions.

The emphasis of UF research is on the four types of functional-geographic area identified above. In order to make UF findings relevant to prevailing official definitions and debates, however, the data can also be disaggregated into government-

recognised planning regions, and homeland and non-homeland areas. The third consideration that has conditioned the UP approach to its demographic work concerns the analysis of demographic trends over time. The analysis of the functional-geographic distribution of population, and its projection forward through time, has many applications. The present document is, however, primarily concerned with describing the most reliable facts and figures concerning the South African population, and then evaluating the broad implications of these statistics for the South African development challenge. In this regard, the present document summarises the main trends emerging from the Urban Foundations most recent detailed demographic research, and situates these both in international perspective and in the context of South African development issues. To the extent that the dominant theme of South African demographic trends is that of urbanisation, the emphasis of the document naturally falls on the cities and metropolitan areas. Indeed, the general approach towards population growth in the UP research is that it is 'urban driven'. All demographic work is based upon some assumptions concerning demographic processes, and our key assumption is that it is necessary to first examine metropolitan growth rates, and then the absorptive capacity of towns. This is because metropolitan areas and towns are internationally understood to be the dynamos of demographic change (see Section 2). The situation on farms outside the homelands' is then assumed to stabilise after 1985, with a slight absolute drop in the case of coloured people. The homeland' rural area is assumed to be a residual in the UF approach: that is to say, the area is assumed to be more passive in the pattern of population dynamics.

Finally, it may be noted that the UP Demographic Model is policy-sensitive insofar as it identifies the historic impact of past policy, and the likely impact of future policies, but at the same time it does not over-emphasise the role of policy in influencing demography. That is to say, in projecting ahead over time, due recognition is given to the fact that policy influences on demography cannot really fundamentally alter demographic imperatives, they can only distort them.

- METHOD

The present document draws upon a range of primary and secondary sources identified in the reference list, but the principal source of information derives from several years of work conducted for the Urban Foundation by Dr Charles Simkins¹, one of the country's leading demographers. The results of this work have been widely tested with Urban Foundation staff and other experts in the field. The starting point of the research was the 1980 and 1985 census results,

although these have been considerably refined, adapted and adjusted via a range of supplementary data sources and indicators.

The figures so derived have allowed the construction of an Urban Foundation Demographic Model' for the entire country. This consists of population numbers by race and gender for each magisterial district for 1980 and 1985. There are also projections for each year subsequent to 1985 up to 2010. The population projections are not a simple extrapolation of 1980-1985 trends. They reflect careful analysis of the reasons for different rates of change in different areas and subpopulations, together with an evaluation of likely changes to these forces. The net result is that the model is not only able to predict accurately the overall rate of growth of the South African population in the years ahead, but also where this growth is likely to occur at different time intervals.

- ACCURACY

The UF Demographic Model has gone through several phases. Because there are various estimates of census errors and a

wide range of individual studies of the population sizes of different sub-areas, and because there are new estimates being released all the time, the model is regularly being 'fine-tuned' to accommodate new information. The point has now been reached where the model has gone through four comprehensive revisions in the light of new information and criticism, so that it is likely that further modification will involve only the finest of fine tuning. It should nevertheless be recognised that the accuracy of all forecasts declines the further one projects into the future. For example, one can be less confident of the exactness of projections to the year 2010 than one can of projections to the year 2000. In addition, even in the medium term there are a number of 'wild card' factors which affect the accuracy of population projections quite significantly: the case of a possible AIDS epidemic is an often-cited example. Given the paucity of reliable information on such possible (it unlikely) catastrophes, their potential impact has not been considered here. There is, therefore, a margin of uncertainty with our projections, as with all projections, since they are 'critically dependent upon the accuracy of knowledge of past or existing trends to establish future prospects.

The Urban Foundation is confident that it has accurate information on such trends, but it should be recognised that demographic statistics have not yet reached the state of reliability in South Africa that they have for example, in the United States or Europe, although they are likely to be a good deal more accurate than, say, those available elsewhere in developing countries. This is simply because of the relative amounts of time and resources that are available for data collection in different countries, and different levels of experience and expertise in data storage and analysis.

- STRUCTURE OF DOCUMENT

The structure of the remainder of this document is as follows:

I Section 2 provides a brief account of the international context for South African demographic trends, in order that the latter might be assessed against a yardstick of international precedent.

I Section 3 provides a broad overview of the past and expected size of the South African population in aggregate terms, and also examines the current and anticipated geographical distribution of this population.

I Section 4 describes and evaluates the implications of these demographic trends for specific metropolitan areas, regions, towns and cities in South Africa.

I Section 5 provides concluding remarks on the broader relevance of the demographic trends for the South African development

challenge.

Section Endnotes

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SECTION TWO:
INTERNATIONAL
CONTEXT

- INTRODUCTION

The broader demographic realities of South Africa approximate those typical of developing societies. That is, South Africa shares many of the characteristics of demographic trends in South America, or South East Asia. In order to contextualise properly South African demographic realities, it is necessary to reflect on international experience, particularly in the developing world.

- DEVELOPMENT AND
DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS:
INTERNATIONAL
EXPERIENCE

In virtually all developing countries there is a pattern to how population structure changes over time which demographers term the demographic transition¹. During this transition, economic development initially affects the death rate and only later the birth rate (Figure 1). That is to say, modernisation and economic development lengthens life expectancy (most significantly through reducing the infant mortality rate) without immediately reducing the average number of children born to families. It is only after several decades of experiencing economic development, and particularly urban life, that people reduce their family sizes.

The consequence of this lag is that overall population growth in developing countries tends to be rapid until, or after, birth rates decline to a level approaching the death rate. This is the situation (ie birth rate/death rate equivalence) which now characterises the advanced industrialised societies of North America and Western Europe, some of which are now experiencing slightly declining total populations, despite rapid population growth earlier this century.

BIRTH DEATH RATE (pa)
POPULATION

GROWTH RATE (5: pa)

South Africa will most likely reach this situation in about 30 years time. But in the interim our birth rates, whilst they are currently on a long-term declining trend, have consistently exceeded death rates for several decades. Moreover, it is likely that they will continue to do so - although at a decreasing rate - for three decades more. This puts us in the typical position of a developing country nearing the maturity of its relationship between economic development and demographic change: an apparent race between population growth and economic growth (Figure 2).

b PERIOD OF __,1
DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION

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Figure 2

As is illustrated in Figure 2, the generalised relationships between population and economic growth rates are such that, initially, rates of population increase exceed economic growth rates. Hence, whilst Gross Domestic Product (GDP) may be increasing in national terms, GDP per capita will often be declining. Modernisation has, in short, on the one hand expanded the capacity of the economy to produce goods, but it has on the other hand decreased the death rate and, hence, increased the population growth rate.

In time, the modernising effects of socio-economic change and urbanisation tend to reduce the birth rate to the point where the overall population growth rate declines. When the two curves on Figure 2 intersect, a mature relationship has been reached between population and economic growth rates, and GDP per capita will henceforth begin to increase.

South Africa's current position, in respect of the rate of natural increase in its population (or the difference between the death rate and the birth rate) (25% pa.) is such that it tends to compare closely with countries such as Brazil (natural increase 28% pa.) or Bangladesh (29% pa.). Mexico (3,4%p.a.) is an example amongst the developing countries which is most strained in this area. China (12% pa.) and India (1,9% pa) are some of the more positive developing country examples, although reservations have been expressed as to the methods that have been employed to achieve such low rates.

Unfortunately, South Africa's economic growth rate has not matched its rate of population increase during the past decade. In this respect South Africa, like many other African countries, is departing from the more general principles of the demographic transition/economic development relationship, as discussed above. The extent of divergence is not as great as has been the case elsewhere in Africa. but the trend is nevertheless a worrying one (See Section 5).

The idealised model described in Figure 2 should, however, not be viewed deterministically, since it is merely a generalization based upon the experiences of most developed and many developing countries.

Nevertheless, the general observation to be made at this point is that there are potentially important relationships between the economic policies and population policies of developing countries. Many countries' economic policies are, of course, designed to enhance or accelerate their overall level of economic growth, amongst other considerations. Population policy is less widely understood.

