# NATAL'S LABOUR RESOURCES

# AND

# INDUSTRY IN GREATER DURBAN

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## PREFACE

In March and April, 1956, the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission appointed three research fellows to undertake economic research into various aspects of secondary industry in the Durban and Pinetown industrial area. The third report of this series, which dealt with the general subject from the point of view of labour resources, forms the basis of this dissertation. The terms of reference of the original fellowship were to study and carry out research into :

> " the labour resources of Natal, with special reference to the Labour Requirements of the Industries of Durban and Pinetown ".

I am indebted to many people for their help and encouragement. I would like to express particular thanks to the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission for permission to use the information obtained during the course of the fellowship for the preparation of this thesis; to my academic supervisors - initially Professor H.R. Burrows and, later, Professor O.P.F. Horwood - for their wise guidance; to the Director and Staff of the South African Bureau of Census and Statistics for supplying a mass of invaluable unpublished material; to my colleagues Mrs. M. Katzen and Mr. D.J.L. McWhirter for experiences shared; to Miss M.E. Welby and Miss S.C.B. Daniel for typing, and Miss M. Tyson and Mr. C.A. Woods for reading and commenting upon, the manuscript; and, lastly, to the University of Natal for helping to make the period of research and writing so enjoyable.

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# INTRODUCTION

Faced with the clear need to restrict the scope of so wide a field of enquiry, this survey deals mainly with the number of actual and potential workers, and has given no consideration to the quality or productivity of the labour force. This was found necessary - despite the conviction that the productivity or efficiency of labour is the most important single economic problem facing South Africa today - for wholly practical reasons. Little is known about the productivity of labour. No acceptable definitions have yet been advanced, nor have accurate methods of measuring skills been devised, and to break through the haze of conjecture and personal opinion which now accounts for the bulk of the knowledge on the productivity of the South African labour force requires research on a scale far beyond the capabilities of the lone field worker. Though this report is largely pre-occupied with head-counting, it is nevertheless hoped that the complementary subject of the quality of labour in the Union and in Natal will be tackled in the not too distant future.

The economic concept of the " supply of labour " or the " labour force " is necessarily a simplification of reality. Simplifying assumptions as to the skill, remuneration, efficiency, and mobility of an economy's workers are useful ways of reducing the complexity of the labour market and of economic analyses, and for many purposes a definition of the labour force in terms of the supply of workers which is forthcoming at some definable wage "level" is adequate. But when the factor of production, labour, is itself the primary focus of attention, more consideration has to be given to the diversities which exist within the labour force and, although some simplifying assumptions can still be made, their legitimacy must be more closely questioned.

Methods of computing the labour force vary somewhat from country to country, and the chief cause of this variation is the difficulty of defining what is meant by work, and hence what is meant by a worker [1]. The difficulty is greater the less advanced or industrialized a country is. In modern, industrial economies it is usually not difficult to decide whether a person is a "worker" or a "non-worker". We recognize work as a unique type of activity, occupying a certain fraction of our day, our week, and our working life, which directly or indirectly contributes to the total production of goods and services. Work is further associated with an employer-employee relationship, monetary ( and to a lesser extent non-monetary ) rewards increasing roughly proportionately to the degree of participation, and the approval, by society, of wealth accumulated by means of such work.

It is however, much harder to draw a clear distinction between work and other forms of activity in the less industrialized countries. In primitive, and even in highly developed farming communities, farming is as much a way of life as a means of earning one's living, and decisions regarding the degree to which a community is "gainfully-occupied" become arbritary in a society in which it is customary for all the family to lend a hand whenever there is an urgent need for additional manpower. A comparable difficulty would arise in an urban

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1. See, for example, P.M. Hauser's chapter on " Mobility in Labor Force Participation " in Labor Mobility and Economic Opportunity, Technology Press, Massachusetts and John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1954.

environment if it were normal for a clerk to enlist the aid of his wife and children at the "office" when he felt overburdened with work.

Nevertheless, although in an industrial society it is possible to delimit a definite body of gainfully-occupied workers, there remains a number of marginal persons who are not as easily calssified. Most (but not all) countries, for example, do not regard housewives as being gainfully-occupied and hence do not include them in the labour force, although some housewives may work harder than their gainfully-occupied husbands. Similar variations of practice apply to the classification of farmers' wives, juvenile workers, and unemployed persons.

At this stage, it may be useful to define the terms relating to the labour resources of Natal which will be used in this report. The term potential working population of a country is used to describe the total number of persons who are either gainfully-occupied or, if they are not, can be regarded as capable of joining the labour force. It is used as a form of maximum labour potential and takes no account of the desire to work, but only of the ability to work. Thus a housewife who has no desire to work and possibly no chance to work would be included in the potential working population because other women under similar circumstances do work. This definition is deliberately broad, because war-time experiences suggests that the labour potential of a country is considerably greater than the peace-time labour force. When compelled by law or by unusually strong incentives, many people (especially women) who previously had no intention of looking for a job, are drawn into the working population.

For most purposes the potential working population can be taken as being equal to the population of working age, which is made to include all those persons who are between the ages of 15 and 64. How far this age range may be deemed the best estimate of man's average working life will be discussed later, and certain adjustments at both ends of the 15-64 scale must be made before the population of working age can be used to estimate the potential working population. But, although certain legal, cultural, and demographic factors apart from age must be taken into account, in general one can assume that a person of working age is a potential worker and that a child of under 15 or an older person of 65 or over is a potential non-worker.

The gainfully-occupied population is the term used by the South African Bureau of Census and Statistics to describe the aggregate of persons reporting an occupation at a population census. It includes all those who are in employment as employers, workers on own account, or employees; unpaid family workers; and unemployed persons. All children under the age of 15 are automatically excluded whether they are working or not, and other members of the population who are classified as not being gainfully-occupied include retired and "independent" persons; dependants, pensioners, invalids, and permanent inmates of institutions; housewives and other women engaged in household duties at home; scholars and students; and foreign diplomats, servicemen, and other visitors to the Union.

Although the gainfully-occupied population is a fairly straightforward concept which will be further developed in later chapters, five points are worthy of brief comment here. The first is that the gainfully-occupied population excludes by definition all children under the age of 15. Second, it excludes housewives who have no other

occupation. Third, it includes unemployed persons. Fourth, the term is not altogether appropriate, since a gainfully-occupied person does not necessarily earn any income. For this last reason, the term " economically- active " population as used in the 1946 census is perhaps less misleading, but will not be used in this study. The fifth and most important characteristic of the gainfully-occupied population which we may comment upon is that it is but a poor measure of the quantity of labour which is available at any one time for the production of goods and services, since it gives no information on the relative participation of the persons returned as gainfully-occupied.

To obtain a true measure of the supply of labour, it would be necessary to know the extent to which members of the working population are employed in a part-time capacity or only seasonally. Some information would also be required on the productivity and efficiency of labour. Throughout the greater part of the text, the gainfully-occupied population will, for simplicity, be referred to as the labour force, although the accepted concept of a labour force carries a meaning rather different from that of the gainfully-occupied population[1].

Much of the survey relies on provisional, unpublished official figures, which may differ, in minor respects, from the eventually published statistics. A selection of statistical evidence will be presented in tabular form as part of the text, but, for the most part, detailed figures will either be omitted, or, in the case of unpublished data, be relegated to appendices. As far as possible, the material on which the survey is based has been analysed on the non-technical level of absolute and percentage[2] figures, rates of increase, index numbers, and various graphic methods of presentation.

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1. The concept of a "labour force" ( as used in the United States, for example ) includes only those persons who report as having actually worked ( or sought work ) in some accurately-defined past period.

2. It will be noted that the percentages in many of the tables do not add to exactly 100 ( or 100.0 ). This is due to the rounding of individual percentages to the nearest whole number ( or first decimal place ).

# NATAL'S LABOUR RESOURCES

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## PART ONE: THE POPULATION OF NATAL

# CHAPTER ONE

## THE GROWTH AND STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION OF NATAL

### § 1 Population Growth Since Union

The total population of Natal, which is the first and most fundamental figure from which to estimate the province's labour resources, is at present (1958) in the neighbourhood of just over two and a half millions, which constitutes a little under a fifth of the population of the Union.

Since the constitution of the Union of South Africa there have been five full population censuses (1911, 1921, 1936, 1946, and 1951), and four censuses of the European population only (1918, 1926, 1931, and 1941). Table 1 records the growth in population between 1911 and 1951, and also shows the population estimate for 1958.[1]

Table 1 POPULATION GROWTH, UNION AND NATAL, 1911-58

| YEAR | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | ASIATICS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | N A T A L | | |
| 1911 | 98,114 | 953,398 | 133,420 | 9,111 | 1,194,043 |
| 1921 | 136,838 | 1,139,804 | 141,649 | 11,107 | 1,429,398 |
| 1936 | 190,549 | 1,553,629 | 183,661 | 18,629 | 1,946,468 |
| 1946 | 236,697 | 1,708,483 | 232,317 | 24,895 | 2,202,392 |
| 1951 | 274,240 | 1,810,102 | 299,491 | 31,485 | 2,415,318 |
| 1958 | 326,000 | 1,956,000 | 361,000 | 43,000 | 2,686,000 |
| | | | U N I O N | | |
| 1911 | 1,276,242 | 4,019,006 | 152,203 | 525,943 | 5,973,394 |
| 1921 | 1,519,488 | 4,697,813 | 165,731 | 545,548 | 6,928,580 |
| 1936 | 2,003,857 | 6,596,689 | 219,691 | 769,661 | 9,589,898 |
| 1946 | 2,372,044 | 7,830,559 | 285,260 | 928,062 | 11,415,925 |
| 1951 | 2,641,689 | 8,560,083 | 366,664 | 1,103,016 | 12,671,452 |
| 1958 | 3,011,000 | 9,606,000 | 441,000 | 1,360,000 | 14,418,000 |

Sources: Population Census, 1951, Volume I: "Geographical Distribution of the Population of the Union of South Africa", U.G. 42/1955; Monthly Bulletins of Statistics.

In the forty years between 1911 and 1951 the populations of the Union and Natal more than doubled. The European population of Natal increased by 176,000 persons, or by 180 per cent, while the Native population increased by 857,000 persons (90 per cent), the Indian[2] by 166,000 persons (124 per cent), and the Coloured by

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1 Estimate of the South African Bureau of Census and Statistics of the population as at 30th June, 1958.

2 The term "Indians" will be used to refer to the Asiatics of Natal, the great majority of whom are Indian.

# Natal's Population Growth, 1911-58

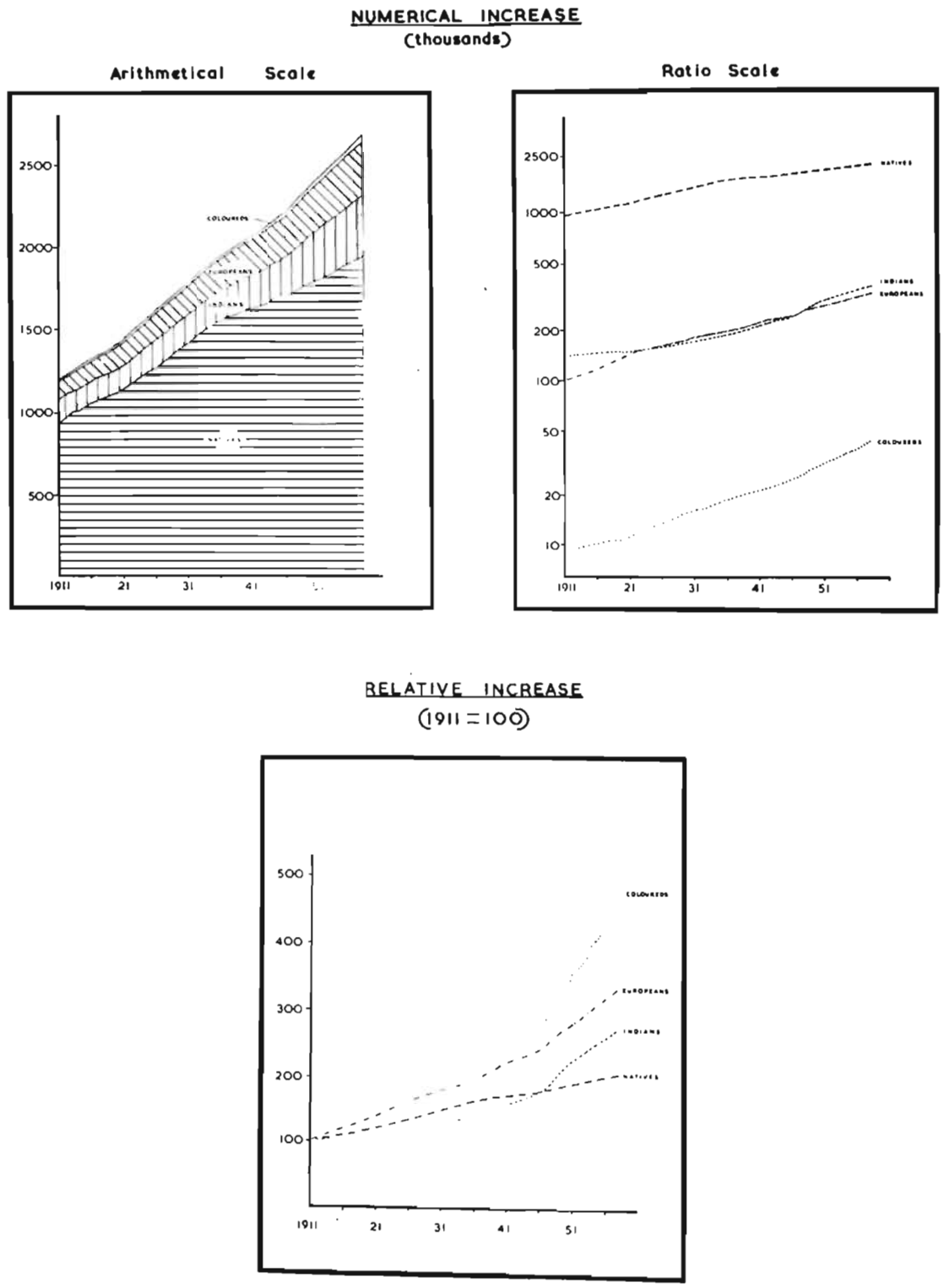


Figure 1.

22,000 persons (246 per cent). The total increase in population was 1,221,000 persons of all racial groups, representing an increase of just over 100 per cent over the period.

Since 1911, the total Natal population has increased at a slower rate than the total Union population, although the Natal European and Coloured populations have increased at a faster rate. The percentage increases in the four racial groups between 1911 and 1951 for the Union as a whole were Europeans: 107 per cent; Natives: 113 per cent; Indians: 141 per cent; and Coloureds: 110 per cent. The total population of the Union increased by 112 per cent.

Variations in the rate of growth of the Natal population are shown in Table 2, which is based on mid-year estimates of the Bureau of Census and Statistics:

Table 2 MEAN ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH OF THE NATAL POPULATION IN FIVE YEAR PERIODS, 1911-1951 (PERCENTAGES)

| PERIOD | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1911-16 | 3.57 | 2.01 | 0.76 | 2.31 | 2.01 |
| 1916-21 | 3.18 | 1.60 | 0.47 | 1.89 | 1.64 |
| 1921-26 | 2.87 | 2.30 | 1.90 | 4.11 | 2.33 |
| 1926-31 | 2.28 | 2.06 | 1.73 | 3.41 | 2.07 |
| 1931-36 | 1.42 | 1.84 | 1.64 | 2.91 | 1.79 |
| 1936-41 | 2.77) | 0.97) | 2.51) | 3.21) | 1.33 |
| 1941-46 | 1.68)2.456 | 1.00)1.023 | 2.22)3.310 | 2.68)3.560 | 1.17 |
| 1946-51 | 2.93) | 1.15) | 5.25) | 5.06) | 1.86 |
| 1911-51 | 2.595 | 1.607 | 2.038 | 3.139 | 1.764 |

Source: calculated from mid-year population estimates.

The highest mean rate of growth over the whole period was displayed by the Coloureds of Natal (see Figure 1), followed by the Europeans, Indians, and Natives in that order. The mean annual rates of growth experienced by the Union as a whole over this period 1911-51 were Europeans: 1.83 per cent; Natives: 1.87 per cent; Indians: 2.27 per cent; and Coloureds: 2.00 per cent.

It may be seen that the rate of growth of Europeans has been considerably faster in Natal than in other provinces, and in the following chapter it is hoped to show that this is due to the larger part played by immigration in Natal.

The Non-European rates should be treated with caution. Complete enumeration of any community at a census is virtually impossible, and whether one thinks in terms of the sparsely populated rural areas or of the over-crowded shack areas of the large cities, it is not hard to imagine a large number of people slipping through the census net. For this reason, it will from time to time be emphasised in this report that part of the inter-censal increases in population must be attributed to increasingly efficient census enumerations, although it would be a difficult task to assess just how much of the increase to allocate to variations in census efficiency. The problem is further complicated by the inability to assume a steady improvement at each successive census. In fact a close study of Union censuses leads one to suspect a fluctuation in the efficiency of successive censuses. There is, for example, evidence that the 1946 census was unreliable in certain respects[1],

1 See, for example, C.A. Woods, Natal Regional Survey, Volume IX, pp. 1-2.

and the exceptionally high rates of increase in the Indian and Coloured populations during the period 1946-51 can be explained neither by natural increase nor by immigration. In the long term, however, it is reasonable to assume an upward trend in census efficiency, which would make the true rates of increase over the period since Union less than those recorded in Table 2. It seems likely for instance that the true mean annual rate of increase of both Indians and Coloureds in Natal had been over 3 per cent for at least fifteen years before 1951.

A complicating factor in a survey of this nature is migration, the importance of which makes it impossible to study Natal's population growth in complete isolation from the rest of the Union and, indeed, from the rest of the world. The only section of Natal's population which is not likely to be significantly affected by migration in the foreseeable future is the Indian population (although it is the most recent immigrant group). The large influx of Europeans into Natal from overseas, the movement of Europeans and Coloureds from other provinces, and the traditional Native migrant labour system make it impossible to evaluate Natal's employment potential solely in terms of the size and structure of its own population.

The distribution of population between the four provinces at the time of the last full population census of the Union (1951) is shown in Table 3:

Table 3 THE POPULATION OF THE UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| AREA | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | ASIATICS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Natal | 274,240 | 1,810,102 | 299,491 | 31,485 | 2,415,318 |
| Cape | 935,085 | 2,492,021 | 17,818 | 981,802 | 4,426,726 |
| Transvaal | 1,204,712 | 3,483,770 | 49,342 | 75,014 | 4,812,838 |
| O.F.S. | 227,652 | 774,190 | 13 | 14,715 | 1,016,570 |
| Union | 2,641,689 | 8,560,083 | 366,664 | 1,103,016 | 12,651,452 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

The Transvaal and the Cape have the largest populations, comprising respectively 38 and 35 per cent of the total Union population. Natal is third with 19 per cent and the Free State has only 8 per cent of the Union population. The differences in the distribution of the four races between the four provinces can best be illustrated by expressing Table 3 in percentage form:

Table 4 THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNION POPULATION, 1951

| AREA | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | ASIATICS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Natal | 10.4 | 21.1 | 81.7 | 2.9 | 19.1 |
| Cape | 35.4 | 29.1 | 4.9 | 89.0 | 34.9 |
| Transvaal | 45.6 | 40.7 | 13.4 | 6.8 | 38.0 |
| O.F.S. | 8.6 | 9.0 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 8.0 |
| Union | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: calculated from 1951 population census figures.

An important feature of the distribution of the Union population is the disparity between each province's share of the total population and its share of each racial group. For example,

as far as Natal is concerned, the outstanding characteristic of the racial distribution is the very high proportion of Indians living within her boundaries, for, although she has only 19 per cent of the total population of the Union, she has 82 per cent of the Indian population. On the other hand, she has a fairly small share of the European population and a relatively insignificant proportion of the Coloureds.

The density of population in Natal is the highest in the Union and, although the province covers only 7 per cent of the area of the Union, it contains 19 per cent of its population (Table 5).

Table 5 DENSITY OF POPULATION, UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| AREA | TOTAL POPULATION | | AREA IN SQ. MILES | | AVERAGE DENSITY PER SQ. MILE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % of Total | Number | % of Total | |
| Natal | 2,415,318 | 19.1 | 33,578 | 7.1 | 71.9 |
| Cape | 4,426,726 | 34.9 | 278,839 | 59.0 | 15.9 |
| Transvaal | 4,812,838 | 38.0 | 110,450 | 23.4 | 43.6 |
| O.F.S. | 1,016,570 | 8.0 | 49,866 | 10.5 | 20.4 |
| Union | 12,671,452 | 100.0 | 472,733 | 100.0 | 26.8 |

Source: calculated from 1951 population census figures.

Even the Transvaal, with its large concentration of population on the Witwatersrand, is not as densely populated, on the average, as is Natal.

Table 6 shows that the large concentration of Natives in Natal is the main reason why it has the heaviest density:

Table 6 DENSITY OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO RACE, UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| AREA | AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER SQUARE MILE | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Europeans | Natives | Asiatics | Coloureds | All Races |
| Natal | 8.2 | 53.9 | 8.9 | 0.9 | 71.9 |
| Cape | 3.4 | 8.9 | 0.1 | 3.5 | 15.9 |
| Transvaal | 10.9 | 31.5 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 43.6 |
| O.F.S. | 4.6 | 15.5 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 20.4 |
| Union | 5.6 | 18.1 | 0.8 | 2.3 | 26.8 |

Source: calculated from 1951 population census figures.

There are, on the average, almost 54 Natives per square mile in Natal, which represents a density three times as great as the Union average and six times as great as that in the Cape. The number of Europeans per square mile in Natal is exceeded only in the Transvaal, while the density of Indians in Natal is more than eleven times as great as in the Union as a whole.

A more useful picture of racial patterns can probably be given by a comparison of the racial proportions within each province, since it is these proportions which largely determine the differing pattern of the provincial labour forces:

Table 7 RACIAL PROPORTIONS, UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| AREA | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Natal | 11.4 | 74.9 | 12.4 | 1.3 | 100.0 |
| Cape | 21.1 | 56.3 | 0.4 | 22.2 | 100.0 |
| Transvaal | 25.0 | 72.4 | 1.0 | 1.6 | 100.0 |
| O.F.S. | 22.4 | 76.2 | 0.0 | 1.4 | 100.0 |
| Union | 20.8 | 67.6 | 2.9 | 8.7 | 100.0 |

Source: calculated from 1951 population census figures.

The racial composition of Natal is unique in two ways. First, it has by far the lowest proportion of Europeans, the ratio of Whites to Non-Whites being 1 : 7.8, compared with 1 : 3.7 in the Cape; 1 : 3.5 in the Free State, and 1 : 3.0 in the Transvaal. Second, it is the only province in which Indians outnumber Europeans or, in fact, where Indians have any relative significance.

In other words, in Natal there are 780 Non-Whites and 110 Indians to every 100 Whites; in the rest of the Union there are 330 Non-Whites and only 3 Indians to every 100 Whites. The economic implications of this (and especially the fact that Natal's White ratio is not much more than half that of the next province) for the future structure of growing employment in Natal are evident. There is also the danger that, as South Africa's "blackest" province, Natal and her industries might suffer most from any centralised control of employment which is based upon the racial patterns obtaining in the nation as a whole.

Since 1911, the proportion of Europeans has steadily increased in Natal, mainly due to the high rate of net immigration rather than to any natural increase advantage:

Table 8 RACIAL COMPOSITION OF NATAL POPULATION, 1911-58
(PERCENTAGES)

| CENSUS | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1911 | 8.2 | 79.8 | 11.2 | 0.8 |
| 1921 | 9.6 | 79.7 | 9.9 | 0.8 |
| 1936 | 9.8 | 79.8 | 9.4 | 1.0 |
| 1946 | 10.7 | 77.6 | 10.5 | 1.1 |
| 1951 | 11.4 | 74.9 | 12.4 | 1.3 |
| 1958 | 12.1 | 72.8 | 13.4 | 1.6 |

Sources: calculated from Union population census figures and from the Bureau of Census's mid-year estimates for 1958.

During the same period the Coloureds showed a proportional increase much greater than that of the Europeans, while the proportion of Natives fell from four-fifths in 1911 to three-quarters in 1951. The Indians on the other hand, lost ground to the other races for a quarter of a century almost up to the Second World War, mainly owing to the emigration of Indians under various official repatriation schemes. Since then, however, the proportion of Indians has increased rapidly. Appendix 5 to Chapter Two gives some attention to the possibilities for the future racial compositions of the population.

An interesting pattern of changing racial compositions is given by a comparison between the four provinces since 1911:

Table 9 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNION POPULATION AMONG THE FOUR PROVINCES, 1911-58

| YEAR | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | N A T A L | | |
| 1911 | 7.7 | 23.7 | 87.7 | 1.7 | 20.0 |
| 1921 | 9.0 | 24.3 | 85.5 | 2.0 | 20.6 |
| 1936 | 9.5 | 23.6 | 83.6 | 2.4 | 20.3 |
| 1946 | 10.0 | 21.8 | 81.4 | 2.7 | 19.3 |
| 1951 | 10.4 | 21.1 | 81.7 | 2.9 | 19.1 |
| 1958 | 10.8 | 20.4 | 81.9 | 3.2 | 18.6 |
| | | | T R A N S V A A L | | |
| 1911 | 33.0 | 30.4 | 7.2 | 6.6 | 28.2 |
| 1921 | 35.8 | 31.8 | 9.6 | 5.9 | 30.1 |
| 1936 | 41.0 | 37.1 | 11.6 | 6.6 | 34.8 |
| 1946 | 44.8 | 39.9 | 13.2 | 6.5 | 37.5 |
| 1951 | 45.6 | 40.7 | 13.4 | 6.8 | 38.0 |
| 1958 | 46.4 | 41.7 | 13.6 | 7.2 | 38.5 |
| | | | C A P E | | |
| 1911 | 45.6 | 37.8 | 5.0 | 86.5 | 42.9 |
| 1921 | 42.8 | 34.9 | 4.6 | 88.8 | 40.2 |
| 1936 | 39.5 | 31.0 | 4.8 | 88.6 | 36.8 |
| 1946 | 36.7 | 29.8 | 5.3 | 89.3 | 35.5 |
| 1951 | 35.4 | 29.1 | 4.9 | 89.0 | 34.9 |
| 1958 | 34.0 | 28.3 | 4.5 | 88.5 | 34.4 |
| | | | O. F. S. | | |
| 1911 | 13.7 | 8.1 | 0.1 | 5.1 | 8.8 |
| 1921 | 12.4 | 9.0 | 0.2 | 3.3 | 9.1 |
| 1936 | 10.0 | 8.4 | 0.0 | 2.3 | 8.1 |
| 1946 | 8.5 | 8.5 | 0.0 | 1.5 | 7.7 |
| 1951 | 8.6 | 9.0 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 8.0 |
| 1958 | 8.7 | 9.7 | 0.0 | 1.1 | 8.4 |

Sources: calculated from 1951 population census figures and from the Bureau's mid-year estimates for 1958.

Although there was a numerical increase in all four races in every province during this period (except for the virtual disappearance of the small Asiatic community living in the Free State), there was a difference in the rates at which the provincial populations increased. Table 9 shows the steady displacement of the Cape by the Transvaal as the most heavily populated province. The Transvaal was the only province to gain consistently in her share of every race. Natal gained in respect of both Europeans and Coloureds but lost in respect of Natives and Asiatics, while the Cape lost in respect of all races except Coloureds, and the Free State lost in respect of all races except Natives. The extent to which Natal's gains and losses have been due to natural increase and migration will be discussed in Chapter Two.

## § 2 Sex Structure

The sex and age composition of the Natal population is the most important index of both the present and future working potential. Owing to the physiological function of women and their customary role as housewives, many more men than women enter the labour market. Moreover, although the number of both married and single women entering the labour market has greatly increased over the last hundred years, only a relatively small proportion of women remain in the working population for the whole length of their working lives, and the majority work for only a relatively short pre-marital period or sporadically between child-births.

As a general rule, therefore, the ratio of men to women (masculinity rate) of a population is a useful measure of labour potential since, other things being equal, the higher the proportion of males, the higher will be the proportion of workers to non-workers, while the higher the proportion of females, the higher will be the proportion of dependants. In the short run, a high masculinity rate may be favourable to a high work participation rate. But, even apart from the possible undesirable sociological effects, an excess of men over women may have serious effects on the future labour potential.

The reason for this is that the ability of a population to maintain or increase itself through reproduction is closely tied to the number of child-bearing women and their fertility, whatever the number or proportion of men. A population in which the sexes approximate to parity will generally have a higher marriage rate than one in which a large number of one sex can never find partners, and, unless offset by decreased fertility, a higher marriage rate will increase the birthrate.

Somewhat similar considerations complicate the employment of women, which also involves a degree of choice between present and future manpower. To the extent that increased employment of women delays marriage and reduces fertility, it may seem a costly and hard-to-justify means of increasing available manpower except in times of national emergency. These special factors affecting the employment of women will be discussed in a later chapter.[1]

Table 10 MASCULINITY RATES[2] OF THE NATAL POPULATION, 1911-51

| CENSUS | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1911 | 115.1 | 81.1 | 152.0 | 102.6 | 89.7 |
| 1921 | 106.2 | 93.6 | 130.9 | 108.6 | 98.0 |
| 1936 | 99.8 | 91.6 | 112.1 | 101.6 | 94.2 |
| 1946 | 98.5 | 93.0 | 106.4 | 108.7 | 95.1 |
| 1951 | 98.8 | 94.2 | 104.9 | 94.0 | 96.0 |

Source: calculated from Union population census figures.

Since 1911, the masculinity rate of the Natal population has increased from 89.7 to 96.0 (in 1951), mainly due to the increasing masculinity of the Native population. During the same period, the masculinity of Europeans and Indians has fallen, as natural increase and a decreasing immigration rate have offset the effect of the predominantly male immigration of the nineteenth and early twentieth

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1 See Chapter Five.

2 Number of males per 100 females. See also Appendix 2.

centuries. In Natal, the European female population had overtaken the male by 1936, although in the Union as a whole there was still a small majority of males in 1951. (See Table 11.)

The Indian population of Natal shows the greatest change in sex composition since Union. Owing to the system of indenture under which the Indians were introduced to South Africa, Indian males outnumbered females by more than three to one in 1911. By 1951, however, the masculinity rate had fallen to 104.9, and it is not unlikely that a rate approximating to parity might be reached within the next decade. To some extent this fall in masculinity is the normal effect of a high rate of natural increase and the higher death rate of the older male population. But two other factors have contributed to the levelling process. In 1911 the immigration of Indians was restricted to the wives and dependants of Indians already domiciled in the Union, thus heavily weighting what immigration there was in favour of females. Moreover, although no complete records are available, it is fairly certain that considerably more males than females returned to India under the Union Government repatriation scheme.[1]

The following table compares Natal's masculinity rates with those of the other provinces:

Table 11 MASCULINITY RATES, UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| AREA | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Natal | 98.8 | 94.2 | 104.9 | 94.0 | 96.0 |
| Cape | 98.5 | 85.2 | 131.4 | 99.7 | 91.1 |
| Transvaal | 101.5 | 127.0 | 112.9 | 99.8 | 119.4 |
| O.F.S. | 103.2 | 104.7 | * | 107.6 | 104.4 |
| Union | 100.3 | 104.3 | 107.1 | 99.7 | 103.1 |

Source: calculated from 1951 population census figures.
* Only eight males and five females.

The masculinity rates of all four racial groups in Natal are lower than the averages for the Union as a whole, owing to a number of factors some of which will be discussed later in this chapter. Only the Cape has a lower masculinity rate for all races combined, while in both the Transvaal and Free State there is a majority of males. By and large Natal shows the nearest approach to a "normal" sex distribution in which the longer female expectation of life has resulted in a masculinity of just under a hundred. The large provincial range in Native masculinity rates reflects the influence of (mainly male) migration, both between provinces and from outside the Union. (See Chapter Two.)

## § 3 Age Structure

Like the ratio between the sexes, the age composition of a population is a vital measure of present and future working potential. Not only does the age structure determine to within narrow limits the proportion of a population which is potentially available for current work, but it also has an important bearing on future population growth, through its effect on birth and death rates and migration.

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1 See Chapter Two, page 48.

The age structure of a population is conventionally summarised by reference to three main age groups: children under fifteen years of age, adults between the ages of fifteen and sixty-four, and "oldsters" of sixty-five or more. These three age groups can be taken to approximate to the pre-working, working, and post-working age groups respectively. The adult age group (which will also be further sub-divided into the young adults, 15-44, and the older adults, 45-64[1]) is a good first estimate of potential workers, although some adjustments will have to be made for youngsters entering the labour market at ages other than fifteen, for oldsters retiring at ages other than sixty-five, and for those who work for only part of their working life or who never work at all.

The causative relationship between the age structure of a population and its natural rate of increase is fairly evident. The importance of the number of women of child-bearing age for the future growth of the population has already been pointed out, and a concentration of population in the younger adult groups is favourable to a low death rate and a high birth rate. On the other hand, a high proportion of children or oldsters or both would have a depressing effect on natural increase, since both are non-productive and tend to suffer high death rates.

The age structure, however, is itself the result of past birth and death rates and the level and direction of migration. A continuously high birth rate will tend to produce and maintain a high proportion of children, while an abnormal spate of births (as might result, for example, after the return of men from a war) will cause a "wave" of population to pass through the age groups one by one, diminishing in size in proportion to the specific mortality rates in each age group. On the other hand, a low birth rate will result in an increasing proportion of adults and subsequently oldsters. This aging process will be accelerated if the birth rate is not only low but falling. A discontinuous period of abnormally low fertility will cause a "trough" of unusually low concentration of population to pass through each age group.[2]

Generally, the lower the mortality rate of a population, the lower will be the proportion of children and the higher the proportion of oldsters, since more children will survive to adulthood and old age. But, unlike a change in the birth rate, which will have an immediate effect on the proportion of children, the effect of a change in the mortality rate on age structure will depend largely upon which age groups are most affected. A fall in infant mortality, for example, will make itself felt directly upon the proportion of children and subsequently upon all age groups, while an advance in the treatment

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1 Other sub-groups (e.g. 15-39 and 40-64) are sometimes used, but the above division has the advantage that the lower sub-group (15-44) coincides with the conventional child-bearing age of women.

2 An example of such a phenomenon was the abnormally low fertility period during the depression years of the Thirties, which gave rise to the unduly pessimistic writings of demographers before the last World War. The effect of this low fertility period upon the potential labour supplies of the Western countries is only now (a quarter of a century later) reaching a maximum, as the trough approaches the ages of greatest work participation amongst males, while the indirect effect (operating through an unduly small proportion of child-bearing young adults) will undoubtedly be in evidence for at least another generation.

of the diseases of the aged will have few repercussions beyond increasing the number of aged people and the median age of the population.

Moreover, a change in mortality rates may give rise to two opposing tendencies; with a given birth rate, a fall in mortality rates at all ages will increase the proportion of older persons. But by stimulating natural increase it will also tend to lower average age.[1]

A less evident though very important element of population growth is migration, which also both affects and is affected by the age structure of the population. The complete effect of net immigration or net emigration on both the growth and age structure of a population will depend upon a number of factors. These include the masculinity, age structure, and vital rates of the migrants, the extent to which the indigenous population is itself influenced by the fertility of the immigrants and the immigrant group by the indigenous population, and the length of stay of the migrants.

The age group most affected by migration is the working age group, especially the 15-44 sub-group, since it is mainly the younger adult who migrates either nationally or internationally.[2] Thus a country or region enjoying a high rate of net immigration will experience an increasing proportion of young adults, while net emigration will result in the younger and older age groups increasing in their proportions of the total population. The fact that the average immigrant is young, productive, and can still give the larger part of his working life to his new country has always made immigration attractive to those seeking new supplies of labour. Further advantages can be derived if immigration is controlled both quantitatively and qualitatively to match the social and economic needs of a country.

There exist large differences between the age structures of the four racial groups in Natal and South Africa and between their consequent potentials for present work and future growth. For this reason, each group will be separately dealt with in the following paragraphs.

Europeans. Three characteristics of the age structure of the European population of Natal which merit immediate attention are the numbers and proportions of the population in each age group, the differences between the sexes, and the extent to which the ages of the Natal Europeans compare with those of the South African and other populations. Detailed figures relating to these characteristics

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1 See The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends; A Summary of the Findings of Studies on the Relationship between Population Changes and Economic and Social Conditions, U.N. Population Division, New York, 1953, p. 143.

2 In anticipation of a future chapter, the following summarised age distribution of immigrants entering the Union and emigrants leaving the Union in 1952 and of the total resident population in 1951 is of interest here:

| Age Group | Immigrants | Emigrants | S.A. Population |
|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % |
| 0 - 14 | 24 | 26 | 32 |
| 15 - 44 | 61 | 59 | 45 |
| 45 & over | 15 | 15 | 23 |

are given in the appendices at the end of this chapter, but a summary of information for the principal age groups is given in Table 12.

Table 12 PRINCIPAL AGE GROUPS OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATIONS OF NATAL AND THE UNION, 1951

| AGE GROUP | | NATAL | | | UNION | | | NATAL AS % OF UNION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | No. | % | Masc. Rate | No. | % | Masc. Rate | |
| 0-14 | M | 38,591 | 28.3 | | 426,451 | 32.2 | | 9.0 |
| | F | 37,532 | 27.2 | | 411,637 | 31.2 | | 9.1 |
| | P | 76,123 | 27.8 | 102.8 | 838,088 | 31.7 | 103.6 | 9.1 |
| 15-44 | M | 62,146 | 45.6 | | 596,832 | 45.1 | | 10.4 |
| | F | 60,457 | 43.8 | | 594,228 | 44.8 | | 10.2 |
| | P | 122,603 | 44.7 | 102.8 | 1,188,060 | 45.0 | 100.9 | 10.3 |
| 45-64 | M | 24,918 | 18.1 | | 217,053 | 16.4 | | 11.5 |
| | F | 27,573 | 20.0 | | 226,848 | 17.2 | | 12.2 |
| | P | 52,491 | 19.1 | 90.4 | 443,901 | 16.8 | 95.7 | 11.8 |
| 65 & over | M | 10,616 | 7.8 | | 82,091 | 6.2 | | 12.9 |
| | F | 12,345 | 9.0 | | 88,869 | 6.7 | | 13.9 |
| | P | 22,961 | 8.4 | 86.0 | 170,960 | 6.5 | 92.4 | 13.4 |
| Total* | M | 136,300 | 100.0 | | 1,322,754 | 100.0 | | 10.3 |
| | F | 137,940 | 100.0 | | 1,318,935 | 100.0 | | 10.5 |
| | P | 274,240 | 100.0 | 98.8 | 2,641,689 | 100.0 | 100.3 | 10.4 |

Source: Volume V, 1951 Population Census, "Ages - All Races", U.G. 42/1958.

* Including persons of unspecified age.

Of the total European population of Natal of 274,240 in 1951, 76,123 (27.8 per cent) were under fifteen, 175,094 (63.8 per cent) were between fifteen and sixty-four, and 22,961 (8.4 per cent) were over sixty-four. Minors constituted 36.1 per cent of the population and majors 63.9 per cent, while the median age[1] was 30.0 years. (See Table 13).

The greater age of the female population is shown by the differential distribution of the sexes amongst age groups. Males exceed females in all age groups up to forty (except in the 5-9 age groups, where there is a small majority of females). But after forty the males begin to lose ground until, by seventy, they are outnumbered by females. This same difference in the age distribution of the sexes is shown by the masculinity rates for the principal age groups. The masculinity rate for children and younger adults was 102.8. But for the older adults the rate was 90.4, while for the oldsters the rate falls to 86.0. Similarly, whereas 37.0 per cent of the males were under twenty-one, the corresponding proportion of females was only 35.3 per cent. The median age for all males was 29.2 and for females 30.8 years.

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1 The median age of a population is the age of that person (or group of persons) situated exactly in the middle, when the population is ranged in ascending order of age. The median is a more accurate measure of central tendency (than, say the arithmetic average) when the distribution is skewed (bunched towards one side or the other).

# Ages of the Natal Population 1951

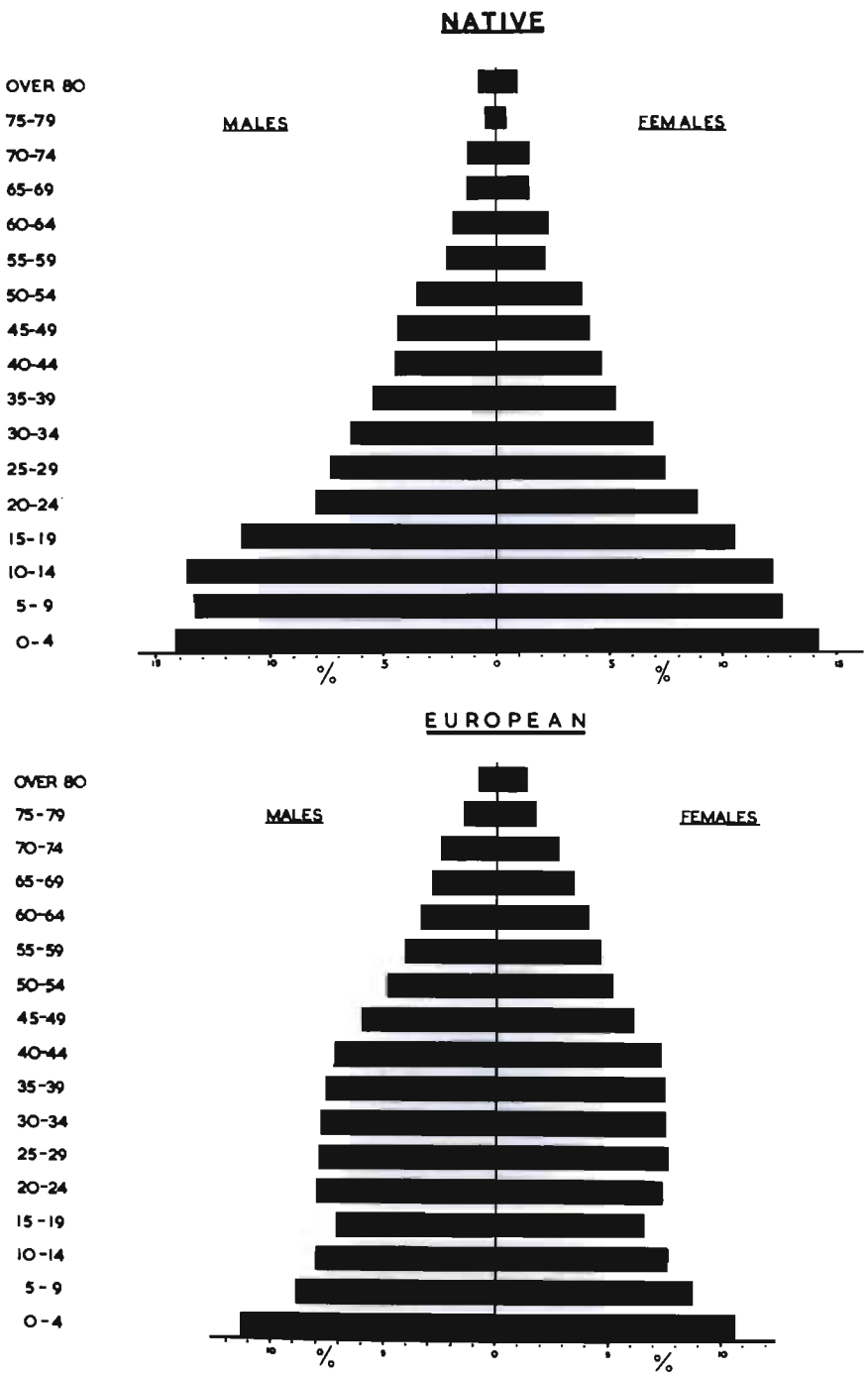


Figure 2.

The changing age structure of the Natal European population is illustrated in Table 13. It shows that despite variations in mortality and fertility rates there has been an almost continuous increase in the age structure since 1911:

Table 13 THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION OF NATAL, 1911-51 (PERCENTAGES)

| AGE GROUP | 1911 | 1918 | 1921 | 1926 | 1931 | 1936 | 1941 | 1946 | 1951 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 - 14 | 32.2 | 33.1 | 31.4 | 29.4 | 27.7 | 26.7 | 25.9 | 25.7 | 27.8 |
| 15 - 44 | 52.0 | 47.2 | 48.3 | 48.1 | 48.3 | 47.4 | 47.8 | 46.6 | 44.7 |
| 45 - 64 | 13.2 | 16.6 | 16.8 | 18.5 | 19.2 | 19.8 | 19.2 | 19.4 | 19.1 |
| 15 - 64 | 65.2 | 63.8 | 65.1 | 66.6 | 67.5 | 67.2 | 67.0 | 66.0 | 63.8 |
| 65 & over | 2.6 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 4.0 | 4.8 | 6.1 | 7.0 | 8.3 | 8.4 |
| Under 21 | 42.6 | 42.0 | 41.9 | 40.7 | 38.4 | 36.6 | 35.4 | 35.1 | 36.1 |
| 21 & over | 57.4 | 58.0 | 58.1 | 59.3 | 61.6 | 63.4 | 64.6 | 64.9 | 63.9 |
| Median age* (in years) | 25.6 | 26.1 | 25.9 | 26.4 | 27.1 | 28.4 | 29.5 | 30.3 | 30.0 |

Source: calculated from Union population census figures.
* Approximate (calculated from five-year age groups).

Between 1911 and 1946 this process can be traced in each of the three major age groups. There was a considerable fall in the proportion of children and a simultaneous and remarkable increase in the proportion of oldsters, while, although the adult group showed no very great change in its relative importance, there was noticeable aging within the group itself. The aging process is also illustrated by the decreasing proportion of minors, who dropped from 42.6 per cent of the population to only 35.1 per cent, while the median age rose by as much as 4.7 years.

From 1946 to 1951, however, the aging of the population was (at least temporarily) reversed, two obvious causes being the increase in the birth rate during and after the war and the unprecedented number of (mainly young) immigrants who settled in the Union in the immediate post-war years. Whether the birth rate can remain at a level high enough to reverse the trend of the last few decades is, however, doubtful. Perhaps the most significant change in the age structure since 1911 is the very great increase in the importance of the 65 and over group, which more than trebled its share of the population, and continued to rise between 1946 and 1951 despite the fall in the median age of the population.

The aging of the European population is further illustrated in Table 14, which shows the absolute and percentage increase of population in each five-year age group during the four decades up to 1951:

Table 14 INCREASE IN THE EUROPEAN POPULATION OF NATAL BY AGE GROUPS, 1911-51

| AGE GROUP | POPULATION IN 1911 | | POPULATION IN 1951 | | INCREASE 1911-1951 NUMBERS | | INCREASE 1911-1951 PERCENTAGES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 0 - 4 | 6,028 | 5,693 | 15,529 | 14,824 | 9,501 | 9,131 | 157.6 | 160.4 |
| 5 - 9 | 5,338 | 5,435 | 12,159 | 12,183 | 6,821 | 6,748 | 127.8 | 124.2 |
| 10 - 14 | 4,498 | 4,562 | 10,903 | 10,525 | 6,405 | 5,963 | 142.4 | 130.7 |
| 15 - 19 | 4,278 | 4,255 | 9,636 | 9,143 | 5,358 | 4,888 | 125.2 | 114.9 |
| 20 - 24 | 4,738 | 4,121 | 10,842 | 10,195 | 6,104 | 6,074 | 128.8 | 147.4 |
| 25 - 29 | 5,117 | 4,200 | 10,803 | 10,455 | 5,686 | 6,255 | 111.1 | 148.9 |
| 30 - 34 | 5,443 | 4,028 | 10,608 | 10,282 | 5,165 | 6,254 | 94.9 | 155.3 |
| 35 - 39 | 4,841 | 3,579 | 10,379 | 10,367 | 5,538 | 6,788 | 114.4 | 189.7 |
| 40 - 44 | 3,680 | 2,787 | 9,878 | 10,015 | 6,198 | 7,228 | 168.4 | 259.3 |
| 45 - 49 | 2,639 | 2,084 | 8,210 | 8,462 | 5,571 | 6,378 | 211.1 | 306.0 |
| 50 - 54 | 2,078 | 1,620 | 6,537 | 7,115 | 4,459 | 5,495 | 214.6 | 339.2 |
| 55 - 59 | 1,495 | 1,152 | 5,571 | 6,401 | 4,076 | 5,249 | 272.6 | 455.6 |
| 60 - 64 | 1,006 | 831 | 4,600 | 5,595 | 3,594 | 4,764 | 357.3 | 573.3 |
| 65 - 69 | 569 | 559 | 3,950 | 4,636 | 3,381 | 4,077 | 594.2 | 729.3 |
| 70 - 74 | 405 | 359 | 3,365 | 3,691 | 2,960 | 3,332 | 730.9 | 928.1 |
| 75 - 79 | 206 | 198 | 2,046 | 2,292 | 1,840 | 2,094 | 893.2 | 1,057.6 |
| 80 - 84 | 89 | 104 | 876 | 1,177 | 787 | 1,073 | 884.2 | 1,031.7 |
| 85 - 89 | 37 | 36 | 298 | 439 | 261 | 403 | 705.4 | 1,119.4 |
| 90 & over | 6 | 16 | 81 | 110 | 75 | 94 | 1,250.0 | 587.5 |
| Total* | 52,495 | 45,619 | 136,300 | 137,940 | 83,805 | 92,321 | 159.6 | 202.4 |
| 0 - 14 | 15,864 | 15,690 | 38,591 | 37,532 | 22,727 | 21,842 | 143.3 | 139.2 |
| 14 - 44 | 28,097 | 22,970 | 62,146 | 60,457 | 34,049 | 37,487 | 121.2 | 163.2 |
| 45 - 64 | 7,218 | 5,687 | 24,918 | 27,573 | 17,700 | 21,886 | 245.2 | 384.8 |
| 65 & over | 1,312 | 1,272 | 10,616 | 12,345 | 9,304 | 11,073 | 709.1 | 870.5 |

Source: Volume V, 1951 Population Census.
* Includes persons of unspecified age.

The general tendency illustrated by the table and by Figure 4 is for the older age groups to increase at a faster rate than the younger, and this tendency was greater, over the period 1911-51, for females than for males. Although it is not within the field of this survey to make a detailed demographic study of the reasons for this aging, the fact that it has taken place and is not unlikely to continue in the future has important social and economic consequences.[1]

Table 12 shows that the European population of Natal is somewhat older than that of the Union as a whole. Whereas Natal contained 10.4 per cent of the total European population of the Union, it had 9.1 per cent of its European children, 10.3 per cent of its younger adults, 11.8 per cent of its older adults, and as much as 13.4 per cent of those over sixty-four. The fact that the median age for the Union is almost three and a half years younger than Natal's (26.6 as compared to 30.0 years) shows that the difference in age structure is not inconsiderable. Despite the fact that the rate of natural increase is lower in Natal than in any of the other provinces, the difference in age structure appears to be due to the greater proportion of persons born overseas (and in other provinces) living in Natal, since the age structure of Natal-born persons is in fact "younger" than that of the Union. (See Appendix 2 to Chapter Two.)

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1 See the section in Chapter Five on "The Employment of the Older Worker".

The following table compares the age composition of the Natal (European) population with those of the Union and other countries:

Table 15 AGE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATIONS OF NATAL, THE UNION, AND A FEW OTHER SELECTED COUNTRIES

| COUNTRY | PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION AGED: | | | 15-44 GROUP AS % OF 15-64 GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0-14 | 15-64 | 65 & over | |
| Puerto Rico, 1950 | 43.2 | 53.0 | 3.8 | 78.1 |
| Japan, 1950 | 35.4 | 59.7 | 4.9 | 74.9 |
| South Africa, 1951[b] | 31.7 | 61.8 | 6.5 | 72.8 |
| Natal, 1951[b] | 27.8 | 63.8 | 8.4 | 70.0 |
| United States, 1950[a] | 27.6 | 64.7 | 7.6 | 68.3 |
| S. Rhodesia, 1946[b] | 27.4 | 67.0 | 5.5 | 72.4 |
| Sweden, 1948[a] | 22.6 | 67.5 | 9.9 | 66.2 |
| England and Wales, 1950[a] | 22.0 | 67.2 | 10.9 | 64.4 |
| France, 1950[a] | 21.7 | 66.7 | 11.7 | 63.7 |

Sources: Union population census, 1951 and U.N. Demographic yearbooks.
a. Official estimates.
b. European population only.

Amongst the countries represented, the proportion of children ranges from 21.7 per cent to 43.2 per cent, the proportion of adults of working age from 53.0 per cent to 67.5 per cent, and the proportion of oldsters from 3.8 per cent to 11.7 per cent. Few countries in the world with recorded statistics have an age composition far outside these limits. Generally, a population with a high proportion of children will have a low proportion of both adults and oldsters, and vice versa. Moreover, the relative importance of the younger adult group tends to decrease as the proportion of all adults increases.

Because the proportions of children and oldsters tend to be inversely related, the working age group shows the least variation amongst the countries represented. Whereas the highest proportion of children was twice the lowest and the highest proportion of oldsters was over three times the lowest, the working age group showed a smaller range of variation.

Although the European population of Natal is older than that of South Africa, it is still youthful when compared with the other representatives of European stock. It is interesting that Natal's age composition closely resembles the United States', despite the difference between the age of the two communities.

Non-European Ages. Too thorough an analysis of the age structures of the Non-European populations is not profitable in view of the doubtful accuracy of the enumerated figures - especially from earlier censuses. Even given optimum conditions of enumeration and education of the population, it is generally accepted that errors are inevitable through under-enumeration (especially of children) and through mis-statement of ages. Sometimes mis-statement is deliberate: the differentiation of the administration of governmental duties is not always clearly understood. A parent may understate the age of a child who should be attending school, or for income tax purposes; a young man may understate his age to delay military training; women of all ages may raise or lower their true ages for a variety of reasons when questioned by a census enumerator; oldsters may raise their ages to the pensionable level; and so on. Sometimes the mis-statements are non-deliberate, being caused by ignorance or forgetfulness, which is understandable when it is remembered that the information concerning a family is more often than not supplied by a single member, who may not always be the most accurately informed.

Many such sources of error in census enumeration (not only of information regarding age) are inevitable even in a typical "Western" country: they are the more widespread the less "advanced" the community and the less important is the role played by age in the community life. It is not by any means suggested that the South African census figures for Non-European ages are wholly unreliable: in fact the accuracy of the Coloured and Indian age figures is probably not now far short of that of the European figures. But, despite praiseworthy attempts by enumerators, the recorded age of many Natives must still rely on the enumerators' own judgement and guess work, and it is difficult to estimate just how near to the truth these figures are. It is wise, therefore, to allow for a large degree of error when interpreting figures of Native ages.

Indians. The outstanding feature of the age composition of the Natal Indian population (and, to a lesser extent, of the South African Indian population) is its extreme youthfulness, which is surpassed by few countries of the world. (See Table 16, Appendix 3 (b) and Figure 3.)

Table 16 PRINCIPAL AGE GROUPS OF THE INDIAN POPULATIONS OF NATAL AND THE REST OF THE UNION,[1] 1951

| AGE GROUP | | NATAL | | | REST OF THE UNION[1] | | | NATAL AS % OF TOTAL UNION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Number | % | Masc. Rate | Number | % | Masc. Rate | |
| 0 - 14 | M | 71,848 | 46.9 | | 15,594 | 43.0 | | 82.2 |
| | F | 71,916 | 49.2 | | 14,828 | 48.1 | | 82.9 |
| | P | 143,764 | 48.0 | 99.9 | 30,422 | 45.4 | 105.2 | 82.5 |
| 15 - 44 | M | 63,502 | 41.4 | | 15,856 | 43.8 | | 80.0 |
| | F | 62,144 | 42.6 | | 13,468 | 43.7 | | 82.2 |
| | P | 125,646 | 42.0 | 102.2 | 29,324 | 43.7 | 117.7 | 81.1 |
| 45 - 64 | M | 13,512 | 8.8 | | 3,475 | 9.6 | | 79.5 |
| | F | 10,031 | 6.8 | | 2,137 | 6.9 | | 82.3 |
| | P | 23,543 | 7.8 | 135.8 | 5,612 | 8.4 | 162.6 | 80.7 |
| 65 & over | M | 4,356 | 2.8 | | 1,310 | 3.6 | | 76.9 |
| | F | 2,010 | 1.4 | | 372 | 1.2 | | 84.4 |
| | P | 6,366 | 2.1 | 216.7 | 1,682 | 2.5 | 352.2 | 79.1 |
| Total* | M | 153,297 | 100.0 | | 36,298 | 100.0 | | 80.9 |
| | F | 146,194 | 100.0 | | 30,875 | 100.0 | | 82.6 |
| | P | 299,491 | 100.0 | 104.9 | 67,173 | 100.0 | 117.6 | 81.7 |

Source: adapted from Volume V, 1951, Population Census.
* Includes persons of unspecified age.

Of a total Natal population of a little under 300,000 in 1951, 143,764 (48 per cent) were under fifteen, 125,646 (42.0 per cent) were between fifteen and forty-five, 23,465 (7.8 per cent) between forty-five and sixty-five, and only 6,366 (2.1 per cent) over the age of sixty-four. This means that less than half of the population fell within the working age groups and that most of the remainder were children, while

1 For usefulness of comparison, figures for the "Rest of the Union" (i.e. excluding Natal) and not for the "Total Union" are sometimes given in this and other tables relating to the Indian population. The Natal Indians form such a large proportion of the total Union Indian population that to use the latter gives little basis for comparison. The system adopted virtually amounts to a comparison between Natal and the Transvaal.

only one Indian in ten was aged forty-five or more.

The median age of the population was 15.8 years, the male median being 16.4 and the female median being 15.3 years. In contrast to the European population, the masculinity of the Indian population increases with age, with a considerable excess of males over females in the older age groups, which can be attributed to the heavily masculine immigration prior to 1913 and partly to a slightly longer expectation of life for males than for females.[1] Females exceeded males in the combined age groups up to the age of thirty-five, but by the age of forty males were in the majority - a majority which increased rapidly thereafter with each successive age group.

Also in marked contrast to the European population the age of the Indian population has fallen, not risen, over the last few decades, as shown in the following table:

Table 17 — THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE INDIAN POPULATION OF NATAL, 1921-51 (PERCENTAGES)

| AGE GROUP | 1921 | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 - 14 | 43.5 | 46.7 | 47.4 | 48.0 |
| 15 - 44 | 43.6 | 40.5 | 41.7 | 42.0 |
| 45 - 64 | 11.2 | 10.6 | 8.5 | 7.8 |
| 15 - 64 | 54.8 | 51.1 | 50.2 | 49.8 |
| 65 & over | 1.5 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 2.1 |
| Under 21 | 54.1 | 60.4 | 60.6 | 60.8 |
| 21 & over | 45.9 | 39.6 | 39.4 | 39.2 |
| Median age* (in years) | 18.8 | 16.5 | 16.2 | 15.8 |

Source: calculated from Union population census figures.
* Approximate - calculated from five year age groups.
Note: Percentages will not add to 100 owing to the omission of "unspecified" ages.

The most noticeable feature of this table is the fall in the median age by three years, compared with a rise of over four years in the median age of the European population during the same period. This falling trend in the median age, which has probably not yet reached its turning point, runs contrary to the aging which is normally experienced by an older country.

The proportion of the population under fifteen increased during each of the inter-censal periods reviewed, while the proportion of the population in the working age groups decreased. This trend towards increasing youthfulness can be attributed to the high rate of natural increase on the one hand and to the diminishing effects of past immigration on the other hand.

The age composition at the time of the 1921 census was determined to a large extent by the migration of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries, which resulted in an abnormal bulge in the adult age groups, especially amongst the males. With

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1 The expectation of life for males, based on the age distribution reported in the 1946 census and the deaths occurring during the years 1945-7, was 50.70 years, while the female expectation of life was 49.75 years. See "Life Tables for Asiatics", Special Feature No. 2, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, May, 1951.

the prohibition of free immigration, natural increase became progressively more important as a determinant of population growth, and, together with emigration of mainly older persons, led to a decline in age.

Within the working age group itself, the proportion of older adults showed a decline throughout the period, while the proportion of younger adults fell between 1921 and 1936 and then rose thereafter. The fall in the relative importance of the latter group between 1921 and 1936 can be explained by the abnormal size of this group in 1921 owing to earlier immigration. At each successive census, however, a smaller proportion of younger adults would have been Indian born immigrants. This "immigration bulge" was also partly the cause of the increased proportion of oldsters in 1951. There is no continuous increase in the relative importance of oldsters analogous to that of the Europeans - due partly to the lower expectation of life and partly to the emigration of older persons. In fact, as the remaining survivors of the heavy immigration periods die out it is not unlikely that the proportion may fall to a level lower than the 1951 figure, unless there is a corresponding decrease in mortality conditions.

The effect of early immigration on the population of both 1921 and 1951 and the changes in age structure between these two years is shown in more detail in Table 18, which also illustrates the differential growth of the sexes in each age group:

Table 18 INCREASE IN THE INDIAN POPULATION OF NATAL BY AGE GROUPS, 1921-51

| AGE GROUP | POPULATION IN 1921 | | POPULATION IN 1951 | | INCREASE 1921-51 NUMBERS | | INCREASE 1921-51 PERCENTAGE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 0 - 4 | 11,313 | 11,511 | 27,477 | 27,463 | 16,164 | 15,952 | 142.9 | 138.6 |
| 5 - 9 | 11,501 | 11,233 | 24,335 | 24,232 | 12,834 | 12,999 | 111.6 | 115.7 |
| 10 - 14 | 8,498 | 7,607 | 20,036 | 20,221 | 11,538 | 12,614 | 135.8 | 165.8 |
| 15 - 19 | 5,979 | 5,436 | 15,784 | 16,289 | 9,805 | 10,853 | 164.0 | 199.7 |
| 20 - 24 | 4,984 | 4,842 | 13,567 | 13,544 | 8,583 | 8,702 | 172.2 | 179.7 |
| 25 - 29 | 5,162 | 4,702 | 10,803 | 10,938 | 5,641 | 6,236 | 109.3 | 132.6 |
| 30 - 34 | 6,249 | 4,546 | 9,218 | 8,785 | 2,969 | 4,239 | 47.5 | 93.2 |
| 35 - 39 | 7,470 | 3,508 | 7,910 | 7,215 | 440 | 3,707 | 5.9 | 105.7 |
| 40 - 44 | 6,105 | 2,787 | 6,220 | 5,373 | 115 | 2,586 | 1.9 | 92.8 |
| 45 - 49 | 4,445 | 1,733 | 4,824 | 3,848 | 379 | 2,115 | 8.5 | 122.0 |
| 50 - 54 | 3,543 | 1,449 | 3,667 | 2,762 | 124 | 1,313 | 3.5 | 90.6 |
| 55 - 59 | 1,821 | 628 | 2,502 | 1,855 | 681 | 1,227 | 37.4 | 195.4 |
| 60 - 64 | 1,614 | 643 | 2,519 | 1,488 | 905 | 845 | 56.1 | 131.4 |
| 65 - 69 | 625 | 243 | 2,252 | 960 | 1,627 | 717 | 260.3 | 295.1 |
| 70 - 74 | 486 | 169 | 1,119 | 506 | 633 | 337 | 130.2 | 199.4 |
| 75 - 79 | 172 | 70 | 532 | 254 | 360 | 184 | 209.3 | 262.9 |
| 80 - 84 | 137 | 75 | 271 | 157 | 134 | 82 | 97.8 | 109.3 |
| 85 - 89 | 40 | 23 | 108 | 63 | 68 | 40 | 170.0 | 173.9 |
| 90 - 94 | 27 | 11 | 43 | 35 | 16 | 24 | 59.3 | 218.2 |
| 95 & over | 9 | 9 | 31 | 35 | 22 | 26 | 244.4 | 288.9 |
| Total* | 80,314 | 61,335 | 153,297 | 146,194 | 72,983 | 84,859 | 90.9 | 138.4 |
| 0 - 14 | 31,312 | 30,351 | 71,848 | 71,916 | 40,536 | 41,565 | 129.5 | 136.9 |
| 15 - 44 | 35,949 | 25,821 | 63,502 | 62,144 | 27,553 | 36,323 | 76.6 | 140.7 |
| 45 - 64 | 11,423 | 4,453 | 13,512 | 9,953 | 2,089 | 5,500 | 18.3 | 123.5 |
| 65 & over | 1,496 | 600 | 4,356 | 2,011 | 2,860 | 1,410 | 191.2 | 235.0 |

Source: Volume V, 1951, Population Census.
* Includes persons of unspecified age.

The female population increased, both absolutely and proportionately, considerably more than the male, the masculinity of increase being 86 males per 100 females. The differential rate of increase is particularly noticeable in the middle age groups: the number of males between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-five increased by less than 5 per cent, while the number of females more than doubled, giving a masculinity of increase as low as 11. The relatively more uniform rate of increase of the female age groups is illustrated in Figure 4.

By way of a final look at the age structure of the Natal Indian population, a glance at Tables 15 and 16 will show that none of the selected countries in Table 15 can compare with the youthfulness of the Natal Indians.

Coloureds. The youthfulness of the Coloured population of Natal, which is second only to the Indians', is illustrated in Table 19.

Table 19 PRINCIPAL AGE GROUPS OF THE COLOURED POPULATIONS OF NATAL AND THE UNION, 1951

| AGE GROUP | | NATAL | | | UNION | | | NATAL AS % OF TOTAL UNION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Number | % | Masc. Rate | Number | % | Masc. Rate | |
| 0 - 14 | M | 6,762 | 44.4 | | 237,193 | 43.1 | | 2.9 |
| | F | 6,876 | 42.4 | | 235,522 | 42.7 | | 2.9 |
| | P | 13,638 | 43.3 | 98.3 | 472,715 | 42.9 | 100.7 | 2.9 |
| 15 - 44 | M | 6,625 | 43.5 | | 235,176 | 42.8 | | 2.8 |
| | F | 7,281 | 44.9 | | 239,095 | 43.3 | | 3.0 |
| | P | 13,906 | 44.2 | 91.0 | 474,271 | 43.0 | 98.4 | 2.9 |
| 45 - 64 | M | 1,490 | 9.8 | | 58,546 | 10.6 | | 2.5 |
| | F | 1,614 | 10.0 | | 57,228 | 10.4 | | 2.8 |
| | P | 3,104 | 9.9 | 92.3 | 115,774 | 10.5 | 102.3 | 2.7 |
| 65 & over | M | 367 | 2.4 | | 19,226 | 3.5 | | 1.9 |
| | F | 448 | 2.8 | | 20,122 | 3.6 | | 2.2 |
| | P | 815 | 2.6 | 81.9 | 39,348 | 3.6 | 95.6 | 2.1 |
| Total* | M | 15,255 | 100.0 | | 550,579 | 100.0 | | 2.8 |
| | F | 16,230 | 100.0 | | 552,437 | 100.0 | | 2.9 |
| | P | 31,485 | 100.0 | 94.0 | 1,103,016 | 100.0 | 99.7 | 2.9 |

Source: Volume V, 1951, Population Census.
* Includes persons of unspecified age.

The proportion of Coloureds in the working age groups, although higher than the Indians', is still low (54 per cent) as compared with the Europeans' (64 per cent), owing to the large number of children. The median age of the total Coloured population is 18.2 years, the male median age being 17.7 and the female 18.5 years.

Although the age structure of the Coloured population is most akin to that of the Indian population[1], it resembles the European in that its masculinity declines with age, owing to the longer female expectation of life[2] and the absence of overseas migration as a significant contributory factor.

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1 See Figure 3.

2 The expectation of life at birth (1946) was 44.0 years for females and 41.7 years for males.

# Ages of the Natal Population 1951

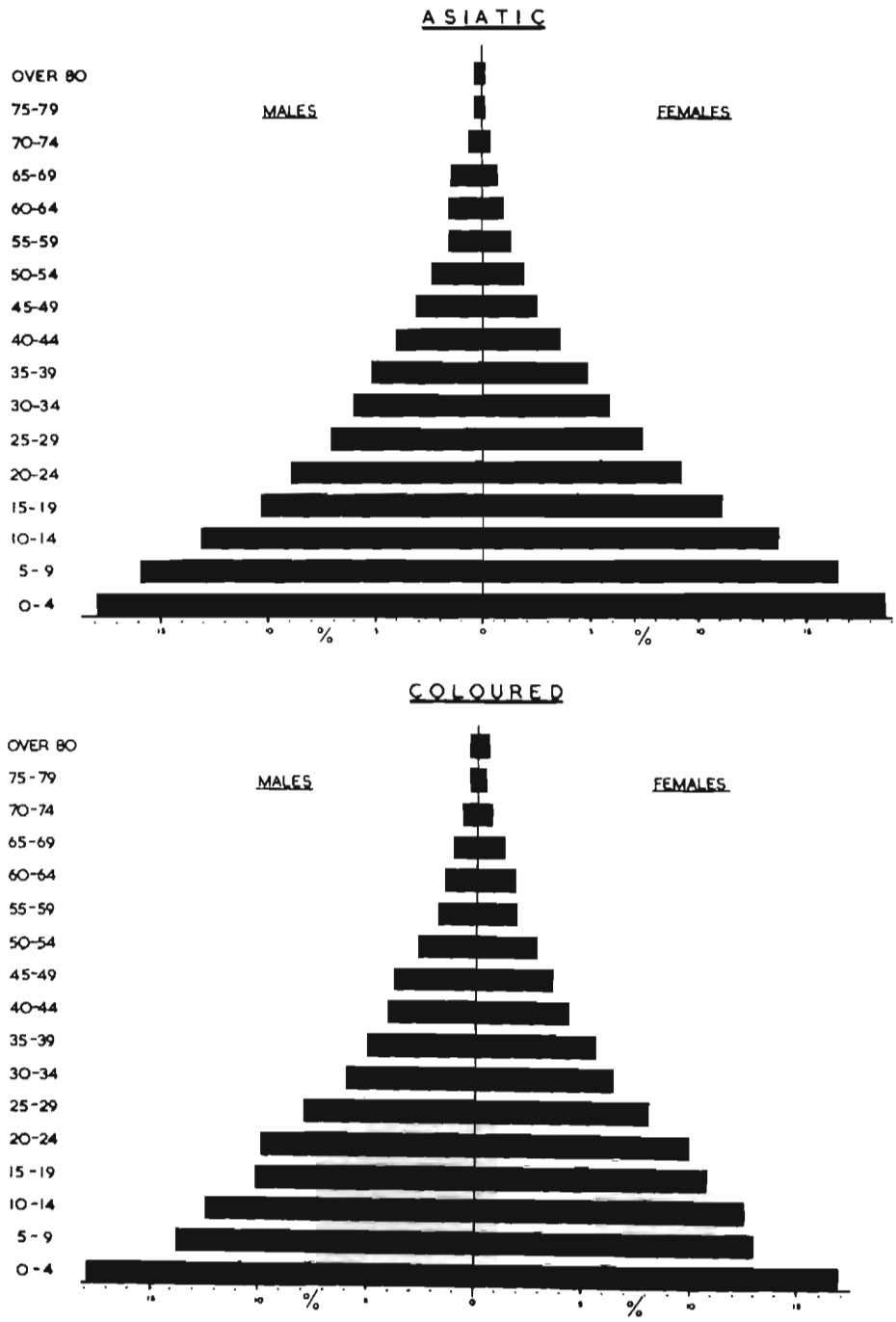


Figure 3.

Table 20 THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE COLOURED POPULATION OF NATAL, 1921-51 (PERCENTAGES)

| AGE GROUP | 1921 | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 - 14 | 38.9 | 43.0 | 40.2 | 43.3 |
| 15 - 44 | 50.3 | 45.0 | 48.0 | 44.2 |
| 45 - 64 | 8.6 | 9.5 | 9.3 | 9.9 |
| 15 - 64 | 58.9 | 54.5 | 57.3 | 54.1 |
| 65 & over | 2.0 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 2.6 |
| Under 21 | 52.5 | 55.0 | 52.7 | 55.9 |
| 21 & over | 47.5 | 45.0 | 47.3 | 44.1 |
| Median Age* (in years) | 20.0 | 18.5 | 19.7 | 18.2 |

Source: calculated from Union Population Census figures.
* Approximate median age calculated from five year age groups.
Note: Percentages will not add to 100 owing to the omission of "unspecified" ages.

Between 1921 and 1951, there was a fall in the median age of the Coloured population, brought about mainly by a fall in the relative importance of the young adults and a rise in the proportion of children. This disproportionate growth of the age groups, which, to a lesser extent than in the case of the Indians, is in favour of the youngest and oldest age groups, is further illustrated in Table 21.

Table 21 INCREASE IN THE COLOURED POPULATION OF NATAL BY AGE GROUPS, 1921-51

| AGE GROUP | POPULATION IN 1921 | | POPULATION IN 1951 | | INCREASE, 1921 - 51 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | NUMBERS | | PERCENTAGE | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 0 - 4 | 741 | 744 | 2,749 | 2,739 | 2,008 | 1,995 | 271.0 | 268.1 |
| 5 - 9 | 727 | 752 | 2,101 | 2,114 | 1,374 | 1,362 | 189.0 | 181.1 |
| 10 - 14 | 649 | 708 | 1,912 | 2,023 | 1,263 | 1,315 | 194.6 | 185.7 |
| 15 - 19 | 586 | 654 | 1,558 | 1,732 | 972 | 1,078 | 165.9 | 164.8 |
| 20 - 24 | 671 | 588 | 1,507 | 1,602 | 836 | 1,014 | 124.6 | 172.4 |
| 25 - 29 | 659 | 469 | 1,217 | 1,306 | 558 | 837 | 84.7 | 178.5 |
| 30 - 34 | 467 | 340 | 937 | 1,036 | 470 | 696 | 100.6 | 204.7 |
| 35 - 39 | 389 | 309 | 770 | 902 | 381 | 593 | 97.9 | 191.9 |
| 40 - 44 | 257 | 203 | 636 | 703 | 379 | 500 | 147.5 | 246.3 |
| 45 - 49 | 208 | 167 | 586 | 574 | 378 | 407 | 181.7 | 243.7 |
| 50 - 54 | 144 | 132 | 409 | 458 | 265 | 326 | 184.0 | 247.0 |
| 55 - 59 | 78 | 73 | 269 | 306 | 191 | 233 | 244.9 | 319.2 |
| 60 - 64 | 86 | 68 | 226 | 276 | 140 | 208 | 162.8 | 305.9 |
| 65 - 69 | 52 | 47 | 172 | 196 | 120 | 149 | 230.8 | 317.0 |
| 70 - 74 | 25 | 29 | 102 | 118 | 77 | 89 | 308.0 | 306.9 |
| 75 - 79 | 11 | 12 | 48 | 59 | 37 | 47 | 336.4 | 391.7 |
| 80 - 84 | 13 | 16 | 29 | 42 | 16 | 26 | 123.1 | 162.5 |
| 85 - 89 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 17 | 4 | 13 | 57.1 | 325.0 |
| 90 - 94 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 13 | 2 | 11 | 200.0 | 550.0 |
| 95 & over | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | -1 | 1 | -33.3 | 50.0 |
| Total* | 5,784 | 5,323 | 15,255 | 16,230 | 9,471 | 10,907 | 163.7 | 204.9 |
| 0 - 14 | 2,117 | 2,204 | 6,762 | 6,876 | 4,645 | 4,672 | 219.4 | 212.0 |
| 15 - 44 | 3,029 | 2,563 | 6,625 | 7,281 | 3,596 | 4,718 | 118.7 | 184.1 |
| 45 - 64 | 516 | 440 | 1,490 | 1,614 | 974 | 1,174 | 188.8 | 266.8 |
| 65 & over | 112 | 112 | 367 | 448 | 255 | 336 | 227.7 | 300.0 |

Source: Volume V, 1951 Population Census.
* Including persons of unspecified age.

The lowest rates of increase were in the age groups from twenty to forty for males and from five to forty for females, and the highest were for the over-seventy age groups. Figure 5 shows that these variations between the age groups were less for the Coloured population than for the European or Indian populations.

Natives. The census data on the ages of Natives, as has already been mentioned, are the least reliable for the age data. For this reason, these figures will not be given as detailed an analysis as those appertaining to the other racial groups.

Without doubt, an increasing number of Natives at successive censuses are able to give the exact year of their birth, either by reference to a birth certificate or from information passed on from the parents. When the respondent is unable to state his exact age, the enumerator will try to discover the year of his birth by reference to an important historical event (such as a war), a natural phenomenon (such as a drought, flood, or epidemic), or the formation (in Natal) of a Zulu Royal Regiment. If this method fails, the enumerator must fall back upon personal judgment, a procedure which may or may not produce satisfactory results, depending upon the circumstances. The fact that the relative frequency with which these three procedures are applied is unknown makes an assessment of the accuracy of Native age statistics difficult.

In the recent report on the 1951 census dealing with ages, the Director of the Bureau draws attention to the concentration of Natives at ages ending in 0 and 5, and to a lesser extent at 2 and 8.[1] This humping of ages at multiples of 5 and at even rather than odd numbers is a frequent phenomenon of censuses of less advanced communities, and is, of course, likely to increase the more the reported ages are the estimates of the enumerators. While the Bureau admits that the single year ages of Natives are unreliable, it claims that the Native figures "probably give a reasonably accurate indication of ... age distribution" when combined into age groups.

The age figures from the 1951 population census show that the Native population, although somewhat older than the other two Non-European groups, is still considerably younger than the European population. (See Table 22 and Figure 2.) Forty per cent of the Native population of Natal is aged under 15 years while a further 43 per cent is between 15 and 44 years. Only 16 per cent is aged 45 years or over. The trend in masculinity rates shows that the female population is older than the male, and in fact the median age of women is 20.2 years as against 18.6 years for men.

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1 p. 6, Volume V, 1951 Population Census.

Table 22 PRINCIPAL AGE GROUPS OF THE NATIVE POPULATIONS OF NATAL AND THE UNION, 1951

| AGE GROUP | | NATAL | | | UNION | | | NATAL AS % OF TOTAL UNION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Number | % | Masc. Rate | Number | % | Masc. Rate | |
| 0 - 14 | M | 363,442 | 41.4 | | 1,671,276 | 38.3 | | 21.7 |
| | F | 363,000 | 38.9 | | 1,670,400 | 39.9 | | 21.7 |
| | P | 726,442 | 40.1 | 100.1 | 3,341,676 | 39.0 | 100.1 | 21.7 |
| 15 - 44 | M | 377,533 | 43.0 | | 2,071,120 | 47.4 | | 18.2 |
| | F | 408,511 | 43.8 | | 1,877,104 | 44.8 | | 21.8 |
| | P | 786,044 | 43.4 | 92.4 | 3,948,224 | 46.1 | 110.3 | 19.9 |
| 45 - 64 | M | 105,627 | 12.0 | | 484,439 | 11.1 | | 21.8 |
| | F | 118,547 | 12.7 | | 474,531 | 11.3 | | 25.0 |
| | P | 224,174 | 12.4 | 89.1 | 958,970 | 11.2 | 102.1 | 23.4 |
| 65 & over | M | 31,334 | 3.6 | | 137,970 | 3.2 | | 22.7 |
| | F | 41,788 | 4.5 | | 165,878 | 4.0 | | 25.2 |
| | P | 73,122 | 4.0 | 75.0 | 303,848 | 3.5 | 83.2 | 24.1 |
| Total* | M | 878,079 | 100.0 | | 4,369,157 | 100.0 | | 20.1 |
| | F | 932,023 | 100.0 | | 4,190,926 | 100.0 | | 22.2 |
| | P | 1,810,102 | 100.0 | 94.2 | 8,560,083 | 100.0 | 104.3 | 21.1 |

Source: Volume II 1951, Population Census.
* Including persons of unspecified age.

Natal is a net exporter of Native males, which partly accounts for the comparatively low masculinity rate of the 15-44 working age group. But not all of this excess of females over males is due to economic factors, because the masculinity rate of all Natal-born Natives in 1946 (wherever they were enumerated in the Union) was no more than that of the resident Native population of Natal. Since the masculinity also decreases with age (see also Appendix 5), one can assume a longer expectation of life for Native women.

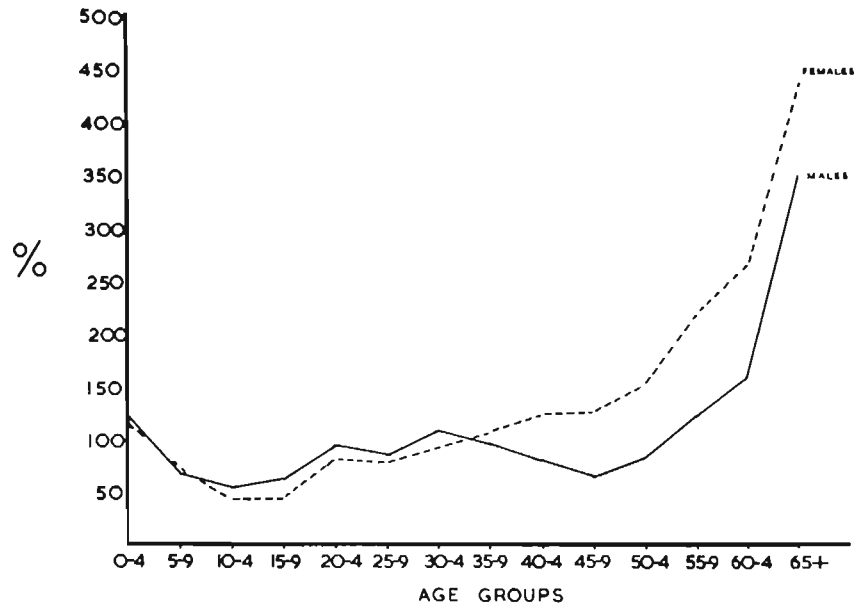
If one compares the ages of Natal Natives with those of the total Union's Natives, an interesting relationship is revealed. The most interesting comparison is again the 15-44 year group. The reason for the low percentage of Union males of this age residing in Natal is two-fold: the proportion of Natal Native males aged 15-44 is diminished by net emigration, while the proportion of Union men so aged is abnormally high through the effect of net immigration from extra-Union territories. Despite the smaller proportion of older persons aged 45 years and over, the Union median age is a year higher than the Natal median.