As Simkins (1990) explains, "population policy refers to a specific package of government policies assembled to achieve defined demographic goals". In many developing countries, including South

Africa, these policies are designed to reduce the population growth rate. Such policies can include: efforts to persuade people to have smaller families through the communication media and educational process; family planning programmes to provide health and contraceptive services; and the manipulation of economic incentives and disincentives for having children. Occasionally, population policy has also attempted to redirect the geographic distribution of a country's population, although such efforts are seldom directly related to attempts to influence overall population growth rates.

- URBANISATION

The geographical distribution of economic growth in all countries of the world is necessarily uneven (due mainly to the economies of agglomeration and scale offered by towns and cities), and therefore there is a corresponding tendency for the bulk of population growth in developing countries to be accommodated in the cities. Whilst there is a process of rural-urban migration in all these countries, it is

sometimes not understood that the bulk of urban growth actually derives from natural population increase in the cities and towns themselves. This is also true in South Africa.

A further (and countervailing) consideration is that international experience has shown that urbanisation tends to be strongly correlated with a reduction in birth rates in developing countries. There are several reasons for this, including perceptions concerning the cost of accommodating children in the Cities, the adoption of lifestyles approximating those in the advanced industrial societies, etc. The central consideration deriving from this trend, however, is that whilst urbanisation may appear to be a product of population growth, its medium-term effect is to actually reduce that growth.

South Africa's population as a whole was 57 percent urbanised in 1985 (urbanisation defined according to UN density/economic criteria, and not census definitions). This was close to average by comparison with other countries with similar levels of economic development. Table 1, below, sets out the urban population (as a percentage of the whole in 1985) for the twenty countries with GNP per capita closest to South Africa's.

Table 1: Levels of Urbanisation in Countries with Similar Levels of Economic Growth to South Africa (1985)

GNP per capita below SA GNP per capita above SA

Tunisia 56% Mexico 69%

Ecuador 52% Uruguay 85%

Mauritius 54% Hungary 55%

Colombia 67% South Africa Poland 60%

Chile 83% World Bank Portugal 31%

Costa Rica 45% estimate 56% Yugoslavia 45%

Jordan 69% UN estimate 57% Panama 50%

Syria 49% Argentina 84%

Brazil 73% Korea 64%

Malaysia 38% Algeria 43%

Average 59% Average 59%

Sources: World Bank (1988), Urban Foundation (1990)

- CITY SIZES

South African cities are still small by international standards, although in the future this will be less so (See Section 4).

Our two largest metropolitan areas - the PWV and Durban regions, for example, in 1985 were approximately 7 million and 3 million in size respectively, and the former is of course a constellation of several centres. By comparison, in 1985 Mexico City - the largest city in the world - had a population of 18 million, Sao Paulo 16 million and Seoul and Rio de Janeiro 10 million each. (Table 2).

Table 2: Selected City Sizes in the World (Millions)

City 1950 Size 1985 Size 2000 Size

Mexico City	3,1	18,1	26,3
Sao Paulo	2,8	15,9	24,0
Calcutta	4,4	11,0	16,6
New York	12,4	15,3	15,5
Seoul	1,1	10,2	13,5
Rio de Janeiro	3,5	10,4	13,3
Cairo	2,5	8,5	13,2
PWV	2,1	7,0	12,3
Los Angeles	4,1	10,0	11,2
London	10,4	9,8	9,1
Lagos	0,4	3,6	8,3

Source: United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization 1988

Moreover, the projected PWV2 population size in the year 2000 is such that it will be smaller than New York was in 1950; indeed it will be smaller than some 15 other World cities by the year 2000 (Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Tokyo, Calcutta, Bombay, New York, Seoul, Shanghai, Rio de Janeiro, Delhi, Buenos Aires, Cairo, Jakarta, Baghdad and Teheran will all be bigger). (Figure 3 identifies the cities discussed in this section).

On the other hand, it must be emphasised here that the PWV is currently speeding towards a population size that will put it amongst the worlds largest. Moreover, while South African Cities are relatively small in terms of population size, their

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Figure 3: Cities Referred to in Discussion of World Population Trends

actual geographical sizes are relatively overall population densities. In Figure 4, expansive, and scattered in form. This therefore, Johannesburg's population combination of moderate population density ranks low in comparison to other numbers together with geographically large world cities.

metropolitan areas results, of course, in low

Gross Population Densities for

Several World Cities

San Francisco Fl

Sydney 7g

Johannesburg

Los Angeles

London

Singapore 7

Sao Paulo

-

-

-

Lagos _

Taipei !

Mexico City '

Shanghai

Jakarta

Persons per hectare

Figure 4

Source: Mills (1986). Note that the Johannesburg figure referred to here relates to White Johannesburg only, and not to the much more dense black areas of Soweto, etc.

- GROWTH RATES

It is also true that the rate of growth of our larger Cities, both historic and projected, is not exceptional in world terms, particularly when compared to figures from many of the developing countries and some developed countries. With regard to the latter, Los Angeles increased its population by 61.2% between 1950 and 1960 and Toronto by 64.5% in the same period (United Nations, 1988). Table 3, below shows some of the more striking urban growth rates recorded in developing countries.

Table 3: Percent Population Growth Per Decade for Selected Cities in the Developing World

City	1950-1960	1960-1970	1970-1980
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Lagos	94.4	105.7	93.7
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Kinshasa	163.1	146.0	78.8
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Karachi	75.0	72.5	64.6
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Delhi	65.2	56.2	61.2
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Mexico City	71.1	74.7	58.7
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Manila	47.7	55.2	58.1
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Seoul	115.3	126.8	56.3
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Sao Paulo	75.4	69.8	55.9
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Rangoon	45.4	47.9	54.9
---------	------	------	------

Singapore	56.8	24.4	52.5
-----------	------	------	------

Caracas	92.6	61.8	49.5
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Jakarta	54.4	59.4	48.4
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Bangkok	52.0	49.3	43.4
---------	------	------	------

Bombay	40.6	44.1	42.6
--------	------	------	------

Calcutta	16.4	26.7	33.9
----------	------	------	------

Rio de Janeiro	45.7	41.4	28.4
----------------	------	------	------

Cairo	27.4	27.6	21.3
-------	------	------	------

Istanbul	49.5	91.7	4.6
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Average	66.0	65.6	50.4
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Source: United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization 1988

By comparison, for the ten year period

1970-1980 the PWV grew at 44%, and for

the period 1980-1990 the increase is

estimated at 42%. Only Durban, in the

period 1970-1980 compares with the

highest percentages in Table 3 with a ten

year growth rate in the region of 100%, and

there are special reasons for this rate (See

Section 4). It is striking, however, that in

one of the most rapidly growing economies

of the world during the 1950s and 1960s

10

(Korea). the leading city there, Seoul.

outstripped the much-noted Durban growth

rate of the 70's. Clearly. therefore. there is

no contradiction between urban growth and

economic growth: on the contrary. the

reverse can be the case. with urban and

economic growth processes appearing

to be mutually supportive (see the

forthcoming title in this series, Managing

M)-

Having said this, there can be no doubt that the growth rates of South African cities place them more in the developing country context, as opposed to that of the advanced industrialised nations. Table 4 below provides similar figures to those in Table 3 above, but for a selection of advanced industrial countries. It can be seen that, at least in the 1970s, these growth rates have been lower than has been the case in South Africa. The main inference that can be made is that South African urban planning demands, both of the present and the future, have more in common with those of the developing countries, and less in common with the developed world. This commonality is not restricted to simple growth rates, of course, but also extends to levels of income, employment, etc (see Section 4).

Table 4: Percent Population Growth for Selected Cities in the Advanced Industrial Societies

City	1950-1960	1960-1970	1970-1980
Madrid	44.1	51.8	27.3
Sydney	29.7	25.2	26.5
Toronto	64.5	44.8	16.1
Moscow	29.9	12.4	15.9
Los Angeles	61.2	28.5	13.0
San Francisco	20.1	22.8	6.3
Paris	30.7	15.4	3.8
Boston	8.0	9.9	0.7
Chicago	20.7	12.7	0.6
Hamburg	16.1	5.2	0.4
Manchester	0.4	0.0	-1.6
London	3.5	-1.3	-2.6
New York	14.7	14.5	-4.2
Average	26.4	18.6	7.8

Source: United Nations, Prospects of World Urbanization 1988

The lessons that can be derived from the international experience of managing (or mismanaging) rapid urbanisation are summarised in the forthcoming document in this series, The International Experience. These lessons need not be drawn out here, but it should suffice to note that there is no simple correlation between the rate of urbanisation or the size of cities and the quality of urban outcomes.