The census data on the ages of the Native population for earlier years shows that the Natal population has been growing older, to the advantage of the population of working age:

# Percentage Increase in the Natal Population by age groups

## EUROPEANS

## 1921-51




## INDIANS

## 1921-51

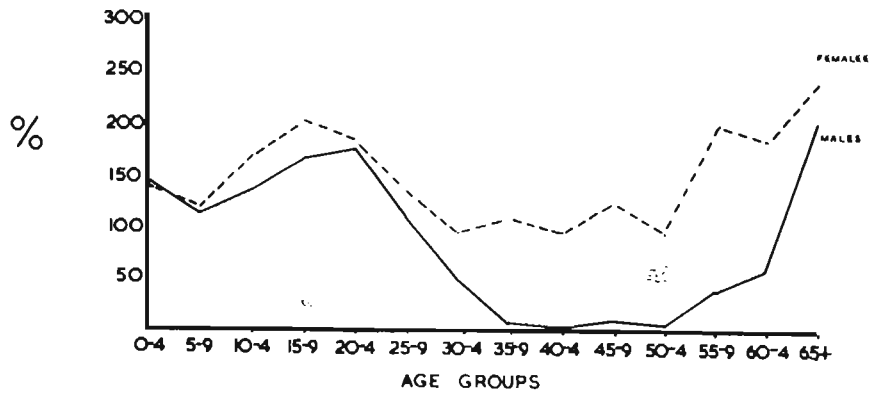



Figure 4.

Table 23 THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE NATIVE POPULATION OF NATAL, 1936, 1946 AND 1951 (PERCENTAGES)

| AGE GROUP | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 - 14 | 42.5 | 40.6 | 40.1 |
| 15 - 44 | 42.1 | 43.0 | 43.4 |
| 45 - 64 | 11.5 | 12.1 | 12.4 |
| 15 - 64 | 53.6 | 55.1 | 55.8 |
| 65 & over | 3.8 | 4.1 | 4.0 |
| Under 21 | 55.5 | 54.3 | 53.5 |
| 21 & over | 44.5 | 45.7 | 46.5 |
| Median age (in years) | 18.5 | 18.9 | 19.4 |

Source: calculated from Union Population census figures.

The proportion of Native children of under fifteen and the proportion of minors have fallen since 1936, with a rise of almost a year in the median age. Both working age groups and the 65 and over age group have increased in relative importance, although the increases were greater in the case of the older age groups. (See Table 24.)

Table 24 INCREASE IN THE NATIVE POPULATION OF NATAL, 1936-51

| AGE GROUP | POPULATION IN 1936 | | POPULATION IN 1951 | | INCREASE: 1936-51 NUMBERS | | INCREASE: 1936-51 PERCENTAGES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| 0-44 | 328,591 | 331,752 | 363,442 | 363,000 | 34,851 | 31,248 | 111 | 109 |
| 15-44 | 307,218 | 347,130 | 377,533 | 408,511 | 70,315 | 61,381 | 123 | 118 |
| 45-64 | 82,293 | 96,472 | 105,627 | 118,547 | 23,334 | 22,075 | 128 | 123 |
| 65 + | 24,052 | 35,334 | 31,334 | 41,788 | 7,282 | 6,454 | 130 | 118 |
| Total | 742,600 | 811,029 | 878,079 | 932,023 | 135,479 | 120,994 | 118 | 115 |

Source: Volume V, 1951 Population Census.

Over half of the increase in both males and females between 1936 and 1951 was recorded in the 15-44 year age group, although the highest rates of increase were in the 65 and over age group (males) and the 45-64 age group (females). In every age group the rate of increase of males was higher than that of females (see Figure 5), reflecting the increase in masculinity of the Native population mentioned earlier in this chapter.

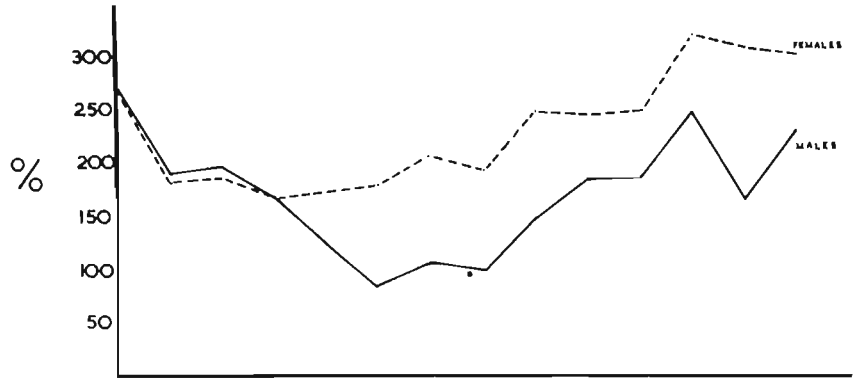
## § 4 The Potential Working Population of Natal: An Interim Statement

In the introduction to this report, some of the difficulties involved in defining what is meant by the labour resources of a region were outlined, and a number of possible measures of labour potential were discussed. We are now in a position to assess what has been taken as the first crude measurement of labour potential - the population of working age.

# Percentage Increase in the Natal Population by age groups

## COLOUREDS

1921-51




## NATIVES

1936-51

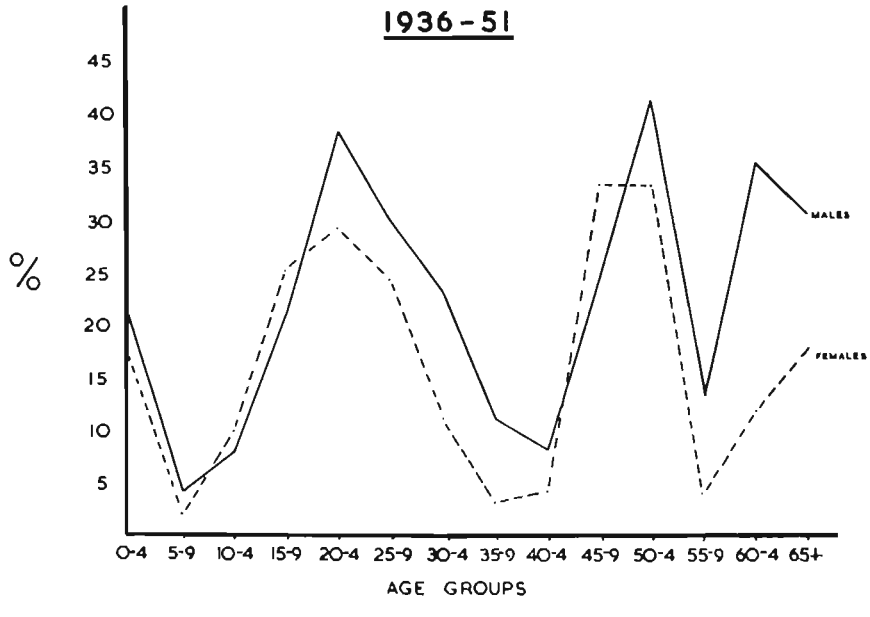



Figure 5.

The preliminary statement given below combines the available information regarding the number, age, and sex of the four races of the Natal population to gain some conception of Natal's total work potential. This is perhaps of value in the logical continuance of this survey. But this crude assessment is of no great practical value by itself, and later we shall have to consider what proportion of the potential working population is actually employed or employable and the extent to which persons of non-working age may in fact enter the labour market.

The age structure of the total population of Natal is illustrated in Table 25.

Table 25 AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION OF NATAL, 1951

| AGE GROUP | MALES | | FEMALES | | PERSONS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| 0 - 14 | 480,643 | 40.6 | 479,324 | 38.9 | 959,967 | 39.7 |
| 15 - 44 | 509,806 | 43.1 | 538,393 | 43.7 | 1,048,119 | 43.4 |
| 45 - 64 | 145,547 | 12.3 | 157,609 | 12.8 | 303,156 | 12.6 |
| 15 - 64 | 655,353 | 55.4 | 696,158 | 56.5 | 1,351,511 | 55.9 |
| 65 & over | 46,673 | 3.9 | 56,591 | 4.6 | 103,264 | 4.3 |
| Total* | 1,182,931 | 100.0 | 1,232,387 | 100.0 | 2,415,318 | 100.0 |

Source: Volume V, 1951 Population Census.
* Including persons of unspecified age.

To the extent that it is meaningful to add together units differing so greatly in their individual work potential, the working age group (15-64) can be taken as an unrefined assessment of the total potential working population of Natal.

The racial composition of the total population in each age group reflects the effect of differential fertility and mortality conditions upon the potential working population of each racial group. (See Table 26.)

Table 26 AGE STRUCTURE AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF NATAL, 1951 (PERCENTAGES)

| AGE GROUP | AGE STRUCTURE OF EACH RACIAL GROUP | | | | | RACIAL COMPOSITION OF TOTAL POPULATION | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. | All | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. | All |
| 0 - 14 | 27.8 | 40.1 | 48.0 | 43.3 | 39.7 | 7.9 | 75.7 | 15.0 | 1.4 | 100.0 |
| 15 - 64 | 63.8 | 55.8 | 49.8 | 54.1 | 55.9 | 13.0 | 74.8 | 11.0 | 1.3 | 100.0 |
| 64 + | 8.4 | 4.0 | 2.1 | 2.6 | 4.3 | 22.2 | 70.8 | 6.2 | 0.8 | 100.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 11.4 | 74.9 | 12.4 | 1.3 | 100.0 |

Source: calculated from Union population census figures.

The European content of the population increases with age, with Europeans comprising only 8 per cent of all children but 13 per cent of adults and as much as 22 per cent of oldsters. The proportion of Non-Europeans, on the other hand, falls with increasing age, especially in the case of Indians and Coloureds, whose youthfulness has been emphasized before.

One feature of these figures calling for comment is the comparatively high proportion of Europeans and low proportion of Indians in the population of working age. Yet, for future labour requirements, one must first look to the children of today, and here one finds almost twice as many Indian as European children. For Natal, and for Durban in particular, the significance of this fact for future labour requirements cannot be ignored.

APPENDIX 1

GROWTH OF POPULATION, 1921 - 1951

| | | 1921 | | | | | 1936 | | | | | 1946 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | EUR. | NAT. | IND. | COL. | ALL | EUR. | NAT. | IND. | COL. | ALL | EUR | NAT | IND | COL. | ALL |
| Durban Municipality | M | 29,159 | 36,681 | 28,267 | 1,891 | 95,998 | 43,155 | 49,313 | 42,552 | 3,632 | 138,652 | 57,590 | 76,032 | 55,213 | 5,221 | 194,056 |
| | F | 27,529 | 5,845 | 21,421 | 2,003 | 56,798 | 44,907 | 14,234 | 37,934 | 3,785 | 100,860 | 59,638 | 28,553 | 51,391 | 5,609 | 145,191 |
| | P | 56,688 | 42,526 | 49,688 | 3,894 | 152,796 | 88,062 | 63,547 | 80,486 | 7,417 | 239,512 | 117,228 | 104,585 | 106,604 | 10,830 | 339,247 |
| Durban and Suburbs (1) | M | 31,798 | 39,798 | 32,585 | 1,988 | 105,698 | 47,367 | 54,383 | 47,227 | 3,822 | 152,799 | 65,869 | 83,000 | 60,559 | 5,442 | 212,870 |
| | F | 29,771 | 6,382 | 24,801 | 2,091 | 63,045 | 49,437 | 16,148 | 42,242 | 3,931 | 111,758 | 66,274 | 30,612 | 56,506 | 6,007 | 159,399 |
| | P | 61,098 | 46,180 | 57,386 | 4,079 | 168,743 | 96,804 | 70,531 | 89,469 | 7,753 | 264,557 | 130,143 | 113,612 | 117,065 | 11,449 | 372,269 |
| NATAL | M | 70,477 | 551,025 | 80,314 | 5,784 | 707,600 | 95,157 | 742,600 | 97,073 | 9,390 | 944,220 | 117,425 | 823,334 | 119,784 | 12,967 | 1,073,510 |
| | F | 66,361 | 588,779 | 61,335 | 5,323 | 721,798 | 95,392 | 811,029 | 86,568 | 9,239 | 1,002,248 | 119,272 | 885,149 | 112,533 | 11,928 | 1,128,882 |
| | P | 136,838 | 1,139,804 | 141,649 | 11,107 | 1,429,398 | 190,549 | 1,553,629 | 183,641 | 18,629 | 1,946,468 | 236,697 | 1,708,483 | 232,317 | 24,895 | 2,202,392 |
| Urban | P | 101,725 | 85,870 | 79,109 | 6,863 | 273,567 | 151,256 | 150,878 | 122,783 | 12,937 | 437,854 | 200,728 | 224,510 | 160,457 | 19,552 | 605,247 |
| Rural | P | 35,113 | 1,053,934 | 62,540 | 4,244 | 1,155,831 | 39,293 | 1,402,751 | 60,878 | 5,692 | 1,508,614 | 55,969 | 1,485,973 | 71,860 | 5,343 | 1,597,145 |
| CAPE | M | 329,367 | 769,549 | 5,724 | 243,328 | 1,347,968 | 396,058 | 917,565 | 6,677 | 342,769 | 1,663,069 | 433,849 | 1,066,689 | 8,557 | 415,239 | 1,924,334 |
| | F | 321,268 | 870,085 | 1,972 | 240,557 | 1,433,882 | 394,993 | 1,126,913 | 3,851 | 339,059 | 1,864,796 | 436,300 | 1,270,284 | 6,617 | 413,889 | 2,127,090 |
| | P | 650,635 | 1,639,634 | 7,696 | 483,885 | 2,781,850 | 791,051 | 2,044,478 | 10,508 | 681,828 | 3,527,865 | 870,149 | 2,336,973 | 15,174 | 829,128 | 4,051,424 |
| Urban | P | 376,315 | 138,872 | 7,368 | 247,536 | 770,091 | 515,314 | 225,210 | 10,308 | 376,019 | 1,126,851 | 631,058 | 346,562 | 14,910 | 493,246 | 1,485,776 |
| Rural | P | 274,320 | 1,500,762 | 328 | 236,349 | 2,011,759 | 275,737 | 1,819,268 | 200 | 305,809 | 2,401,014 | 239,091 | 1,990,411 | 264 | 335,882 | 2,565,648 |
| TRANSVAAL | M | 284,388 | 847,446 | 11,056 | 16,540 | 1,159,430 | 424,470 | 1,381,014 | 15,379 | 25,713 | 1,846,576 | 541,053 | 1,782,357 | 20,729 | 30,184 | 2,374,323 |
| | F | 259,097 | 648,423 | 4,935 | 15,751 | 928,206 | 396,286 | 1,063,366 | 10,114 | 25,128 | 1,494,894 | 522,068 | 1,339,816 | 17,029 | 29,802 | 1,908,715 |
| | P | 543,485 | 1,495,869 | 15,991 | 32,291 | 2,087,636 | 820,756 | 2,444,380 | 25,493 | 50,841 | 3,341,470 | 1063,121 | 3,122,173 | 37,758 | 59,986 | 4,283,038 |
| Urban | P | 349,128 | 363,058 | 13,861 | 21,984 | 748,031 | 594,933 | 724,290 | 22,454 | 39,572 | 1,381,249 | 838,532 | 1,058,906 | 34,041 | 51,547 | 1,983,026 |
| Rural | P | 194,357 | 1,132,811 | 2,130 | 10,307 | 1,339,605 | 225,823 | 1,720,090 | 3,039 | 11,269 | 1,960,221 | 224,589 | 2,063,267 | 3,717 | 8,439 | 2,300,012 |
| O.F.S. | M | 97,776 | 213,979 | 242 | 9,376 | 321,373 | 101,872 | 270,692 | 22 | 9,317 | 381,903 | 101,874 | 325,856 | 6 | 7,180 | 452,896 |
| | F | 90,780 | 207,999 | 153 | 8,522 | 307,454 | 99,106 | 282,418 | 7 | 8,626 | 390,157 | 100,203 | 339,094 | 5 | 6,873 | 446,175 |
| | P | 188,556 | 421,978 | 395 | 17,898 | 628,827 | 200,978 | 553,110 | 29 | 17,945 | 772,060 | 202,077 | 662,930 | 11 | 14,053 | 879,071 |
| Urban | P | 78,984 | 67,768 | 332 | 6,611 | 153,695 | 100,265 | 116,103 | 29 | 9,066 | 225,465 | 117,248 | 157,531 | 6 | 7,414 | 282,199 |
| Rural | P | 109,572 | 354,210 | 63 | 11,287 | 475,132 | 100,713 | 437,007 | — | 8,877 | 546,597 | 84,829 | 505,399 | 5 | 6,639 | 596,872 |
| TOTAL UNION | M | 782,008 | 2,381,999 | 97,336 | 275,028 | 3,536,371 | 1,017,557 | 3,311,871 | 119,151 | 387,189 | 4,835,768 | 1194,201 | 3,996,216 | 149,076 | 465,570 | 5,805,063 |
| | F | 737,506 | 2,315,286 | 68,395 | 270,153 | 3,391,340 | 985,777 | 3,283,726 | 100,540 | 382,052 | 4,752,095 | 1177,843 | 3,834,343 | 136,184 | 462,492 | 5,610,862 |
| | P | 1,519,514 | 4,697,285 | 165,731 | 545,181 | 6,927,711 | 2,003,334 | 6,595,597 | 219,691 | 769,241 | 9,587,863 | 2372,044 | 7,830,559 | 285,260 | 928,062 | 11,415,925 |
| Urban | P | 906,152 | 655,568 | 100,670 | 282,994 | 1,945,384 | 1,361,768 | 1,216,481 | 155,574 | 437,594 | 3,171,417 | 1787,563 | 1,787,509 | 209,214 | 571,759 | 4,356,248 |
| Rural | P | 613,362 | 4,041,717 | 65,061 | 262,187 | 4,982,327 | 641,566 | 5,379,116 | 64,117 | 331,647 | 6,416,446 | 584,478 | 6,043,050 | 75,848 | 356,303 | 7,059,677 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

(1) Comprises Amanzimtoti, Isipingo Beach, Isipingo Rail, Lower Illovo, Pinetown, S. Umlazi, Malvern, Umbogintwini, and Westville.

APPENDIX 1 (CONTINUED)

| | | 1946 | | | | | 1951 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | EUR. | NAT. | IND. | COL. | ALL | EUR. | NAT. | IND. | COL. | ALL |
| Durban Municipality | M | 57,590 | 76,032 | 55,213 | 5,221 | 194,056 | 65,132 | 94,409 | 75,390 | 7,884 | 242,815 |
| | F | 59,638 | 28,553 | 51,391 | 5,609 | 145,191 | 67,522 | 43,567 | 71,874 | 8,770 | 191,733 |
| | P | 117,228 | 104,585 | 106,604 | 10,830 | 339,247 | 132,654 | 137,976 | 147,264 | 16,654 | 434,548 |
| Metropolitan Durban (1) | M | 63,869 | 83,000 | 60,559 | 5,442 | 212,870 | 74,228 | 103,967 | 82,222 | 8,138 | 268,555 |
| | F | 66,274 | 30,612 | 56,506 | 6,007 | 159,399 | 76,883 | 46,765 | 78,452 | 9,319 | 211,419 |
| | P | 130,143 | 113,612 | 117,065 | 11,449 | 372,269 | 151,111 | 150,732 | 160,674 | 17,457 | 479,974 |
| NATAL | M | 117,425 | 823,334 | 119,784 | 12,967 | 1,073,510 | 136,300 | 878,079 | 153,297 | 15,255 | 1,182,931 |
| | F | 119,272 | 885,149 | 112,533 | 11,928 | 1,128,882 | 137,940 | 932,023 | 146,194 | 16,230 | 1,232,387 |
| | P | 236,697 | 1,708,483 | 232,317 | 24,895 | 2,202,392 | 274,240 | 1,810,102 | 299,491 | 31,485 | 2,415,318 |
| Urban | P | 200,728 | 224,510 | 160,457 | 19,552 | 605,247 | 235,340 | 288,600 | 221,674 | 25,518 | 771,132 |
| Rural | P | 35,969 | 1,483,973 | 71,860 | 5,343 | 1,597,145 | 38,900 | 1,521,502 | 77,817 | 5,967 | 1,644,186 |
| CAPE | M | 433,849 | 1,066,689 | 8,557 | 415,239 | 1,924,334 | 463,917 | 1,146,404 | 10,119 | 490,234 | 2,110,674 |
| | F | 436,300 | 1,270,284 | 6,617 | 413,889 | 2,127,090 | 471,168 | 1,345,617 | 7,699 | 491,568 | 2,316,052 |
| | P | 870,149 | 2,336,973 | 15,174 | 829,128 | 4,051,424 | 935,085 | 2,492,021 | 17,818 | 981,802 | 4,426,726 |
| Urban | P | 631,058 | 346,562 | 14,910 | 493,246 | 1,485,776 | 705,016 | 430,809 | 17,463 | 612,030 | 1,765,319 |
| Rural | P | 239,091 | 1,990,411 | 264 | 335,882 | 2,565,648 | 230,069 | 2,061,212 | 355 | 369,772 | 2,661,407 |
| TRANSVAAL | M | 541,053 | 1,782,357 | 20,729 | 30,184 | 2,374,323 | 606,900 | 1,948,779 | 26,171 | 37,464 | 2,619,314 |
| | F | 522,068 | 1,339,816 | 17,029 | 29,802 | 1,908,715 | 597,812 | 1,534,991 | 23,171 | 37,550 | 2,193,524 |
| | P | 1,063,121 | 3,122,173 | 37,758 | 59,986 | 4,283,038 | 1,204,712 | 3,483,770 | 49,342 | 75,014 | 4,812,838 |
| Urban | P | 838,532 | 1,058,906 | 34,041 | 51,547 | 1,983,026 | 982,248 | 1,399,228 | 45,159 | 66,048 | 2,469,519 |
| Rural | P | 224,589 | 2,063,267 | 3,717 | 8,439 | 2,300,012 | 222,464 | 2,084,542 | 4,183 | 8,974 | 2,343,319 |
| O. F. S. | M | 101,874 | 323,836 | 6 | 7,180 | 432,896 | 115,637 | 395,895 | 8 | 7,626 | 519,166 |
| | F | 100,203 | 339,094 | 5 | 6,873 | 446,175 | 112,015 | 378,295 | 5 | 7,089 | 497,404 |
| | P | 202,077 | 662,930 | 11 | 14,053 | 879,071 | 227,652 | 774,190 | 13 | 14,715 | 1,016,570 |
| Urban | P | 117,248 | 157,531 | 6 | 7,414 | 282,199 | 148,071 | 209,897 | 10 | 9,540 | 367,518 |
| Rural | P | 84,829 | 505,399 | 5 | 6,639 | 596,872 | 79,581 | 564,293 | 3 | 5,175 | 649,052 |
| TOTAL UNION | M | 1,194,201 | 3,996,216 | 149,076 | 465,570 | 5,805,063 | 1,322,754 | 4,369,157 | 189,595 | 550,579 | 6,432,085 |
| | F | 1,177,843 | 3,834,343 | 136,184 | 462,492 | 5,610,862 | 1,318,935 | 4,190,926 | 177,069 | 552,437 | 6,239,367 |
| | P | 2,372,044 | 7,830,559 | 285,260 | 928,062 | 11,415,925 | 2,641,689 | 8,560,083 | 366,664 | 1,103,016 | 12,671,452 |
| Urban | P | 1,787,566 | 1,787,509 | 209,414 | 571,759 | 4,356,248 | 2,070,675 | 2,328,532 | 284,306 | 713,128 | 5,396,644 |
| Rural | P | 584,478 | 6,043,050 | 75,846 | 356,303 | 7,059,677 | 571,014 | 6,231,551 | 82,358 | 389,888 | 7,274,808 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

(1) Applies to 1951, but covers same area as 1946 "Durban and Suburbs", except that Metropolitan Durban includes Reunion in addition to the other suburbs.

Appendix 2

MASCULINITY RATES, UNION AND PROVINCES, 1911-51

| CENSUS | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | ASIATICS | COLOUREDS | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | NATAL | | | |
| 1911 | 115.1 | 81.1 | 152.0 | 102.6 | 89.7 |
| 1921 | 106.2 | 93.6 | 130.9 | 108.6 | 98.0 |
| 1936 | 99.8 | 91.6 | 112.1 | 101.6 | 94.2 |
| 1946 | 98.5 | 93.0 | 106.4 | 108.7 | 95.1 |
| 1951 | 98.8 | 94.2 | 104.9 | 94.0 | 96.0 |
| | | CAPE | | | |
| 1911 | 107.2 | 90.3 | 607.7 | 99.1 | 95.9 |
| 1921 | 102.6 | 88.5 | 290.3 | 101.2 | 94.0 |
| 1936 | 100.3 | 81.5 | 174.3 | 101.1 | 89.2 |
| 1946 | 99.5 | 84.0 | 129.3 | 100.3 | 90.5 |
| 1951 | 98.5 | 85.2 | 131.4 | 99.7 | 91.1 |
| | | TRANSVAAL | | | |
| 1911 | 129.0 | 137.3 | 444.6 | 131.9 | 135.9 |
| 1921 | 109.8 | 130.7 | 224.0 | 105.0 | 124.9 |
| 1936 | 107.1 | 129.9 | 152.1 | 102.3 | 123.5 |
| 1946 | 103.6 | 133.0 | 121.7 | 101.3 | 124.4 |
| 1951 | 101.5 | 127.0 | 112.9 | 99.8 | 119.4 |
| | | ORANGE FREE STATE | | | |
| 1911 | 117.1 | 107.2 | - | 113.1 | 110.7 |
| 1921 | 107.7 | 102.9 | - | 110.0 | 104.5 |
| 1936 | 102.8 | 95.8 | - | 108.0 | 97.9 |
| 1946 | 101.7 | 95.5 | - | 104.5 | 97.0 |
| 1951 | 103.2 | 104.7 | - | 107.6 | 104.4 |
| | | UNION | | | |
| 1911 | 115.9 | 101.3 | 171.5 | 101.7 | 105.7 |
| 1921 | 106.1 | 102.9 | 142.3 | 101.8 | 104.3 |
| 1936 | 103.2 | 100.9 | 118.5 | 101.4 | 101.8 |
| 1946 | 101.4 | 104.2 | 109.5 | 100.7 | 103.5 |
| 1951 | 100.3 | 104.3 | 107.1 | 99.7 | 103.1 |

Source: calculated from Union Population Census figures.

NOTE: The number of Asiatics living in the Free State is too small for a masculinity rate to have any significance.

APPENDIX 3(a) THE POPULATION OF THE UNION AND NATAL IN FIVE YEAR AGE GROUPS, 1951.

| AGE GROUP | NATAL | | | | UNION | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | | Females | | Males | | Females | |
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| | | | | EUROPEANS | | | | |
| 0- 4 | 15,529 | 11.4 | 14,824 | 10.7 | 161,293 | 12.2 | 155,204 | 11.8 |
| 5- 9 | 12,159 | 8.9 | 12,183 | 8.8 | 139,904 | 10.6 | 135,399 | 10.3 |
| 10-14 | 10,903 | 8.0 | 10,525 | 7.6 | 125,254 | 9.5 | 121,034 | 9.2 |
| 15-19 | 9,636 | 7.1 | 9,143 | 6.6 | 108,430 | 8.2 | 105,101 | 8.0 |
| 20-24 | 10,842 | 8.0 | 10,195 | 7.4 | 104,064 | 7.9 | 103,303 | 7.8 |
| 25-29 | 10,803 | 7.9 | 10,455 | 7.6 | 98,703 | 7.5 | 99,224 | 7.5 |
| 30-34 | 10,608 | 7.8 | 10,282 | 7.5 | 96,995 | 7.3 | 96,426 | 7.3 |
| 35-39 | 10,379 | 7.6 | 10,367 | 7.5 | 96,380 | 7.3 | 96,367 | 7.3 |
| 40-44 | 9,878 | 7.2 | 10,015 | 7.3 | 92,142 | 7.0 | 90,807 | 6.9 |
| 45-49 | 8,210 | 6.0 | 8,462 | 6.1 | 73,073 | 5.5 | 71,934 | 5.5 |
| 50-54 | 6,537 | 4.8 | 7,115 | 5.2 | 54,891 | 4.1 | 58,067 | 4.4 |
| 55-59 | 5,571 | 4.1 | 6,401 | 4.6 | 49,326 | 3.7 | 52,509 | 4.0 |
| 60-64 | 4,600 | 3.4 | 5,595 | 4.1 | 39,881 | 3.0 | 44,338 | 3.4 |
| 65-69 | 3,950 | 2.9 | 4,636 | 3.4 | 31,692 | 2.4 | 34,552 | 2.6 |
| 70-74 | 3,365 | 2.5 | 3,691 | 2.7 | 24,520 | 1.9 | 25,413 | 1.9 |
| 75-79 | 2,046 | 1.5 | 2,292 | 1.7 | 15,290 | 1.2 | 16,057 | 1.2 |
| 80-84 | 876 | 0.6 | 1,177 | 0.9 | 7,360 | 0.6 | 8,481 | 0.6 |
| 85-89 | 298 | 0.2 | 439 | 0.3 | 2,576 | 0.2 | 3,384 | 0.3 |
| 90-94 | 68 | 0.1 | 88 | 0.1 | 549 | 0.0 | 802 | 0.1 |
| 95+ | 13 | 0.0 | 22 | 0.0 | 104 | 0.0 | 180 | 0.0 |
| Unspec | 29 | 0.0 | 33 | 0.0 | 327 | 0.0 | 353 | 0.0 |
| TOTAL | 136,300 | 100.0 | 137,940 | 100.0 | 1,322,754 | 100.0 | 1,318,935 | 100.0 |
| 0-20 | 50,369 | 37.0 | 48,715 | 35.3 | 556,825 | 42.1 | 538,596 | 40.8 |
| 21 + | 85,931 | 63.0 | 89,225 | 64.7 | 765,929 | 57.9 | 780,339 | 59.2 |
| | | | | NATIVES | | | | |
| 0- 4 | 124,789 | 14.2 | 131,910 | 14.2 | 601,314 | 13.8 | 625,668 | 14.9 |
| 5- 9 | 118,112 | 13.4 | 117,333 | 12.6 | 553,284 | 12.7 | 546,896 | 13.0 |
| 10-14 | 120,541 | 13.7 | 113,757 | 12.2 | 516,678 | 11.8 | 497,836 | 11.9 |
| 15-19 | 97,988 | 11.2 | 98,400 | 10.6 | 449,083 | 10.3 | 423,996 | 10.1 |
| 20-24 | 70,189 | 8.0 | 82,751 | 8.9 | 386,238 | 8.8 | 373,794 | 8.9 |
| 25-29 | 64,582 | 7.4 | 70,093 | 7.5 | 378,665 | 8.7 | 322,783 | 7.7 |
| 30-34 | 56,753 | 6.5 | 64,351 | 6.9 | 339,589 | 7.8 | 312,210 | 7.4 |
| 35-39 | 48,438 | 5.5 | 49,287 | 5.3 | 285,852 | 6.5 | 236,006 | 5.6 |
| 40-44 | 39,583 | 4.5 | 43,629 | 4.7 | 231,693 | 5.3 | 208,315 | 5.0 |
| 45-49 | 37,965 | 4.3 | 39,568 | 4.2 | 184,890 | 4.2 | 158,536 | 3.8 |
| 50-54 | 31,119 | 3.5 | 35,607 | 3.8 | 149,347 | 3.4 | 146,583 | 3.5 |
| 55-59 | 19,489 | 2.2 | 20,954 | 2.2 | 78,942 | 1.8 | 78,478 | 1.9 |
| 60-64 | 17,054 | 1.9 | 22,418 | 2.4 | 71,260 | 1.6 | 90,934 | 2.2 |
| 65-69 | 11,436 | 1.3 | 13,804 | 1.5 | 50,699 | 1.2 | 57,352 | 1.4 |
| 70-74 | 10,412 | 1.2 | 14,218 | 1.5 | 42,698 | 1.0 | 53,528 | 1.3 |
| 75-79 | 3,891 | 0.4 | 5,028 | 0.5 | 19,086 | 0.4 | 21,262 | 0.5 |
| 80-84 | 3,341 | 0.4 | 5,151 | 0.6 | 14,183 | 0.3 | 19,046 | 0.5 |
| 85-89 | 1,117 | 0.1 | 1,698 | 0.2 | 5,601 | 0.1 | 6,725 | 0.2 |
| 90-94 | 635 | 0.1 | 1,101 | 0.1 | 3,254 | 0.1 | 4,664 | 0.1 |
| 95+ | 502 | 0.1 | 788 | 0.1 | 2,449 | 0.1 | 3,301 | 0.1 |
| Unspec | 143 | 0.0 | 177 | 0.0 | 4,352 | 0.1 | 3,013 | 0.1 |
| TOTAL | 878,079 | 100.0 | 932,023 | 100.0 | 4,369,157 | 100.0 | 4,190,926 | 100.0 |
| 0-20 | 481,348 | 54.8 | 487,943 | 52.4 | 2,224,508 | 50.9 | 2,209,468 | 52.7 |
| 21 + | 396,731 | 45.2 | 444,080 | 47.6 | 2,144,649 | 49.1 | 1,981,458 | 47.3 |

Source: Volume V, 1951 Population Census.

APPENDIX 3(b) THE POPULATION OF THE UNION AND NATAL IN FIVE YEAR AGE GROUPS, 1951

| AGE GROUP | NATAL | | | | REST OF UNION | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | | Females | | Males | | Females | |
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| | | | INDIANS | | | | | |
| 0 - 4 | 27,477 | 17.9 | 27,463 | 18.8 | 6,052 | 16.7 | 5,860 | 19.0 |
| 5 - 9 | 24,335 | 15.9 | 24,232 | 16.6 | 4,989 | 13.7 | 4,731 | 15.3 |
| 10 - 14 | 20,036 | 13.1 | 20,221 | 13.8 | 4,553 | 12.5 | 4,237 | 13.7 |
| 15 - 19 | 15,784 | 10.3 | 16,289 | 11.2 | 3,578 | 9.9 | 3,223 | 10.4 |
| 20 - 24 | 13,567 | 8.9 | 13,544 | 9.3 | 3,019 | 8.3 | 2,906 | 9.4 |
| 25 - 29 | 10,803 | 7.0 | 10,938 | 7.5 | 2,795 | 7.7 | 2,405 | 7.8 |
| 30 - 34 | 9,218 | 6.0 | 8,785 | 6.0 | 2,327 | 6.4 | 2,045 | 6.6 |
| 35 - 39 | 7,910 | 5.2 | 7,215 | 4.9 | 2,261 | 6.2 | 1,706 | 5.5 |
| 40 - 44 | 6,220 | 4.1 | 5,373 | 3.7 | 1,876 | 5.2 | 1,183 | 3.8 |
| 45 - 49 | 4,824 | 3.1 | 3,848 | 2.6 | 1,197 | 3.3 | 869 | 2.8 |
| 50 - 54 | 3,667 | 2.4 | 2,762 | 1.9 | 1,050 | 2.9 | 601 | 1.9 |
| 55 - 59 | 2,502 | 1.6 | 1,855 | 1.3 | 588 | 1.6 | 355 | 1.2 |
| 60 - 64 | 2,519 | 1.6 | 1,566 | 1.0 | 640 | 1.8 | 312 | 1.0 |
| 65 - 69 | 2,252 | 1.5 | 960 | 0.7 | 557 | 1.5 | 181 | 0.6 |
| 70 - 74 | 1,119 | 0.7 | 506 | 0.3 | 421 | 1.2 | 102 | 0.3 |
| 75 - 79 | 532 | 0.3 | 254 | 0.2 | 180 | 0.5 | 47 | 0.2 |
| 80 - 84 | 271 | 0.2 | 157 | 0.1 | 97 | 0.3 | 25 | 0.1 |
| 85 - 89 | 108 | 0.1 | 63 | 0.0 | 34 | 0.1 | 11 | 0.0 |
| 90 - 94 | 43 | 0.0 | 35 | 0.0 | 13 | 0.0 | 3 | 0.0 |
| 95 + | 31 | 0.0 | 35 | 0.0 | 8 | 0.0 | 3 | 0.0 |
| Unspec. | 79 | 0.0 | 93 | 0.1 | 63 | 0.2 | 70 | 0.2 |
| Total | 153,297 | 100.0 | 146,194 | 100.0 | 36,298 | 100.0 | 30,875 | 100.0 |
| 0 - 20 | 90,677 | 59.2 | 91,338 | 62.5 | 19,850 | 54.7 | 18,711 | 60.6 |
| 21 + | 62,620 | 40.8 | 54,856 | 37.5 | 16,448 | 45.3 | 12,164 | 39.4 |

| AGE GROUP | NATAL | | | | TOTAL UNION | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | COLOUREDS | | | | | |
| 0 - 4 | 2,749 | 18.0 | 2,739 | 16.9 | 92,921 | 16.9 | 93,031 | 16.8 |
| 5 - 9 | 2,101 | 13.8 | 2,114 | 13.0 | 74,693 | 13.6 | 74,115 | 13.4 |
| 10 - 14 | 1,912 | 12.5 | 2,023 | 12.5 | 69,579 | 12.6 | 68,376 | 12.4 |
| 15 - 19 | 1,558 | 10.2 | 1,732 | 10.7 | 56,481 | 10.3 | 59,146 | 10.7 |
| 20 - 24 | 1,507 | 9.9 | 1,602 | 9.9 | 48,969 | 8.9 | 52,271 | 9.5 |
| 25 - 29 | 1,217 | 8.0 | 1,306 | 8.0 | 40,545 | 7.4 | 40,665 | 7.4 |
| 30 - 34 | 937 | 6.1 | 1,036 | 6.4 | 33,779 | 6.1 | 32,799 | 5.9 |
| 35 - 39 | 770 | 5.0 | 902 | 5.6 | 29,640 | 5.4 | 29,501 | 5.3 |
| 40 - 44 | 636 | 4.2 | 703 | 4.3 | 25,762 | 4.7 | 24,713 | 4.5 |
| 45 - 49 | 586 | 3.8 | 574 | 3.5 | 21,201 | 3.8 | 19,793 | 3.6 |
| 50 - 54 | 409 | 2.7 | 458 | 2.8 | 16,417 | 3.0 | 15,656 | 2.8 |
| 55 - 59 | 269 | 1.8 | 306 | 1.9 | 10,867 | 2.0 | 10,520 | 1.9 |
| 60 - 64 | 226 | 1.5 | 276 | 1.7 | 10,061 | 1.8 | 11,259 | 2.0 |
| 65 - 69 | 172 | 1.1 | 196 | 1.2 | 8,158 | 1.5 | 8,253 | 1.5 |
| 70 - 74 | 102 | 0.7 | 118 | 0.7 | 5,147 | 0.9 | 5,415 | 1.0 |
| 75 - 79 | 48 | 0.3 | 59 | 0.4 | 3,085 | 0.6 | 3,083 | 0.6 |
| 80 - 84 | 29 | 0.2 | 42 | 0.3 | 1,591 | 0.3 | 1,753 | 0.3 |
| 85 - 89 | 11 | 0.1 | 17 | 0.1 | 769 | 0.1 | 936 | 0.2 |
| 90 - 94 | 3 | 0.0 | 13 | 0.1 | 293 | 0.1 | 405 | 0.1 |
| 95 + | 2 | 0.0 | 2 | 0.0 | 183 | 0.0 | 277 | 0.0 |
| Unspec. | 11 | 0.1 | 12 | 0.1 | 437 | 0.1 | 470 | 0.1 |
| Total | 15,255 | 100.0 | 16,230 | 100.0 | 550,579 | 100.0 | 552,437 | 100.0 |
| 0 - 20 | 8,668 | 56.8 | 8,920 | 55.0 | 305,019 | 55.4 | 306,571 | 55.5 |
| 21 + | 6,587 | 43.2 | 7,310 | 45.0 | 245,560 | 44.6 | 245,866 | 44.5 |

Source: Volume V, 1951 Population Census.

APPENDIX 4 PERCENTAGE OF THE UNION POPULATION ENUMERATED IN NATAL, BY AGE GROUPS, 1951

| AGE GROUP | EUROPEANS | | NATIVES | | INDIANS | | COLOUREDS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 0- 4 | 9.6 | 9.6 | 20.8 | 21.1 | 81.9 | 82.4 | 3.0 | 2.9 |
| 5- 9 | 8.7 | 9.0 | 21.3 | 21.5 | 83.0 | 83.7 | 2.8 | 2.9 |
| 10-14 | 8.7 | 8.7 | 23.3 | 22.9 | 81.5 | 82.7 | 2.7 | 3.0 |
| 15-19 | 8.9 | 8.7 | 21.8 | 23.2 | 81.5 | 83.5 | 2.8 | 2.9 |
| 20-24 | 10.4 | 9.9 | 18.2 | 22.1 | 81.8 | 82.3 | 3.1 | 3.1 |
| 25-29 | 10.9 | 10.5 | 17.1 | 21.7 | 79.4 | 82.0 | 3.0 | 3.2 |
| 30-34 | 10.9 | 10.7 | 16.7 | 20.6 | 79.8 | 81.1 | 2.8 | 3.2 |
| 35-39 | 10.8 | 10.8 | 16.9 | 20.9 | 77.8 | 80.9 | 2.6 | 3.1 |
| 40-44 | 10.7 | 11.0 | 17.1 | 20.9 | 76.8 | 82.0 | 2.5 | 2.8 |
| 45-49 | 11.2 | 11.8 | 20.5 | 25.0 | 80.1 | 81.6 | 2.8 | 2.9 |
| 50-54 | 11.9 | 12.3 | 20.8 | 24.3 | 77.7 | 82.1 | 2.5 | 2.9 |
| 55-59 | 11.3 | 12.2 | 24.7 | 26.7 | 81.0 | 83.9 | 2.5 | 2.9 |
| 60-64 | 11.6 | 12.6 | 23.9 | 24.7 | 79.7 | 82.7 | 2.2 | 2.4 |
| 65-69 | 12.5 | 13.4 | 22.6 | 24.1 | 80.1 | 84.1 | 2.1 | 2.4 |
| 70-74 | 13.7 | 14.5 | 24.4 | 26.6 | 72.7 | 83.2 | 2.0 | 2.2 |
| 75-79 | 13.4 | 14.3 | 20.4 | 23.6 | 74.7 | 84.4 | 1.6 | 1.9 |
| 80-84 | 11.9 | 13.9 | 23.6 | 27.0 | 73.6 | 86.3 | 1.8 | 2.4 |
| 85-89 | 11.6 | 13.0 | 19.9 | 25.2 | 76.1 | 85.1 | 1.4 | 1.8 |
| 90-94 | 12.4 | 11.0 | 19.5 | 23.6 | 76.8 | 92.1 | 1.0 | 3.3 |
| 95 + | 12.5 | 12.2 | 20.5 | 23.9 | 79.5 | 92.1 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| Unspec. | 8.9 | 9.3 | 3.3 | 5.9 | 55.6 | 71.0 | 2.6 | 2.4 |
| TOTAL | 10.3 | 10.5 | 20.1 | 22.2 | 80.9 | 82.6 | 2.8 | 2.9 |
| 0-20 | 8.7 | 9.0 | 21.6 | 22.1 | 82.0 | 83.0 | 2.8 | 2.9 |
| 21 + | 11.2 | 11.4 | 18.5 | 22.4 | 79.2 | 81.9 | 2.7 | 3.0 |

APPENDIX 5 MASCULINITY BY AGE GROUPS, UNION AND NATAL, 1951.

| AGE GROUP | EUROPEANS | | NATIVES | | INDIANS | | COLOUREDS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Natal | Union | Natal | Union | Natal | Rest of Union | Natal | Union |
| 0- 4 | 104.8 | 103.9 | 94.6 | 96.1 | 100.1 | 103.3 | 100.4 | 99.1 |
| 5- 9 | 99.8 | 103.3 | 100.7 | 101.2 | 100.4 | 105.5 | 99.4 | 101.8 |
| 10-14 | 103.6 | 103.5 | 106.0 | 103.8 | 99.1 | 107.5 | 94.5 | 101.8 |
| 15-19 | 105.4 | 103.3 | 99.6 | 105.9 | 96.9 | 111.0 | 90.0 | 95.5 |
| 20-24 | 106.3 | 100.7 | 84.8 | 103.3 | 100.2 | 103.9 | 94.1 | 93.7 |
| 25-29 | 103.3 | 99.5 | 92.1 | 117.3 | 98.8 | 116.2 | 93.2 | 99.7 |
| 30-34 | 103.2 | 100.6 | 88.2 | 108.8 | 104.9 | 113.8 | 90.4 | 103.0 |
| 35-39 | 100.1 | 100.0 | 98.3 | 121.1 | 109.6 | 132.5 | 85.4 | 100.5 |
| 40-44 | 98.6 | 101.5 | 90.7 | 111.2 | 115.8 | 158.6 | 90.5 | 104.2 |
| 45-49 | 97.0 | 101.6 | 95.9 | 116.6 | 125.4 | 137.7 | 102.1 | 107.1 |
| 50-54 | 91.9 | 94.5 | 87.4 | 101.9 | 132.8 | 174.7 | 89.3 | 104.9 |
| 55-59 | 87.0 | 93.9 | 93.0 | 100.6 | 134.9 | 165.6 | 87.9 | 103.3 |
| 60-64 | 82.2 | 89.7 | 76.1 | 78.4 | 169.3 | 205.1 | 81.9 | 89.4 |
| 65-69 | 85.2 | 91.7 | 82.8 | 88.4 | 234.6 | 308.3 | 87.8 | 98.8 |
| 70-74 | 91.2 | 96.5 | 73.2 | 79.8 | 221.1 | 411.8 | 86.4 | 95.3 |
| 75-79 | 89.3 | 95.2 | 77.4 | 89.8 | 209.4 | 383.0 | 81.4 | 99.8 |
| 80-84 | 74.4 | 86.8 | 64.9 | 74.5 | 172.6 | 388.0 | 69.0 | 90.8 |
| 85-89 | 67.9 | 76.1 | 65.8 | 83.3 | 171.4 | 309.1 | 64.7 | 82.5 |
| 90-94 | 77.3 | 68.5 | 57.7 | 69.8 | 122.9 | 433.3 | 23.1 | 73.6 |
| 95 + | 59.1 | 57.8 | 63.7 | 74.2 | 88.6 | 266.7 | 66.7 | 65.2 |
| Unspec. | 87.9 | 92.6 | 80.8 | 144.4 | 46.2 | 90.0 | 100.0 | 92.7 |
| TOTAL | 98.8 | 100.3 | 94.2 | 104.3 | 104.9 | 117.6 | 94.0 | 99.7 |
| 0-20 | 103.4 | 103.4 | 98.6 | 100.7 | 99.3 | 106.1 | 97.2 | 99.5 |
| 20 + | 96.3 | 98.1 | 89.3 | 108.2 | 114.2 | 135.2 | 90.1 | 99.9 |

Source: calculated from 1951 Population Census figures.

# CHAPTER TWO

# NATURAL INCREASE, MIGRATION, AND POSSIBILITIES FOR THE FUTURE

## § 1 Introduction

In Chapter One an outline was given of the size and composition of the Natal population, and the changes since Union were briefly traced. The present size of the population and its sex and age structure are the result both of the size, fertility, and mortality of the population in past years and of the volume, direction, and nature of past migration. In view of the impossibility of forecasting future migration, projections of future population movements usually ignore the possible net contribution of immigration, and merely "predict" the future natural increase of the population on certain given assumptions as to the fertility and mortality conditions which may operate during the period under projection.

It is not intended to analyse here the inter-action of the basic components of population growth in the past growth of the population of Natal, nor to attempt a detailed projection of future population growth. Such a demographic study is not within the scope of this survey, nor is it of complete relevance to Natal. On the one hand, to ignore the possibilities for future immigration into Natal in any population projection would seem at least an inadequate procedure in view of the part played by immigration in the past. On the other hand, any assumption relating to future migration not based on some pre-knowledge of national and international conditions cannot be more than speculation.

Although some consideration will be given to possibilities for future growth in Appendix 5, therefore, the main purpose of this chapter is to analyse the relative importance of immigration vis-à-vis natural increase in the growth of the Natal population during the past few decades.

## § 2 The Mechanics of Population Growth

There are only two ways in which a population can grow: either children must be born at a faster rate than people die, or there must be more people entering the country than leaving it. These two basic elements of population growth - natural increase and migration - will jointly affect population in all regions at all times, although both may be either positive or negative depending upon the balance between births and deaths on the one hand, and immigration and emigration on the other. Their relative importance varies considerably, however, both from region to region and, within the same region, from time to time. The importance of separating these two components of growth lies not only in the degree to which each has contributed to, and is likely to contribute to population increase, but also in the major differences between their methods of operation. First, changes in the natural rate of increase take place relatively slowly since, as a general rule, the determinants of natural increase themselves change slowly. The determinants of migration, however, and therefore migration itself, are subject to very rapid change. Second, immigration, and to a lesser degree emigration, can be influenced or controlled to a very much greater extent than births and deaths, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively as regards the nationality, occupation, sex, age and other particulars of immigrants. Third, migratory movements have a more immediate effect on working population than natural increase, for migration involves the movement of a predominantly active adult

group, whereas natural increase operates mainly at the extremes of the age structure.

Man's natural desire to preserve and lengthen his own life, together with advances in medical knowledge, hygiene, and standard of living, operate through the death rate as a continuous tendency towards a higher natural rate of increase. Although wars, epidemics, and natural catastrophes may result in temporary set-backs, most of the gains in the prolongation of life are permanent advances which normally are not subsequently reversed. Births, on the other hand, are subject to no such continuous favourable tendency and may vary, slowly but often unpredictably, with changing social and economic conditions. Changing conceptions of the family, the permanence of marriage, religious beliefs, new birth control practices, the extent to which women are employed in the working population, the cost of bearing and bringing up children, and the ability and desire to marry are a few factors which influence not only the number of marriages, but also their fertility, and most of them are not easily controlled or influenced.

It is true that such incentives as income tax concessions, subsidies, and medical, maternal, and educational assistance can be given, and that moral and emotional appeals for increased fertility can be made, but the possible success of such measures is doubtful.[1] Conversely, attempts to check natural increase are subject to similar difficulties.

Migration, on the other hand, is subject to far greater and faster variations, since its determinants lie in the different social, economic, and political conditions of the two countries or regions concerned, which may, and often do, change rapidly.[2] But unlike natural increase, migration is subject to a considerable degree of control by government. On the negative side, it is within the power of a government to control migration, as the South African government did with respect to Indians early in the history of the Union and to the emigration of many Natives in later years. On the positive side, much can be done to break down international immobility through attractive advertising, free or subsidized transportation, assisted housing, provision of employment, and so on. Admittedly no one can be forced to migrate - at least not in a democratic community - but many can be persuaded to do so if conditions are favourable. If necessary, quality can be controlled by interviewing potential immigrants overseas and by framing regulations to control age, sex, occupation, nationality, wealth, marital status and even political or religious allegiances.

Third, migration, whether inward or outward bound, has its greatest effect on the adult working population, taking away from or adding to the population of working age very greatly in proportion to its size. Table 27 reveals that the majority of both immigrants and emigrants are in the younger adult age groups. Over three-quarters of both immigrants and emigrants were of working age, as compared with less than two-thirds of the resident European population. Particularly noticeable is the high proportion of young adults, aged 15-44, who amount to over three-fifths of the migrants but to only 45 per cent of the resident population.

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1 Glass, D.U. "Population Policies and Movements in Europe", Oxford, 1940.

2 The recent limited influx of Hungarian refugees is a case in point.

Table 27 THE AGES OF IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS, 1925-48, AND OF THE UNION EUROPEAN POPULATION IN 1951
(PERCENTAGES)

| AGE GROUP | IMMIGRANTS, 1925-48 | | | EMIGRANTS, 1925-48 | | | UNION POPULATION, 1951 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons |
| 0-14 | 18.4 | 18.9 | 18.6 | 21.4 | 20.6 | 21.0 | 32.2 | 31.2 | 31.7 |
| 15-44 | 67.6 | 63.4 | 65.6 | 62.6 | 61.7 | 62.1 | 45.1 | 44.8 | 45.0 |
| 45-64 | 11.6 | 14.3 | 12.9 | 13.0 | 13.9 | 13.4 | 16.4 | 17.2 | 16.8 |
| 65 + | 2.3 | 3.5 | 2.9 | 3.0 | 3.9 | 3.5 | 6.2 | 6.7 | 6.5 |

Sources: "Statistics of Migration, 1948", U.G. 19/1950; Volume V, 1951 Population Census.

If one subtracts the emigrants from the immigrants to find the net gain in each age group, the skewness of the age distribution is even more marked, over four-fifths of the net gain being in the working age group and over two-thirds in the younger adult group alone.

Of course, although this age structure of immigrants is beneficial towards a high degree of work participation through its tendency to raise the proportion of the population who are of working age, this favourable influence will last only as long as does the flow of immigration. If the flow of immigration dries up or its rate is impeded then the immigrant group will rapidly age and decline in fertility. Even if the immigrants do reproduce themselves through natural increase, their offspring will not enter the labour market for more than a decade.

Nevertheless, the advantages of immigration have been recognized by most labour-hungry countries in the past. Growing colonies have been unable to wait for natural increase to supply their needs and have not had the facilities or the means to train the workers required. For all the points which might be made against him, an immigrant is, from the economic viewpoint, an able-bodied man, already trained (at another country's expense), who therefore seems a good investment, however much he costs to import.[1]

## § 3 European Natural Increase, Migration, and Population Growth

A complete account of the role played by migration in the growth of the Natal population is not possible owing to the lack of sufficient reliable information. Reliable figures of the movements

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1 A recent plea for a positive immigration policy comes from the recent Commission of Enquiry into the policy relating to the Protection of Industry. (See U.G. 36/1958, paragraphs 276-280). The Commission associates itself with the desirable figure of a net gain of 25,000 immigrants every year, which, allowing for the natural increase of the immigrants themselves, would lead to an estimated increase in the European population of over a million and a quarter persons in 50 years.

of persons into and out of the Union are available since 1924[1], but unfortunately none of these figures can throw any light on the effect of migration on Natal (or any other province) since immigrants are not classified according to the province of intended residence nor are emigrants classified according to the province of previous residence. Even if these figures were recorded and published, they would only tell part of the story; migration, as it affects the provinces, is largely a movement of persons to and from other provinces, rather than to and from other countries, and with complete freedom of movement (for Europeans) within the Union, there is no accurate check on provincial gains and losses.

The relative importance of migration in the growth of the European population of Natal has therefore to be assessed by reference to two other sources of information: figures of natural increase and census figures of place of birth. These two sources not only point to some interesting trends in inter-provincial movements of population, but also serve as a check on evidence supplied by the Union migration figures. By making use of all three methods - migration statistics, natural increase figures, and places of birth - a fairly reliable picture of both international and inter-provincial migration ought to be provided. It must be pointed out here, however, (and it will be emphasised again) that these figures should not be regarded as exact measurements of population movements, but merely as evidence of migratory trends. Nor are the three methods strictly comparable as they rely on three distinct sources of information which differ both in purpose and period of time. Nevertheless, it is submitted that the similarity of the trends revealed by these independent lines of investigation offers strong support for the validity of the general conclusions.

(i) Official South African Migration Figures, 1924-57.
Table 28 shows the number of persons entering and leaving the Union during the years 1924-57, the longest period for which it is possible to provide comparable figures. The table distinguishes between total arrivals and departures and "permanent" immigrants and emigrants.

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1 Accurate records of immigration were kept in the Cape from 1903, but other provinces lagged behind. The Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 provided for the uniformity of statistics for immigrants arriving by sea in the Cape and in Natal, and in the two following years the coverage was extended to immigrants arriving by land. In 1918, records of emigrants were instituted but were not completely comprehensive. It was not until 1924 that an accurate account of both "arrivals" and "departures" was taken and that the considerable number of persons passing through the Union "in transit" to and from South Africa's northerly neighbours were separately tabulated.

Figure 6.

## SOUTH AFRICAN EUROPEAN NATURAL INCREASE AND MIGRATION, 1924-57

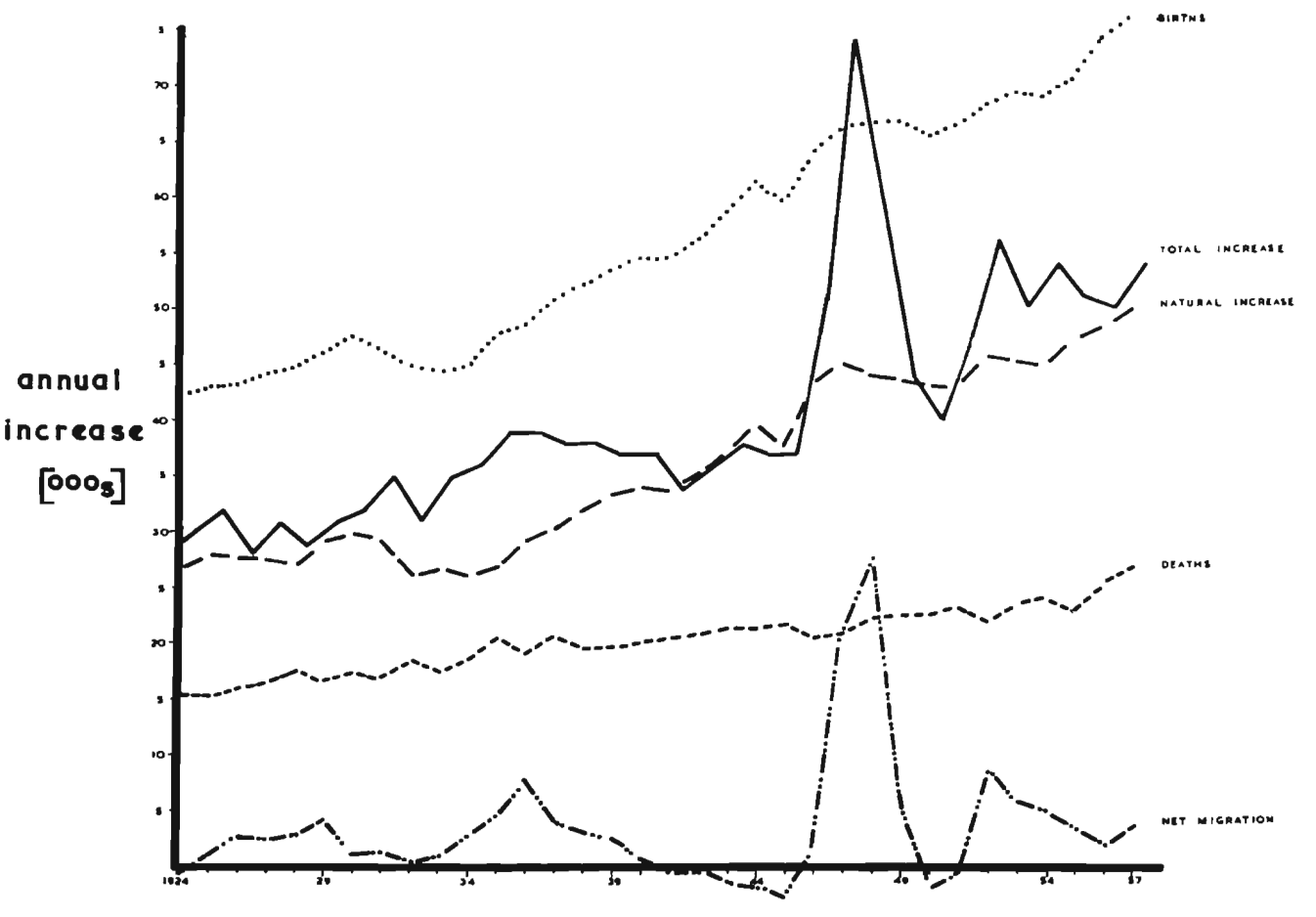

Table 28 SOUTH AFRICAN EUROPEAN MIGRATION, 1924-57

| YEAR | ARRIVALS | DEPARTURES | NET GAIN | IMMIGRANTS | EMIGRANTS | NET GAIN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1924 | 28,690 | 26,874 | 1,816 | 5,265 | 5,857 | -592 |
| 1925 | 27,641 | 26,072 | 1,569 | 5,428 | 4,483 | 945 |
| 1926 | 30,431 | 28,178 | 2,253 | 6,575 | 3,799 | 2,776 |
| 1927 | 30,438 | 29,739 | 699 | 6,598 | 3,988 | 2,610 |
| 1928 | 33,852 | 32,001 | 1,851 | 7,050 | 4,127 | 2,923 |
| 1929 | 35,463 | 31,415 | 4,048 | 7,895 | 3,597 | 4,298 |
| 1930 | 32,923 | 31,776 | 1,147 | 5,904 | 4,623 | 1,281 |
| 1931 | 28,581 | 26,625 | 1,956 | 4,140 | 2,697 | 1,443 |
| 1932 | 23,956 | 24,864 | -908 | 3,098 | 2,339 | 759 |
| 1933 | 26,944 | 25,264 | 1,680 | 3,031 | 1,829 | 1,202 |
| 1934 | 35,024 | 29,508 | 5,516 | 4,702 | 1,767 | 2,935 |
| 1935 | 47,106 | 36,099 | 11,007 | 6,500 | 1,865 | 4,635 |
| 1936 | 77,033 | 60,873 | 16,160 | 10,840 | 2,716 | 8,124 |
| 1937 | 84,284 | 77,282 | 7,002 | 7,927 | 3,716 | 4,211 |
| 1938 | 101,276 | 92,190 | 9,086 | 7,435 | 4,022 | 3,413 |
| 1939 | 85,188 | 78,005 | 7,183 | 6,304 | 3,650 | 2,654 |
| 1940 | 56,074 | 44,080 | 11,994 | 3,021 | 2,284 | 737 |
| 1941 | 62,747 | 53,955 | 8,792 | 1,509 | 1,702 | -193 |
| 1942 | 56,034 | 50,655 | 5,379 | 1,665 | 1,839 | -174 |
| 1943 | 48,895 | 49,641 | -746 | 896 | 2,153 | -1,257 |
| 1944 | 50,123 | 54,878 | -4,755 | 953 | 2,441 | -1,488 |
| 1945 | 55,219 | 62,211 | -6,992 | 2,329 | 4,818 | -2,489 |
| 1946 | 96,810 | 93,334 | 3,476 | 11,256 | 9,045 | 2,211 |
| 1947 | 142,720 | 112,706 | 30,014 | 28,839 | 7,917 | 20,922 |
| 1948 | 166,999 | 133,544 | 33,455 | 35,631 | 7,534 | 28,097 |
| 1949 | 163,366 | 164,206 | -340 | 14,780 | 9,206 | 5,574 |
| 1950 | 176,869 | 185,514 | -8,645 | 12,803 | 14,644 | -1,841 |
| 1951 | 209,265 | 206,804 | 2,461 | 15,193 | 15,381 | -188 |
| 1952 | 234,530 | 226,340 | 8,190 | 18,473 | 9,775 | 8,698 |
| 1953 | 240,350 | 242,395 | -2,045 | 16,257 | 10,220 | 6,037 |
| 1954 | 250,518 | 251,823 | -1,305 | 16,416 | 11,336 | 5,080 |
| 1955 | 273,646 | 279,879 | -6,233 | 16,199 | 12,515 | 3,684 |
| 1956 | 300,423 | 310,057 | -9,634 | 14,917 | 12,879 | 2,038 |
| 1957* | 320,359 | 329,503 | -9,144 | 14,615 | 10,943 | 3,672 |
| Total 1924-57 | 3,633,777 | 3,508,290 | 125,487 | 324,444 | 201,707 | 122,737 |

Sources: "Statistics of Migration, 1948".
Monthly Bulletins of Statistics.

* Preliminary figures.

Note: These figures exclude persons entering or leaving the Union "in transit" - i.e. calling at, or passing through the Union en route to some other country of destination.

The official figure for the net gain from permanent migration (immigrants minus emigrants) between 1924 and 1957 is 122,737, which represents only 9.2 per cent of the total population increase during the same period (1,337,000 persons). The difference between the number of arrivals (immigrants, visitors, and South African residents returning after temporary absence) and the number of departures (emigrants, visitors, and South African residents departing temporarily) amounted to 125,487, a figure not very different from the net gain from permanent migration.

A study of the annual figures reveals that, with the main exception of the war years, there has been a fairly continuous, though small, influx of immigrants. The two years 1947-8 saw a short burst of moderately heavy immigration, following the relaxation of war-time hindrances to migration, but for the rest of the period, although the Union never experienced a serious loss, her gains from immigration were not of any great importance in relation to the size of her population. The relative importance of the annual net migration

gains is shown in the following table, which expresses net immigration as a ratio of the total European population of the Union in each year:

Table 29 ANNUAL NET GAIN FROM IMMIGRATION INTO SOUTH AFRICA PER THOUSAND OF THE RESIDENT EUROPEAN POPULATION, 1924-57

| YEAR | NET IMMIGRATION | RESIDENT POPULATION ('000s)[a] | IMMIGRATION RATE[b] |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1924 | - 592 | 1,620 | -0.4 |
| 1925 | 945 | 1,650 | 0.6 |
| 1926 | 2,776 | 1,682 | 1.7 |
| 1927 | 2,601 | 1,710 | 1.5 |
| 1928 | 2,923 | 1,741 | 2.4 |
| 1929 | 4,298 | 1,770 | 0.7 |
| 1930 | 1,281 | 1,801 | 0.8 |
| 1931 | 1,443 | 1,833 | 0.4 |
| 1932 | 759 | 1,868 | 0.6 |
| 1933 | 1,202 | 1,899 | 1.5 |
| 1934 | 2,935 | 1,934 | 2.4 |
| 1935 | 4,635 | 1,970 | 4.0 |
| 1936 | 8,124 | 2,009 | 2.1 |
| 1937 | 4,211 | 2,048 | 1.6 |
| 1938 | 3,413 | 2,086 | 1.2 |
| 1939 | 2,654 | 2,124 | 0.3 |
| 1940 | 737 | 2,161 | 0.3 |
| 1941 | - 193 | 2,198 | -0.1 |
| 1942 | - 174 | 2,232 | -0.1 |
| 1943 | -1,257 | 2,268 | -0.6 |
| 1944 | -1,488 | 2,306 | -0.6 |
| 1945 | -2,489 | 2,343 | -1.1 |
| 1946 | 2,211 | 2,380 | 0.9 |
| 1947 | 20,922 | 2,431 | 8.6 |
| 1948 | 28,097 | 2,505 | 11.2 |
| 1949 | 5,574 | 2,565 | 2.2 |
| 1950 | -1,841 | 2,609 | -0.7 |
| 1951 | - 188 | 2,649 | -0.1 |
| 1952 | 8,698 | 2,696 | 3.2 |
| 1953 | 6,037 | 2,752 | 2.2 |
| 1954 | 5,080 | 2,802 | 1.8 |
| 1955 | 3,684 | 2,856 | 1.3 |
| 1956 | 2,038 | 2,907 | 0.7 |
| 1957[c] | 3,672 | 2,957 | 1.2 |

Sources: calculated from official statistics of migration and population.

a Mid year estimates of Bureau of Census and Statistics.

b Net gain per thousand of the resident European population.

c Provisional net immigration figure.

In only seventeen of the thirty-four years did the rate of net immigration exceed 1 per 1,000 of the resident European population, and even the exceptional immigration of 1948 only represented a rate of a little over 1 per cent. Over the whole period, the mean annual net gain was something over 3,600 or 1.6 per 1,000 of the mean resident population. During the post-war period 1946-50, often thought of as a period of heavy immigration, the mean annual rate of net immigration was 4.4 per 1,000. In the same five years the rate of net immigration into Southern Rhodesia exceeded 90 per 1,000 of the resident European population.

As has already been pointed out, official migration figures are not available for the provinces, but an estimate of migratory movements based on the difference between natural increase and total population increase will serve both as a check on the conclusions

already reached regarding immigration into the Union and as a measure of the extent to which migration has affected the growth of the Natal population.

(ii) Estimates of the Role of Immigration based on Natural Increase and Population Census Figures. The total increase in the European population of the Union between the first census in 1911 and the latest census of 1951 amounts to something over 1,365,000 persons. Over the same period of forty years, recorded natural increase accounted for 1,236,000 persons, implying a net immigration into the Union of some 129,000 persons - or 9.5 per cent of the total population increase.[1]

This lends some support to the earlier estimated contribution of 9.2 per cent obtained from the official migration figures for the period 1924-57. But a closer comparison between "implied immigration" figures and the "recorded immigration" figures can be drawn over the period 1926-51, that is, from the first census after reliable migration figures had become available to the latest census. Both the 1926 and 1951 censuses were taken in the month of May, and, so that as near a comparison as possible can be made, the total net immigration and natural increase over the period May, 1926 to April, 1951 have been calculated.

The net gain from recorded migration over this period (May, 1926 to April, 1951) amounts to 93,000 persons, while the figure for implied net immigration obtained by subtracting natural increase from total increase is just under 127,000.[2] For a number of reasons these two figures cannot be very similar. One of the drawbacks to this sort of procedure is that the accuracy and coverage of population censuses are apt to increase with each successive count, so that part of the "implied immigration" may in fact be due to under-enumeration of the population in the 1926 census. It is also probable that a number of births were not registered during the period[3] (especially in the rural areas), and that such under-registration made the natural increase smaller than it should have been. Both these possible errors would tend to exaggerate the relative importance of immigration.

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1 The procedure adopted is as follows: we can find the total population increase by subtracting the enumerated population at census $_n$ from the enumerated population at census $_o$. From this increase, we deduct the known natural increase during the same inter-censal period. The remainder represents 'implied immigration' (if positive) or 'implied emigration' (if negative). The formula for implied migration is therefore:

$$\text{Implied migration} = \text{population}_n - \text{population}_o - \text{births (o to 'n)} + \text{deaths (o to 'n)}$$

Where o and 'n are successive censuses and where the accuracy of the implication plainly depends on the accuracy of the variables.

2 A similar kind of discrepancy (31,000) is obtained by taking the whole period 1924-57, although both figures are higher. In a number of estimates of actual and implied net immigration made over various periods, the imputed contribution to total population increase ranged from 9 per cent to 13 per cent. This kind of human accounting can be taken too far however, and it is not intended to pursue the matter further.

3 Probably some deaths are also not registered. But the majority of non-registrations is likely to be in respect of births.

Of greater importance, however, is the fact that the total recorded net immigration does not necessarily represent a true account of actual net immigration, since the official migration figures are merely a record of the stated intentions of persons passing across the Union's borders, and there is little check on the honesty or accuracy of these statements of intention.[1] For example, a visitor to South Africa who decides to settle here permanently may be recorded in the official statistics as a visitor. Only after he has completed immigration documents will the figures be adjusted to show him as a permanent immigrant. On the other hand, a South African citizen may leave the Union, giving it as his intention to settle permanently overseas, thus being recorded as an emigrant. He might thereafter decide to return, and in doing so declare himself as a "South African citizen returning after temporary absence". Moreover, Union censuses are de facto enumerations, so that overseas visitors to South Africa are counted while South African temporarily absent are not.[2]

Yet too much should not be made of this type of discrepancy. The difference of 34,000 between the two estimates quoted above is not of any great importance, representing as it does only about 3½ per cent of the total increase in population between the two censuses, and just over 1 per cent of the total European population in 1951.

The gross figures for non-transit arrivals and departures also show the relative unimportance of permanent migration to South Africa, mainly by illustrating the vast difference between temporary and permanent population movements into and out of the Union. The net gain of arrivals over departures over the whole of the period 1926-51 merely amounted to 135,000 persons - only 11,000 more than the net migration implied by subtracting natural increase from total increase. Yet over the same period the total number of arrivals and departures amounted to almost 3½ millions, and in 1957 the total number of European persons moving into and out of the Union reached the new record figure of 650,000, or over 20 per cent of the total European population! This figure of the net gain of arrivals over departures, although a gross figure, is likely to be a fair approximation of net immigration when taken over a period as long as twenty-five years, and may even be considered more accurate than the excess of immigrants over emigrants since it does not depend upon the reliability of the migrants' statements.

Assuming, however, that a reasonable indication of migratory trends can be given by subtracting natural increase from total increase, Table 30 can be taken as an index of inter-provincial migration. The total increase in the European population of Natal between 1911 and 1951 amounted to over 176,000 persons, of which only 83,000 (or 47%) is estimated to have been accounted for by natural increase. This implies that over this period Natal experienced a net immigration from other provinces and from overseas of about 93,000 persons, or over half of her total population increase between the 1911 and 1951 censuses. The fallibility of this procedure has already been admitted, and it may well be that part of this implied immigration can be attributed to under-enumeration in 1911 and under-registration of births during the inter-censal period.

A further source of error which tends to be of serious proportions as far as Natal is concerned is the presence of holiday and other visitors at the time of the census. Although May is not as popular as Christmas or July for holidays in Natal, one might

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1 See "Statistics of Migration, 1948", U.G. 19/1950, p. v.

2 In the 1951 population census there were 11,740 foreign visitors enumerated in the Union and 3,486 in Natal alone.

Table 30 NATURAL INCREASE AND MIGRATION OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION, UNION AND PROVINCES, 1911-51

| | NATAL | CAPE | TRANSVAAL | O.F.S. | UNION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NUMBER AT 1911 CENSUS | 98,115 | 582,445 | 420,570 | 175,189 | 1,276,319 |
| Nat. increase,1911-21 | 16,629 | 106,528 | 102,091 | 32,371 | 257,619 |
| Net Migration,1911-21 | 22,143 | -38,338 | 22,312 | -18,712 | - 12,595 |
| NUMBER AT 1921 CENSUS | 136,887 | 650,635 | 544,973 | 188,848 | 1,521,343 |
| Nat. increase,1921-26 | 9,561 | 57,957 | 52,689 | 16,945 | 137,152 |
| Net migration,1921-26 | 12,468 | - 2,455 | 10,960 | - 2,808 | 18,165 |
| NUMBER AT 1926 CENSUS | 158,916 | 706,137 | 608,622 | 202,985 | 1,676,660 |
| Nat. increase,1926-31 | 10,195 | 57,205 | 56,546 | 18,276 | 142,222 |
| Net migration,1926-31 | 8,338 | -13,864 | 30,952 | -15,886 | 8,540 |
| NUMBER AT 1931 CENSUS | 177,449 | 749,478 | 696,120 | 205,375 | 1,827,422 |
| Nat. increase,1931-36 | 8,355 | 53,544 | 58,811 | 15,251 | 135,961 |
| Net migration,1931-36 | 4,745 | -11,971 | 65,825 | -19,648 | 39,951 |
| NUMBER AT 1936 CENSUS | 190,549 | 791,051 | 820,756 | 200,978 | 2,003,334 |
| Nat. increase,1936-41 | 9,743 | 54,019 | 80,879 | 15,147 | 159,788 |
| Net migration,1936-41 | 17,847 | -20,189 | 48,200 | -17,588 | 28,270 |
| NUMBER AT 1941 CENSUS | 218,139 | 824,881 | 949,835 | 198,537 | 2,191,392 |
| Nat. increase,1941-46 | 12,252 | 57,661 | 98,993 | 14,913 | 183,819 |
| Net migration,1941-46 | 6,306 | -12,393 | 14,293 | -11,373 | - 3,167 |
| NUMBER AT 1946 CENSUS | 236,697 | 870,149 | 1,063,121 | 202,077 | 2,372,044 |
| Nat. increase,1946-51 | 16,419 | 67,240 | 118,496 | 17,292 | 219,447 |
| Net migration,1946-51 | 21,124 | - 2,304 | 23,095 | 8,283 | 50,198 |
| NUMBER AT 1951 CENSUS | 274,240 | 935,085 | 1,204,712 | 227,652 | 2,641,689 |
| TOTAL INCREASE,1911-51 | 176,125 | 352,640 | 784,142 | 52,463 | 1,365,370 |
| Nat. increase, 1911-51 | 83,154 | 454,154 | 568,505 | 130,195 | 1,236,008 |
| Net migration, 1911-51 | 92,971 | -101,514 | 215,637 | -77,732 | 129,362 |
| NET MIGRATION X 100 / TOTAL INCREASE | 52.8 | -28.8 | 27.5 | -148.2 | 9.5 |
| MASCULINITY OF NET MIGRATION* | 98.7 | 143.9 | 86.1 | 123.0 | 49.5 |

Sources: Union population census figures; Union Year Books.
* For detailed figures by sex see Appendix 3.

reasonably assume that more visitors from other provinces would be in Natal at the time of the census than Natalians enumerated in other provinces.[1] Yet, even if one allows an improbable value for these

1 The Director of the Durban Publicity Association has kindly made the following estimates:

Total number of visitors in Durban on 8th May, 1951: 4-5 thousand

Number of Durban residents on holiday in other provinces (excluding business visitors) : 2 thousand

If one bears in mind that Durban would claim the lion's share of the visiting holidaymakers, and allows for the extent to which Natalians might have been away from their home province at the time of the census, a figure of 5,000 would be a generous estimate of the total net gain from temporary migration. Not all of this would have to be subtracted from the figure of 93,000 quoted above, however: only the increase in this temporary net gain between 1911 and 1951 affects the calculations. In other words, the figure for implied net immigration, 1911-51, will be exaggerated to the extent that Natal's gains from temporary migration were greater in 1951 than in 1911, but the degree of exaggeration cannot readily be estimated.

various sources of error, it would be difficult to discount the importance of net immigration to Natal to much less than that of natural increase. This conclusion is all the more remarkable in view of the meagre role of immigration in the growth of the total Union population.

An advantage of Table 30 is that it gives an indication of inter-provincial migratory movements. A very marked movement of population from the Cape and Orange Free State to the Transvaal and Natal is apparent: a movement that is large not only numerically but also in proportion to the size of the provincial populations.

The Transvaal's estimated net gain from migration (216,000), although much greater than Natal's net gain (93,000), constituted a much smaller proportion (28 per cent) of her total increase than did Natal's (53 per cent). On the other hand, the Cape experienced a loss of over 100,000 persons, or 22 per cent of her natural increase. The Orange Free State, although her loss was less than that of the Cape, suffered the heaviest relative depopulation - 60 per cent of her total natural increase. The effect of the discovery of gold in reversing this outward drift from the Free State is apparent after 1946, and it is likely that there will be considerable immigration into this province for some time to come.

It is thought that Table 30 is sufficiently reliable to serve as a pointer to the basic trends in inter-provincial migration, but no more than this can be claimed. At the best, the figures for provincial net gains or losses are no more than the balance between four continual movements: immigration from overseas, immigration from other provinces, emigration overseas, and emigration to other provinces, and as such can give no indication of the respective values of these four movements. Therefore, in order to obtain a more elaborate picture of the extent to which Natal has gained immigrants from overseas territories and from other provinces, it is necessary to turn to a third measure of migration.

(iii) Estimated Migration based on Census Tabulations of Birthplaces.

The best measure of inter-provincial migration is afforded by an analysis of census figures of place of birth. Admittedly this method has certain disadvantages. First, it does not distinguish between permanent and temporary migration, a distinction which is important when considering gains or losses to the labour force. One result of this is that Natal's apparent migration gains are inflated by the temporary presence of visitors and holidaymakers, as well as by the businessmen, travellers, and other non-permanent residents invariably enumerated in a de facto census. Second, the statistics of place of birth take no account of multiple migration which may have taken place prior to the enumeration: there is no record of those who have made more than one inter-provincial move, while all those who are enumerated in the province in which they were born will not be recorded as having taken part in any migration at all, whatever their past movements. Third, although an analysis of birthplace is a valuable indication of the direction and magnitude of migration, it cannot relate this to time, as can an analysis of official migration or natural increase figures. For example, when we discover that 38,000 of the Europeans in Natal in 1951 had been born in the Cape, the most we can say is that 38,000 persons, born in the Cape, had moved to Natal at some time after their birth and before their death. Some may have lived in Natal virtually all their life; others may be "up for the week-end".

Even allowing for these drawbacks, however, the figures of place of birth provide the most satisfactory guide to the direction and intensity of internal migratory movements. The first finding

Table 31 BIRTHPLACES OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION OF THE UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| PLACE OF BIRTH | ENUMERATED IN: | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NATAL | CAPE | TRANSVAAL | O.F.S. | UNION |
| Natal | 127,548 | 9,953 | 27,962 | 4,089 | 169,552 |
| Cape | 38,105 | 763,602 | 168,673 | 37,891 | 1,008,271 |
| Transvaal | 37,419 | 44,341 | 772,929 | 24,492 | 879,181 |
| O.F.S. | 13,774 | 22,261 | 88,997 | 151,825 | 276,857 |
| S. Africa (sic) | 911 | 2,215 | 5,813 | 631 | 9,570 |
| Total Union | 217,757 | 842,372 | 1,064,374 | 218,928 | 2,343,431 |
| Rest of World | 56,483 | 92,713 | 140,338 | 8,724 | 298,258 |
| Total | 274,240 | 935,085 | 1,204,712 | 227,652 | 2,641,689 |
| | PERCENTAGES | | | | |
| Natal | 46.5 | 1.1 | 2.3 | 1.8 | 6.4 |
| Cape | 13.9 | 81.7 | 14.0 | 16.6 | 38.2 |
| Transvaal | 13.6 | 4.7 | 64.2 | 10.8 | 33.3 |
| O.F.S. | 5.0 | 2.4 | 7.4 | 66.7 | 10.5 |
| S. Africa (sic) | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| Total Union | 79.4 | 90.1 | 88.4 | 96.2 | 88.7 |
| Rest of World | 20.6 | 9.9 | 11.6 | 3.8 | 11.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Population Census, 1951, Volume IV, "Birthplace, Year of Arrival and Nationality: (1) 1951 Census - White Population only (2) 1946 Census - All Races", U.G. 34/1954.

of interest revealed by Table 31 is the mobility of the European population. Including immigrants, 825,785 persons (31 per cent of the total population) had not been born in the province in which they were enumerated, and of the Union-born, some 22 per cent had left their province of birth. If account could be taken of multiple and temporary movements, a very much greater degree of mobility would undoubtedly be found.

As far as Natal is concerned, the figures are remarkable for two reasons. First, Natal has by far the highest proportion of foreign-born residents, amounting to one-fifth (20.6 per cent) of her population, as compared with 12 per cent in the Transvaal, 10 per cent in the Cape, and only 4 per cent in the Free State.[1] Second, a further 33 per cent of Natal's population as compared with 29 per cent in the Free State, 24 per cent in the Transvaal, and 8 per cent in the Cape, had been born in other provinces. In all, less than half (47 per cent) of the total European population enumerated in Natal at the time of the 1951 census had been born there. The corresponding percentages for the other provinces were 82 per cent for the Cape, 67 per cent for the Free State, and 64 per cent for the Transvaal.