11

- SUMMARY

Reflecting on South African demographic circumstances in the light of international comparison:

I South Africa is in the middle of a demographic transition common to developing countries, where relatively high birth rates compared

to relatively low death rates yield a relatively high overall population growth rate. This is likely to continue at least until the year 2010,

In international terms, South African Cities are neither especially large, nor are they expected to reach population numbers that rival the world's largest Cities in the future. Nevertheless, in geographical terms, South African cities are scattered in form, and low in population density, and they will reach population sizes comparable to the largest cities in the developing World. as currently measured.

Natural increase in population is more important to the growth of cities than is migration.

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Urbanisation may appear to be a product of population growth but its medium term effect is to reduce population growth.

Whilst some South African cities have grown at relatively rapid rates, and some continue to do so, these rates are not out of keeping with international experience in both developing and some developed countries. Moreover, these rates of growth change over time and very high rates are not sustained indefinitely.

It is important to note that the South African urbanisation experience has most in common with those of developing countries.

Section Endnotes

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SECTION THREE: SOUTH
AFRICAN DEMOGRAPHIC
TRENDS

- INTRODUCTION

There are two broad aspects to the results of the UPS demographic research that have relevance at the national level: population growth rates, and the existing and changing geographical distribution of the population. Together these aspects of the results comprise the broader picture of South African demographic change.

- POPULATION GROWTH

As was noted in Section 1, having refined and adjusted the 1980 and 1985 census results, and having comparable figures for 1980 and 1985 by race and magisterial district, it is possible to project rates of change forward in time - the so-called 'population projection' exercise. Based upon this work, the following broad parameters of population growth emerge.

In 1980 the total population of South Africa (as in boundaries at Union) was 29,1 million, and in 1985 it was 33,1 million of which the following proportions were allocated to government defined population groups:

1980

72% Blacks (21,1m) 73% Blacks (24,5m)
16% Whites (4,5m) 15% Whites (4,9m)
9% Coloureds (2,7m) 8% Coloureds (3,0m)
3% Asians (0,8m) 3% Asians (0,9m)

1985

Based on the UF Demographic Models projections, by the year 2000 the total population will be 47,6 million and by 2010 59,7 million (almost double the 1985 figure), made up of the following proportions

2010

81% Blacks (48,5m)
10% Whites (5,8m)
7% Coloureds (4,2m)
2% Asians (1 ,2m)

2000

79% Blacks (37,3m)
11% Whites (5,4m)
8% Coloureds (3,8m)
2% Asians (1 ,1m)

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Figure 5 graphically illustrates in two different ways the broad trends referred to above. Obviously, the most important dynamic of projected demographic change is black population increase. In absolute numbers, there is an increase of black persons from 21,1 million in 1980 to 48,5 million in 2010: that is to say, a 130% increase over the 1980 black population. By comparison with this statistic, all other macrodemographic trends in South Africa tend to pale into insignificance.

It is important to emphasise here that black South Africans do not have such high growth rates because they are black. Rather, the statistics reflect differences in Class factors, geography and the historical sequence of the economic development/demographic transition relationship, all of which have been fundamentally influenced by political

inequalities. Black people are over-represented in the poorer groups and rural areas, for example, and internationally these groups and areas tend to have larger families.

A related point is that South Africa today has an extremely youthful population by world standards. The world averages are such that the segment of the total population that is in the age group 0-14 years, is 33%. (In less developed regions this average is 37%, and in more developed regions it is 22%). In South Africa in 1990, 23% of whites, 31% of Asians, 34% of 'coloureds' and 42% of blacks fall into the 0-14 age group. (Figure 6). Indeed, in 1990, two thirds of the black population are 27 years old or younger; and only one third of the black population 28 years and older.

In short, therefore, South Africa has an increasingly black and youthful population; and as South Africa passes through its demographic transition, the challenges posed by this youthful, black population are those that must come to dominate the development agenda. However, as is clear from Figure 7, the youthfulness of the black population varies geographically. In

South African Population Structure
1980 (29.1 Million)
Black 72%
Asian 3%
White 16a/o
Coloured 9%
2010 (59.7 Million)
Black 81%
Asian 2%
Coloured 7%
White 10%
Total Population in South Africa
1980 to 2010
Millions
301
20
10
0
. ' -w%
471.929
1980
(HID! Asian
I'm " " ' %
1985
Coloured
Figure 5
14
I
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2000 2010
m White W Black - Total

Percentage of SA Population in
0 - 14 Age Group by Race 1990

%
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w
40 A
30 . 9
20 9
10 1
O / / / / / '

White Asian Coloured Black

Figure6

Percentage of Black Population in
0 - 14 Age Group by Area 1990

%
60 /"
50 '
I ' // / ,
4o , / / 3
30A " " /
,w/
20 ' 9
10 9 r
O

SA Metro SA Urban Rural, Horn. Horn. Rural &
Meho & Urban Dense Settlement

Figure7

15

particular, urban and metropolitan areas have much less youthful populations. This reflects the well-known international tendency for people in cities and metropolitan areas to have smaller families.

- GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

In order to Clarify how the existing and future population of South Africa is, and will likely be, distributed within the country, the various magisterial districts of South Africa were categorised into four basic geographical types, and homeland/non-homeland distinctions within these types of area are made, where relevant.

It should be clarified here that the homeland/non-homeland distinction is made simply to illustrate the point that, in the past, these boundaries have influenced settlement patterns. In point of fact, in functional-geographic terms, these distinctions are arbitrary since there is a daily interdependence between the homeland urban and SA urban, and homeland metro and SA metro' populations, for example. The four basic areas under consideration are

I Metropolitan

(South Africa eg Durban)

(tHomelandi eg Inanda)

I Cities and Towns

(South Africa eg Nelspruit)

(tHomeland' eg Kangwane urban areas)

I Dense or closer Settlements

(tHomelandt eg Settlements in Bophuthatswana near Rustenburg)

I Rural

(South Africa', eg Northern Transvaal)

(tHomeland', eg central KwaZulu)

Some explanation of these types of place is required here. Metropolitan areas

16

comprise the entire functional-geographic settlements of: the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Pietermaritzburg, East London, OFS Goldfields and Bloemfontein. These are of course the largest urban centres in South Africa.

Cities and towns comprise those urban areas - again functionally-defined - which are smaller than the metropolitan areas, but which are established components of a fourth tier of a South African urban hierarchy, as described in Section 4. The specific centres included at this level are:

George/Mossel Bay; Kimberley;

Kroonstad, Harrismith, King

Williamstown/Zweelitsha; Lower Umfolozi,

Lower Tugela, Mtunzini, Port Shepstone,

Klip River, Newcastle, Middelburg, Witbank,

Balfour, Delmas, Heidelberg, Highveld

Ridge, Nigel, Barberton, Nelspruit, Pilgrims

Rest, all Kangwane urban districts,

Pietersburg/Seshego,

Potgietersrus/Mahwelereng,

Phalaborwa/Namakgale, Klerksdorp,

Oberholzer, Potchefstroom and Rustenburg.

Dense, or closer settlements, occur in

rural homeland areas only, but they are

agglomerations of mainly informal dwellings where people do not derive significant income from agriculture. Rather, most commute to work in urban or metropolitan centres (often 80km or more away). Such settlements are a relatively recent phenomenon in South Africa, and are a product of several factors including landlessness in the homelands, the shortage of land and residential accommodation for black South Africans in or near to cities, towns and metropolitan areas, forced removals and the comparative ease with which informal settlements can be established in homeland areas. Rural areas comprise those areas in which there are relatively lower population densities, and relatively high proportions of income derived from agriculture. Whilst

Figure 8: South African Metropolitan Areas and Homelands

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m METROPOLITANAREAS

E1 HOMELANDS

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. ATLANTIC OCEAN

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GEORGE. Kavv-

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ZIMBABWE

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Gaunkulu

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Folgrelersru

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WITBANK

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PIEYERMARITZBUHG.

Eden ano-

INDIAN OCEAN

they include smaller towns and villages that service rural hinter-lands, the great bulk of the population of such areas are settled on the land.