1 A high proportion (65 per cent) of Natal's foreign-born residents had been born in the United Kingdom. The corresponding proportions for the other provinces were Cape (55 per cent), Transvaal (44 per cent) and O.F.S. (36 per cent).

Table 32 PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF UNION AND NON-UNION BORN EUROPEANS, 1951
(PERCENTAGES)

| PROVINCE | UNION BORN | NON-UNION BORN | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Natal | 9.3 | 18.9 | 10.4 |
| Cape | 35.9 | 31.1 | 35.4 |
| Transvaal | 45.4 | 47.1 | 45.6 |
| O.F.S. | 9.3 | 2.9 | 8.6 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: calculated from Volume IV, 1951, Population Census.

The importance of overseas immigration to Natal is also illustrated by the fact that, whereas 10 per cent of the total European population of the Union was enumerated in Natal in 1951, 19 per cent of the foreign-born persons and only 9 per cent of the Union-born persons were in Natal (Table 32). The Transvaal was the only other province to have a larger share of foreign-born than of Union-born residents.

Table 33 shows the provincial distribution of Europeans at the time of the 1951 census. Of the Europeans enumerated in Natal

Table 33 PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEANS ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OF BIRTH, 1951
(PERCENTAGES)

| ENUMERATED IN | NATAL BORN | CAPE BORN | TRANSVAAL BORN | O.F.S. BORN | TOTAL UNION BORN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Natal | 75.2 | 3.8 | 4.3 | 5.0 | 9.3 |
| Cape | 5.9 | 75.7 | 5.0 | 8.0 | 35.9 |
| Transvaal | 16.5 | 16.7 | 87.9 | 32.1 | 45.4 |
| O.F.S. | 2.4 | 3.8 | 2.8 | 54.8 | 9.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: calculated from Volume IV, 1951 Population Census.

only three-quarters were Natal born. Natalians appear to be the most likely, of all South Africans except Free Staters, to leave their province of birth. It is clear that the Transvaal absorbs the bulk of emigrants from all other provinces and that only a small proportion (12 per cent) of her offspring were living elsewhere in 1951.

As a final analysis of the figures of place of birth, all the data have been brought together in Table 34 to depict the detailed inter-provincial gains and losses of population. The table amplifies the conclusion drawn from Table 30 that the main trend in South African European migration has been a movement of population from the Cape and Free State to the Transvaal and Natal. It will be seen that Natal had a total net gain from other provinces of over 47,000 persons, by far the largest proportion being from the Cape. The most interesting fact revealed, though, is that Natal was the only province to gain population, on balance, from every other province, including, rather surprisingly, the Transvaal. Although men are normally regarded as more mobile than women, these figures show that more women than men had crossed the boundaries of Natal, the masculinity of all migrants entering or leaving the province being only 97 males to every 100 females.

Table 34

## INTER- PROVINCIAL MIGRATION OF EUROPEANS: GAINS AND LOSSES OF EVERY PROVINCE FROM AND TO EVERY OTHER PROVINCE, 1951

| NATAL | | | | CAPE | | | | TRANSVAAL | | | | ORANGE FREE STATE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss | | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss | | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss | | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss |
| **TOTAL PERSONS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 38,105 | 9,953 | 28,152 | Natal | 9,953 | 38,105 | - 28,152 | Natal | 27,962 | 37,419 | - 9,457 | Natal | 4,089 | 13,774 | - 9,685 |
| Transvaal | 37,419 | 27,962 | 9,457 | Transvaal | 44,341 | 168,673 | -124,332 | Cape | 168,673 | 44,341 | 124,332 | Cape | 37,891 | 22,261 | 15,630 |
| O.F.S. | 13,774 | 4,089 | 9,685 | O.F.S. | 22,261 | 37,891 | - 15,630 | O.F.S. | 88,997 | 24,492 | 64,505 | Transvaal | 24,492 | 88,997 | -64,505 |
| Total | 89,298 | 42,004 | 47,294 | Total | 76,555 | 244,669 | -168,114 | Total | 285,632 | 106,252 | 179,380 | Total | 66,472 | 125,032 | -58,560 |
| **TOTAL MALES** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 18,880 | 4,797 | 14,083 | Natal | 4,797 | 18,880 | - 14,083 | Natal | 13,807 | 18,246 | - 4,439 | Natal | 2,217 | 6,761 | - 4,544 |
| Transvaal | 18,246 | 13,807 | 4,439 | Transvaal | 22,105 | 84,377 | - 62,272 | Cape | 84,377 | 22,105 | 62,272 | Cape | 19,432 | 10,811 | 8,621 |
| O.F.S. | 6,761 | 2,217 | 4,544 | O.F.S. | 10,811 | 19,432 | - 8,621 | O.F.S. | 44,305 | 12,427 | 31,878 | Transvaal | 12,427 | 44,305 | -31,878 |
| Total | 43,887 | 20,821 | 23,066 | Total | 37,713 | 122,689 | - 84,976 | Total | 142,489 | 52,778 | 89,711 | Total | 34,076 | 61,877 | -27,801 |
| **TOTAL FEMALES** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 19,225 | 5,156 | 14,069 | Natal | 5,156 | 19,225 | - 14,069 | Natal | 14,155 | 19,173 | - 5,018 | Natal | 1,872 | 7,013 | - 5,141 |
| Transvaal | 19,173 | 14,155 | 5,018 | Transvaal | 22,236 | 84,296 | - 62,060 | Cape | 84,296 | 22,236 | 62,060 | Cape | 18,459 | 11,450 | 7,009 |
| O.F.S. | 7,013 | 1,872 | 5,141 | O.F.S. | 11,450 | 18,459 | - 7,009 | O.F.S. | 44,692 | 12,065 | 32,627 | Transvaal | 12,065 | 44,692 | -32,627 |
| Total | 45,411 | 21,183 | 24,228 | Total | 38,842 | 121,980 | - 83,138 | Total | 143,143 | 53,474 | 89,669 | Total | 32,396 | 63,155 | -30,759 |

Source: calculated from Volume IV, 1951 Population Census.

The Transvaal experienced the greatest gain in population movements, although her net gain only represented 15 per cent of her total European population in 1951, as compared with a contribution of 17 per cent in the case of Natal. The Cape was the main contributor to the Transvaal migration gains, while Natal was the only province to gain at the Transvaal's expense. On the debit side, the largest migration losses were experienced by the Cape, who lost on balance to every other province - even to the Free State. The Free State, however, experienced the greatest proportional loss - 27 per cent of her 1951 population, as against an 18 per cent loss by the Cape.

In all, the three largest net movements of population were from the Cape to the Transvaal (124,000), from the Free State to the Transvaal (64,000), and from the Cape to Natal (28,000).

Since there is no available figure for emigration from Natal to countries other than the rest of South Africa, nor any reasonable assumptions that can be made as to its probable value, it is impossible to estimate Natal's net gain from overseas migration, relative to her net gains from other provinces. Even within the Union, attention must again be drawn to the very limited sense in which the figures in Table 34 can be taken as "net gains and losses". Yet despite these reservations, the obvious conclusion which must be drawn from the above discussion is that the part played by migration in Natal has far exceeded that in any of the other three provinces. In rough terms, it is probably safe to say that something like half the total increase in the Natal population since Union has been a net gain from migration, and, of this, probably between one-third and one-half was a net gain from overseas immigration.

The total contribution of permanent immigration to total population increase is, of course, even greater than the figures given in this chapter indicate, since part of the recorded natural increase is itself the natural increase of the immigrants. If the natural increase of the immigrants themselves were taken into account, the total contribution, direct and indirect, might probably be in the neighbourhood of three-fifths of the total increase of the population since the formation of the Union.[1]

This conclusion means that, whereas variations in the flow of overseas migration and the nature of the immigrants themselves have been of minor importance to South Africa, they demand considerable attention when Natal's position is considered. Of special importance is the probability that Natal is hardest hit by a fall in the rate of net immigration to South Africa and might benefit most from a large-scale immigration programme.

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1 This is, of course, no more than a guess, but is not unreasonable on the assumption that past immigrants have not drastically altered rates of natural increase. If the 1911 population were assumed to have increased unaffected by either immigration or emigration until 1951, at the same rate of natural increase as the actual rate recorded, the total increase over the period 1911-51 would have been in the neighbourhood of 64,000 persons or 36 per cent of the actual increase, leaving the balance, 64 per cent, as the contribution of immigration. The net effect of overseas immigration on natural increase would probably have been favourable in view of the fact that most foreign immigrants are young adults having a high birth rate and low death rate. On the other hand, the extent to which old persons have moved to the Natal coast would decrease natural increase by increasing the death rate. Possibly an estimate of the contribution of migration to the total population increase of between three-fifths and two-thirds would not be unreasonable. The proportional contribution calculated for the Union on the same assumptions is just over one tenth.

## § 4 Non-European Natural Increase, Migration, and Population Growth

An analysis of the growth of Non-European populations is at the same time a more simple and a more complicated task than it is for Europeans. It is simpler because, with the exception of the movements of migrant Native workers moving backwards and forwards across the Union's borders from adjoining territories, international migration is an insignificant factor in the present growth of the South African Non-European populations, and, unless there is a completely unforeseen reversal of government policy, permanent immigration from overseas may for all practical purposes be ignored as a factor affecting the population growth of the future.[1] Less certainty can be held as to the future of emigration, especially in regard to the Indians, but it is difficult to foresee the possibility of emigration materially affecting the rate of population growth, except under extreme conditions of political or economic climate.

On the other hand, the accuracy of Non-European population accounting is considerably reduced by inadequacies in the available official statistics - a disadvantage which more than offsets the ability to ignore migration. Official figures of the births and deaths of Coloureds and Asiatics have only been published separately since 1937 and 1938 respectively, and, while there is reason to believe that the present registration is approaching full coverage, it is virtually impossible to say how much of the increase in the annual recording of births and deaths since 1937 is due to an actual increase and how much is due to an increasing adoption of registration. Moreover, although the registration of Native births and deaths is now compulsory in all areas, the degree of registration is as yet too uncertain to make the figures of much analytical value.

Faced with uncertain vital statistics for Non-Europeans, the estimation of future population growth becomes even more of a guessing game than it usually is, and the task is further complicated by the unknown accuracy of census counts. Here too, it is probable that most inter-censal increases in population are due partly to increases in population and partly to the effect of successively better censuses. Both the lack of vital statistics and the possible inaccuracies in census counts make it difficult to decide upon a known point of departure from which to proceed with any degree of confidence.

(i) Official Migration Figure for the Union. Although by far the largest proportion of Non-Europeans moving across the Union's borders are Natives, no statistics concerning their movements are recorded, and the published material refers only to Asiatics and Coloureds. Since the number of migrating Coloureds is very small, the figures can to all intents and purposes be regarded as statistics of Asiatic migration.

Over the period 1925-58 the available figures show that recorded permanent migration of Non-Europeans has been small, and that over the whole period there was a net loss of some four thousand persons:

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1 From time to time there have been reports of alleged illegal entry of Asiatics into the Union. It is doubtful whether such immigration could possibly be on as large a scale as is sometimes suggested, or whether it could even be large enough to affect population growth significantly. Moreover, it seems probable that the eventual effective operation of the National Register will further limit unauthorised entry into the Union.

Table 35 MIGRATION OF ASIATICS AND COLOUREDS, 1925-58*

| PERIOD | IMMIGRANTS | EMIGRANTS | NET GAIN/LOSS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1925-9 | 3,745 | 12,395 | -8,650 |
| 1930-4 | 4,170 | 8,645 | -4,475 |
| 1935-9 | 5,140 | 2,730 | 2,410 |
| 1940-4 | 1,480 | 1,380 | 100 |
| 1945-9 | 4,281 | 522 | 3,759 |
| 1950-4 | 3,322 | 810 | 2,512 |
| 1955-8* | 850 | 511 | 339 |
| Total 1925-58* | 22,988 | 26,993 | -4,005 |

Sources: "Statistics of Migration, 1948"; Monthly Bulletins of Statistics.
* Figures for 1958 provisional.

During this period, over 87 per cent of the immigrants had been born in India and 6.5 per cent in China. The few Coloured immigrants were mainly from St. Helena, while, of the emigrants, 54 per cent had been born in India and 44 per cent in the Union.

Over the thirty-two years for which accurate figures have been available, the mean annual net loss of Non-Europeans from permanent international migration was only about 120 persons a year. On balance, therefore, migration over this period, compared with natural increase, has been an unimportant factor affecting the growth of the Non-European populations. The rate and direction of Indian migration was by no means constant, however: there was substantial net emigration in the first decade of the period, and some net immigration before and after the Second World War. Under existing legislation[1] the immigration of Indians has been reduced to a neglible amount, and, since the emigration of Indians from the Union meets with official approval, it is difficult to foresee any other possibility for the immediate future than a period of renewed, though not necessarily heavy, net emigration of Indians from the Union.

Of more importance than the numerical gains and losses of Indians through migration are the sex and age differences between immigrants and emigrants, for it is certain that migratory movements have materially reduced the masculinity of the Indian population and have operated to some extent to reduce the median age, both directly by introducing children into South Africa, and indirectly by reducing masculinity rates and therefore increasing marriage and birth rates. The following table shows the considerable sex differential of migrants over the period 1925-48:

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1 With the amendments to the immigration legislation of the Union which were contained in Act No. 43 of 1953 and which came into effect in February, 1956, South African Indian men were no longer permitted to return to the Union with Indian-born wives. This ended a not uncommon practice among South African Indians, and stopped the last channel of regular Indian immigration. The efficacy of the law can be seen by the fact that the total Non-European immigration into the Union in 1957 amounted to only 16 persons.

Table 36 MIGRATION OF ASIATICS AND COLOUREDS, BY SEX, 1925-48

| SEX | IMMIGRANTS | EMIGRANTS | NET GAIN/LOSS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Males | 7,816 | 16,914 | -9,098 |
| Females | 10,204 | 8,556 | 1,648 |
| Persons | 18,020 | 25,470 | -7,450 |

Source: "Statistics of Migration", 1948.

Whereas there was a net loss of males amounting to over 9,000, there was actually a net gain of females of some 1,600. This means that through migration, there was a reduction of more than 10,000 in the excess of men over women. The effect upon the sex structure of the resident Indian population is also shown by the high masculinity rate of the emigrants (198) and the low masculinity of immigrants (77).

An analysis of the official figures also reveals quite clearly the youthfulness of the immigrants in relation to the emigrants. Up to 1948, just over a half of all Asiatic and Coloured immigrants were under fifteen years of age, whereas only a third of the emigrants fell in this age group.[1] This was the only age group to show a net gain from migration over the period. Put in another way, for every ten children immigrating there were only nine who emigrated. But for every ten young adults who immigrated there were eleven who emigrated, while older immigrants (aged 45-64) were outnumbered ten to one. Amongst the oldsters, there were fourteen emigrants to each immigrant.

(ii) Census Figures of Non-European Birthplaces. By examining the number of Non-Europeans who were enumerated for census purposes in a province other than that in which they were born, one can obtain some idea of the extent and direction of inter-provincial migration. This procedure was used in the analysis of European population [see § 3 (iii)] where certain limitations were pointed out. One of these limitations was that the procedure cannot separate permanent migration from temporary visits, and a second limitation, which is particularly pertinent in the case of Natives, is that it allows no record of past multiple movements. It is nevertheless the best tool available for analysing Non-European migratory movements, and, in the absence of any official migration statistics and accurate vital statistics, the only comprehensive tool for estimating Native migratory movements.

An analysis of the 1951 census figures of birthplaces indicates that Natal had a considerably lower proportion of Indian-born Asiatics than either the Cape or the Transvaal. Of the total number of Asiatics

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1 The ages of the migrants, 1925-48, were as follows:

| AGE GROUP | IMMIGRANTS | | EMIGRANTS | | NET GAIN/LOSS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-15 | 9,170 | 51% | 8,397 | 33% | 773 |
| 15-44 | 7,946 | 44% | 8,475 | 33% | -529 |
| 45-64 | 771 | 4% | 7,609 | 30% | -6,838 |
| 65 & over | 71 | 0% | 970 | 4% | -899 |
| Total* | 18,020 | 100% | 25,470 | 100% | -7,450 |

Source: "Statistics of Migration, 1948".
* Including persons of unspecified age.

In 1948, the median age of immigrants was 16½ years and of emigrants 30 years.

in Natal, 95 per cent were born in South Africa and only some 5 per cent in India, whereas a quarter of the Asiatics in both the Cape and Transvaal were Indian born. In addition, both these provinces contained a larger proportion of Non-Indian Asiatics such as Chinese (Table 37).

Table 37 BIRTHPLACES OF THE ASIATIC POPULATION OF THE UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| PLACE OF BIRTH | ENUMERATED IN: | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NATAL* | | CAPE | | TRANSVAAL | | UNION | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Natal* | 282,349 | 94.3 | 897 | 5.0 | 1,486 | 3.0 | 284,732 | 77.7 |
| Cape | 458 | 0.2 | 11,246 | 63.1 | 504 | 1.0 | 12,208 | 3.3 |
| Transvaal | 1,143 | 0.4 | 287 | 1.6 | 32,884 | 66.6 | 34,314 | 9.4 |
| S. Africa (sic) | 336 | 0.1 | 62 | 0.3 | 331 | 0.7 | 729 | 0.2 |
| Total Union | 284,286 | 94.9 | 12,492 | 70.1 | 35,205 | 71.3 | 331,983 | 90.5 |
| India | 14,352 | 4.8 | 4,386 | 24.6 | 12,333 | 25.0 | 31,071 | 8.5 |
| Rest of World | 866 | 0.3 | 940 | 5.3 | 1,804 | 3.7 | 3,610 | 1.0 |
| Total | 299,504 | 100.0 | 17,818 | 100.0 | 49,342 | 100.0 | 366,664 | 100.0 |

Source: provisional unpublished material from 1951 Population Census.
* Including Orange Free State.

The insignificant part played by inter-provincial migration, under the influence of legal restriction, is shown by the fact that 99 per cent of the Union-born Indians in Natal were born in Natal itself. A total of 2,355 Natal-born Indians were living in other provinces at the time of the 1951 census and 1,601 Indians were living in Natal who had been born in other provinces.[1] This makes a net loss to Natal from migration of 754 persons (see Table 38), representing less than 0.3 per cent of her total Indian population in 1951. The corresponding figure obtained for the European population of Natal represented a gain of some 17 per cent of her total European population.[2] The effect of the implied net emigration from Natal on the sex ratio would be to lower the masculinity rate, since more Indian males than females left Natal.

A completely different pattern of migration is shown by the Coloureds, for, although less than 2 per cent of those enumerated in Natal in 1951 had been born in extra-Union territories, no less than 20 per cent had been born in other provinces, mainly in the Cape (see Table 39). The migratory movements of Coloureds revealed by this table and by Table 40 are not dissimilar from those of the Europeans - mainly from the Cape and Free State to the Transvaal and Natal. In all, Natal experienced a net gain of Coloureds of 3,445, of which 3,375 (54 per cent being females) came from the Cape alone. Although this figure represented almost 11 per cent of the total Coloured population of Natal in 1951, this immigration from the Cape does not explain the phenomenal rate of increase of the Natal Coloureds between the 1946 and 1951 censuses, since the corresponding figure from the 1946 census was even higher (4,131), suggesting (if anything) a net emigration between the two years. It seems that the explanation must be looked for in high rates of natural increase and inaccuracies of census enumeration.

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1 Excluding the Orange Free State.

2 See p. 44.

## INTER-PROVINCIAL MIGRATION OF ASIATICS:

Table 38 GAINS AND LOSSES OF EVERY PROVINCE FROM AND TO EVERY OTHER PROVINCE,[1] 1951

| | NATAL | | | CAPE | | | TRANSVAAL | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss |
| **TOTAL PERSONS** | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 458 | 894 | -436 | Natal | 894 | 458 | 436 | Natal | 1,461 | 1,143 | 318 |
| Transvaal | 1,143 | 1,461 | -318 | Transvaal | 287 | 504 | -217 | Cape | 504 | 287 | 217 |
| Total | 1,601 | 2,355 | -754 | Total | 1,181 | 962 | 219 | Total | 1,965 | 1,430 | 535 |
| **TOTAL MALES** | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 195 | 639 | -444 | Natal | 639 | 195 | 444 | Natal | 622 | 483 | 139 |
| Transvaal | 483 | 622 | -139 | Transvaal | 125 | 199 | - 74 | Cape | 199 | 125 | 74 |
| Total | 678 | 1,261 | -583 | Total | 764 | 394 | 370 | Total | 821 | 608 | 213 |
| **TOTAL FEMALES** | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 263 | 255 | 8 | Natal | 255 | 263 | - 8 | Natal | 839 | 660 | 179 |
| Transvaal | 660 | 839 | -179 | Transvaal | 162 | 305 | -143 | Cape | 305 | 162 | 143 |
| Total | 923 | 1,094 | -171 | Total | 417 | 568 | -151 | Total | 1,144 | 822 | 322 |

Source: Provisional, unpublished material from 1951 Population Census.

[1] O.F.S. included with Natal.

Table 39 BIRTHPLACES OF THE COLOURED POPULATION OF THE UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| PLACE OF BIRTH | ENUMERATED IN: | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NATAL | CAPE | TRANSVAAL | O.F.S. | UNION |
| Natal | 24,579 | 1,588 | 1,142 | 55 | 27,364 |
| Cape | 4,963 | 965,317 | 16,639 | 2,328 | 989,247 |
| Transvaal | 946 | 4,328 | 52,710 | 280 | 58,264 |
| O.F.S. | 321 | 3,424 | 3,038 | 11,870 | 18,653 |
| S. Africa (sic) | 90 | 2,669 | 676 | 59 | 3,494 |
| Total Union | 30,899 | 977,326 | 74,205 | 14,592 | 1,097,022 |
| Rest of World | 596 | 4,476 | 809 | 123 | 5,994 |
| Total | 31,485 | 981,802 | 75,014 | 14,715 | 1,103,016 |
| | PERCENTAGES | | | | |
| Natal | 78.1 | 0.2 | 1.5 | 0.4 | 2.5 |
| Cape | 15.8 | 98.3 | 22.2 | 15.8 | 89.7 |
| Transvaal | 3.0 | 0.4 | 70.3 | 1.9 | 5.3 |
| O.F.S. | 1.0 | 0.3 | 4.0 | 80.7 | 1.7 |
| S. Africa (sic) | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Total Union | 98.1 | 99.5 | 98.9 | 99.2 | 99.5 |
| Rest of World | 1.9 | 0.5 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: provisional, unpublished material from 1951 Population Census.

The Transvaal also gained considerable numbers of Coloureds from the Cape and Free State, as well as a small net gain from Natal. Her total net immigration amounted to over 15,000 persons, or 20 per cent of her 1951 population. On the debit side, the largest losses were experienced by the Cape, though they were almost negligible in relation to the size of her population. On the other hand, the numerically smaller losses suffered by the Free State were of far greater proportions, representing 28 per cent of her Coloured population in 1951.

The most important facts revealed by an analysis of the 1951 census figures of the birthplaces of the Native population are that the net migration gains by Natal from the Cape and the Free State are not nearly enough to offset the movement of Natives to the Transvaal, and that her gross gains from non-Union territories are slight.

Table 41 shows that only about 5 per cent of the Native population of Natal had been born outside Natal. The largest number of non-Natal born Native residents in Natal were from the Cape, and although there are no breakdowns of these figures by region, it can be assumed that most of these immigrants would be from such neighbouring areas as East Griqualand. In all, Natal's implied net loss from inter-provincial migration amounted to some 62,000 persons (see Table 42), representing 3.4 per cent of her population in 1951. Many more males than females moved across Natal's boundaries and the masculinity of her net loss was high, although it was not as high as it might have been since the masculinity of her total population gains (286) was higher than that of her population losses (223). Once again a familiar pattern is retraced, with movements of population from the Cape and Free State to the

Table 40

## INTER-PROVINCIAL MIGRATION OF COLOUREDS: GAINS AND LOSSES OF EVERY PROVINCE FROM AND TO EVERY OTHER PROVINCE, 1951

| NATAL | | | | CAPE | | | | TRANSVAAL | | | | ORANGE FREE STATE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss | | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss | | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss | | Gained from | Lost to | Net gain/ loss |
| **TOTAL PERSONS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 4,963 | 1,588 | 3,375 | Natal | 1,588 | 4,963 | - 3,375 | Natal | 1,142 | 946 | 196 | Natal | 55 | 321 | - 266 |
| Transvaal | 946 | 1,142 | - 196 | Transvaal | 4,328 | 16,639 | -12,311 | Cape | 16,639 | 4,328 | 12,311 | Cape | 2,328 | 3,424 | -1,096 |
| O.F.S. | 321 | 55 | 266 | O.F.S. | 3,424 | 2,328 | 1,096 | O.F.S. | 3,038 | 280 | 2,758 | Transvaal | 280 | 3,038 | -2,758 |
| Total | 6,230 | 2,785 | 3,445 | Total | 9,340 | 23,930 | -14,590 | Total | 20,819 | 5,554 | 15,265 | Total | 2,663 | 6,783 | -4,120 |
| **TOTAL MALES** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 2,437 | 891 | 1,546 | Natal | 891 | 2,437 | - 1,546 | Natal | 579 | 457 | 123 | Natal | 30 | 138 | - 108 |
| Transvaal | 457 | 579 | - 122 | Transvaal | 2,342 | 8,574 | - 6,232 | Cape | 8,574 | 2,342 | 6,232 | Cape | 1,397 | 1,790 | - 393 |
| O.F.S. | 138 | 30 | 108 | O.F.S. | 1,790 | 1,397 | 393 | O.F.S. | 1,377 | 168 | 1,209 | Transvaal | 168 | 1,377 | -1,209 |
| Total | 3,032 | 1,500 | 1,532 | Total | 5,023 | 12,408 | - 7,385 | Total | 10,530 | 2,967 | 7,563 | Total | 1,595 | 3,305 | -1,710 |
| **TOTAL FEMALES** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 2,526 | 697 | 1,829 | Natal | 697 | 2,526 | - 1,829 | Natal | 563 | 489 | 74 | Natal | 25 | 183 | - 158 |
| Transvaal | 489 | 563 | - 74 | Transvaal | 1,986 | 8,065 | - 6,079 | Cape | 8,065 | 1,986 | 6,079 | Cape | 931 | 1,634 | - 703 |
| O.F.S. | 183 | 25 | 158 | O.F.S. | 1,634 | 931 | 703 | O.F.S. | 1,661 | 112 | 1,549 | Transvaal | 112 | 1,661 | -1,549 |
| Total | 3,198 | 1,285 | 1,913 | Total | 4,317 | 11,522 | -7,205 | Total | 10,289 | 2,587 | 7,702 | Total | 1,068 | 3,478 | -2,410 |

Source: Provisional, unpublished material from 1951 Population Census.

Table 41 BIRTHPLACES OF THE NATIVE POPULATIONS OF THE UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| PLACE OF BIRTH | ENUMERATED IN: | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NATAL | CAPE | TRANSVAAL | O.F.S. | UNION |
| Natal | 1,711,083 | 6,841 | 118,869 | 4,821 | 1,841,614 |
| Cape | 51,401 | 2,412,721 | 204,400 | 29,849 | 2,698,371 |
| Transvaal | 12,034 | 12,201 | 2,610,392 | 10,427 | 2,645,054 |
| O.F.S. | 5,159 | 10,600 | 129,128 | 625,848 | 770,735 |
| S. Africa (sic) | 147 | 2,741 | 2,140 | 3,281 | 8,309 |
| Total Union | 1,779,824 | 2,445,104 | 3,064,929 | 674,226 | 7,964,083 |
| Rest of World | 30,252 | 45,246 | 417,922 | 99,964 | 593,384 |
| Total | 1,810,102 | 2,492,021 | 3,483,770 | 774,190 | 8,560,083 |
| | PERCENTAGES | | | | |
| Natal | 94.5 | 0.3 | 3.4 | 0.6 | 21.5 |
| Cape | 2.8 | 96.8 | 5.9 | 3.9 | 31.5 |
| Transvaal | 0.7 | 0.5 | 74.9 | 1.3 | 30.9 |
| O.F.S. | 0.3 | 0.4 | 3.7 | 80.8 | 9.0 |
| S. Africa (sic) | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.1 |
| Total Union | 98.3 | 98.1 | 88.0 | 87.1 | 93.0 |
| Rest of World | 1.7 | 1.8 | 12.0 | 12.9 | 6.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: provisional, unpublished material from 1951 Population Census.

Transvaal. With the Native, however, the magnetic effect of the Witwatersrand on the Union's population is even stronger, and the picture is completed by Natal strongly contributing to the flow.

That immigration from non-Union territories largely by-passes Natal is seen from the fact that only 30,000 (1.7 per cent) of her Native population had been born outside South Africa. A similarly small proportion of the Cape's Natives were foreign born, while, although the bulk of these Natives were attracted to the Transvaal, the highest proportion of Union born to non-Union born was recorded in the Free State. In fact there were a great many more foreign Natives in the Free State at the time of the 1951 census than in the Cape and Natal combined:

Table 43 PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF UNION AND NON-UNION BORN NATIVES, 1951
(PERCENTAGES)

| PLACE OF BIRTH | ENUMERATED IN: | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NATAL | CAPE | TRANSVAAL | O.F.S. | UNION |
| Union | 20.3 | 30.7 | 38.5 | 8.5 | 100.0 |
| Non-Union | 5.1 | 7.6 | 70.4 | 16.8 | 100.0 |
| Total | 21.1 | 29.1 | 40.7 | 9.0 | 100.0 |

Source: provisional, unpublished material from 1951 Population Census.

Table 42

## INTER-PROVINCIAL MIGRATION OF NATIVES:
## GAINS AND LOSSES OF EVERY PROVINCE FROM AND TO EVERY OTHER PROVINCE, 1951

| NATAL | | | | CAPE | | | | TRANSVAAL | | | | ORANGE FREE STATE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gained From | Lost To | Net Gain/ Loss | | Gained From | Lost To | Net Gain/ Loss | | Gained From | Lost To | Net Gain/ Loss | | Gained From | Lost To | Net Gain/ Loss |
| **TOTAL PERSONS** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 51,401 | 6,841 | + 44,560 | Natal | 6,841 | 51,401 | - 44,560 | Natal | 118,869 | 12,034 | +106,835 | Natal | 4,821 | 5,159 | - 338 |
| Transvaal | 12,034 | 118,869 | -106,835 | Transvaal | 12,201 | 204,400 | -192,199 | Cape | 204,400 | 12,201 | +192,199 | Cape | 29,849 | 10,600 | + 19,249 |
| O.F.S. | 5,159 | 4,821 | + 338 | O.F.S. | 10,600 | 29,849 | - 19,249 | O.F.S. | 129,128 | 10,427 | +118,701 | Transvaal | 10,427 | 129,128 | -118,701 |
| Total | 68,594 | 130,531 | - 61,937 | Total | 29,642 | 285,650 | -256,008 | Total | 452,397 | 34,662 | +417,735 | Total | 45,097 | 144,887 | - 99,790 |
| **TOTAL MALES** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 40,624 | 4,420 | + 36,204 | Natal | 4,420 | 40,624 | - 36,204 | Natal | 82,380 | 7,357 | + 75,023 | Natal | 3,281 | 2,858 | + 423 |
| Transvaal | 7,357 | 82,380 | - 75,023 | Transvaal | 7,433 | 157,964 | -150,531 | Cape | 157,964 | 7,433 | +150,531 | Cape | 19,318 | 5,595 | + 13,723 |
| O.F.S. | 2,858 | 3,281 | - 423 | O.F.S. | 5,595 | 19,318 | - 13,723 | O.F.S. | 61,816 | 6,377 | + 55,439 | Transvaal | 6,377 | 61,816 | - 55,439 |
| Total | 50,839 | 90,081 | - 39,242 | Total | 17,448 | 217,906 | -200,458 | Total | 302,160 | 21,167 | +280,993 | Total | 28,976 | 70,269 | - 41,293 |
| **TOTAL FEMALES** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cape | 10,777 | 2,421 | + 8,356 | Natal | 2,421 | 10,777 | - 8,356 | Natal | 36,489 | 4,677 | + 31,812 | Natal | 1,540 | 2,301 | - 761 |
| Transvaal | 4,677 | 36,489 | - 31,812 | Transvaal | 4,768 | 46,436 | - 41,668 | Cape | 46,436 | 4,768 | + 41,668 | Cape | 10,531 | 5,005 | + 5,526 |
| O.F.S. | 2,301 | 1,540 | + 761 | O.F.S. | 5,005 | 10,531 | - 5,526 | O.F.S. | 67,312 | 4,050 | + 63,262 | Transvaal | 4,050 | 67,312 | - 63,262 |
| Total | 17,755 | 40,450 | - 22,695 | Total | 12,194 | 67,744 | - 55,550 | Total | 150,237 | 13,495 | +136,742 | Total | 16,121 | 74,618 | - 58,497 |

Source: provisional, unpublished material from 1951 Population Census.

Further analysis of the birthplaces of non-Union born Natives reveals that both the Union and Natal draw their foreign workers mainly from three neighbouring territories, Basutoland, Portuguese East Africa, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and that the two protectorates, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, are the only other territories to make material contributions:

Table 44 BIRTHPLACES OF NON-UNION BORN NATIVES ENUMERATED IN UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| PLACE OF BIRTH | ENUMERATED IN: | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NATAL | CAPE | TRANSVAAL | O.F.S. | UNION |
| Port. East Africa | 11,240 | 699 | 143,667 | 5,634 | 161,240 |
| Basutoland | 8,156 | 22,397 | 98,176 | 90,346 | 219,075 |
| Rhodesia & Nyas. | 5,138 | 12,245 | 89,717 | 2,815 | 109,915 |
| Swaziland | 4,934 | 335 | 36,413 | 232 | 41,914 |
| Bechuanaland | 510 | 7,681 | 42,336 | 494 | 51,021 |
| Other Territories | 274 | 1,889 | 7,613 | 443 | 10,219 |
| Total | 30,252 | 45,246 | 417,922 | 99,964 | 593,384 |

Source: provisional, unpublished material from 1951 Population Census.

Over 70 per cent of the foreign Natives in Natal came from the northern territories of Portuguese East Africa, the Federation, and Swaziland. The only other source of any importance to Natal was Basutoland, with 27 per cent.

These figures show only one side of the picture, of course, since in order to give a more accurate account of migratory movements it would be necessary to know the number of Natal Natives who were living in non-Union areas at the time of the 1951 census. These figures are unfortunately not procurable, but it is unlikely that emigration from Natal (or from any other province) beyond the Union's borders amounts to much. Yet, even if emigration from Natal to these extra-Union territories is ignored, and the total of some 30,000 foreign Natives enumerated in Natal is taken as a net gain, it is evident that Natal is still a net exporter of Natives due almost entirely to the attraction of the Transvaal.

The net loss of Natives from Natal implied by the above procedure amounts to some 32,000 persons. In the absence of any official immigration figures and reliable vital statistics, and assuming that the migration of Natal Natives to territories beyond the Union's borders is not of considerable proportions, this is the only estimate of Native migration which we can suggest. The net loss of population is certainly not large when it is compared with the total population of Natal, and two factors tend to make the loss in manpower less than the loss in population. The first is that the net loss of females (18,000), who contribute little to the labour force, is more than the net loss of males (14,000), owing to the small numbers of women who enter Natal from other territories. The second is the possibility that a higher proportion of Natal's immigrants than of her emigrants are workers, for, while virtually all the foreign immigrants can be taken to be work-seekers, the same cannot be said of the emigration to other provinces.

The migration from Natal is perhaps smaller than one might expect considering that the density of Natives in Natal is very nearly three times as great as the average of the Union as a whole. While it cannot be denied, therefore, that emigration involves a loss of potential labour supply, the disproportionate concentration of Natives in Natal would lead one to suspect that some at least of the migration to the Transvaal consists of surplus labour.

# Interprovincial Population Movements

[000s]

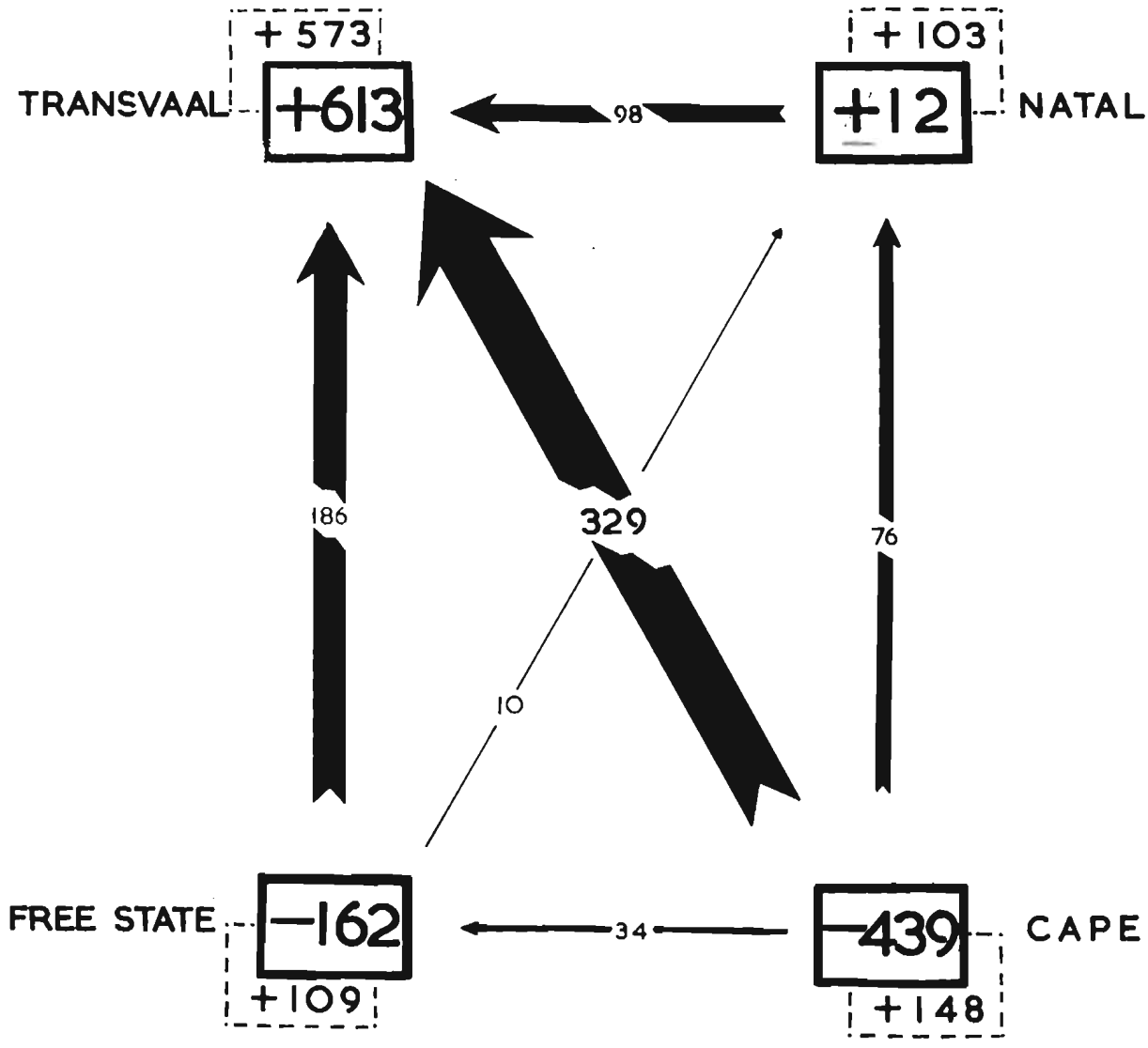


Figure 7.

A further qualifying consideration to be taken into account is that Native migration, to a greater extent than European migration, is of a temporary nature, and does not therefore represent a permanent gain or loss to the Natal labour potential. It is not a simple matter to distinguish permanent from temporary migration, but as long as a migrant worker maintains some family or tribal links with Natal and returns to his home between spells of work he must be regarded as a potential addition to Natal's labour supply.

## § 5 Total Migration Gains and Losses

In Figure 7, the net migratory movements of all four racial groups implied by the 1951 census figures of birthplaces have been consolidated in an attempt to show total inter-provincial population movements in diagrammatic form. The quantities shown within the unbroken squares represent the net gain or loss of persons of all races experienced by each province, while the arrows point to the direction and magnitude of the movements between provinces. The overwhelming importance of the movement from the Cape to the Transvaal is brought out very clearly in this diagram. The figures within the broken squares are the gross gains to each province from overseas migration. (It will be remembered that these figures have to be gross - and therefore all positive - because we know nothing of the movements of population from the various provinces to areas outside the Union. It must also be recalled that the migration movements implied by these figures of birth-places cannot be applied to any precise time period.)