Comparisons of the 1980 and 1985 numbers located in different areas reveal that, with the exception of the black population, there is a fair degree of consistency in the 1980 and 1985 geographical distributions, with the whites, Asians and 'coloured' subpopulations remaining highly urbanised - that is to say, living in one of the first three categories of area listed above (92%, 95% and 82% respectively in 1985).

- MIGRATION

By contrast, black population distributions are changing and, given that black population growth is the most significant overall growth trend, these changes assume a special significance. The major changes that occurred in the geographical distribution of the black population in the period 1980-85, due to migration, were as follows:

I The areas of net out-migration were mainly the rural areas in 'white' South Africa (ie not the homelands although some migration occurred from here).

Menopoma

Urban

Rural

HomebndMer

Homeland Urban

Homeland Dense

Homeland Rural

92000 -1500

X White

I The areas of net in-migration were overwhelmingly the metropolitan areas, and most particularly the homeland component of the metropolitan areas (eg Winterveld in Bophuthatswana near Pretoria, Inanda in KwaZulu near Durban, etc).

Figure 9 illustrates the trends referred to above in quantitative terms, and Figure 10 in more schematic terms; Contrary to popular opinion, then, people have not been moving en masse from the homelands into white cities. Rather, most have been moving from white farming areas into informal settlements, especially behind homeland 'fences' that are near to the metropolit

The UF Demographic Model (1990) reveals that the homeland components of the Bloemfontein, Durban and PWV metropolitan areas have been the recipients of the largest numbers of migrants. These include the Botshabelo, Inanda and Winterveld areas as some of the largest informal settlement areas in South Africa, and the major points of arrival for the flows sketched in Figure 9.

Figure 9

Net Migration 1980 to 1985

91000

Coloured

18
11111
-500 0 500 1000
Thousands
1: 1 Asian 9:15 Black

Migra'rion IIOIII/3 irI SOII'I'II rXfrI3c
1980 3 I)93 in 39 'rIerrIa'ric form
COMMON AREA
homeland meiso
Figure 10
IVligra'rIon floIII/3 IrI SQII'I'II Afri3a
I990 2000 in 3c'nematic Iorm
COMMON AREA
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s: I m,'3',g
ii 'I.i . EL L.
k .
Homeland mCiIo
Figure 11
19

These historical movements, it should be emphasised, have been largely conditioned by the policy of separate development or apartheid, since influx controls, constraints on land availability, etc effectively displaced black people from the 'white' common area into the 'homelands'. Even so, some migration to SA metropolitan areas is apparent, particularly in the Cape (UF Demographic Model, 1990). Moreover, it should be emphasised here that migration patterns - whilst they are significant - are by no means the most important determinants of rates of urban and metropolitan growth. Indeed, as cities grow larger, the proportion of their overall growth that is accounted for by migration, declines. In addition, it should be recognised that geographical patterns of migration are likely to change over time. Figure 11 (See p. 19) illustrates the projected migration flows for the period 1990-2000, as derived from the UF Demographic Model (1990). The major difference by comparison with the 1980-85 period, it may be noted, is that it is anticipated that there will be major flows out of the homeland rural areas, and major flows into the SA metropolitan areas. In the comparisons of 1985 and projected 2010 geographic distributions of the black population to follow, therefore, it should be recognised that rates of natural increase are the most important contribution (about two thirds) to patterns of urban growth, and not migration patterns (which contribute only about one third); and, moreover, that migration patterns are likely to change over time.

- STATIC PATTERNS

As far as static geographical patterns are concerned, of a 1985 total black population of 24,5 million the following geographic distribution emerges (Table 5) -

Table 5: Black Population Distribution, 1985

SA Metropolitan -

Homeland Metropolitan -

SA Urban -

Homeland Urban -

Homeland Dense Settlements -

Subtotal: tUrban _

SA Rural -

Homeland Rural -

Subtotal: tRural _

TOTAL _

21% (5,2m)

14% (35m)

7% (1,6m)

3% (0,8m)

8% (1,9m)

53% (13,0m)

14% (3,4m)

33% (8,0m)

47% (11.4m)

100% (24,5m) (rounding)

By comparison, out of an anticipated black population of 485 million in 2010 the following geographic distribution is

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envisaged, based on current demographic trends and anticipated trends in employment, land availability, etc (Table 6).

Table 6: Black Population Distribution, 2010

SA Metropolitan -
 Homeland Metropolitan -
 SA Urban -
 Homeland Urban -
 Homeland Dense Settlements -
 Subtotal: tUrban, -
 SA Rural -
 Homeland Rural -
 Subtotal: tRural -
 TOTAL -

30% (14,3m)
 19% (9,3m)
 7% (3,3m)
 5% (2,4m)
 8% (3,9m)
 69% (33,2m)
 7% (3,4m)
 25% (11 ,9m)
 32% (15,3m)
 101% (48,5m) (rounding)

It should be noted that no decreases in absolute numbers are expected anywhere in the 1985 -2010 period. However, a comparison of the proportional geographic distribution shown for 1985 and 2010 will reveal that the major anticipated shift is from the rural areas to the metropolitan areas, irrespective of the so-called homeland/SA divide (see Figure 12). Metropolitan areas in 1985 (both homeland and SA) had a total black population of 8,7 million. These same areas in 2010 are projected to have a total black population of 23,6 million: an increase of over 270 percent.

Change in Black Population Distribution
 1985 to 2010

Metro Areas -
 Homeland
 Metro Areas
 Urban Areas -
 Homeland
 Urban Areas
 Homeland
 Dense Areas
 Rural Areas - , -

-10 -5
 Change in % Distribution
 Figure 12
 21

- SUMMARY

I South Africa's population as a whole is growing rapidly and, in particular, the black population will more than double in the period 1980 - 2010. The growth of this section of the population has particular development consequences insofar as the younger, least-skilled and poorest sections of South African society are concentrated here. However, to consider racial categories alone can blur important geographical differences, for example, in growth rates or rates of natural increase, and racial categories are therefore not always useful demographic variables.

I Very few areas of South Africa are actually losing population in absolute terms, but the main areas of out-migration have been the white rural areas. This is likely to change in the future with the homeland rural areas becoming major areas of out-migration.

I The main areas of in-migration and

22

population growth have been the metropolitan areas, most particularly the homeland part of the metropolitan areas. In the future, SA metropolitan areas are likely to be the main areas of in-migration. However, migration is not the principal source of metropolitan growth - natural increase is.

I Whites, 'Coloureds' and Asians have largely stabilised both in terms of population growth and geographic distribution.

I In 1985 the black population was 53 percent urbanised, of which almost one half was in the homeland part of the metropolitan/urban areas.

I By the year 2010, 69 percent of the black population is expected to be urbanised, more than two thirds of which will be in the metropolitan areas. It seems highly unlikely that the homeland concept will be relevant at this stage, and it is therefore probable that the associated artificial divisions within our metropolitan areas will fall away in future.

SECTION FOUR:
IMPLICATIONS FOR
METROPOLITAN AREAS,
CITIES, TOWNS AND
REGIONS

- INTRODUCTION

South Africans demographic changes will clearly be felt most strongly in the urban and metropolitan areas. For this reason it is worth considering some of the more specific demographic projections for these areas, and their potential planning implications.

- SOUTH AFRICA, S URBAN
HIERARCHY

The concept of an urban hierarchy provides a useful orientation to the various levels of urban centre that exist in South Africa. In all urban systems there is a gradation between largest and smallest centres, and urban planners have developed the concept of an urban hierarchy to describe this gradation. Whilst it is generally the case that the gradation between largest and smallest centres approximates a continuum, research throughout the world has also shown that there often are breaks in this, so that it is possible to identify distinct 'tiers' of cities and/or towns of similar size: hence the concept of an urban hierarchy (Figure 13). In the South African case this also appears to be true, although much depends upon what is regarded as a distinct centre.

Throughout the UPS demographic research work, it has been assumed that a centre is defined by functional-geographic criteria. Towns, cities or metropolitan areas are therefore defined as including all suburbs or settlements in which the bulk of the population interact with each other on a daily basis. Thus, for example, Maitland is regarded as part of East London and the Winterveld as part of Pretoria, despite the artificial interruption of homeland

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boundaries, and an associated degree of spatial fragmentation.

A slightly more complex issue concerns the definition of large metropolitan areas which are made up of a constellation of centres. The major example of this, in the South African case, is the so-called Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) metropolitan region. As early as 1974 the PWV had been identified as a single, functional metropolitan area (URRU, 1974), although there are still some, today, who would argue for the isolation of Pretoria from the Witwatersrand for planning purposes.