APPENDIX 1 (a) REGISTERED BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND NATURAL INCREASE OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION OF NATAL, 1911-56*

| PERIOD | NUMBERS | | | RATE PER THOUSAND | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Births | Deaths | Natural Increase | Births | Deaths | Natural Increase |
| 1911-15 | 2,793 | 1,024 | 1,769 | 26.2 | 9.6 | 16.6 |
| 1916-20 | 2,924 | 1,367 | 1,557 | 23.4 | 10.9 | 12.5 |
| 1921-25 | 3,362 | 1,450 | 1,912 | 22.9 | 9.9 | 13.0 |
| 1926-30 | 3,566 | 1,527 | 2,039 | 21.4 | 9.2 | 12.2 |
| 1931-35 | 3,421 | 1,750 | 1,671 | 18.7 | 9.6 | 9.1 |
| 1936-40 | 3,918 | 1,958 | 1,960 | 19.3 | 9.7 | 9.6 |
| 1941-45 | 4,704 | 2,254 | 2,450 | 20.8 | 10.0 | 10.8 |
| 1946-50 | 5,744 | 2,480 | 3,264 | 22.7 | 9.8 | 12.9 |
| 1951-55 | 6,372 | 2,615 | 3,757 | 22.0 | 9.0 | 13.0 |
| 1956 | 6,868 | 3,007 | 3,861 | 22.1 | 9.7 | 12.4 |

Source: Union Year Books.

* Annual averages: figures for 1956 provisional.

APPENDIX 1 (b) REGISTERED BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND NATURAL INCREASE OF THE INDIAN POPULATION OF NATAL, 1938-56

| YEAR | NUMBERS | | | RATE PER THOUSAND | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Births | Deaths | Natural Increase | Births | Deaths | Natural Increase |
| 1938 | 7,003 | 2,585 | 4,418 | 36.0 | 13.3 | 22.7 |
| 1939 | 7,580 | 2,781 | 4,799 | 38.1 | 14.0 | 24.1 |
| 1940 | 7,644 | 2,817 | 4,827 | 37.5 | 13.8 | 23.7 |
| 1941 | 7,886 | 2,947 | 4,939 | 37.8 | 14.1 | 23.7 |
| 1942 | 8,370 | 3,078 | 5,292 | 39.2 | 14.4 | 24.8 |
| 1943 | 8,875 | 3,901 | 4,974 | 40.6 | 17.8 | 22.8 |
| 1944 | 9,132 | 3,720 | 5,412 | 40.9 | 16.6 | 24.3 |
| 1945 | 9,008 | 3,413 | 5,595 | 39.4 | 14.9 | 24.5 |
| 1946 | 8,630 | 3,164 | 5,466 | 37.0 | 13.6 | 23.4 |
| 1947 | 9,780 | 3,148 | 6,632 | 39.9 | 12.8 | 27.1 |
| 1948 | 10,109 | 3,490 | 6,619 | 39.0 | 13.5 | 25.5 |
| 1949 | 9,905 | 2,935 | 6,970 | 36.0 | 10.7 | 25.3 |
| 1950 | 10,855 | 3,408 | 7,447 | 37.7 | 11.8 | 25.9 |
| 1951 | 10,461 | 2,937 | 7,524 | 34.8 | 9.8 | 25.0 |
| 1952 | 10,671 | 2,910 | 7,761 | 34.5 | 9.4 | 25.1 |
| 1953 | 10,837 | 3,000 | 7,837 | 34.0 | 9.4 | 24.6 |
| 1954 | 11,062 | 2,848 | 8,214 | 33.8 | 8.7 | 25.1 |
| 1955 | 11,649 | 3,046 | 8,603 | 34.8 | 9.1 | 25.7 |
| 1956* | 10,740 | 3,056 | 7,684 | 31.2 | 8.9 | 22.3 |

Source: Union Year Books.
* Figures for 1956 provisional.

APPENDIX 1 (c) REGISTERED BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND NATURAL INCREASE OF THE COLOURED POPULATION OF NATAL, 1937-56

| YEAR | NUMBERS | | | RATE PER THOUSAND | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Births | Deaths | Natural Increase | Births | Deaths | Natural Increase |
| 1937 | 693 | 296 | 397 | 35.9 | 15.3 | 20.6 |
| 1938 | 732 | 325 | 407 | 36.6 | 16.3 | 20.3 |
| 1939 | 784 | 353 | 431 | 38.0 | 17.1 | 20.9 |
| 1940 | 785 | 357 | 428 | 37.0 | 16.8 | 20.2 |
| 1941 | 862 | 320 | 542 | 39.3 | 14.6 | 24.7 |
| 1942 | 810 | 388 | 422 | 36.0 | 17.2 | 18.8 |
| 1943 | 887 | 502 | 385 | 38.4 | 21.7 | 16.7 |
| 1944 | 934 | 417 | 517 | 39.2 | 17.5 | 21.7 |
| 1945 | 1,012 | 418 | 594 | 41.4 | 17.1 | 24.3 |
| 1946 | 1,033 | 381 | 652 | 41.3 | 15.2 | 26.1 |
| 1947 | 1,087 | 393 | 694 | 41.8 | 15.1 | 26.7 |
| 1948 | 1,157 | 450 | 707 | 41.3 | 16.1 | 25.2 |
| 1949 | 1,227 | 372 | 855 | 42.3 | 12.8 | 29.5 |
| 1950 | 1,180 | 416 | 764 | 39.3 | 13.9 | 25.4 |
| 1951 | 1,361 | 416 | 945 | 42.5 | 13.0 | 31.5 |
| 1952 | 1,444 | 414 | 1,030 | 43.7 | 12.5 | 31.2 |
| 1953 | 1,356 | 385 | 971 | 39.9 | 11.3 | 28.6 |
| 1954 | 1,377 | 369 | 1,008 | 38.3 | 10.3 | 28.0 |
| 1955 | 1,152 | 376 | 776 | 31.2 | 10.2 | 21.0 |
| 1956* | 1,394 | 374 | 1,020 | 35.8 | 9.6 | 26.2 |

Source: Union Year Books.
* Figures for 1956 provisional.

## APPENDIX 2 FURTHER COMMENTS ON EUROPEAN MIGRATION

Despite the importance of overseas immigration to Natal in the past growth of her population, it may be questioned whether the present modest rate of immigration into South Africa warrants further consideration. But the uncertainty of international migration has already been mentioned, and new developments in the political and economic conditions in both the Union and other countries may again induce immigration on a sizable scale. Moreover, in certain respects, the indirect effects of even a small rate of immigration over a length of time may be out of all proportion to the absolute size of the net gain. Brief consideration of the indirect effects of post-war migration upon labour potential may, therefore, be of some relevance to the present discussion.

Ages. Reference was made in Chapter One to the fact that ages of migrants are heavily weighted in favour of the younger working-age groups, and that this characteristic of both immigrants and emigrants magnifies the effect which net immigration (or emigration) has upon labour potential. The most recent figures of the ages of migrants permanently entering and leaving the Union are for the calendar year 1952, but the concentration of migrants in the young adult age groups displayed in that year may be taken as fairly typical of the general pattern of migration.[1]

Table 45 AGES OF MIGRANTS, 1952 AND OF UNION EUROPEAN POPULATION, 1951

| AGES | RESIDENT POPULATION | | IMMIGRANTS | | EMIGRANTS | | TOTAL MIGRANTS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 0-14 | 838,088 | 32 | 4,506 | 24 | 2,566 | 26 | 7,072 | 25 |
| 15-44 | 1,188,060 | 45 | 11,230 | 61 | 5,733 | 59 | 16,963 | 60 |
| 45 + | 614,861 | 23 | 2,737 | 15 | 1,474 | 15 | 4,211 | 15 |
| Total | 2,641,689 | 100 | 18,473 | 100 | 9,773 | 100 | 28,246 | 100 |

Source: Union Year Book No. 27, 1952-3; Volume V, 1951 Population Census.

There is a marked concentration of persons in the young adult age group (15-44 years) among all migrants and, if these figures are compared with the age distribution of the total resident population of the Union, it will be seen that the proportion of migrants aged 15-44 years is a third higher than the proportion of the total South African population falling within this age bracket, and that this weighting in favour of the younger adults is at the expense of all other age groups.

While the effects of net immigration on ages implied by the concentration of young adults are highly favourable to the present and immediate future working potential of the nation, the relative scarcity of children threatens an aging process among non-Union born residents. It is possible that these young adults, being of reproductive age, can be sufficiently fertile to offset their own aging, and so prevent a rise in the median age.

---

1 The percentage age distribution of all European migrants entering or leaving the Union between 1925 and 1948 was:

| | |
|---|---|
| 0-14 years | 20% |
| 15-44 years | 64% |
| 45 or more years | 16% |

But whatever the effect on the median age, the number of children immigrating is relatively small, and certainly too few to replace their parents in the labour market, while, however high the fertility of the adult immigrants, the children they bear in the Union cannot enter the labour market for fifteen years or more.

The effects of migration on age are, of course, proportional to the rate of immigration experienced, but even in South Africa the effects of past immigration on the present age structure of the resident population are not inconsiderable, as the following table reveals:

Table 46 AGE STRUCTURE OF UNION- AND FOREIGN-BORN EUROPEANS: UNION, 1951

| AGES | UNION-BORN RESIDENTS | | FOREIGN-BORN RESIDENTS | | TOTAL RESIDENTS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 0-14 | 812,173 | 34.7 | 25,915 | 8.7 | 838,088 | 31.7 |
| 15-44 | 1,068,206 | 45.6 | 119,736 | 40.1 | 1,187,942 | 45.0 |
| 45 64 | 349,982 | 14.9 | 94,037 | 31.5 | 444,019 | 16.8 |
| 65 + | 112,551 | 4.8 | 58,409 | 19.6 | 170,960 | 6.5 |
| Total* | 2,343,431 | 100.0 | 298,258 | 100.0 | 2,641,689 | 100.0 |

Source: Volume IV, 1951 Population Census.
* including persons of unspecified ages.

The proportion of potential workers (persons aged 15-64) was considerably higher among foreign-born residents (72%) than among Union-born residents (60%). But 44 per cent of the "foreign" potential workers were in the older 45-64 year age group, compared with only 25 per cent of the "Union" potential workers.

The effect of immigration on the age structure of the Natal European population is even more pronounced, as the greater part played by migration in Natal might lead one to suspect:

Table 47 AGE STRUCTURE OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION OF NATAL, ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH, 1951

| AGES | RESIDENT NATAL POPULATION I | | TOTAL NATAL-BORN PERSONS IN UNION II | | REMAINDER III (I-II) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 0-14 | 76,123 | 27.8 | 65,409 | 38.6 | 10,714 | 10.2 |
| 15-44 | 122,603 | 44.7 | 73,494 | 43.3 | 49,109 | 46.9 |
| 45-64 | 52,491 | 19.1 | 23,837 | 14.1 | 28,654 | 27.4 |
| 65 + | 22,961 | 8.4 | 6,788 | 4.0 | 16,173 | 15.4 |
| Total | 274,240 | 100.0 | 169,552 | 100.0 | 104,688 | 100.0 |

Source: Volume IV, 1951 Population Census.

Column I is the de facto population of Natal, as enumerated at the 1951 census. Column II gives the ages of all persons (in the whole of the Union) who had been born in Natal. Column III, which is the difference between columns I and II, therefore represents the age structure of the net gain from immigration, although it does not take into account overseas emigration from Natal (i.e. it is equal to the total number of persons born in other provinces or other non-Union territories living in Natal minus the number of Natal-born persons living in other provinces).

The most significant feature of this table is the fact that it is the presence of non-Natal born persons that raises the age structure of the resident population above that of the Union's, and that the age structure of all persons born in Natal is comparatively low, in relation both to the total Union population and to the total number of persons born in the Union. In fact, although the median age of the Natal residents in 1951 was 30.0 years, as compared to the Union residents' 26.6 years, the median age of Natal-born persons was only 21.5 years, as compared to 24.8 years for all Union-born persons.

Mortality. Although there are no separate life tables published for the provinces of the Union, it is reasonable to suppose that the higher crude death rate for Europeans in Natal (than in the rest of the Union[1]) is attributable to the fact that the Natal population is older than the Union population rather than to higher specific death rates in Natal. If this is so, then it can be argued that the higher Natal death rate is due to the higher rate of immigration into Natal, since it is this immigration that has caused the Natal population to be older than the Union population.

Fertility. The fertility of Europeans has for a long time been considerably lower in Natal than in the other provinces. This differential may be explained by the special demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the Natal population, such as the high degree of urbanization and industrialization, the widespread employment of women (28 per cent of all women over the age of 15 as compared with 24 per cent of all South African women), and the relatively higher concentration of persons of Anglo-Saxon origin. It is a well known fact that immigrants can affect the fertility of the resident community and vice versa, and, in the case of the Natal population, the impact of the immigrant community must have been considerable, both because of their numerical importance and through the spread of new ways of thinking on such matters as female employment and birth control.

It is not possible to calculate from available figures the fertility of persons who have moved to Natal from overseas or from other provinces. What indications do exist suggest that there may be no material difference between the fertility of Natal-born and non-Natal born residents, but the subject seems to provide an interesting avenue of research.

The Direction of Migration Movements. The nationality of immigrants and the destination of persons leaving the Union are only of indirect interest to this survey - for example, knowledge of an official language increases the potential quality of a worker; immigrants from different countries tend to have different fertility, health, skills, habits, and so forth. But the changes in the direction of migration in the decade following the Second World War are sufficiently interesting to merit a short consideration.

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1 In 1955 the crude death rate for Europeans in Natal was 9.0 per 1,000, as compared with 8.6 in the Cape, 7.5 in the Transvaal, and 8.1 in the Free State.

Table 48 COUNTRY OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNION, 1947-56

| YEAR | UNITED KINGDOM | RHODESIAS & NYASALAND | GERMANY | HOLLAND | ITALY | REST OF WORLD | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1947 | 20,604 | 1,378 | 28 | 1,006 | 921 | 4,902 | 28,839 |
| 1948 | 25,513 | 1,437 | 12 | 2,753 | 1,698 | 4,218 | 35,631 |
| 1949 | 9,655 | 504 | 14 | 1,320 | 691 | 2,596 | 14,780 |
| 1950 | 5,097 | 558 | 1,861 | 2,216 | 664 | 2,407 | 12,803 |
| 1951 | 5,901 | 464 | 2,319 | 2,572 | 1,164 | 2,823 | 15,243 |
| 1952 | 6,941 | 522 | 2,361 | 4,477 | 928 | 3,244 | 18,473 |
| 1953 | 5,416 | 1,082 | 2,824 | 3,486 | 853 | 2,596 | 16,257 |
| 1954 | 4,629 | 2,057 | 2,113 | 3,295 | 1,294 | 3,028 | 16,416 |
| 1955 | 4,444 | 1,835 | 1,877 | 2,906 | 1,543 | 3,594 | 16,199 |
| 1956 | 4,476 | 1,522 | 1,598 | 1,815 | 1,722 | 3,784 | 14,917 |
| 1947-56 | 92,676 | 11,359 | 15,007 | 25,846 | 11,478 | 33,192 | 189,558 |
| | | | PERCENTAGES | | | | |
| 1947 | 71.4 | 4.8 | 0.1 | 3.5 | 3.2 | 17.0 | 100.0 |
| 1948 | 71.7 | 4.0 | 0.0 | 7.7 | 4.8 | 11.8 | 100.0 |
| 1949 | 65.3 | 3.4 | 0.1 | 8.9 | 4.7 | 17.6 | 100.0 |
| 1950 | 39.8 | 4.4 | 14.5 | 17.3 | 5.2 | 18.8 | 100.0 |
| 1951 | 38.7 | 3.0 | 15.2 | 16.9 | 7.6 | 18.5 | 100.0 |
| 1952 | 37.6 | 2.8 | 12.8 | 24.2 | 5.0 | 17.6 | 100.0 |
| 1953 | 33.3 | 6.7 | 17.4 | 21.4 | 5.2 | 16.0 | 100.0 |
| 1954 | 28.2 | 12.5 | 12.9 | 20.1 | 7.9 | 18.4 | 100.0 |
| 1955 | 27.4 | 11.3 | 11.6 | 17.9 | 9.5 | 22.2 | 100.0 |
| 1956 | 30.0 | 10.2 | 10.7 | 12.2 | 11.5 | 25.4 | 100.0 |
| 1947-56 | 48.9 | 6.0 | 7.9 | 13.6 | 6.1 | 17.5 | 100.0 |

Source: Monthly Bulletins of Statistics.

Particularly noticeable has been the continuous fall in the relative importance of the United Kingdom as a contributor of immigrants (see Table 48). Although the United Kingdom contributed the same proportion of immigrants in the whole of this ten-year period as during the period 1925-46 (49 per cent), the proportion within the period dropped from 71 per cent in 1947 to only 30 per cent in 1956. At the same time, there was a roughly compensating increase in the proportion of persons emigrating to South Africa from the Rhodesias and from non-British European countries, notably Germany, Holland and Italy. The turning point in the direction of immigration took place in 1950, when Germany and Holland became major contributors.

Since published figures first became available in 1925, the Rhodesias have always been the chief destination of emigrants leaving South Africa, taking, between 1925 and 1946, some 45 per cent of the total. A brief glance at Table 49 will show that in the last decade the importance of the Rhodesias has increased even further.

Table 49 COUNTRY OF INTENDED RESIDENCE OF EUROPEANS EMIGRATING FROM THE UNION, 1947-56

| YEAR | UNITED KINGDOM | | RHODESIAS & NYASALAND | | REST OF WORLD | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 1947 | 1,393 | 17.6 | 5,546 | 70.0 | 978 | 12.4 | 7,917 | 100.0 |
| 1948 | 739 | 9.8 | 6,080 | 80.7 | 715 | 9.5 | 7,534 | 100.0 |
| 1949 | 1,057 | 11.5 | 7,154 | 77.7 | 995 | 10.8 | 9,206 | 100.0 |
| 1950 | 1,906 | 13.0 | 11,221 | 76.6 | 1,517 | 10.4 | 14,644 | 100.0 |
| 1951 | 1,259 | 8.2 | 12,917 | 84.0 | 1,205 | 7.8 | 15,381 | 100.0 |
| 1952 | 1,033 | 10.6 | 7,616 | 77.9 | 1,126 | 11.5 | 9,775 | 100.0 |
| 1953 | 1,617 | 15.8 | 7,032 | 68.8 | 1,571 | 15.4 | 10,220 | 100.0 |
| 1954 | 1,715 | 15.1 | 8,060 | 71.1 | 1,561 | 13.8 | 11,336 | 100.0 |
| 1955 | 1,763 | 14.1 | 9,119 | 72.8 | 1,633 | 13.1 | 12,515 | 100.0 |
| 1956 | 1,515 | 11.8 | 9,495 | 73.7 | 1,869 | 14.5 | 12,879 | 100.0 |
| 1947-56 | 13,997 | 12.6 | 84,240 | 75.6 | 13,170 | 11.8 | 11,407 | 100.0 |

Source: Monthly Bulletins of Statistics.

Since 1947, three out of every four emigrants leaving the Union have given it as their intention to take up permanent residence in the Federation, and emigrants to this territory outnumber emigrants to the United Kingdom by six to one. That the net loss through emigration to the Federation has offset the net gain from countries other than the United Kingdom over this period is seen from the following table, which speaks for itself.

Table 50 NET GAINS AND LOSSES FROM EUROPEAN MIGRATION, UNION, 1947-56

| COUNTRY | IMMIGRATION FROM | EMIGRATION TO | NET GAIN/ LOSS |
|---|---|---|---|
| United Kingdom | 92,546 | 13,996 | +78,550 |
| Rhodesia & Nyas. | 11,354 | 84,230 | -72,876 |
| Rest of World | 85,474 | 13,188 | +72,286 |
| Total | 189,374 | 111,414 | +77,960 |

Source: calculated from Monthly Bulletins of Statistics.

Perhaps surprisingly, most of the emigrants are South Africans and, over 70 per cent of those emigrating between 1950 and 1954 had been born in the Union, as against 19 per cent in the United Kingdom and 10 per cent elsewhere. The United Kingdom contingent amounted to some 11,600 persons, while the immigration from the United Kingdom during the same period was almost 28,000 persons. This constituted a much greater "wastage" of immigration than in the case, say, of Hollanders, of whom over 16,000 entered the Union from 1950 to 1954, while only 534 left.

Occupations. As might be expected from the high proportion of migrants who are of working age, a relatively large proportion of them are reported as following a definite occupation upon entering the Union. Between 1947 and 1954, when some 158,000 immigrants arrived in this country, over 75,000 (47.5 per cent) declared an occupation while the proportion of the South African resident population gainfully occupied was only 37.5 per cent in 1946 and 37.2 per cent in 1951.[1] In the most recent year for which figures of the occupations of both immigrants and emigrants are available (1954) a somewhat higher proportion of immigrants than emigrants declared an occupation; over half of the "net gain" of immigrants falling into this category.

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1 For census purposes, only those aged fifteen or over are classified according to occupation. The number of gainfully occupied persons under fifteen is so small, however, that this omission is not serious.

The declared occupations of immigrants over a period of eight years are recorded in Table 51:

Table 51 OCCUPATIONS OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS ENTERING THE UNION, 1947-54

| OCCUPATION | IMMIGRANTS 1947-54 | | S.A. POPULATION 1946 CENSUS* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % |
| Agriculture | 3,244 | 4.3 | 167,198 | 18.8 |
| Mining | 1,603 | 2.1 | 28,958 | 3.3 |
| Manufacturing | 24,939 | 33.1 | 198,219 | 22.3 |
| Transport & Communications | 1,545 | 2.1 | 85,376 | 9.6 |
| Commerce & Finance | 16,855 | 22.4 | 208,802 | 23.5 |
| Professional | 15,950 | 21.2 | 129,080 | 14.5 |
| Others | 11,114 | 14.8 | 71,215 | 8.0 |
| Total gainfully occupied | 75,250 | 100.0 | 888,848 | 100.0 |
| Not gainfully occupied | 83,192 | | 1,483,842 | |
| Total | 158,442 | | 2,372,690 | |

Sources: Union Year Books; Volume V, 1946 Population Census, "Occupation and Industries".

* The classification of occupations used in the 1951 census as well as in migration figures after 1954 are not comparable with the earlier classification.

Over three-quarters of the immigrants were reported as being in manufacturing, commercial, financial, and professional occupations as compared with three-fifths of the resident European population. Unfortunately, the occupations of emigrants are not available over a continuous period, but the information is given in Table 52 for the years for which figures are available, namely, 1947, 1948, and 1954. For the sake of comparison, similar details are given in respect of immigrants for these years.

Table 52 OCCUPATIONS OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS: UNION 1947, 1948, AND 1954

| OCCUPATION | IMMIGRANTS | | EMIGRANTS | | NET GAIN/LOSS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Agriculture | 1,692 | 4.2 | 700 | 5.8 | 992 | 3.5 |
| Mining | 654 | 1.6 | 703 | 5.8 | - 49 | -0.2 |
| Manufacturing | 13,592 | 33.7 | 3,558 | 29.2 | 10,034 | 35.7 |
| Trans.& Comms. | 891 | 2.2 | 553 | 4.5 | 338 | 1.2 |
| Commerce & Finance | 9,687 | 24.0 | 3,357 | 27.6 | 6,330 | 22.5 |
| Professional | 8,019 | 19.9 | 2,346 | 19.3 | 5,673 | 20.5 |
| Others | 5,765 | 14.3 | 953 | 7.3 | 4,812 | 17.1 |
| Total gainf.occup. | 40,300 | 100.0 | 12,170 | 100.0 | 28,130 | 100.0 |
| Not gainf.occup. | 40,586 | | 14,617 | | 25,969 | |
| Total | 80,886 | | 26,787 | | 54,099 | |

Source: Union Year Books.

The two years 1947 and 1948 were, of course, years of abnormally high migration, so that the absolute gains shown above are by no means typical. But the immigration gains according to occupation seem to fall into a general pattern with manufacturing, commerce and finance, and the professions gaining most in relation to size, and agriculture, mining, and transport and communications benefiting least from migration.

An indirect effect of this occupational pattern was to maintain rather than to diminish the language division in the occupational distribution of the Union's population. The three occupational groups, manufacturing, commerce and finance, and professional, which embraced 78.7 per cent of the English-speaking gainfully occupied population at the time of the 1946 census, also absorbed 78.3 per cent of the net gain of immigrants in the years 1947, 1948 and 1954, and 76.7 per cent of all immigrants between 1947 and 1954.

APPENDIX 3 NATURAL INCREASE AND MIGRATION OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION, UNION AND PROVINCES, BY SEX, 1911-51.

| | MALES | | | | | FEMALES | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Natal | Cape | Transvaal | O.F.S. | Union | Natal | Cape | Transvaal | O.F.S. | Union |
| NUMBER AT 1911 CENSUS | 52,496 | 301,305 | 236,917 | 94,488 | 685,206 | 45,619 | 281,140 | 183,653 | 80,701 | 591,113 |
| Nat. increase,1911-21 | 7,515 | 52,637 | 48,030 | 16,305 | 124,487 | 9,114 | 53,891 | 54,061 | 16,066 | 133,132 |
| Net migration,1911-21 | 10,495 | -24,575 | 238 | -12,845 | -26,687 | 11,648 | -13,763 | 22,074 | - 5,867 | 14,092 |
| NUMBER AT 1921 CENSUS | 70,506 | 329,367 | 285,185 | 97,948 | 783,006 | 66,381 | 321,268 | 259,788 | 90,900 | 738,337 |
| Nat. increase,1921-26 | 4,342 | 28,890 | 24,947 | 8,420 | 66,599 | 5,219 | 29,067 | 27,742 | 8,525 | 70,553 |
| Net migration,1921-26 | 6,322 | - 674 | 3,641 | - 1,976 | 7,313 | 6,146 | - 1,781 | 7,319 | - 832 | 10,852 |
| NUMBER AT 1926 CENSUS | 81,170 | 357,583 | 313,773 | 104,392 | 856,918 | 77,746 | 348,554 | 294,849 | 98,593 | 819,742 |
| Nat. increase,1926-31 | 4,821 | 27,817 | 26,876 | 9,076 | 68,590 | 5,374 | 29,388 | 29,670 | 9,200 | 73,632 |
| Net migration,1926-31 | 4,262 | - 7,821 | 16,855 | - 8,730 | 4,566 | 4,076 | - 7,043 | 14,097 | - 7,156 | 3,974 |
| NUMBER AT 1931 CENSUS | 90,253 | 377,579 | 357,504 | 104,738 | 930,074 | 87,196 | 370,899 | 338,616 | 100,637 | 897,348 |
| Nat. increase,1931-36 | 3,612 | 25,994 | 27,579 | 7,366 | 64,551 | 4,743 | 27,550 | 31,232 | 7,885 | 71,410 |
| Net migration,1931-36 | 1,292 | - 7,515 | 39,387 | -10,232 | 22,932 | 3,453 | - 3,456 | 26,438 | - 9,416 | 17,019 |
| NUMBER AT 1936 CENSUS | 95,157 | 396,058 | 424,470 | 101,872 | 1,017,557 | 95,392 | 394,993 | 396,286 | 99,106 | 985,777 |
| Nat. increase,1936-41 | 4,219 | 26,395 | 38,218 | 7,290 | 76,122 | 5,524 | 27,624 | 42,661 | 7,857 | 83,666 |
| Net migration,1936-41 | 8,907 | - 9,852 | 25,039 | - 9,017 | 15,077 | 8,940 | -10,337 | 23,161 | - 8,571 | 13,193 |
| NUMBER AT 1941 CENSUS | 108,283 | 412,601 | 487,727 | 100,145 | 1,108,756 | 109,856 | 412,280 | 462,108 | 98,392 | 1,082,636 |
| Nat. increase,1941-46 | 5,381 | 27,919 | 47,779 | 7,268 | 88,347 | 6,871 | 29,742 | 51,214 | 7,645 | 95,472 |
| Net migration,1941-46 | 3,761 | - 6,671 | 5,547 | - 5,539 | - 2,902 | 2,545 | - 5,722 | 8,746 | - 5,834 | - 265 |
| NUMBER AT 1946 CENSUS | 117,425 | 433,849 | 541,053 | 101,874 | 1,194,201 | 119,272 | 436,300 | 522,068 | 100,203 | 1,177,843 |
| Nat. increase,1946-51 | 7,742 | 32,857 | 57,112 | 8,292 | 106,003 | 8,677 | 34,383 | 61,384 | 9,000 | 113,444 |
| Net migration,1946-51 | 11,133 | - 2,789 | 8,735 | 5,471 | 22,550 | 9,991 | 485 | 14,360 | 2,812 | 27,648 |
| NUMBER AT 1951 CENSUS | 136,300 | 463,917 | 606,900 | 115,637 | 1,322,754 | 137,940 | 471,168 | 597,812 | 112,015 | 1,318,935 |
| TOTAL INCREASE,1911-51 | 83,804 | 162,612 | 369,983 | 21,149 | 637,548 | 92,321 | 190,028 | 414,159 | 31,314 | 727,822 |
| Nat. increase, 1911-51 | 37,632 | 222,509 | 270,541 | 64,017 | 594,699 | 45,522 | 231,645 | 297,964 | 66,178 | 641,309 |
| Net migration, 1911-51 | 46,172 | -59,897 | 99,442 | -42,868 | 42,849 | -46,799 | -41,617 | 116,195 | -34,864 | 86,513 |
| NET MIGRATION X 100 / TOTAL INCREASE | 55.1 | -36.8 | 26.9 | -202.7 | 6.7 | 50.7 | -21.9 | 28.1 | -111.3 | 11.9 |

Sources: Union population census figures; Union Year Books.

APPENDIX 4 BIRTHPLACES OF THE EUROPEAN POPULATION, UNION AND PROVINCES, BY SEX, 1951.

| PLACE OF BIRTH | ENUMERATED IN: NATAL | | CAPE | | TRANSVAAL | | O.F.S. | | UNION | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| | | | | | MALES | | | | | |
| Natal | 63,348 | 46.5 | 4,797 | 1.0 | 13,807 | 2.3 | 2,217 | 1.9 | 84,169 | 6.4 |
| Cape | 18,880 | 13.9 | 377,362 | 81.4 | 84,377 | 13.9 | 19,432 | 16.8 | 500,051 | 37.8 |
| Transvaal | 18,246 | 13.4 | 22,105 | 4.8 | 387,925 | 63.9 | 12,427 | 10.7 | 440,703 | 33.3 |
| Free State | 6,761 | 5.0 | 10,811 | 2.3 | 44,305 | 7.3 | 76,382 | 66.1 | 138,259 | 10.5 |
| S.Africa (sic.) | 480 | 0.4 | 1,023 | 0.2 | 2,868 | 0.5 | 323 | 0.3 | 4,694 | 0.4 |
| TOTAL UNION | 107,715 | 79.0 | 416,098 | 89.7 | 533,282 | 87.9 | 110,781 | 95.8 | 1,167,876 | 88.3 |
| Rest of World | 28,585 | 21.0 | 47,819 | 10.3 | 73,618 | 12.1 | 4,856 | 4.2 | 154,878 | 11.7 |
| TOTAL | 136,300 | 100.0 | 463,917 | 100.0 | 606,900 | 100.0 | 115,637 | 100.0 | 1,322,754 | 100.0 |
| | | | | | FEMALES | | | | | |
| Natal | 64,200 | 46.5 | 5,156 | 1.1 | 14,155 | 2.4 | 1,872 | 1.7 | 85,383 | 6.5 |
| Cape | 19,225 | 13.9 | 386,240 | 82.0 | 84,296 | 14.1 | 18,459 | 16.5 | 508,220 | 38.5 |
| Transvaal | 19,173 | 13.9 | 22,236 | 4.7 | 385,004 | 64.4 | 12,065 | 10.8 | 438,478 | 33.2 |
| Free State | 7,013 | 5.1 | 11,450 | 2.4 | 44,692 | 7.5 | 75,443 | 67.4 | 138,598 | 10.5 |
| S.Africa (sic.) | 431 | 0.3 | 1,192 | 0.3 | 2,945 | 0.5 | 308 | 0.3 | 4,876 | 0.4 |
| TOTAL UNION | 110,042 | 79.8 | 426,274 | 90.5 | 531,092 | 88.8 | 108,147 | 96.5 | 1,175,555 | 89.1 |
| Rest of World | 27,898 | 20.2 | 44,894 | 9.5 | 66,720 | 11.2 | 3,868 | 3.5 | 143,380 | 10.9 |
| TOTAL | 137,940 | 100.0 | 471,168 | 100.0 | 597,812 | 100.0 | 112,015 | 100.0 | 1,318,935 | 100.0 |

Source: Volume IV, 1951 Population Census.

## APPENDIX 5 POSSIBILITIES FOR THE FUTURE GROWTH OF THE POPULATION OF NATAL

A detailed projection of the future population growth of Natal will not be attempted in this report, which is submitted as an economic rather than a demographic survey. Although it has been necessary to venture into the demographer's field from time to time to cover satisfactorily the terms of reference, the writer cannot competently undertake to do more than skirt the highly specialised field of population projection.

No one, of course, can precisely predict what the future rate and pattern of population growth will be. The best that can be attempted is a projection of the present population structure to some agreed future date upon a number of assumptions as to changes in mortality and fertility. These assumptions will deviate from reality according to how accurately the projector interprets the past, how well informed he is of the present, and how good are his guesses as to the future. Moreover, his projections into the future will err in proportion both to the accuracy of his sources of information and his powers of interpretation and deduction, and to the period of time over which the projection is made. This means that the less confident one is of the feasibility of one's projections, the shorter the period over which one feels able to project with any confidence at all.

This task of population projecting - which is already far from easy - is made considerably more difficult in Natal by three additional factors. First, the four Natal populations, with the possible exception of the Native population, are too small to permit a successful application of the normal tools of projection. Second, much of the information needed for projecting the Non-European populations is not available or not reliable or out of date. Third, although the Europeans are generally covered by more accurate and up-to-date statistics, this advantage is more than offset for projection purposes by the greater role played by migration in the past growth of the Natal European population, since assumptions regarding future migratory movements are the hardest either to make or to justify.

The end result of these difficulties is that the layman who is set the task of projecting population faces a choice between four lines of action. First, he may take into account all factors he is able to appreciate and by a combination of more or less intelligent assumptions and personal judgement offer a single projection as the most likely (in his opinion) course of future population growth. This is perhaps the most dangerous method for the layman, for it may give the reader a spurious impression of "scientific" prediction and bring considerable and justified criticism from the professional demographer. Second, he may make a number of projections on a number of alternative sets of assumptions. This course of action is less objectionable than the first, but achieves no more precision, and only serves to confuse the reader, especially when no guidance can be given as to which of the alternative projections is likely to be nearest the true course of events. Third, he may select two sets of assumptions to serve as limits to the probable expansion of the population. This is a course of action which the layman can adopt with more justification and which may prove very useful where the range of possibility is small. If the range in possible future growth is great, however, and if the projector is to have any confidence that the actual population will fall within his limits, the difference between the "highest" and "lowest" projections must be so great as to make the projections of

little practical value to the planner.[1]

The fourth, and for the laymen, the best course of action is to refer to an authority who, it may be claimed, is more competent to deal with the problems of population forecasting than the economist. Once again the Natal researcher is disappointed, however, since, although there are a number of projections of the Union populations,[2] very little provincial estimation has been done. Nor are the Union projections of much relevance to Natal, since the assumptions made in regard to the mortality, fertility, and migration of the Union ethnic groups cannot be extended mutatis mutandis to the Natal population.

The procedure adopted below is to base the projections of the future growth of the populations of Natal on the only official figures of provincial populations available: namely, the enumerations of the Union population censuses and the annual mid-year estimates of population published by the Bureau of Census and Statistics. In Figure 1 the mid-year estimates of populations for the years 1911-58 are plotted on a semi-logarithmic (ratio scale) graph. From the plotted estimates for Europeans and Natives it is apparent that, in both cases, a straight line can be best taken to express the trend of past growth from, say, 1935 to 1958. One can also feel fairly confident about extending the same straight line trend curve as far as 1966.[3]

With the Indians and Coloureds, however, a straight line proves less satisfactory as an expression of past and possible future growth, particularly as regards its rate of increase. The chief reason for this is that the Bureau's estimates are largely centred around the periodic censuses and that, as previously mentioned, the 1946 census, which comes about in the middle of the period 1935-58, probably under-counted the Indians and Coloureds in Natal. A glance at the two curves reveals that over the whole period the points fall into a

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1 For example, the writer attempted to project the population of Natal according to a set of "high" assumptions and a set of "low" assumptions. Although it was not claimed that these were necessarily the maxima and minima, the range in possible growth resulted in the following population limits by the year 2000 (in thousands):

| | Europeans | Natives | Indians | Coloureds | All Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| High | 900 | 5,108 | 1,478 | 175 | 7,661 |
| Low | 498 | 2,981 | 740 | 78 | 4,297 |

2 The latest projections of the Union population are those of Dr. L.J. Badenhorst contained in the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Protection of Industries (see Appendix 4, U.G. 36/1958). These projections, being based on the 1951 census, are far more acceptable than earlier estimates based only on the 1946 census. On the assumption that the Natal population of each racial group would grow at the same rate as the Union populations of Badenhorst's projections, the population of Natal will grow as follows (in thousands):

| Year | Europeans | Natives | Indians | Coloureds | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1961 | 321 | 2,069 | 395 | 41 | 2,826 |
| 1981 | 413 | 3,101 | 698 | 71 | 4,283 |
| 2001 | 499 | 4,829 | 1,063 | 109 | 6,500 |

3 The years 1961 and 1966 will be used for the projections of population to retain the progression of census-years.

number of straight lines of differing slope and that the changes in the slope (or rate of increase) of the trend curves occur at the times of population censuses. This seems to point to a reluctance on the part of the Bureau officially to admit any inaccuracy (under-enumeration) in the censuses, although a higher value for some of the census years would permit a much more rational (smoother) curve to be drawn.

For example, when the Bureau's estimates were found to be too low by the 1951 census, only the estimates of population for the years between 1946 and 1951 were subsequently inflated. This means that all the unexplained increase was assumed to have taken place between these two censuses (an assumption which results in the unrealistically steep slope plotted), whereas a proportional increase of all annual estimates between, say the 1936 census and the 1951 census might have seemed a more logical procedure and would have smoothed the curve.

Because it seemed that a straight line might not represent the growth of the Indian and Coloured populations as well as it did the growth of the European and Native populations, two further bases for projections were evolved and applied to all four racial groups. To start with, the basic assumption was that the two most accurate points plotted on the graphs for Indians and Coloureds were those for the years 1936 and 1951.[1] It was then further assumed that the mean annual rate of increase between these two years would be the best reflection of both past population growth and possible short-run future growth. Having made these assumptions, however, it still remained to select a year as a base for projection to 1966. In this choice there were two obvious alternatives: one is the year of the last census, 1951; the other the last year for which an official estimate is available. Unfortunately, neither choice is perfect: to choose 1951 forces one to propose estimates for the years 1952-8 which differ from those of the Bureau; to choose 1958 means that one has to base one estimate upon another, which is generally not advisable.

As it happens, however, the three bases used for projection gave almost identical populations in 1966, the highest estimate being only 0.2 per cent higher than the lowest.[2] The following projection is that of the 1936-51 mean annual rates (see Chapter One, p. 2) extended to 1966 from the base year of 1951:

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1 This assumption may, in turn, be logically deduced from an earlier assumption which explicitly or tacitly underlies much of this report - namely that the 1951 was the most accurate of the full Union censuses, with the 1936 census qualifying for second place.

2 There were somewhat higher deviations in the alternative projections for each racial group, which, being of different sign, tend to cancel each other out when added to form the total population. The detailed projected populations in 1966 were as follows (in thousands):

| | Europeans | Natives | Indians | Coloureds | All Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Projection 1 | 394 | 2,108 | 488 | 53 | 3,043 |
| Projection 2 | 395 | 2,121 | 468 | 54 | 3,038 |
| Projection 3 | 394 | 2,122 | 471 | 55 | 3,042 |

Where, projection 1 = 1936-51 mean annual rate projected from 1951 base
projection 2 = 1936-51 mean annual rate projected from 1958 base
projection 3 = projection of curve fitted to 1935-58 increase.

The percentage differences between the highest and lowest estimates for 1966 were 0.3 per cent for Europeans, 0.7 per cent for Natives, 4.3 per cent for Indians, and 3.8 per cent for Coloureds.

Table 53 PROJECTED POPULATION OF NATAL, 1961 AND 1966
(THOUSANDS)

| YEAR | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1961 | 349 | 2,004 | 414 | 44 | 2,811 |
| 1966 | 394 | 2,108 | 488 | 53 | 3,043 |

This would result in a population of a little over 3 millions in 1966 with a racial composition of (1951 values in parentheses): Europeans 12.9 per cent (11.4%), Natives 69.3 per cent (74.9%), Indians 16.0 per cent (12.4%), and Coloureds 1.7 per cent (1.3%). The percentage increase in each racial group in the fifteen years between 1951 and 1966 (which, of course, by assumption, would be the same as that between 1936 and 1951) would be Europeans 44 per cent, Natives 17 per cent, Indians 63 per cent, and Coloureds 69 per cent. The total population of all races would increase by 26 per cent - or just over a quarter between 1951 and 1966 or by something over a half between 1936 and 1966.

These projections rely upon the basic assumption of the continuance of past vital rates. This is a useful tool of analysis for short run projections, but cannot be justified when longer run possibilities are under consideration. Some of the factors which may influence long run trends in the growth of the Natal populations are very briefly discussed below:

Europeans. Natal's European population has continually shown a lower rate of natural increase than has the total Union's European population, and this differential was still considerable in the last five years for which figures were available (1951-5), when Natal's rate was only 13.0 per 1,000 as compared with a rate of 16.4 per 1,000 in the Union as a whole. This differential was due to both a lower birth-rate and a higher death-rate in Natal. The higher death-rate could be accounted for - at least in part - by the greater age of the Natal Europeans, while her lower fertility is customarily put down to differences in race, income, occupation, rural-urban residence, and so on.

The prospects for the future are uncertain. The European death-rate in Natal has shown very little variation in the past - even over the whole period since Union (see Appendix 1 (a) to this Chapter). With an infantile mortality rate which is already low and with the virtual elimination of many diseases which were at one time a major cause of death, it is difficult to foresee any further large reduction in the death rate until a major breakthrough is achieved in the treatment of the two present-day major causes of death - heart diseases and malignant neoplasms. Moreover, while medical advances may considerably reduce age-specific mortality rates and increase the average expectation of life, they simultaneously increase the age structure of the population and so stimulate a counter tendency towards increasing the crude death-rate. From this point of view a reduction in the crude death-rate may be increasingly hard to win. The crude birth-rate, on the other hand, which showed a secular decline over the first two and a half decades of the period, recovered during and after the Second World War and still shows no definite signs of a renewed fall.

Yet perhaps sufficient evidence has already been led to suggest that whatever the future movements of European vital rates, it is the uncertainty of future migratory movements which remains the greatest single unknown factor in the possible future rate of growth of the Natal European population. The net gain from European immigration into South Africa during the first three months of 1958 was some 40 per cent less than the corresponding figure in 1957, and it appears

that under the existing economic and other conditions and passive immigration policy there is little prospect of a materially higher immigration rate. This allows us to ignore migration as a factor in the growth of the Union population, and it would be possible to do the same in respect of the Natal European population were one able to assume that Natal received no more than her share of immigrants. But the evidence tends to point to the reverse possibility.

The prospects for the future of inter-provincial migration are also uncertain, for they too are largely unpredictable and depend upon the different rates of growth of population, industry, and other forms of economic activity experienced by each province and region, as well as by all the other factors influencing man's mobility. Although the statistics presented earlier in this chapter suggested that Natal has in the past been a heavy importer of population from other provinces, notably the Cape, it may appear doubtful whether she can continue to do so in the future. With the development of secondary industry and the growth of the towns agriculture has developed too, and is now no longer a source of under-employment (at least so far as Europeans are concerned) from which workers can be attracted to the urban areas. With European labour at a premium, Natal may find it increasingly difficult to attract labour from other provinces, especially with the emergence of the Free State as an importer of labour for the first time.

In conclusion, the outlook for the growth of the Natal European population may perhaps not look very cheerful, when the most probable course for both natural increase and immigration might be said to be downward.

Indians and Coloureds. These two groups may for convenience be taken together, although the Indians are at a somewhat later stage of development than the Coloureds. Both groups have a high birth rate and comparatively low death rate (see Appendix 1), resulting in a rate of natural increase about double that of the Europeans. Both have enjoyed a falling death rate for more than a decade and both display a tendency towards a fall in their birth rates. With the Indians, birth and death rates have fallen at about the same rate, leaving the rate of natural increase substantially unchanged, while the rate of Coloured natural increase gradually increased over most of the period, although there is a sign of a fall in the past few years.

The prospects for the future are probably more clear for Indians and Coloureds than for Europeans. It is fair to assume further falls in their mortality rates in the next few years because their major causes of death (notably gastritis and pneumonia) are those that have been to a large extent controlled among Europeans and which can be reduced by an extension of medical care, hygiene, and better living conditions rather than any advance in medical knowledge. Rapid strides can be made. In the short period of four years between 1951 and 1954, for example, deaths from tuberculosis were cut by over 60 per cent among the Union's Indian population and by almost a half among her Coloureds, despite a large increase in population during these years. A similar reduction in deaths from, say pneumonia, could bring Indian and Coloured mortality conditions on to a par with the European. Then too, in the Union at any rate, it is primarily the high incidence of gastritis among Coloureds that maintains their infantile mortality at a rate so much higher than those of either the Europeans or the Indians.

On the fertility side, the future is less certain, although the crude birth rate of both Indians and Coloureds in Natal does seem to be falling at the present time. However, a falling secular trend in fertility should not be too readily assumed, and it must be remembered particularly that approximately one half of these peoples

have still to reach child-bearing age. With improvements in health conditions, one may expect a higher proportion of these children to reach parental age, so that the birth rate (expressed as a proportion of the total population) may rise despite a fall in fertility (expressed as a proportion of women of child-bearing age only). Moreover, although the gradual adoption of European attitudes towards family planning may ultimately affect Indian and Coloured fertility, a direct relationship between economic progress and a falling birth rate cannot be lightly assumed. Three factors commonly quoted as tending to reduce fertility among advancing communities are urbanization, industrialization, and the absorption of women into employment. In 1951, the Coloureds of Natal:

(i) were living in urban areas to an extent of 81% (Europeans 86%);
(ii) had 46% of their workers in secondary industry (Europeans 29%);
(iii) had 29% of their women in employment (Europeans 25%).

Yet in spite of this their birth rate was not much less than double that of the Europeans.

Thus, although in the long run it may be feasible to assume a downward secular trend in the rate of increase of Indians and Coloureds, one can well envisage an intervening period of accelerated increase, during which the improvements in health outstrip any possible falls in fertility.

Natives. The Native population is still in the primary stage of development, in which both fertility and mortality are high, and natural increase low. Although registration of births and deaths has for some years now been compulsory for Natives in all areas, the statistics so obtained are still too fragmentary to be of any analytical value, and few authorities have committed themselves to an assessment of Native vital rates. The most recent authoritative estimates are found in the report of the Tomlinson Commission[1], where the Native birth rate is estimated to fall between 43 and 47 per 1,000 and the death rate is put at between 27 and 32 per 1,000, giving a natural increase rate of between 11 and 20 per 1,000.

One of the difficulties of forecasting Native population growth is the problem of what allowance to make for a reduction in the death rate. With health conditions generally so poor and a very high death rate, it is quite fair to conjecture a very large fall in mortality conditions - presumably first operating through a reduction in the high infantile mortality rates. Yet, although one can predict that mortality conditions will ultimately show a large improvement, it is virtually impossible to suggest when and how fast progress will be made. It is, for example, difficult to foresee a large scale reduction in infantile mortality without a vast extension of health services to the rural areas or, alternatively, a considerably faster movement of Natives to urban areas and a proportional increase in urban services. Neither of these alternatives can be realistically entertained in the foreseeable future on either economic or political grounds.

Similarly, on the fertility side, much will depend upon socio-economic factors, the development of which is at present uncertain or which are in the process of change. Examples of factors which may be important in influencing Native fertility are the future of the Native

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1 See Volume I, Chapter 7, Section IX.

Reserves, the future policy of government in regard to the urban residence of Natives, developments in the migratory labour system, the female rate of participation in non-agricultural work, and so on. Yet the normal pattern of demographic development is for falls in fertility to follow long after falls in mortality, and, although rapid reductions in the death rate may not be imminent, the trend for a considerable length of time is likely to be towards an increasing rate of growth. Because of the numerical superiority of the Native population - especially in Natal - marginal changes in its true vital rates will have the greatest proportional effect on the future size and structure of the total population of Natal and on her labour resources.

# CHAPTER THREE

# THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF NATAL

## § 1 Introduction

In Chapter One attention was given to the total population of Natal as a first approach to the estimation of labour resources, and its growth since Union was traced. With a sideglance at the other provinces and the whole Union, the analysis of potential labour was refined by reference to the age and sex composition of each racial group and a measure of potential labour was given. In Chapter Two, an attempt was made to assess the relative importance of natural increase and immigration in their effect upon both population growth and potential labour, and some possibilities for future growth were suggested. Bulk provincial population figures cannot take us very far however, and the aim of the present chapter is to show the geographical location of the population of Natal as it affects available labour supplies.

## § 2 Sources of Information

The official sources of information from which one can derive an appreciation of population distribution are discussed separately in the following paragraphs. None of these sources, by itself, can give a complete account of the spread of population, and even less of the distribution of potential labour. But a combination of all the available information gives one a fairly good picture.

(i) Magisterial Districts. There are forty-five magisterial districts in Natal, of which thirty-four are in Natal proper and eleven in Zululand. Ten are wholly or mainly Native areas.[1] Published figures give the population of each magisterial district by race and sex, and also tabulate the urban and rural populations of the district separately.

One difficulty of using the populations of magisterial districts as a measure of population distribution is the considerable variation in the size of the districts, which makes valid comparison hard to achieve. For example, the magisterial districts of Natal range in area from the 114 square miles of Durban to the 1,892 square miles of Estcourt District, while their total populations range from under 10,000 in Helpmekaar to 467,000 in Durban. In the appendices to this chapter two alternative measures of distribution have been used, namely the numbers of inhabitants per square mile in each district (which provides a measure of density of residence) and the percentage of the total Natal population living in each district at the time of the census (which may be used as an index of relative importance in labour potential). A third method, whereby magisterial districts are grouped into four "regions", is employed to simplify comparisons between areas of roughly similar nature.

(ii) Urban and Rural Populations. From 1918 to 1946, the definition of an urban area used by the Bureau of Census and Statistics embraced all those towns and villages "which had some form of urban

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1 Namely, Msinga, Nqutu, Nkandhla, Eshowe, Mtunzini, Mahlabatini, Nongoma, Mapumulo, Ndwedwe and Umlazi.

# Natal

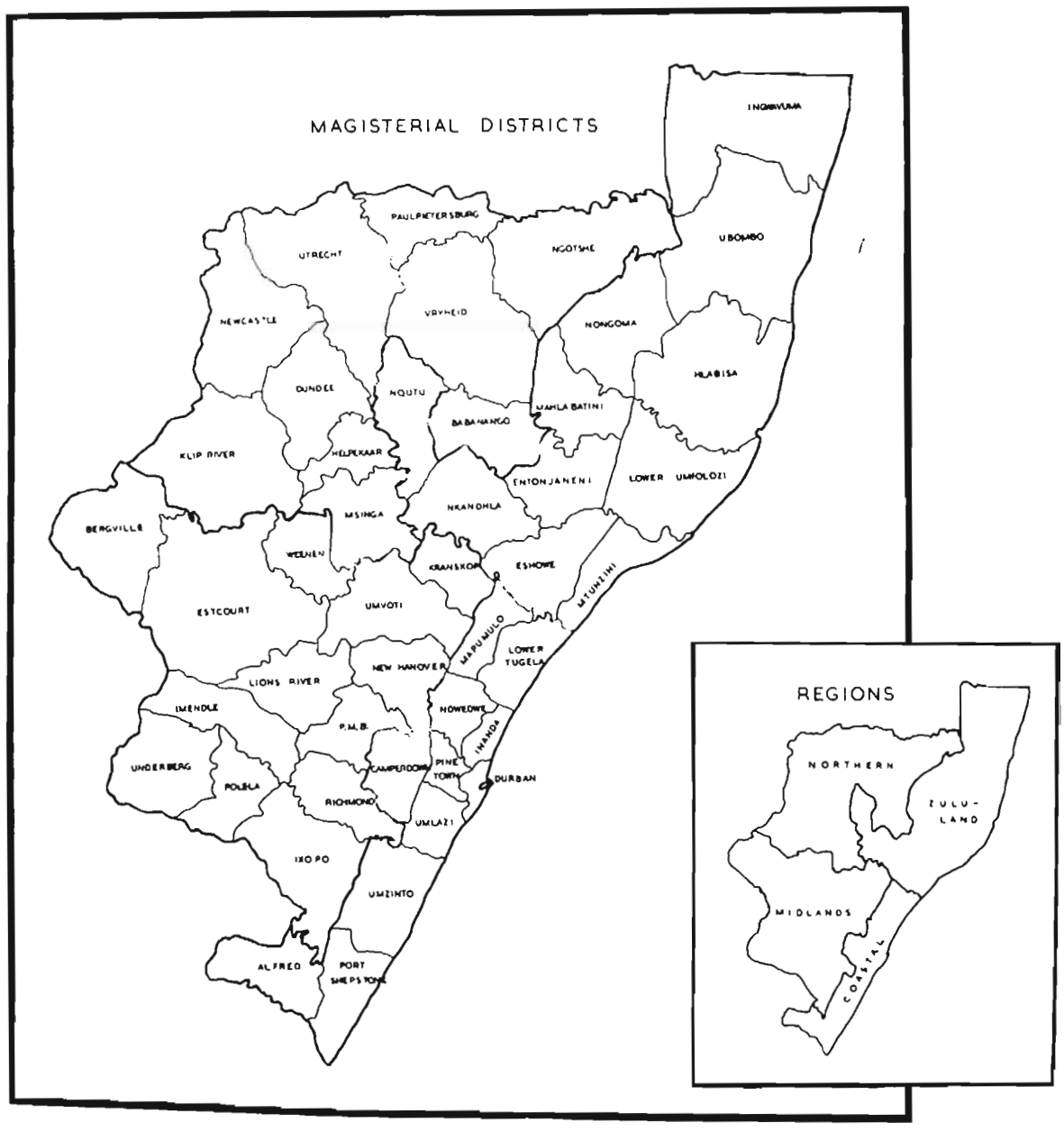


Figure 8.

local government constituted under any law, such as municipal councils, village management boards, health committees, etc."[1]. All other areas were classified as rural. This definition of rural and urban areas, which designated areas according to the existence or non-existence of some form of local authority was not wholly satisfactory. One objection was that many peri-urban areas possessing no local authority of their own were designated rural, though by most other standards they were socially and economically urban in character. This objection was partially overcome by tabulating separate figures for various cities together with their "suburbs", but these "rural suburbs" continued to be classified as rural in the major urban/rural breakdowns. From 1951, however, the definition of an urban area was made more comprehensive and embraced, in addition to those areas having some form of local government, other areas having no local government but considered to be "sufficiently urban in character". These added areas comprised the outlying suburbs of the larger towns, designated "sub-urban areas", and the larger villages, designated "quasi-urban townships".

A second objection to this earlier urban/rural classification was that many villages possessed some kind of local authority and thus qualified for urban status, but could not be designated "urban" on any other grounds. To quote from the 1936 census report, "In a young country like South Africa, rural communities grow fairly rapidly and then the questions of sanitation, water supply, lighting, etc., arise, with the result that health committees are appointed, then village councils, etc., and the rural township takes on the form of an urban area."[2] This objection was not removed in the 1951 census, and care had to be taken in interpreting increases in urban populations as an increase in "urbanization", since these inter-censal increases have generally been the result of two separate processes: one, the "drift to the towns" of previously rural inhabitants, and two, a gradual extension of the urban areas to incorporate a growing number of new populations, who may or may not be considered as urban communities in any economic or sociological definition of the term "urban". A recent revision of urban and rural figures undertaken by the Bureau of Census and Statistics, however, now allows the changes in urban/rural distribution to be studied against the background of constant boundaries (see § 6).

(iii) The Populations of Towns and Villages. Another index of urbanization is the increase in the populations of the towns and villages having a population of two thousand persons or more, of which there were thirty-three in 1951. Although this method excludes many smaller communities, some of which might be doubtfully designated as truly urban, these thirty-three towns incorporated over 93 per cent of the "urban" population in 1951.

(iv) The Metropolitan Areas or Durban and Pietermaritzburg. A metropolitan area is defined as the "parent municipal area together with adjoining areas which are urban in character and which are economically linked with the parent town".[3] These areas are used to represent the population of large towns and cities, such as the population complex of Durban and Pinetown, which includes the magisterial districts of Durban and part of Umlazi and Pinetown. If the district of Durban alone were taken, many areas which are obviously part of the city complex would be left out, while if the total population of all three magisterial districts were taken, too large a population would be covered and fully rural areas (such as most of the Umlazi Native Reserve) would be wrongly included.

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1 Volume 1 of the 1951 Population Census, p. v.

2 Volume 1 of the 1936 Population Census, p. xiii.

3 Volume 1 of the 1951 Population Census, p. vi.

For the purposes of this survey, however, it is felt that the officially-adopted Metropolitan Area of Durban is not adequate as a measure of the total population of Greater Durban, and that some areas are wrongly excluded. An alternative definition will therefore be advanced in Chapter Seven, where the population of Durban is discussed in detail.

(v) In addition to the above classifications of population which are tabulated in the census reports for all four racial groups, there are figures relating to the distribution of Natives in various areas. These figures will also be used later in this chapter.

## § 3 The Regional Distribution of the Population of Natal

For the purposes of this chapter, the Natal magisterial districts are divided into four "regions", namely, the Coastal Region, the Midlands Region, the Northern Region, and Zululand (see Appendix 2). The distribution of the population between these regions in 1951 is shown in Table 54.

Table 54 REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATAL POPULATION, 1951

| REGION | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Numbers | | |
| Coastal | 176,985 | 590,922 | 250,030 | 21,591 | 1,039,528 |
| Midlands | 57,153 | 437,813 | 31,398 | 6,400 | 532,764 |
| Northern | 31,602 | 371,579 | 14,113 | 2,054 | 419,348 |
| Zululand | 8,500 | 409,788 | 3,950 | 1,440 | 423,678 |
| Total Natal | 274,240 | 1,810,102 | 299,491 | 31,485 | 2,415,318 |
| | | | Percentages | | |
| Coastal | 64.5 | 32.6 | 83.5 | 68.6 | 43.0 |
| Midlands | 20.8 | 24.2 | 10.5 | 20.3 | 22.1 |
| Northern | 11.5 | 20.5 | 4.7 | 6.5 | 17.4 |
| Zululand | 3.1 | 22.6 | 1.3 | 4.6 | 17.5 |
| Total Natal | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

Of by far the greatest importance was the Coastal region, comprising 43 per cent of the total population, largely owing to the heavy concentration of population in and around Durban. A further 22 per cent of the population was living in the Midlands region, with the rest of the population (35 per cent) fairly equally divided between the Northern region and Zululand. For all racial groups the Coastal and Midlands regions were first and second in importance respectively. The Northern region was third in importance for Europeans, Indians and Coloureds (the proportion of these racial groups living in Zululand being very small). Only in the case of Natives was Zululand of more importance than the Northern region.

When account is taken of the area of these regions, the unequal distribution of the population of Natal is even more pronounced, for the population of each region tends to vary inversely with the size of the region, creating even larger variations in the density of settlement (see Table 55). This inequality of distribution is illustrated by the fact that the Coastal region, although it comprises only a little over one-tenth of the total area of Natal, contains over two-fifths of the population, while the Northern region, accounting for almost a

# Distribution of the Natal Population

## 1951

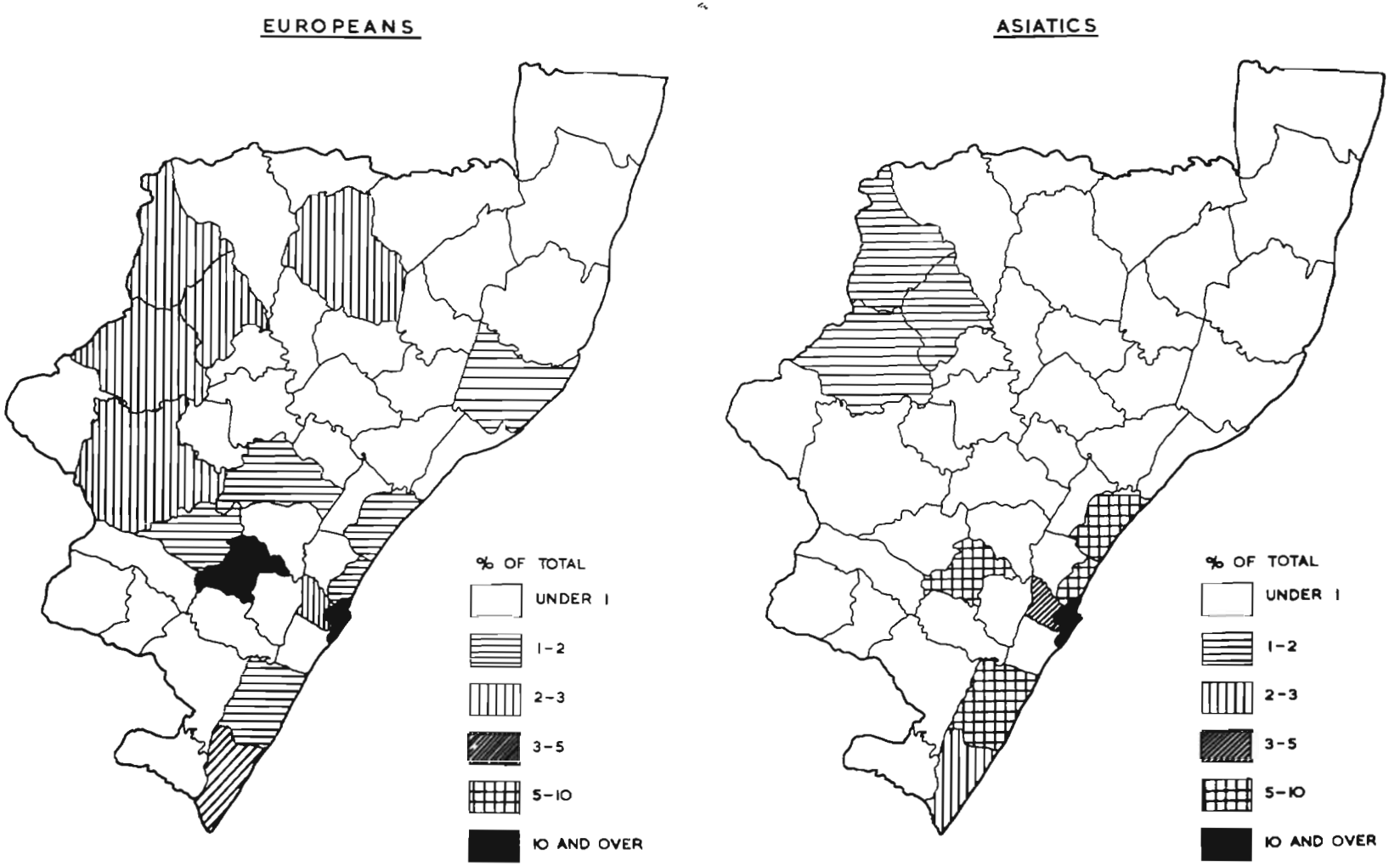


Figure 9.

Table 55 REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY OF POPULATION, 1951

| REGION | POPULATION | | AREA (SQ. MILES) | DENSITY OF POPUL. PER SQ. MILE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NUMBERS | PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL | | |
| Coastal | 1,039,528 | 43.0 | 3,473 | 299.3 |
| Midlands | 532,764 | 22.1 | 8,888 | 59.9 |
| Northern | 419,348 | 17.4 | 10,855 | 38.7 |
| Zululand | 423,678 | 17.5 | 10,362 | 40.8 |
| Total Natal | 2,415,318 | 100.0 | 33,578 | 71.9 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

third of the provincial area, contains not much more than one-sixth of the population. The result of this is that the heaviest density (Coastal) is five times greater than the next heaviest (Midlands) and over seven times as great as the lightest density (Northern). The density of population in Zululand is only slightly greater than that in the Northern region. Figures 9 and 10 show the density of population of each racial group according to magisterial districts.

The racial composition of the population of each region is shown in the following table:

Table 56 RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF EACH REGION, 1951

(PERCENTAGES)

| REGION | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coastal | 17.0 | 56.8 | 24.1 | 2.1 |
| Midlands | 10.7 | 82.2 | 5.9 | 1.2 |
| Northern | 7.5 | 88.6 | 3.4 | 0.5 |
| Zululand | 2.0 | 96.7 | 0.9 | 0.3 |
| Total Natal | 11.4 | 74.9 | 12.4 | 1.3 |

Source: calculated from 1951 Population Census figures.

The proportion of Europeans ranges from only 2 per cent in Zululand to as much as 17 per cent in the Coastal region, while the range in the proportion of Indians is even greater: from less than 1 per cent in Zululand to almost a quarter in the Coastal region. However, so great is the relative importance of the more evenly distributed Native population in each region, that variations in the proportions of the other racial groups tend to be swamped. In the following table, therefore, the European, Indian, and Coloured populations of each region are expressed as percentages of the total non-Native population:

Table 57 RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE NON-NATIVE POPULATION IN EACH REGION, 1951

(PERCENTAGES)

| REGION | EUROPEANS | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | TOTAL NON-NATIVES |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coastal | 39.5 | 55.7 | 4.8 | 100.0 |
| Midlands | 60.2 | 33.1 | 6.7 | 100.0 |
| Northern | 66.2 | 29.5 | 4.3 | 100.0 |
| Zululand | 61.2 | 28.5 | 10.4 | 100.0 |
| Total Natal | 45.3 | 49.5 | 5.2 | 100.0 |

Source: calculated from 1951 Population Census figures.

If only the non-Native groups are considered, the Coast stands out as the only region in which Indians outnumber the combined European and Coloured populations. Europeans on the other hand, comprise between three-fifths and two-thirds of the non-Native population in the other

three regions, while the Coloureds are relatively most numerous in Zululand.

## § 4 Urban/Rural Distribution of Population

The distribution of the Natal population between rural and urban areas is, of course, profoundly influenced by the presence of the large tracts of Native Reserve land, which are "rural" in the fullest sense of the word and which, despite the increased employment of Natives in urban economic activity, still contained over half of Natal's Natives and two-fifths of the total population of all races in 1951. The effect of this concentration of Natives in the Reserves and other rural areas is that, although the bulk of the European, Indian, and Coloured populations in Natal are urban dwellers, the average proportion of the total population of all racial groups living in urban areas is less than one third (see Table 58).

Table 58 URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS OF THE UNION AND NATAL, 1951

| AREA | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | (i) Populations | | | |
| NATAL | | | | | |
| Urban | 235,340 | 288,598 | 221,674 | 25,518 | 771,130 |
| Rural | 38,900 | 1,521,504 | 77,817 | 5,967 | 1,644,188 |
| Total | 274,240 | 1,810,102 | 299,491 | 31,485 | 2,415,318 |
| UNION | | | | | |
| Urban | 2,070,675 | 2,328,532 | 284,306 | 713,128 | 5,396,641 |
| Rural | 571,014 | 6,231,551 | 82,358 | 389,888 | 7,274,811 |
| Total | 2,641,689 | 8,560,083 | 366,664 | 1,103,016 | 12,671,452 |
| | | (ii) Percentages | | | |
| NATAL | | | | | |
| Urban | 85.8 | 15.9 | 74.0 | 81.0 | 31.9 |
| Rural | 14.2 | 84.1 | 26.0 | 19.0 | 68.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| UNION | | | | | |
| Urban | 78.4 | 27.2 | 77.5 | 64.7 | 42.6 |
| Rural | 21.6 | 72.8 | 22.5 | 35.3 | 57.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| | | (iii) Racial Composition | | | |
| NATAL | | | | | |
| Urban | 30.5 | 37.4 | 28.8 | 3.3 | 100.0 |
| Rural | 2.4 | 92.5 | 4.7 | 0.4 | 100.0 |
| Total | 11.4 | 74.9 | 12.4 | 1.3 | 100.0 |
| UNION | | | | | |
| Urban | 38.4 | 43.1 | 5.3 | 13.2 | 100.0 |
| Rural | 7.8 | 85.7 | 1.1 | 5.4 | 100.0 |
| Total | 20.8 | 67.6 | 2.9 | 8.7 | 100.0 |
| | | (iv) Natal as a Percentage of the Union | | | |
| Urban | 11.4 | 12.4 | 78.0 | 3.6 | 14.3 |
| Rural | 6.8 | 24.4 | 94.5 | 1.5 | 22.6 |
| Total | 10.4 | 21.1 | 81.7 | 2.9 | 19.1 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

Compared with the Union, Natal has a smaller proportion of her population living in urban areas, despite a considerably larger proportion of urban-dwelling Europeans and Coloureds. This is mainly due to the relatively small proportion of Natal's Natives enumerated in urban areas, which, in turn, is due to the disproportionate share of Native Reserves situated in Natal and Zululand.[1]

Whereas the three main groups, Natives, Europeans, and Indians stand in a ratio to one another of almost 1:1:1 in the urban aggregate, Natives alone account for over 92 per cent of the rural population. Moreover, even if the inhabitants of the Reserves are subtracted, Natives still account for over 80 per cent of the population of the non-Reserve rural areas, and this relative insignificance of non-Natives in the rural areas would suggest a serious limitation to the large-scale development of rural manufacturing industries. When account is taken of the farming community and persons employed in other pursuits in rural areas, new industries which depend to any large degree upon non-Native skilled or semi-skilled workers would need to attract the majority of them either from existing rural employment or from the towns. A problem confronting some industries even in the medium-sized towns of Natal may be to compete with the attractions which a large city holds for the industrial worker and artisan.

The sex and age compositions of the rural populations on the one hand and of the urban populations on the other hand are not sufficiently different to cause the distribution of potential labour to differ materially from the distribution of total population. The exception to this is seen in the pattern of Native population distribution, where heavy and prolonged migration of young men to the urban centres of labour demand has weighted the balance of available labour in favour of the towns.

The detailed figures of urban and rural populations by both age and sex for all races are given in Appendix 3 of this chapter. But for convenience a summary of these figures is given in Table 59.

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1 Natal has 29 per cent of the total number of Natives living in Reserve areas in the Union and 16 per cent of the Natives living in non-Reserve areas.

Table 59 AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS OF NATAL, 1951

| RACE AND AGE | URBAN | | | RURAL | | | TOTAL | | | PER CENT URBAN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per Cent | Masc. Rate | No. | Per Cent | Masc. Rate | No. | Per Cent | Masc. Rate | |
| European | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0-14 | 65,031 | 28 | 101 | 11,092 | 29 | 112 | 76,123 | 28 | 103 | 85 |
| 15-44 | 106,564 | 45 | 102 | 16,039 | 41 | 111 | 122,603 | 45 | 103 | 87 |
| 45-64 | 43,950 | 19 | 87 | 8,541 | 22 | 109 | 52,491 | 19 | 90 | 84 |
| 65 + | 19,745 | 8 | 82 | 3,216 | 8 | 112 | 22,961 | 8 | 86 | 86 |
| TOTAL* | 235,340 | 100 | 97 | 38,900 | 100 | 111 | 274,240 | 100 | 99 | 86 |
| Indian | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0-14 | 105,200 | 47 | 100 | 38,564 | 50 | 99 | 143,764 | 48 | 100 | 73 |
| 15-44 | 94,445 | 43 | 105 | 31,201 | 40 | 95 | 125,646 | 42 | 102 | 75 |
| 45-64 | 17,401 | 8 | 130 | 6,064 | 8 | 154 | 23,465 | 8 | 136 | 74 |
| 65 + | 4,508 | 2 | 208 | 1,858 | 2 | 240 | 6,366 | 2 | 217 | 71 |
| TOTAL* | 221,674 | 100 | 106 | 77,817 | 100 | 103 | 299,491 | 100 | 105 | 74 |
| Coloured | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0-14 | 10,915 | 43 | 99 | 2,723 | 46 | 96 | 13,638 | 43 | 98 | 80 |
| 15-44 | 11,556 | 45 | 86 | 2,350 | 39 | 123 | 13,906 | 44 | 91 | 83 |
| 45-64 | 2,424 | 10 | 83 | 680 | 11 | 138 | 3,104 | 10 | 92 | 78 |
| 65 + | 602 | 2 | 72 | 213 | 4 | 117 | 815 | 3 | 82 | 74 |
| TOTAL* | 25,518 | 100 | 90 | 5,967 | 100 | 111 | 31,485 | 100 | 94 | 81 |
| Native | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0-14 | 61,993 | 21 | 103 | 664,449 | 44 | 100 | 726,442 | 40 | 100 | 8 |
| 15-44 | 187,770 | 65 | 213 | 598,274 | 39 | 72 | 786,044 | 43 | 92 | 24 |
| 45-64 | 33,502 | 12 | 231 | 190,672 | 13 | 76 | 224,174 | 12 | 89 | 15 |
| 65 + | 5,302 | 2 | 120 | 67,820 | 4 | 72 | 73,122 | 4 | 75 | 7 |
| TOTAL* | 288,598 | 100 | 180 | 1,521,504 | 100 | 84 | 1,810,102 | 100 | 94 | 16 |

Source: Volume V, 1951 Population Census, "Ages - All Races".
* Including persons of unspecified age.

As might be expected, the populations of working age of all four racial groups were proportionately larger in urban than in rural areas, and this tendency was greatest in the younger working age group. On the other hand, children constituted a smaller proportion of urban than of rural populations.

The greatest dissimilarity between town and country was displayed by the Native population of Natal, for, while over three-quarters of the urban Native population was of working age, the corresponding proportion of potential workers in rural areas amounted to not much more than half of the total population. Moreover, the true comparison in work potential is even more in favour of the urban areas, because of the difference in masculinity: there are over twice as many men as women in the potential working population of the towns, in contrast to the rural areas where women outnumber men by four to three as potential workers.

The very much greater work potential among urban Natives is due solely to the high proportion of the population falling within the younger-adult age range (the proportion of older adults being approximately the same in both urban and rural areas) and this age structure is already familiar as that of an immigrant group.[1] By contrast, the rural areas are clearly considerably worse off, with almost a half of their population either too young or too old to be included in the population of working age. But despite the relative advantage of the towns in the working potential of their population,

1 See, for example, Appendix 2 to Chapter 2.

the bulk of the Native labour resources of Natal are still contained in the Reserves and other rural areas.

Similar patterns of urban/rural distribution according to age are found amongst the other racial groups, only to a less marked degree than with the Natives. The most pronounced deviations in the urban/rural distributions are those between the sexes. Amongst Europeans, for example, the masculinities of all age groups were higher in rural than in urban areas, the greatest difference being in the 65 and over age group. The low masculinity of oldsters in the urban areas (and their high masculinity in rural areas) can be explained partly by the tendency for widows to move to the towns: in 1951, of the 13,000 widows in Natal, some 11,700 (or 90 per cent) were enumerated in urban areas and of these 52 per cent were over 64 years.

The higher rural masculinities in other European age groups are harder to explain, but, in addition to widowhood (the incidence of which assumes sizeable proportions among people in their thirties and increases with age), the reason seems to lie in the lesser opportunities for female employment which exist in the rural areas. It is certainly true that agriculture, as an occupation, is far less important to women than to men, and that this applies particularly to unmarried women, since there is no real counterpart in South Africa to the women farm workers of Europe and elsewhere.

A somewhat similar pattern of masculinity is seen in the urban/rural distribution of Coloureds, who display high masculinity rates in all adult age groups in rural areas. Here too, the reason seems to lie in the limited scope for employment of women in the rural areas. In the Indian population, however, there is a majority of females in the rural areas up to the age of forty-five, whereafter masculinity increases greatly. Any future increase in the employment of Indian women will tend to reduce the number of rural women and so bring the pattern of Indian masculinity more into line with the Europeans and Coloureds.

In conclusion, it may be recorded that 65 per cent of the urban population of all racial groups is of working age, compared with only 52 per cent of the rural population. This means that, whereas the urban areas contain only 32 per cent of the total population of Natal, they account for almost 37 per cent of her total population of working age.

## § 5 · The Populations of the Towns of Natal

In 1951 there were 33 towns and villages in Natal with a population of 2,000 persons or more (see Table 60). These ranged from the Metropolitan Area of Durban, with a population of almost 480,000 persons[1], to Harding, with a little over 2,000 persons. The total population of all 33 towns amounted to some 719,000 persons, or 93 per cent of the total urban population and 30 per cent of the total population of Natal. These towns contained 98 per cent of the Coloured, 95 per cent of the Indian, 93 per cent of the European, and 92 per cent of the Native urban population of the province in 1951. Even in terms of both urban and rural populations, these towns covered the bulk of the non-Native population and a not inconsiderable proportion of the total Native population.

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1 A detailed discussion of the population of Durban will be found in Chapter Seven.

Table 60 NATAL TOWNS AND VILLAGES HAVING A POPULATION 2,000 PERSONS OR MORE, 1951

| TOWN | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Durban | 151,111 | 150,732 | 160,674 | 17,457 | 479,974 |
| Pietermaritzburg | 32,139 | 22,892 | 16,048 | 3,414 | 74,493 |
| Edendale | 351 | 12,973 | 3,232 | 366 | 16,922 |
| Ladysmith | 5,503 | 7,500 | 3,021 | 389 | 16,413 |
| Newcastle | 2,815 | 7,902 | 2,297 | 267 | 13,281 |
| Vryheid | 4,328 | 4,501 | 89 | 138 | 9,056 |
| Dundee | 2,455 | 4,662 | 1,423 | 279 | 8,819 |
| Mhlatuzana | 20 | 4,051 | 3,158 | 24 | 7,253 |
| Tongaat | 360 | 1,482 | 4,626 | 26 | 6,494 |
| Glencoe | 2,514 | 3,171 | 259 | 207 | 6,151 |
| Estcourt | 2,440 | 3,098 | 453 | 36 | 6,027 |
| Greytown | 1,499 | 3,145 | 946 | 49 | 5,639 |
| Stanger | 684 | 1,765 | 2,933 | 203 | 5,585 |
| Clermont | --- | 4,680 | --- | 23 | 4,703 |
| Kloof | 1,404 | 2,133 | 969 | 19 | 4,525 |
| Utrecht | 799 | 3,337 | 13 | 201 | 4,350 |
| Port Shepstone | 1,402 | 1,543 | 1,153 | 118 | 4,216 |
| Empangeni | 1,336 | 2,219 | 574 | 15 | 4,144 |
| Umzinto | 318 | 1,426 | 1,938 | 129 | 3,811 |
| Eshowe | 1,376 | 1,892 | 30 | 407 | 3,705 |
| Margate | 1,976 | 1,589 | 53 | 11 | 3,629 |
| Marburg | 440 | 1,722 | 1,328 | 95 | 3,585 |
| Charlestown | 285 | 3,060 | 118 | 18 | 3,481 |
| Weenen | 474 | 2,391 | 182 | 35 | 3,082 |
| Howick | 980 | 1,316 | 438 | 23 | 2,757 |
| Darnall | 300 | 1,048 | 1,018 | 32 | 2,398 |
| Paulpietersburg | 521 | 1,649 | 8 | 5 | 2,183 |
| Verulam | 254 | 377 | 1,478 | 60 | 2,169 |
| Wasbank | 82 | 1,528 | 472 | 28 | 2,110 |
| Colenso | 766 | 1,010 | 250 | 67 | 2,093 |
| Howick West | --- | 1,180 | 710 | 172 | 2,062 |
| Richmond | 391 | 919 | 644 | 71 | 2,025 |
| Harding | 367 | 1,062 | 105 | 489 | 2,023 |
| Total | 219,690 | 263,955 | 210,640 | 24,873 | 719,158 |
| Racial Composition | 30.5 | 36.7 | 29.3 | 3.5 | 100.0 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

Almost 80 per cent of the total urban population is concentrated in the cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg alone (Edendale being included within the urban area of Pietermaritzburg). There is again a tendency, however, for Natives to be slightly more evenly distributed, and only 71 per cent, as compared with 85 per cent of non-Natives, were in the two cities.

The ratio of Whites to non-Whites in the 33 towns was similar to that of the total urban population (3:7), although the proportion of Natives was somewhat lower (37 per cent) and the proportions of Indians and Coloureds were somewhat higher (29 per cent and 3.5 per cent). The racial composition varied considerably, however, from one town to another. For example, the ratio of Whites to non-Whites ranged from

10:8 in Margate to nil in the Native township of Clermont. Eight towns, (Edendale, Clermont, Utrecht, Charlestown, Weenen, Wasbank, Howick West, and Paulpietersburg) were either Native townships or occupied predominantly by Natives; three (Tongaat, Stanger, and Verulam) were predominantly Indian towns; and two (Mhlatuzana and Umzinto) were mainly Indian- and Native-occupied. Only the holiday resort Margate, with the census count taken at the beginning of its tourist season, showed a majority of Europeans in its population structure.

Although most of Natal's Coloureds are in Durban, they form only a small part of Durban's total population. Greater relative importance of Coloureds is shown in Pietermaritzburg (where they comprise 4.6 per cent of the population), and in Eshowe (11 per cent) and Harding (24 per cent). The latter is the only town in Natal to have more Coloureds than Europeans and Indians combined.

## § 6 Changes in the Distribution of Population, 1921-51

The fact that the distribution of population between various areas of Natal has changed over the past few decades is good indication that, assuming similar vital statistics, the change has been brought about by physical movements of population. The logical approach towards measuring these movements is to count the number of persons in each residential unit at two successive points of time, and analyse the difference.[1]

The reliability of the conclusions depends to a large extent on the stability of the boundaries of the residential units, and when these change (as they sometimes do), comparisons over a period of time become considerably less valuable. It is fortunate, therefore, that official figures of the distribution of population according to magisterial district between 1921 and 1951 are now available on an "equal area" basis[2], all earlier figures having now been adjusted to conform to the boundaries existing on 30th June, 1958. This means that, for the first time, differences in the rate of growth of the populations of the various magisterial districts can be interpreted as being due to differences in rates of natural increase and migration.

This information also enables us to give a reasonably accurate account of the regional developments in Natal since 1921:

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1 A further refinement, if figures were available, would be to relate these absolute changes to natural increase, thus deriving a measure of net migration into and out of each residential unit.