The position adopted here is that the PWV is a single metropolitan complex but, to allow for some difference of opinion, the discussion and analysis that follows occasionally separates out the Pretoria and Witwatersrand components as separate entities.

If the PWV is regarded as a single metropolitan complex, then it is clear that it

dominates the South African urban hierarchy as the primate centre at the first tier', followed by a second tier of metropolitan areas comprising the Durban and Cape Town regions. Below this is a third tier of major centres - Port Elizabeth, Pietermaritzburg, East London, OFS, Goldfields, Bloemfontein - which, together with the first and second tier centres - comprise the metropolitan areas as defined in the UF Demographic Model (1990).

It should be emphasised that the South African urban hierarchy has a normal configuration, and that no one centre overwhelmingly dominates, as is often the case in developing countries. The PWV, for example, is approximately twice the size of the Durban metropolitan region, Durban and Cape Town are approximately twice the size of Cities in the next tier, etc. In discussion to follow, therefore, the focus is on intra-urban or intra-metropolitan issues, and not city size distributions.

The Concept of an Urban Hierarchy

PWV

City

Size

Durban, Cape Town

. . . . Port Elizabeth etc.

etc...

Number of Centres

Figure 13

- BROADER METROPOLITAN

TRENDS

The two most obvious changes that are occurring in respect of the populations of all metropolitan areas are those of size, and racial composition. Figure 14 illustrates the size point insofar as all the metropolitan areas are concerned.

It is clear from Figure 15 that Blacks are becoming the increasing majority group in the metropolitan areas, and that the overall scale of the metropolitan areas will increase

24

almost threefold during the period 1980-2000. The former point, in particular, has enormous implications for policy. as previous development policy has been built around very different assumptions concerning the black urban population, and its permanence and size.

We are, in short, in a period of fundamental transition towards large, predominantly black metropolitan areas. The implications of this trend for specific cities and metropolitan areas are considered below.

Population in South African Metropolitan
Areas 1980 to 2000
Millions
Pret PE Pmb v EL OFS Bloem
GF
\$31 1980 W41 1985 - 2000
Figure 14
S.Afs Total Metropolitan Population
by Race 1980 to 2000
Millions
25/
20 i
1
15 - _1 /
D
10 7 . . - 0 'o%'o'o'o'o'o'o.o%.o.
2029.0'o%'o%fp
\$ka
1980 1985 2000
rovovovo
'o%'o'o%'o%
rzozozozozozozozozo
v.0...o.m.o 0.0.0 o.
w Black 8.8% White % Coloured m Asian
Figure 15
25

- THE PWV METROPOLITAN
REGION

If the PWV is conceived as a single metropolitan complex (which it functionally is, and increasingly will be) its total population by the year 2000 will be 12,3 million people. Looking further ahead still to the year 2010, the PWV will have a total population of 16,5 million – that is, the size category of Sao Paulo today.

Figure 16 shows the actual and expected geographic distribution of the PWV population through 25 year periods. It can be noted that the relative dominance of the Central Rand has been maintained over time, and this dominance can be expected to continue through to the year 2010. Clearly an increase in the density of development will have to occur in the future for this pattern to be realised. This should not be difficult, since by comparison with cities elsewhere in the world which have two or three times the PWV's population (eg Sao Paulo), the PWV region is in fact very large in spatial terms.

Indeed, the emphasis of future planning policy in the PWV, given demographic trends, should be on managing urban concentration, rather than deconcentration (Fair, 1989).

A further point to be considered is that, not only will an increasing majority of PWV dwellers be black, but a significant proportion are and will be housed informally. That is to say, they occupy garages, outbuildings or backyard shacks in formal townships, or they live in shacks in so-called free-standing settlements (or settlements of hastily-erected shelters in open land areas near to the city). Given the current housing shortage and demographic trends, it is likely that the proportion living in such poorly-serviced circumstances will increase over time. Urban Foundation estimates are that, by 1988, there were some 7 million persons living in informal circumstances in South Africa (ie free standing shacks, backyard shacks, outbuildings), with just over half of 26

these living in the PWV (2 million) and Durban (1,7 million) metropolitan regions (Bernstein, 1988; Schlemmer and Wooley, 1988)

in the Durban case, those living in informal settlements constituted approximately one half of the overall metropolitan population (see discussion of Durban below).

In other cities, the proportion of the population that is housed informally is smaller, but the rate of growth of such settlements is very high. Initial estimates of the rate of growth of the informally housed population for the PWV region, for example, indicate very rapid growth. The number of backyard shacks here (the predominant form of informal housing in the PWV) increased by about one third between November 1987 and March 1989. This is not necessarily a precise indicator of

increases in the informally housed population, since persons per dwelling have decreased in the same period. Nevertheless, the fact that, at this rate, the number of informal dwellings could double in five years within the PWV is certainly striking.

The most recent Urban Foundation research, now nearing completion, indicates that in 1989 there were 635 000 informal dwellings in the inner PWV region (ie excluding homeland areas otherwise always assumed as part of PWV elsewhere in this document) comprising 49 000 free-standing shacks, 422 000 backyard shacks (in townships) and 164 000 occupied outbuildings (in townships). This compares to 412 000 conventional/formal township houses in the PWV. The total estimated population occupying the informal dwellings was 2 546 000 and the equivalent for formal townships was 2 392 000.

In this context it should not be at all surprising that the racial composition of the PWV region is rapidly changing. Isolating out the two major parts of the PWV - the Pretoria and Witwatersrand regions - the figures show that nearly all past and expected future growth is in the

PWV Population Distribution in 25 Year Intervals

Figure 16

Sources: Union Statistics for Fifty Years, Urban Foundation Demographic Model (1990). Note that the boundaries assumed for the PWV here are slightly smaller than assumed elsewhere in this document, to allow for direct comparison between two data sources. Hence the data here should not be directly compared, for example, to figures elsewhere in the document on the PWV. Their relevance is strictly for comparative purposes between 1960, 1985 and 2010 within the PWV.

Population Distribution of Pretoria

1980 to 2000

Thousands

4000

3000

2000

1000

Includesw Rafokeng Brits; Rronkhorstsm

(?ulllnnn wamdebum Mornmle PFUIOFIH

fihonhdnquvu Wondmtxxun

Figure 17

Population Distribution of Witwatersrand

1980 to 2000

Millions

7 i

6

5

4

3

2

1

0

1980

F110;; Black iiififlf White 21 Coloured ,. I Asian

Includes... Albln Bononl Bksbg Brkpn

Grmstn Jhb Kmptn Pk qump Hndhq Rndfntn

Hdprt Spmlqv. Wulm

Figure 18

28

5000 0 A

form of extensions to the black population (Figures 17, 18).

There are a number of policy implications which derive from this brief discussion of the PWV. Perhaps the most important is that, thinking of the PWV as a metropolitan region of some 12,3 million persons in just ten years time, requires a quantum leap in planning concepts. South Africans are not yet used to planning on such a scale, and questions arise as to what new institutional forms will be required for its effective management.

There are, in addition, a number of related issues concerning the PWV's future as have been outlined in a recent paper (Bernstein, 1989b). In essence, these concern whether a policy of 'deconcentration' will be the most effective approach towards managing growth in the PWV, given the more powerful logic of concentration; whether there is a creative 'vision' of the PWV's development future and, if not, what this could be; and whether it is possible to meet the challenges of urbanisation in the region if we persist with racial thinking on urban issues.

- THE DURBAN

METROPOLITAN REGION

The growth of the Durban metropolitan region has been, and is likely to be, no less spectacular than the PWV (although it is of course smaller in absolute terms). Indeed, as noted earlier, Durban's rate of growth during the 1970s nearly paralleled the fastest growing cities in the world, since its 1970 total population of approximately 1 million was doubled ten years later. Since then, growth has also been rapid but declining. (See Figure 19).

Durban's rapid growth over the last two decades has been partly facilitated by the close proximity of homeland boundaries (within 15kms from the city centre), and the relative ease of access that people therefore had to land for purposes of erecting informal dwellings.

For this reason, the rate of growth of informal settlements there has been

Metropolitan Durban Population

1980 to 2010

Millions

1 980

272 Coloured

2010

2000

\$N Black - Total

Figure 19

29

particularly rapid, although this rate is likely to slow down in the future. On the other hand, even taking this slowing-down into account, the Durban metropolitan area will have a population of some 4,4 million by the year 2000, and some 6 million by the year 2010 (Urban Foundation, 1990f).

It is sometimes not understood that the rapid growth of informal settlements in a metropolitan area such as Durban is less due to migration than to population increase in the urban areas themselves. Even during the more rapid phases of the growth of informal settlements in Durban, the majority of residents of such settlements were in fact people of urban, as opposed to rural origins (Schlemmer, 1985).

The Urban Foundation's (1990) demographic model indicates that much of the same would have been true in recent years, and will continue to be true in the future. For example, of the total black population increase for the Durban metropolitan area for the period 1985-90, 102 600, or less than thirty percent are indicated to be migrants, from any quarter (Urban Foundation, 1990).

The planning and development Challenges posed by Durban's growth have recently been outlined in a report by a panel of planning and development specialists (Tongaat-Hulett, 1990). Amongst the more important challenges, according to this group, are

- I the need for the upgrading of services and conditions in informal settlement areas (almost half of the metropolitan areas population does not have direct access to electricity and running water)

- I the need to expand employment and economic growth (under a worst case scenario, there could be a labour surplus of 70% of the economically active population by the year 2000)

30

- I the need to promote more compact city growth and 'infill' development (thousands of hectares of land remain undeveloped within 20km of the city centre, yet some of the highest residential densities are 25km from the centre in informal settlements)

- I the need for a greater spatial balance between the location of work opportunities, and the zones of rapid residential growth (the bulk of industrial land use is in the south but the bulk of residential growth is in the north)

- I the need for metropolitan co-ordination of planning and development (at present, some dozen government departments are involved in aspects of Durban's metropolitan planning).

- I the need for the removal of racially discriminatory laws (the Group Areas Act in particular prevents

rational metropolitan planning).

- CAPE TOWN METROPOLITAN

AREA

The Cape Town Metropolitan area has, until fairly recently, not been strongly affected by the major demographic force described in this document _ that is, black population growth and urbanisation. Even by 1985 only 20% of the Cape Town metropolitan areas' 224 million total population was Black. This was largely because of the so-called 'coloured labour preference' policy and the operation of the pass laws - albeit with declining effectiveness _ until 1986, but the situation is now rapidly changing. It is projected that Blacks will comprise 28% of Cape Town's 3,3 million total population by the year 2000, and about one third of a total population of 4 million by the year 2010 (see Figure 20). Up to the present, by far the bulk of Cape Town's increase in its black population has been accommodated in informal settlements on

the Cape Flats, and this trend is expected to continue into the future

Cape Town's growth has been noteworthy for its 'Coloured' population, if government-defined classifications are to be used. This group comprised more than half the total metropolitan population in 1985, and it is likely to remain the largest of these groups until the year 2010. By that time, however, the black population of Cape Town will be near to the size of the so-called Coloured population.

A separate document on the Cape Town Metropolitan region has been recently released dealing with the demography and planning problems of the region. These aspects need not be considered in any detail here (Urban Foundation, 1989). It may be noted, however, that the legacy of not planning for black urbanisation in Cape Town has left the city with some unusually harsh informal settlement conditions, and associated planning challenges.

In addition to many of the policy issues already referred to in the PWV and Durban cases, the Urban Foundation (1989) report identifies the following issues:

- I land availability for low income housing (eg how to supply 30 000 plus new units per annum, and speed land release),

- I costly and inefficient transport systems (eg lengthy journeys to work and traffic congestion in Cape Town),

- I health problems posed by poor housing and living conditions (eg TB rates appear to have increased dramatically),

- I potentially negative impacts upon the bio-physical environment owing to inappropriate management of rapid urbanisation (eg problems of waste management, water, air quality etc).

Metropolitan Cape Town Population
1980 to 2010

Millions

88 Asian m White

KW; Black

Figure 20

31

- Total

m Coloured

- THIRD TIER METROPOLITAN AREAS

Outside of the PWV, Durban and Cape Town there are other metropolitan centres which have been growing quite rapidly, and which will continue to do so in future. Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, East London, Pietermaritzburg and the OFS Goldfields, for example, comprise a third tier of 'intermediate cities' or smaller metropolitan areas within the South African urban hierarchy. Table 7 below indicates the population sizes of these cities in 1985 and 2010 respectively

None of these Cities will approach the size of Cape Town, Durban or the PWV today (1990), and only Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein are expected (in 2010) to reach the sizes attained by Durban and Table 7: Population Growth in Third Tier Centres

City	1985 Total	%Black	2010 Total	%Black	%Inc.
Port Elizabeth	815 900	(54%)	1 901 200	(71%)	(230%)
Bloemfontein	525 000	(77%)	1 021 000	(84%)	(94%)
Pietermaritzburg	425 000	(67%)	844 000	(77%)	(99%)
OFS Goldfields	395 000	(80%)	891 000	(88%)	(126%)
East London	380 000	(74%)	823 000	(84%)	(117%)

Cape Town twenty years ago (ie 1 million plus). On the other hand, Port Elizabeth's growth is remarkable and if an effective regional development policy was to be pursued in the future which focused on the role of so-called 'secondary cities', it is possible that a (small) further portion of the growth currently anticipated for the major metropolitan areas could be absorbed here (see the forthcoming document in this series Regional Development Reconsidered).

It is important to note, that, even without growth stimulation, these centres will pose important development challenges in the future. The case of Port Elizabeth should serve to illustrate. At present, forty to forty-five percent of the black population live in informal circumstances - a figure only marginally below the much noted case of Durban. Moreover, estimates of black unemployment in Port Elizabeth vary between 40 and 50 percent. In short, therefore, the development challenges of

Port Elizabeth are no less urgent, and in certain instances more difficult, than those challenges relevant at the first and second tiers in the urban hierarchy. The same point could be made in respect of the other centres in this tier.

- SMALLER CITIES AND TOWNS

Considering a rung of smaller cities and towns, just below those described in Table 7 in size terms. it can be noted that their expected demographic growth paths are not markedly different from those discussed above. Four centres, George/Mossel Bay. Kimberley, Middelburg/Witbank and Pietersburg are selected here as typical of a category of towns expected to reach sizes of between 100 000 and 250 000 by the year 2010. As in all other cases in this

document. these centres are defined in
functional-geographic terms, so that all
urban residential districts immediately

served by their CBDs, for example, are included in the statistics that follow. As can be noted from Table 8 below, overall growth rates of the fourth-level centres are expected to be slightly slower than those third tier centres discussed above (although note that the comparison is for different periods); and their expected racial compositions are expected to change in about the same way as those at the second tier (although not as much as is expected as the first tier). Indeed, it is clear that, with the possible exception of the Southern Cape, the racial compositions of smaller cities and towns will come increasingly to resemble those of the metropolitan areas.

A major policy consideration for the future is how these smaller cities will come to terms with the demographic forces described here, since many of them are not used to seeing themselves as growing or integrated entities.

Table 8: Population Growth in tFourth Tier, Centres
Town/City 1985 Total (%Black) 2000 Total (%Black) (% inc.
15y

George/Mossel Bay	91 300 (9%)	118 200 (11%)	29%
Kimberley	160 000 (46%)	220 300 (51%)	38%
Pietersburg/Seshego	67 800 (57%)	92 300 (68%)	36%
MiddelburgNVitbank	150 900 (56%)	199 700 (66%)	32%

- REGIONAL VARIATIONS

The contrasts between the George/Mossel Bay and Pietersburg cases discussed above, for example, draw attention to the possible existence of regional variability in demographic trends - ie possible differences between the Cape, Natal/KwaZulu, the Transvaal, etc.

Zietsman and van der Merwe (1986) have provided a detailed analysis of the 1980 census at the regional scale, whilst Zietsman (1988) has examined regional patterns of migration for the 1975-80 period. The UF Demographic Model (1990) is also capable of yielding similar insights for the post-1980 period, up to the year 2010.

The insights revealed by such analyses, however, do not go much beyond those already revealed in this document. There
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are, of course, significant regional differences in ethnic-linguistic variables in South Africa. The Zulu language, for example, is obviously dominant in Natal/KwaZulu, and the Afrikaans language is dominant in the Cape (Zietsman and van der Merwe, 1986; van der Merwe, 1989). Likewise, lcoloureds, are more widespread in the Cape, and Indians are more common in Natal, than they are elsewhere. Nevertheless, neither Zietsmanis (1988) research nor the results from the UF Demographic Model (1990) suggest that there are substantial regional differences in respect of overall migration, or overall population growth rates, which remain independent of urban growth⁴ . For example, whilst it is true that the Transvaal is a leading region in terms of in-migration, most of this can be explained by the

Population and Land-Holding of
Black and ,Whitet Rural Areas 1985
% of SA. Total

100 /

//////%/ , .

- Population % Land-Holding

Figure 21

This diagram shows, in the dark bars, the percentage of the South African population accommodated in twhitet and black, rural areas respectively. The cross-hatched bars show the percentage of South African land areas that are taken up by black and twhitet rural areas respectively. Thus twhite, rural areas take up much land and accommodate few people, and the reverse is true of tblack' rural areas.

- SMALLER TOWNS AND

existence of the PWV and other urban RURAL AREAS

centres there. However, it is possible that

further, more detailed. research could The slowest growing areas in South Africa, reveal some marginal inter-regional trends. although by no means declining in absolute

terms, will be South Africa's rural areas and smaller towns. These are defined here irrespective of homeland borders. In 1985 12,4 million people lived in such areas, of which 92 percent were black. By the year 2010 these areas are projected to accommodate 15,3 million of whom 95 percent are expected to be black. Thus there is a total projected population increase of 23 percent over a 25-year period. Of course, this growth rate will not be perfectly even within the rural small town areas, with some regions growing slightly more rapidly, and other slightly less so. Nevertheless, the general projected trends in these areas are those of relative population stability with a tendency towards disproportionate numbers of both young (0-14) and older people (65+) living there. The most likely future form of geographic redistribution of the population within the rural areas, is that which relates to the balance between current township and homeland, rural areas. If the Land Acts are repealed, for example, and/or if the homelands are reincorporated into South Africa it is possible to envisage readjustments to the currently extraordinary racial imbalances between landholdings and population, as reflected in Figure 21 above (see also the forthcoming document in this series, Rural Development). Not only would there be a wider geographical spread of the black rural population under such circumstances; it is also likely that a number of currently declining, small towns would be rejuvenated in their traditional roles as rural service centres.

- SUMMARY

In South Africa has a normal urban hierarchy. The most important consequences of the projected population growth will be felt at an intra-urban and intra-metropolitan scale, and not the inter-urban scale. In South Africa's metropolitan areas are projected to experience the

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most rapid growth, with the PWV, Durban and Cape Town metropolitan areas approximately doubling their populations in the 25-year period 1985-2010.

In The PWV metropolitan region is expected to reach a population of approximately 16 million by the year 2010. Durban and Cape Town are expected to reach populations of approximately 6 million and 4 million respectively. Such scale and form of settlement requires a new approach to metropolitan planning and urban government and management.

In Most metropolitan growth has come and will come in the form of increases to the black populations of the metropolitan areas. Much of this growth has been, and will likely be, expressed in the form of growing spontaneous, unplanned,

informal settlements. It should however be recognised that such settlements will be inhabited mainly by urban-born people and not recent migrants; and the balance between planned and unplanned settlements in the future is likely to be influenced by the effectiveness of housing and land policy.

I A third tier of intermediate cities are expected to grow almost as rapidly as the major metropolitan areas.

I The planning and development challenges that lie ahead for such centres are similar to those applicable to the large metropolitan areas.

Much the same applies to a fourth tier of smaller cities and towns, although their growth rates are

expected to be slightly lower. I Rural areas and small towns are
Nevertheless, growth in both of expected to grow least rapidly _
these city/town groupings is approximately 23 percent during the
generally expected to be in excess 1985 _ 2010 period. Population
of 60 percent for the period 1985- redistribution mainly MM rural
20101 areas could result from policy
adjustments in the future, for
example the abolition of the Land
Acts and/or the reincorporation of
thomelandt areas into South Africa.

Section Endnotes

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SECTION 5: CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

- INTRODUCTION

The present document has been concerned to establish the basic facts of demographic change and urbanisation in South Africa, and to situate these facts within a broad analytical framework derived from the international experience of urbanisation, economic development and demographic change. The emphasis of the document has of course been on so-called black urbanisation¹. The two main reasons for this emphasis are firstly that black urbanisation is, objectively speaking, the dominant demographic trend in contemporary South Africa and, secondly, that policy has hitherto been designed to prevent, constrain or diffuse that trend. There are, however wide-ranging policy implications to be derived from the broader demographic trends discussed here. The various forthcoming Urban Foundation/PSC policy documents refer, at different points, to the detailed policy implications that may be derived from the demographic research that is summarised here, as well as other research. In the present Section, however, it is important to draw out the broader developmental and policy implications of the UPS demographic research, which in turn provide the context for the more specific policy issues that are to be raised in future policy documents.

- NATIONAL POLICY

IMPLICATIONS

What should be abundantly clear from the demographic analysis provided in Sections 3 and 4 is that urbanisation is taking place in and around existing urban and metropolitan areas. The policy consequence of national importance is that people have either been born in, or have Chosen, despite decades of official constraint and incentives for decentralisation, to settle in or near to the

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existing established urban hierarchy. It is most unlikely that anything short of draconian measures could reverse such choices. Urbanisation and metropolitanisation, in other words, are inevitable; and the emerging scale of cities and metropolitan areas is such that a reconceptualisation of national development and planning priorities is required. Cities must assume a much greater importance in national priorities and concerns than has hitherto been the case.

A related observation of national policy importance is that urbanisation and metropolitanisation are not only inevitable, but desirable. A number of considerations inform this observation:

I Urbanisation is of course an expression of national population growth, coupled to the economies of scale and agglomeration that are offered in cities. However, urbanisation as such is not a contributor to national population

growth: on the contrary, urbanisation tends to reduce family sizes, and it speeds the demographic transition forward towards a more steady-state, overall national population size. This is a process for policy support, rather than constraint.

I Population growth, urban growth and economic growth are intimately inter-connected. Indeed, there can be little doubt that some of the more challenging aspects of South Africa's demographic trends relate to this interaction, since for almost two decades now, South Africa's economic growth rate has lagged behind its population growth rate. This means that South Africa's Gross Domestic Product per capita has actually been declining over time. Whilst the economic growth rate lags behind the population growth rate, South Africans will continue to become poorer. To the

extent that economic prosperity is the objective of this society, therefore, a strong emphasis on both the reduction of population growth, and measures to facilitate economic growth are prerequisites. These efforts will have to be tempered by realism, however. South Africa is at present already experiencing declining birth rates and, as noted earlier, the increasing trend towards urbanisation will accelerate this decline. Moreover, whilst it is important - from a developmental point of view - to encourage efforts in the field of birth control, it should be noted that even if fertility were to drop to replacement level immediately, the population would continue to grow for some time. This phenomenon is known as 'population momentum', and will persist until the age distribution has become that of a stationary population, such as those that exist in advanced industrialised countries.

The facts of population momentum have some important potential consequences for national policy. For example, the marginal benefit of development expenditures on housing, infrastructure, etc in the urban areas, are likely to have a higher development yield than equivalent expenditures on population control.

The increasing preponderance of the black proportion of the total population and, therefore, also of urban and metropolitan areas, has national policy consequences. In general, South Africa's black population is younger, poorer and less skilled than the remainder of the population. This means that future policy must be reconstructed so as to address those issues of concern to black South Africans who are the young, the poor and the less skilled.

The anticipated size of the metropolitan areas, their existing and projected racial composition are related considerations

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of national policy importance. As was remarked in relation to the PWV region in Section 4, South African planning and administrative systems are not presently geared to the emerging scale of urban and metropolitan areas. This situation is of course exacerbated if the planning and administration of such areas is ill-attuned to the needs of the young, the poor and the less skilled.

It should be emphasised, however, that it is not simply the largest centres that deserve attention, and it is most unlikely that the PWV, for example, will swallow up, population growth in South Africa ad infinitum. In an interconnected urban hierarchy, it is possible for a given centre to grow more rapidly than others, but this does not remain the case in perpetuity. The case of Durban illustrates this, insofar

as special circumstances influenced its growth during the 1970s and early 1980s - circumstances which are not quite so relevant today. In a similar manner, the PWV region will at some point - probably beyond the year 2010 - begin to slow significantly in its growth rate. In the interim, however, the PWV region remains a challenge of national importance. A further consideration of national policy importance is that there is a clear contradiction between so-called homeland development and demographic imperatives. For example, whilst many people were forced to migrate from white rural areas into 'homeland' areas during the early 1980s, by far the highest levels of population increase have occurred, and continue to occur, near to the metropolitan areas. This has led to geographically disfigured metropolitan growth, with all its attendant economic inefficiencies, costs to the poor, and administrative problems. A related observation is that the extent of migration from 'white' rural areas, and the prospect of further migration in the future from 'black' rural areas, illustrates the existing and potential interconnections

between rural and urban development. However, it also poses the important issue of the artificiality of distinctions between black and twhite, rural areas, and underlines the impact of political factors on South African demographic patterns and trends. For example, the fact that there are vast land/population ratio imbalances between black and twhitel rural areas, is one that can only be explained in terms of racial-political constraints. Indeed, the question of the white platteland and its role in the urbanisation and development challenges of the future is one of national policy importance. The lwhitel rural areas and small towns have been growing very slowly in the past, yet their potential in the future could be very significant, considering for example, the vast expanses of land and relatively considerable investment in infrastructure characterising these areas. The net consequence of all of the above, is that previous policy frameworks for the management of urban, rural and regional development and, indeed, development in general, must be regarded as a failure. This suggests that a new conceptual framework must be formulated for the implementation of development strategies: strategies that will meet the real challenges of the future.

- CITIES, DEVELOPMENT AND THE FUTURE

It should be clear that South Africa does not suffer from problems of city size per se. However, the growth of our cities, in accordance with the norms of other developing countries, does pose a significant development challenge. Indeed, the principal development Challenges of the future do not appear to be strongly related to city size distributions, or urban-rural distinctions. Rather, they relate to the issues of managing expansion w_it_hi_n_ the towns, cities and metropolitan areas of South Africa in general, and managing the

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relationship between rural and urban development.

The key Challenges that await South African urban development planners, are those intra-urban issues that derive, in large part, from a legacy of racial planning, coupled to the process of urban expansion. Amongst these challenges are included:

I The need for the readjustment of densities to achieve a more balanced, integrated and efficient urban settlement pattern.

I The restructuring of South African urban form away from its current scattered, fragmented and disfigured pattern.

I The provision of sufficient finance to meet the needs for services and facilities in rapidly expanding urban areas.

I The timeous identification and release of well-located land for

urban development.

Whilst South Africa's cities and metropolitan areas are expected to increase substantially in size, as the demographic transition takes place population increase will be significantly reduced. In the interim, the prime focus of urban policy must be on assimilating inevitable growth. This assimilation will not be equitably or efficiently accomplished without a redefinition of the city - a redefinition which transcends the artificial boundaries assumed in current official definitions based upon race/urban subregions.

Insofar as the rural areas are concerned, the concept of rural areas themselves will probably require redefinition, so as to take account of an emerging rural-urban continuum. Whilst it does not emerge explicitly from the research reported here, it would seem that South African settlement forms in general are in transition, with dense settlements in the homelands and peri-urban shack settlements, for example,

casting doubt over traditional assumptions about the nature of urban and rural areas. In this context, and in the context of artificial divides between white and black rural areas, the time has come for a reappraisal of the meaning of the concepts of rural and regional development.

The abovementioned challenges immediately give rise to the question of new, appropriate vehicles for the effective management of urban and regional development. In essence, existing forms of city and regional government are an inheritance from a previous period during which the urban planning and development challenges were both smaller in scale than is currently the case, and structured according to a racial-political framework. Existing jurisdictional fragmentation, local authority/homeland boundaries, levels of community participation, voting rights and institutional effectiveness must necessarily come under scrutiny given the demographic and development challenges of the present, and future.

- LOOKING BACKWARDS AND FORWARDS

Looking back in time, the UP Demographic Models (1990) results teach us a number of things:

I Apartheid has had an impact upon spatial patterns of settlement, but whilst it may have distorted urbanisation it did not prevent it.

I It would appear therefore that there is a generally limited role for policy in affecting demographic trends that flow out of powerful, modernising and economic forces.

I The areas of policy emphasis and intervention in the past have tended to work against demographic imperatives rather than with them.

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The last point is illustrated, for example, by the fact that government has approached growth in the PWV and other metropolitan areas negatively via a policy of decentralisation and deconcentration, whereas the actual demographic imperative is towards concentration. The policy emphasis should therefore be on managing this phenomenon rather than trying to prevent it. It is also illustrated by the fact that, traditionally, government development priorities have been on the homelands, whereas it is the metropolitan areas that are revealed here as posing the major development challenges. Moreover, the previous policy emphasis on new towns and industrial development points, outside of South Africa's established urban hierarchy, has been at variance with the normal evolution of that hierarchy and its underutilised capacity.

Looking forward in time, the UP Demographic Models (1990) projections underscore the importance of new areas for national policy focus:

I The planning and development implications of black permanence in

the cities and in the twhitet rural areas.

I The size of cities and metropolitan areas, and the urban management consequences of such increased scale.

I The relationship between population policy and urbanisation policy, given the beneficial impact of urbanisation on natural increase.

I The youthfulness of the South African population, and the importance of this for future development planning.

I The scale and anticipated importance of the PWV metropolitan

region, and therefore the critical significance of the future urban planning, management and government of this region.

I The diversity and complexity of the South African urban hierarchy, and how this might be encouraged on the basis of local comparative advantage and autonomy within a framework of national development principles based on maximum use of existing infrastructure and resources.

- FUTURE DOCUMENTS

Future documents in the UF/PSC series take up some of the tough, specific planning and development issues that arise out of South Africa's demographic future. These future demographic Challenges provide part of the context for that series, since they should clarify that South Africa's urban and regional policy frameworks of the past are now being rapidly outmoded. In consequence, questions to be addressed in forthcoming documents include

I whether South Africa's rural areas can continue to remain racially segregated, given the disproportionate land/population ratios in white/black areas respectively and, if not, what type of new rural development policy should emerge in the future (See forthcoming Rural Development document)

I whether South Africa's intermediate cities can absorb some of the growth which might otherwise be directed towards the metropolitan areas, and/or what type of regional policy might be suited to South Africa's future development challenges (Regional Development Reconsidered)

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I whether housing policies, as currently defined, are effective in addressing the urban housing challenge, if not, what form more realistic housing policies might assume (Housing for all)

I whether existing system/s of local government and urban management will be capable of dealing with urbanisation and metropolitan areas on the scale that is envisaged in the decades ahead and, if not, what processes might be set in motion to arrive at new systems of urban management (Governing the Cities)

I whether the lessons of the international experience of urbanisation and urban management can be applied towards the successful management of South Africa's urban areas in the future and, if so, what these lessons are (The International Experience)

I whether it is possible to realistically

address the challenges of
urbanisation and urban
development, without successfully
incorporating informal settlements
and the urban informal economy
into future urban management
practices and, if not, how such
integration might be achieved
(Homes for the Poor)

I whether it is possible to meet the
real needs of urban dwellers for
urban environmental quality, without
formulating a new urban policy
framework for the country
(Managing the Cities; and
Tackling Group Areas).

A synthesis and summary of all these
policy issues is provided in the next
document to be released in this series,
Policy Overview - The Urban Challenge.

APPENDIX A
LANDSCAPE OF URBANISATION 2000
TOTAL POPULATION
48 MILLION
ESTIMATE Vol 2000
BASED ON 1985 PROJECTIONS
"HOMELAND" 5
RURAL ,
10 MILLION . 0
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THE PRIVATE SECTOR COUNCIL ON
URBANISATION (PSC)

The PSC comprises representatives of 6 private sector organizations and 30 individual members. The PSC receives research and administrative support From the Urbanisation Unit of the Urban Foundation.

Established in November 1985, the PSC set itself the task of formulating proposals For 0 new urbanisation strategy for South Africa.

MEMBERS

Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut

Chamber of Mines of SA

National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry

Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA

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Bofha, R. SA Federated Chamber of Industries, Johannesburg

Brett, V. Association Of Chambers of Commerce, Johannesburg

Moponyo, M. Moponyo Discount Store, Soweto

MeneH, C. S. Anglovaal, Johannesburg

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