2 See Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, August - December, 1958.

Table 61 CHANGES IN REGIONAL POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1921-51

| YEAR | COASTAL | MIDLANDS | NORTHERN | ZULULAND | TOTAL NATAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (i) Population Distribution: Numbers | | | | | |
| 1921 | 504,625 | 358,011 | 308,406 | 258,356 | 1,429,398 |
| 1936 | 753,019 | 463,480 | 367,070 | 362,824 | 1,946,468 |
| 1946 | 901,841 | 512,336 | 389,750 | 398,465 | 2,202,392 |
| 1951 | 1,039,528 | 532,764 | 419,348 | 423,678 | 2,415,318 |
| (ii) Population Distribution: Percentages | | | | | |
| 1921 | 35.3 | 25.0 | 21.6 | 18.1 | 100.0 |
| 1936 | 38.7 | 23.8 | 18.9 | 18.6 | 100.0 |
| 1946 | 40.9 | 23.3 | 17.7 | 18.1 | 100.0 |
| 1951 | 43.0 | 12.1 | 17.4 | 17.5 | 100.0 |
| (iii) Percentage Increases | | | | | |
| 1921-36 | 49.2 | 29.5 | 19.2 | 40.3 | 36.2 |
| 1936-46 | 19.8 | 10.5 | 6.0 | 9.9 | 13.1 |
| 1946-51 | 15.3 | 4.0 | 7.7 | 6.2 | 9.7 |
| (iv) Mean Annual Rate of Increase | | | | | |
| 1921-51 | 2.43 | 1.33 | 1.03 | 1.65 | 1.76 |

Source: Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, August-December, 1958.

The most important feature of these figures of growth is the continued increase in both the absolute and relative size of the Coastal region, which accounted for 54 per cent of the increase in the Natal population since 1921 (see Table 64). Although the Coastal region was already the most important in 1921, it continued to gain relatively throughout the thirty years under review, and its mean annual rate of growth was some 50 per cent higher than the next highest rate. It is unfortunate that the figures are not available from which to calculate five-yearly increases, but a rough interpolation of the percentage increases in Table 61 reveals that, although the coastal population's increase in the five year period 1946-51 was a little slower than in the fifteen year period 1921-36, it was considerably higher than the decade 1936-46.

This increase in the relative importance of the Coastal region has been at the expense of the rest of Natal (excluding the gains from inter-provincial and international migration, which cannot be assessed), all three regions of which experienced comparative depopulation. The greatest relative decline was shown by the Northern region, which had been relegated to the position of the smallest region by 1951, its population having fallen from 21.6 per cent to 17.4 per cent of the total population of Natal. The comparatively high increase of the Northern region in the last five years of the period, however, suggests a possible increase in the future importance of this region.

Proportionately, the Midlands lost ground at an increasing rate and showed very little gain in population between 1946 and 1951. Should the regional rates of increase continue at the approximate level of the last five years, the Midlands, Northern and Zululand regions will continue to decrease in relative importance, and on this basis the Midlands might be eventually overtaken by Zululand or possibly the Northern region.

As in the past, however, it is likely in the future that the location of industry will be the predominant factor affecting regional distribution patterns, and new developments may alter existing trends. A reversal in the declining trend in Zululand might occur if co-ordinated

## NATAL POPULATION GROWTH, BY DISTRICTS

## 1946-51

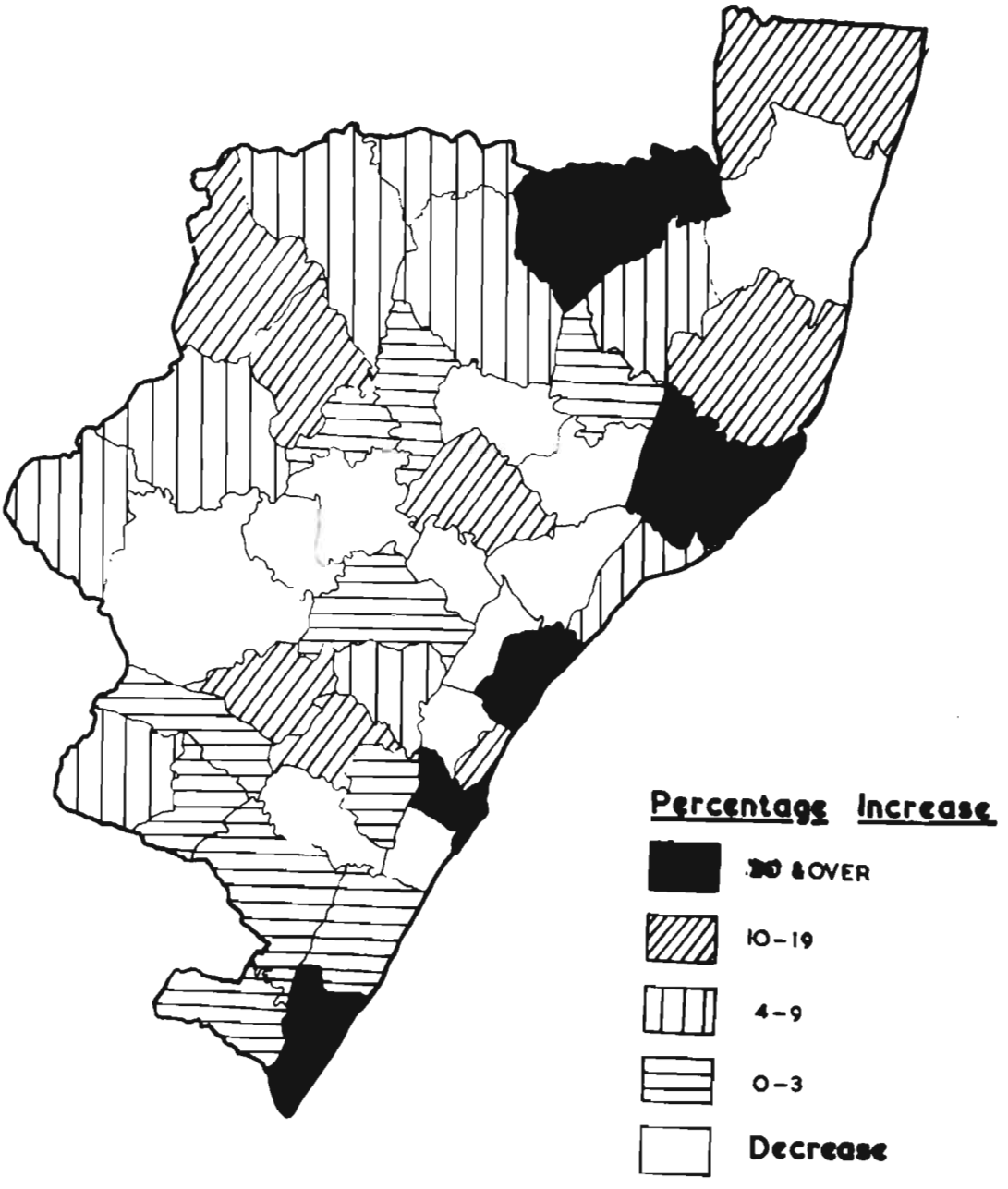


Figure 11.

plans to exploit its vast natural resources such as the Pongola and Tugela River schemes are put into effect. But it is less easy to foresee an accelerated rate of growth in the Midlands or in the Northern region, and it is likely that an increasing proportion of Natal's population will continue to concentrate in the Coastal region.

Patterns of distribution and increase of the total population of regions are apt to be misleading since they reveal average trends and not movements which are typical of any specific racial group. An analysis of regional growth by race shows that changes in the distribution of racial groups are indeed similar, but that they differ considerably in degree:

Table 62 PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF EACH REGION OF NATAL BY RACIAL GROUPS, 1921-51

| REGION | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coastal | 146.4 | 88.8 | 120.7 | 229.2 | 106.0 |
| Midlands | 63.4 | 43.5 | 106.4 | 126.7 | 48.8 |
| Northern | 21.4 | 37.3 | 39.3 | 68.8 | 36.1 |
| Zululand | 113.2 | 63.2 | 30.2 | 183.5 | 63.8 |
| Total Natal | 100.4 | 58.8 | 11.4 | 183.5 | 69.0 |

Source: calculated from revised population census figures. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, August-December, 1958.

This table shows that the Coastal region had the highest rate of increase for all racial groups, the increase in the Coloured population being particularly noticeable. Europeans, Natives and Coloureds followed a similar pattern, with Zululand showing the second highest percentage increase, the Midlands third, and the Northern region the lowest increase. But among Indians, the second highest increase was recorded in the Midlands and the lowest in Zululand.

Table 62, which shows only gross proportional increase, does not allow a true comparison of the extent to which changes in the regional distribution of racial groups differ, and a more precise indication is given in Table 64, in which each region's share of the total increase since 1921 is shown. Of the total increase in the European population between 1921 and 1951, over three-quarters (76.5 per cent) was recorded in the coastal districts, while the corresponding percentages for Indians, Coloureds and Natives were 87 per cent, 74 per cent and 42 per cent respectively.

The Northern region and Zululand contributed a minor proportion to the increase of non-Natives but, as could be expected, the increase in Natives was more evenly distributed throughout Natal. An indication of the trend of population movements (absolute and relative) can be obtained by comparing the regional distribution of population increase between 1921 and 1951 with that of the enumerated population in 1951. (See Table 64.)

The differential regional rates of increase as between racial groups have given rise to a changing racial composition in the regions of Natal, as can be seen from Table 63. Between 1921 and 1951, the proportions of Europeans increased in all regions except the Northern region, while the proportion of Natives fell in all regions except the Northern. Coloureds increased in proportion in all regions and Indians in all except Zululand. The changing pattern is brought out by the figures of the racial composition of population increase, which reveal the decreasing ratio of Natives to non-Natives, especially in the Coastal region.

Table 63 RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE REGIONS OF NATAL, 1921-51
(PERCENTAGES)

| REGION | 1921 | | | | 1951 | | | | INCREASE 1921-51 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | EUR. | NAT. | IND. | COL. | EUR. | NAT. | IND. | COL. | EUR. | NAT. | IND. | COL. |
| Coastal | 14.2 | 62.0 | 22.4 | 1.3 | 17.0 | 56.8 | 24.1 | 2.1 | 19.7 | 52.0 | 25.6 | 2.8 |
| Midlands | 9.8 | 85.2 | 4.2 | 0.8 | 10.7 | 82.2 | 5.9 | 1.2 | 12.7 | 76.0 | 9.3 | 2.0 |
| Northern | 8.4 | 87.9 | 3.3 | 0.4 | 7.5 | 88.6 | 3.4 | 0.5 | 5.0 | 90.7 | 3.6 | 0.8 |
| Zululand | 1.5 | 97.1 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 2.0 | 96.7 | 0.9 | 0.3 | 2.7 | 96.1 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Natal | 9.6 | 79.7 | 9.9 | 0.8 | 11.4 | 74.9 | 12.4 | 1.3 | 13.9 | 68.0 | 16.0 | 2.1 |

Source: calculated from revised Population Census Figures, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, August-December, 1958.

The changes in the regional distribution of Natal's population have been accompanied and partly dictated by changes in the distribution of population between urban and rural areas. Until recently, it has not been possible to form any accurate idea of the extent to which the Natal population has undergone "urbanization" because the census figures of urban and rural populations were not strictly comparable from year to year. Apart from any considerations of the definition of urban areas (see § 2), the growth of the urban population (over and above natural increase) could not be wholly attributed to a "drift to the towns" from the rural areas, because the number and total size of urban areas was increasing all the time. This meant that the rapid growth of urban populations was due to statutory factors (movement of administrative boundaries) as well as demographic factors (movements of people).

The revised figures recently published by the Bureau of Census and Statistics have, as far as possible[1], been adjusted to conform to the delimitation of urban and rural areas existing at 30th June, 1958. This means that all urban (or rural) figures as far back as the 1921 census can now be taken to apply to the same urban (or rural) areas, so that an accurate record of the changes in population distribution is available[2].

The crude, unadjusted figures for the urban population of Natal at successive censuses between 1921 and 1951 give an exaggerated picture of the rate of urbanization. But even the adjusted figures show that this process has been rapid:

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1 See Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, August 1958, p. 87.

2 The objection may now be made that not all the areas classed as urban in 1951 could also have been classed as urban in 1921. This is, of course, quite true, but it is still worth much to be able to count the urban areas as a constant factor, even if they have varied in their degree of urbanization through the years.

Table 64 REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATAL POPULATION, BY RACIAL GROUPS, 1921 AND 1951.

| REGION | 1 9 2 1 | | | | | 1 9 5 1 | | | | | INCREASE : 1921 - 1951 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | EURS. | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLS. | ALL | EURS. | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLS. | ALL | EURS. | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLS. | ALL |
| Coastal | 71,841 | 312,956 | 113,269 | 6,559 | 504,625 | 176,985 | 590,922 | 250,030 | 21,591 | 1,039,528 | 105,144 | 277,966 | 136,761 | 15,032 | 534,903 |
| Midlands | 34,983 | 304,993 | 15,212 | 2,823 | 358,011 | 57,153 | 437,813 | 31,398 | 6,400 | 532,764 | 22,165 | 132,820 | 16,186 | 3,577 | 174,753 |
| Northern | 26,029 | 271,026 | 10,134 | 1,217 | 308,406 | 31,602 | 371,579 | 14,113 | 2,054 | 419,348 | 5,581 | 100,553 | 3,979 | 837 | 110,942 |
| Zululand | 3,985 | 250,829 | 3,034 | 508 | 258,356 | 8,500 | 409,788 | 3,950 | 1,440 | 423,678 | 4,512 | 158,959 | 916 | 932 | 165,322 |
| TOTAL | 136,838 | 1,139,804 | 141,649 | 11,107 | 1,429,398 | 274,240 | 1,810,102 | 299,491 | 31,485 | 2,415,318 | 137,402 | 670,298 | 157,842 | 20,378 | 985,920 |

Percentages

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| oastal | 52.5 | 27.5 | 80.0 | 59.1 | 35.3 | 64.5 | 32.6 | 83.5 | 68.6 | 43.0 | 76.5 | 41.5 | 86.6 | 73.8 | 54.3 |
| idlands | 25.6 | 26.8 | 10.7 | 25.4 | 25.0 | 20.8 | 24.2 | 10.5 | 20.3 | 22.1 | 16.1 | 19.8 | 10.3 | 17.5 | 17.7 |
| orthern | 19.0 | 23.6 | 7.2 | 11.0 | 21.6 | 11.5 | 20.5 | 4.7 | 6.5 | 17.4 | 4.1 | 5.1 | 2.5 | 4.1 | 11.3 |
| ululand | 2.9 | 22.0 | 2.1 | 4.6 | 18.1 | 3.1 | 22.6 | 1.3 | 4.6 | 17.5 | 3.3 | 23.6 | 0.6 | 4.6 | 16.7 |
| OTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

urce: revised Population Census figures, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, August-December, 1958.

Table 65 CHANGES IN URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS OF NATAL, 1921-51

| YEAR | URBAN | | RURAL | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent |
| 1921 | 273,567 | 19.1 | 1,155,831 | 80.9 | 1,429,398 | 100.0 |
| 1936 | 437,854 | 22.5 | 1,508,614 | 77.5 | 1,946,468 | 100.0 |
| 1946 | 605,247 | 27.5 | 1,597,145 | 72.5 | 2,202,392 | 100.0 |
| 1951 | 771,130 | 31.9 | 1,644,188 | 68.1 | 2,415,318 | 100.0 |
| INCREASE, 1921-51 | 497,563 | 50.5 | 488,357 | 49.5 | 985,920 | 100.0 |

Source: revised Population Census Figures, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, August-December, 1958.

The most important feature of this table is that although the urban areas still contained less than one-third of the total Natal population in 1951, their growth during the previous thirty years had been so fast that over half of the total increase of the Natal population between 1921 and 1951 had been recorded in urban areas. Further, more detailed, information appears in Appendix 4 to this chapter, which shows that the mean rate of increase of the urban population (3.5%) was almost three times as fast as that of the rural population (1.2%) over the period 1921-51 and that there was a strong tendency for the difference between the rates of growth to increase rather than to diminish.

The comparative advantage of the urban areas in their rate of growth is to be seen among all four racial groups, and the general pattern between 1921 and 1951 was for the rural populations to show very little increase at all. On the whole, the non-European populations of the towns increased more quickly than the European, the effect on racial composition being that Natives replaced Europeans as the largest single racial group, the proportion of Indians remained fairly constant, while there was an increase in the proportion of Coloureds.

With the help of the adjusted figures, it is now possible to assess, in a very rough manner, what the actual size of the movement of persons from rural to urban areas has been. For this purpose, we must assume that urban and rural areas were both subject to the same rates of population increase during the period 1921-51, so that the faster growth exhibited by urban areas can be attributed to rural-urban migration.

On this assumption, there was a net movement of over 300,000 persons from rural to urban areas over the period 1921-51:

| | Population in thousands: | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban | Rural | Total |
| Population at 1921 census | 273 | 1,156 | 1,429 |
| Hypothetical increase, 1921-51, assuming equal rates | 188 | 798 | 986 |
| Hypothetical Population at 1951 census | 461 | 1,954 | 2,415 |
| Actual population enumerated at 1951 census | 771 | 1,644 | 2,415 |
| Implied migration from rural to urban areas, 1921-51 | +310 | -310 | --- |

According to this calculation, almost two-fifths of the assumed increase in the rural areas between 1921 and 1951 had moved to the towns by 1951. However, the assumption of identical rates of population increase for both urban and rural areas is somewhat unrealistic, since both natural increase rates and the relative importance of migration will tend to

differ[1].

A complementary index of urban growth is provided by the growth of those towns and villages having a population of 2,000 persons or more in 1951 (see Table 66). These figures show the increase in the

Table 66 THE POPULATION OF NATAL TOWNS AND VILLAGES, 1921-51 WHICH HAD A POPULATION OF 2,000 PERSONS OR MORE IN 1951

| RACIAL GROUP | 1921 | | 1936 | | 1946 | | 1951 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | %* | No. | %* | No. | %* | No. | %* |
| Europeans | 96,269 | 70 | 142,810 | 75 | 188,636 | 80 | 219,690 | 80 |
| Natives | 73,352 | 6 | 130,783 | 8 | 201,632 | 12 | 263,955 | 15 |
| Indians | 73,061 | 52 | 114,060 | 62 | 150,549 | 65 | 210,640 | 70 |
| Coloureds | 6,394 | 58 | 12,373 | 66 | 18,650 | 75 | 24,873 | 79 |
| All Races | 249,076 | 17 | 400,029 | 21 | 559,457 | 25 | 719,158 | 30 |

* Percentage of total Natal population of each racial group.

| | Percentage Increase | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1921-36 | 1936-46 | 1946-51 | 1921-51 |
| Europeans | 48.3 | 32.1 | 16.5 | 128.2 |
| Natives | 78.3 | 54.2 | 30.9 | 259.8 |
| Indians | 56.1 | 32.0 | 39.9 | 188.3 |
| Coloureds | 93.6 | 50.7 | 33.4 | 389.0 |
| All Races | 60.6 | 39.9 | 28.5 | 188.7 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

total population of the same thirty-three towns (Table 60), but in fact there were only eight towns of more than 2,000 inhabitants in 1921, 21 in 1936, and 26 in 1946. The remaining seven only topped the 2,000 mark in the five years between 1946 and 1951.

By far the most important aspect of population change in Natal has been the growth of Durban, which, by itself, goes a long way towards accounting for the increase in the urban population of Natal and the movements of population to the Coastal region. Its vital importance is shown by the fact that the growth of Durban between 1921 and 1951 accounted for almost a third of the total increase in the Natal population during the same period, and for almost two-thirds of the European increase.[2]

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1 Where differences in natural increase exist, however, it is generally the rural areas which have the higher rate, so that the assumption of identical increase rates will produce a conservative estimate of the movements of people from the country to the towns. On the other hand, this argument also ignores the part played by inter-provincial (and international) migration, and it is not necessarily true that this affects rural and urban populations equally. It is at least possible that the towns tend to gain more than the rural areas from migratory movements across the provincial borders, in which case the movement of persons to the towns within Natal would be smaller than applied by the above figures.

2 Pietermaritzburg, on the other hand, contributed only 4 per cent to the total population increase between 1921 and 1951 and 22 per cent of the Midlands' increase.

By way of summary, the relative movements of population in the various areas of Natal are illustrated in the following table, which reduces all rates of growth to a single index based on the year 1921.

Table 67 INDICES OF GROWTH OF THE NATAL POPULATION, 1921-51

| AREA | 1921 | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Natal | 100 | 136 | 154 | 169 |
| Coastal region | 100 | 149 | 179 | 206 |
| Midlands region | 100 | 130 | 143 | 149 |
| Northern region | 100 | 119 | 126 | 136 |
| Zululand | 100 | 140 | 154 | 164 |
| Urban areas | 100 | 160 | 221 | 282 |
| Rural areas | 100 | 131 | 138 | 142 |
| Towns of 2,000 or more | 100 | 160 | 225 | 289 |
| Durban and Pinetown | 100 | 154 | 215 | 276 |
| Metropolitan Durban | 100 | 157 | 221 | 284 |

Source: calculated from Union Population figures.

## § 7 The Distribution of Natives in Various Areas

In the last three full population censuses (1936, 1946 and 1951), figures of the distribution of Natives in various areas have been published, and these provide a useful guide to changing patterns. The detailed figures for 1946 and 1951 are given in Appendix 5, but the 1936 figures are not comparable owing to a change in the method of presentation between 1936 and 1946. There is sufficient agreement between the figures, however, to compare the most important areas over the fifteen-year period.

Since mining holds a relatively small position in the economy of Natal (as distinct from South Africa), the distribution of Natives falls roughly into three main groupings: the "Native Areas" (comprising all those areas set aside for Native residence), farms occupied by Europeans, and urban areas. In Natal the Native Areas are by far the most important

Table 68 DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES, UNION AND PROVINCES, 1951

| AREA | NATAL | CAPE | TRANSVAAL | O.F.S. | UNION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Native Areas | 954,838 | 1,585,098 | 741,259 | 26,039 | 3,307,234 |
| European Farms | 366,001 | 396,763 | 1,096,515 | 477,506 | 2,336,785 |
| Other Farms | 121,502 | 14,132 | 81,965 | 23,686 | 241,285 |
| Other Rural Areas | 79,161 | 65,219 | 164,803 | 37,062 | 346,245 |
| Urban Areas | 288,600 | 430,809 | 1,399,228 | 209,897 | 2,328,534 |
| Total | 1,810,102 | 2,492,021 | 3,483,770 | 774,190 | 8,560,083 |
| | | | Percentages | | |
| Native Areas | 52.8 | 63.6 | 21.3 | 3.4 | 38.6 |
| European Farms | 20.2 | 15.9 | 31.5 | 61.7 | 27.3 |
| Other Farms | 6.7 | 0.6 | 2.3 | 3.1 | 2.8 |
| Other Rural Areas | 4.4 | 2.6 | 4.7 | 4.8 | 4.0 |
| Urban Areas | 15.9 | 17.3 | 40.2 | 27.1 | 27.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

centre of Native settlement, containing over half of the Native population and over 60 per cent of the female Native population of

Natal in 1951 (Table 68).[1] A little over 20 per cent were living on European farms, and some 16 per cent were in urban areas. The remaining 11 per cent were living on "other farms" (including those occupied by Indians, Coloureds and Natives outside the scheduled Native areas) and in other rural areas.[2]

Only the Cape had a higher proportion of her Native population resident in Native areas, while the proportion in the Transvaal was considerably lower and that in the Free State almost negligible. Other significant characteristics of the distribution of Natives in Natal are the relatively low proportion of persons living on European farms (especially when compared with the Free State) and in the urban areas (especially when compared with the Transvaal).

Between 1936 and 1951 there was a marked change in the distribution of Natives, mainly towards the urban areas (see Table 69).

Table 69 DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES IN NATAL, 1936-51

| AREA | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 | INCREASE 1936-51 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Native areas | 904,130 | 957,385 | 954,838 | 50,708 |
| European farms | 406,526 | 367,846 | 366,001 | - 40,525 |
| Other farms | 30,765 | 86,224 | 121,502 | 90,737 |
| Other rural areas | 61,330 | 72,518 | 79,163 | 17,833 |
| Urban areas | 150,878 | 224,510 | 288,598 | 137,720 |
| Total Natal | 1,553,629 | 1,708,483 | 1,810,102 | 256,473 |
| | | Percentages | | |
| Native areas | 58.2 | 56.0 | 52.8 | 19.8 |
| European farms | 26.2 | 21.5 | 20.2 | - 15.8 |
| Other farms | 2.0 | 5.1 | 6.7 | 35.4 |
| Other rural areas | 3.9 | 4.2 | 4.4 | 7.0 |
| Urban areas | 9.7 | 13.1 | 15.9 | 53.7 |
| Total Natal | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Union Population Census figures.

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1 Despite the numerical importance of the Native Reserve population and hence their obvious relevance to the terms of reference of this survey, it is not intended to discuss them fully in this report in view of the considerable authoritative literature which already exists on this subject. Their significance will only be mentioned where it has particular reference to the material of the text.

2 The item "Native areas" in this Table is the total of the Native areas shown in Appendix 5, and consists mainly of the reserves, locations and lands administered by the South African Native Trust. The figure for "other farms" is obtained by subtracting "farms occupied by Europeans" from "total farms", and the "other rural areas" is obtained by subtracting all three from the figure for the total rural population.

Although these distribution figures may not be completely accurate[1], this table shows clearly enough the principal trends of Native residence over the past two decades. The most important zone of residence - the Native areas - has declined in relative importance, while the numbers of Natives on European farms show an absolute reduction. On the other hand, the urban areas have shown a remarkable increase and account for more than half of the total increase in population over the period.

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1 The latest figures for the distribution of Natives in the years quoted in this table are those published in Volume 1 of the report on the 1951 Population Census. These have been amended above to incorporate the recently-adjusted figures of urban and rural distribution which have been referred to before, but it is not yet clear how comparable these are with the (unadjusted) figures of the number of Natives in Natives areas, Europeans farms, etc. If any adjustments are subsequently made to these figures by the Bureau, they will be, presumably, for those areas which have been made into urban areas since 1936. One can imagine that such a transformation would happen very infrequently in the Native areas and very occasionally in European farms. But "other farms" (including Indian farming land on the outskirts of Durban, for example) and other rural areas could be affected more seriously.

APPENDIX 1 DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY OF POPULATION IN THE MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS OF NATAL, 1951

| MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT | DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE | | | | PERCENTAGE OF NATAL TOTAL | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. |
| Alfred | 1.8 | 80.7 | --- | 1.7 | 0.4 | 2.4 | 0.1 | 3.0 |
| Babanango | --- | 20.6 | --- | --- | 0.2 | 0.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Bergville | 1.5 | 27.5 | --- | --- | 0.5 | 1.5 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Camperdown | 6.4 | 73.3 | 3.9 | --- | 0.9 | 1.5 | 0.5 | 0.3 |
| Dundee | 9.8 | 58.6 | 6.9 | --- | 2.5 | 2.2 | 1.6 | 1.5 |
| Durban | 1,287 | 1,246 | 1,384 | 152.0 | 53.5 | 7.9 | 52.7 | 55.0 |
| Estcourt | 3.4 | 27.3 | 1.4 | --- | 2.3 | 2.9 | 0.9 | 1.3 |
| Helpmekaar | 1.1 | 27.8 | --- | --- | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Impendle | --- | 21.9 | --- | --- | 0.1 | 0.8 | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| Inanda | 16.3 | 126.2 | 168.2 | 3.5 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 9.3 | 1.9 |
| Ixopo | 2.2 | 62.6 | --- | --- | 0.7 | 3.3 | 0.1 | 3.2 |
| Klipriver | 5.1 | 40.2 | 2.9 | --- | 2.6 | 3.0 | 1.3 | 1.9 |
| Kranskop | 1.0 | 61.1 | --- | --- | 0.2 | 1.4 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Lions River | 5.9 | 36.7 | 3.9 | --- | 1.4 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 1.1 |
| Lower Tugela | 7.3 | 98.0 | 62.5 | 1.6 | 1.2 | 2.4 | 9.2 | 2.3 |
| Mapumulo | --- | 118.2 | --- | --- | 0.0 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Msinga | --- | 84.7 | --- | --- | 0.0 | 3.4 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Ndwedwe | --- | 143.6 | --- | --- | 0.0 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Newcastle | 4.5 | 43.7 | 3.9 | --- | 2.0 | 3.0 | 1.6 | 1.3 |
| New Hanover | 4.0 | 64.5 | 2.7 | --- | 0.8 | 1.9 | 0.5 | 0.3 |
| Ngotshe | --- | 24.2 | --- | --- | 0.3 | 1.8 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Paulpietersburg | 2.2 | 33.1 | --- | --- | 0.4 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Pietermaritzburg | 82.5 | 172.2 | 49.8 | 9.4 | 12.5 | 4.0 | 6.9 | 12.4 |
| Pinetown | 42.2 | 200.4 | 80.0 | 2.1 | 2.6 | 1.9 | 4.5 | 1.1 |
| Polela | 1.4 | 59.3 | --- | --- | 0.2 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| Port Shepstone | 16.6 | 126.4 | 11.9 | 1.2 | 3.1 | 3.6 | 2.0 | 2.0 |
| Richmond | 2.2 | 55.6 | 2.3 | --- | 0.4 | 1.6 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| Umlazi | 2.6 | 190.4 | --- | --- | 0.2 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Umvoti | 3.3 | 50.1 | 2.1 | --- | 1.0 | 2.4 | 0.6 | 0.3 |
| Umzinto | 6.6 | 176.0 | 22.2 | 1.3 | 1.7 | 4.8 | 5.1 | 2.9 |
| Underberg | 1.0 | 13.6 | --- | --- | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.4 |
| Utrecht | 1.4 | 19.8 | --- | --- | 0.8 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 0.7 |
| Vryheid | 4.5 | 37.5 | --- | --- | 2.5 | 3.2 | 0.1 | 0.8 |
| Weenen | 1.9 | 44.4 | --- | --- | 0.3 | 1.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Total Natal | 11.4 | 60.0 | 12.7 | 1.3 | 96.7 | 77.4 | 98.6 | 95.1 |
| Eshowe | 2.7 | 78.9 | --- | --- | 0.7 | 2.9 | 0.2 | 1.7 |
| Hlabisa | --- | 21.5 | --- | --- | 0.5 | 1.8 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| Ingwavuma | --- | 29.0 | --- | --- | 0.0 | 2.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Lower Umfolozi | 2.5 | 37.7 | 1.9 | --- | 1.0 | 2.2 | 0.7 | 0.6 |
| Mahlabatini | --- | 46.8 | --- | --- | 0.0 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Mtonjaneni | --- | 39.7 | --- | --- | 0.2 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 0.2 |
| Mtunzini | 2.1 | 83.3 | 3.1 | --- | 0.3 | 2.1 | 0.5 | 1.1 |
| Nkandhla | --- | 63.6 | --- | --- | 0.1 | 2.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Nongoma | --- | 45.9 | --- | --- | 0.1 | 2.1 | 0.0 | 0.5 |
| Nqutu | --- | 63.7 | --- | --- | 0.1 | 2.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Ubombo | --- | 12.3 | --- | --- | 0.1 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Total Zululand | 0.8 | 39.4 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 3.1 | 22.6 | 1.4 | 4.6 |
| TOTAL NATAL AND ZULULAND | 8.2 | 53.7 | 8.9 | 0.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: calculated from Volume I, 1951 Population Census.
Note: "-" denotes that the density is less than one person per square mile.

APPENDIX 3 (a) DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEANS ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL AGE GROUPS AND URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, NATAL AND UNION, 1951.

| AGE GROUP | | URBAN | | RURAL | | TOTAL | | PER CENT URBAN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N A T A L | | | | | | |
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | % |
| 0-14 | M | 32,720 | 28.3 | 5,871 | 28.7 | 38,591 | 28.3 | 84.8 |
| | F | 32,311 | 27.0 | 5,221 | 28.4 | 37,532 | 27.2 | 86.1 |
| | P | 65,031 | 27.6 | 11,092 | 28.5 | 76,123 | 27.8 | 85.4 |
| 15-44 | M | 53,694 | 46.4 | 8,452 | 41.3 | 62,146 | 45.6 | 86.4 |
| | F | 52,870 | 44.2 | 7,587 | 41.2 | 60,457 | 43.8 | 87.5 |
| | P | 106,564 | 45.3 | 16,039 | 41.2 | 122,603 | 44.7 | 86.9 |
| 45-64 | M | 20,465 | 17.7 | 4,453 | 21.7 | 24,918 | 18.1 | 82.1 |
| | F | 23,485 | 19.7 | 4,088 | 22.2 | 27,573 | 20.0 | 85.2 |
| | P | 43,950 | 18.7 | 8,541 | 22.0 | 52,491 | 19.1 | 83.7 |
| 65 & over | M | 8,915 | 7.7 | 1,701 | 8.3 | 10,616 | 7.8 | 84.0 |
| | F | 10,830 | 9.1 | 1,515 | 8.2 | 12,345 | 9.0 | 87.7 |
| | P | 19,745 | 8.4 | 3,216 | 8.3 | 22,961 | 8.4 | 86.1 |
| TOTAL* | M | 115,815 | 100.0 | 20,485 | 100.0 | 136,300 | 100.0 | 85.0 |
| | F | 119,525 | 100.0 | 18,415 | 100.0 | 137,940 | 100.0 | 86.6 |
| | P | 235,340 | 100.0 | 38,900 | 100.0 | 274,240 | 100.0 | 85.8 |
| | | U N I O N | | | | | | |
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | % |
| 0-14 | M | 328,536 | 32.1 | 97,915 | 32.6 | 426,451 | 32.2 | 77.0 |
| | F | 320,615 | 30.6 | 91,022 | 33.7 | 411,637 | 31.2 | 77.9 |
| | P | 649,151 | 31.4 | 188,937 | 33.1 | 838,088 | 31.7 | 77.5 |
| 15-44 | M | 476,415 | 46.6 | 120,299 | 40.0 | 596,714 | 45.1 | 79.8 |
| | F | 481,747 | 46.0 | 109,481 | 40.5 | 591,228 | 44.8 | 81.5 |
| | P | 958,162 | 46.3 | 229,780 | 40.3 | 1,187,942 | 45.0 | 80.7 |
| 45-64 | M | 157,373 | 15.4 | 59,798 | 19.9 | 217,171 | 16.4 | 72.4 |
| | F | 174,619 | 16.7 | 52,229 | 19.3 | 226,848 | 17.2 | 77.0 |
| | P | 331,992 | 16.0 | 112,027 | 19.6 | 444,019 | 16.8 | 74.8 |
| 65 & over | M | 59,683 | 5.8 | 22,398 | 7.5 | 82,091 | 6.2 | 72.7 |
| | F | 71,163 | 6.8 | 17,706 | 6.5 | 88,869 | 6.7 | 80.1 |
| | P | 130,856 | 6.3 | 40,104 | 7.0 | 170,960 | 6.5 | 76.5 |
| TOTAL* | M | 1,022,248 | 100.0 | 300,506 | 100.0 | 1,322,754 | 100.0 | 77.3 |
| | F | 1,048,427 | 100.0 | 270,508 | 100.0 | 1,318,935 | 100.0 | 79.5 |
| | P | 2,070,675 | 100.0 | 571,014 | 100.0 | 2,641,689 | 100.0 | 78.4 |

Source: Volume V, 1951 Population Census.
* Including persons of unspecified age.

APPENDIX 3 (b) DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL AGE GROUPS AND URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, NATAL AND UNION, 1951.

| AGE GROUP | | URBAN | | RURAL | | TOTAL | | PER CENT URBAN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N A T A L | | | | | | |
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | % |
| 0-14 | M | 31,427 | 16.9 | 332,015 | 47.9 | 363,442 | 41.4 | 8.6 |
| | F | 30,566 | 29.6 | 332,434 | 40.1 | 363,000 | 38.9 | 8.4 |
| | P | 61,993 | 21.5 | 664,449 | 43.7 | 726,442 | 40.1 | 8.5 |
| 15-44 | M | 127,698 | 68.9 | 249,835 | 36.1 | 377,533 | 43.0 | 33.8 |
| | F | 60,072 | 58.2 | 348,439 | 42.0 | 408,511 | 43.8 | 14.7 |
| | P | 187,770 | 65.1 | 598,274 | 39.3 | 786,044 | 43.4 | 23.9 |
| 45-64 | M | 23,374 | 12.6 | 82,253 | 11.9 | 105,627 | 12.0 | 22.1 |
| | F | 10,128 | 9.8 | 108,419 | 13.1 | 118,547 | 12.7 | 8.5 |
| | P | 33,502 | 11.6 | 190,672 | 12.5 | 224,174 | 12.4 | 14.9 |
| 65 & over | M | 2,892 | 1.6 | 28,442 | 4.1 | 31,334 | 3.6 | 9.2 |
| | F | 2,410 | 2.3 | 39,378 | 4.8 | 41,788 | 4.5 | 5.8 |
| | P | 5,302 | 1.8 | 67,820 | 4.5 | 73,122 | 4.0 | 7.3 |
| TOTAL* | M | 185,411 | 100.0 | 692,668 | 100.0 | 878,079 | 100.0 | 21.1 |
| | F | 103,189 | 100.0 | 828,834 | 100.0 | 932,023 | 100.0 | 11.1 |
| | P | 288,600 | 100.0 | 1,521,502 | 100.0 | 1,810,102 | 100.0 | 15.9 |
| | | U N I O N | | | | | | |
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | % |
| 0-14 | M | 282,616 | 19.8 | 1,388,660 | 47.2 | 1,671,276 | 38.3 | 16.9 |
| | F | 301,215 | 33.3 | 1,369,185 | 41.7 | 1,670,400 | 39.9 | 18.0 |
| | P | 583,831 | 25.1 | 2,757,845 | 44.3 | 3,341,676 | 39.0 | 17.5 |
| 15-44 | M | 962,404 | 67.6 | 1,108,716 | 37.6 | 2,071,120 | 47.4 | 46.5 |
| | F | 486,586 | 53.8 | 1,390,518 | 42.3 | 1,877,104 | 44.8 | 25.9 |
| | P | 1,448,990 | 62.2 | 2,499,234 | 40.1 | 3,948,224 | 46.1 | 36.7 |
| 45-64 | M | 151,672 | 10.6 | 332,767 | 11.3 | 484,439 | 11.1 | 31.3 |
| | F | 88,902 | 9.8 | 385,629 | 11.7 | 474,531 | 11.3 | 18.7 |
| | P | 240,574 | 10.3 | 718,396 | 11.5 | 958,970 | 11.2 | 25.1 |
| 65 & over | M | 24,945 | 1.8 | 113,025 | 3.8 | 137,970 | 3.2 | 18.1 |
| | F | 26,035 | 2.9 | 139,843 | 4.3 | 165,378 | 4.0 | 15.7 |
| | P | 50,980 | 2.2 | 252,868 | 4.1 | 303,848 | 3.6 | 16.8 |
| TOTAL* | M | 1,424,336 | 100.0 | 2,944,821 | 100.0 | 4,369,157 | 100.0 | 32.6 |
| | F | 904,198 | 100.0 | 3,286,728 | 100.0 | 4,190,926 | 100.0 | 21.6 |
| | P | 2,328,534 | 100.0 | 6,231,549 | 100.0 | 8,560,083 | 100.0 | 27.2 |

Source: Volume V., 1951 Population Census.
* Including persons of unspecified age.

APPENDIX 3 (c) DISTRIBUTION OF INDIANS ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL AGE GROUPS AND URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, NATAL AND REST OF UNION, 1951.[1]

| AGE GROUP | | URBAN | | RURAL | | TOTAL | | PER CENT URBAN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N A T A L | | | | | | |
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | % |
| 0-14 | M | 52,655 | 46.3 | 19,193 | 48.7 | 71,848 | 46.9 | 73.3 |
| | F | 52,545 | 48.8 | 19,371 | 50.6 | 71,916 | 49.2 | 73.1 |
| | P | 105,200 | 47.5 | 38,564 | 49.6 | 143,764 | 48.0 | 73.2 |
| 15-44 | M | 48,295 | 42.4 | 15,207 | 38.6 | 63,502 | 41.4 | 76.1 |
| | F | 46,150 | 42.8 | 15,994 | 41.8 | 62,144 | 42.6 | 74.3 |
| | P | 94,445 | 42.6 | 31,201 | 40.2 | 125,646 | 42.0 | 75.2 |
| 45-64 | M | 9,832 | 8.6 | 3,680 | 9.3 | 13,512 | 8.8 | 72.8 |
| | F | 7,569 | 7.0 | 2,384 | 6.2 | 10,031 | 6.8 | 76.0 |
| | P | 17,401 | 7.9 | 6,064 | 7.8 | 23,543 | 7.8 | 74.2 |
| 65 & over | M | 3,045 | 2.7 | 1,311 | 3.3 | 4,356 | 2.8 | 69.9 |
| | F | 1,463 | 1.4 | 547 | 1.4 | 2,010 | 1.4 | 72.8 |
| | P | 4,508 | 2.0 | 1,858 | 2.4 | 6,366 | 2.1 | 70.8 |
| TOTAL* | M | 113,887 | 100.0 | 39,410 | 100.0 | 153,297 | 100.0 | 74.3 |
| | F | 107,787 | 100.0 | 38,407 | 100.0 | 146,194 | 100.0 | 73.7 |
| | P | 221,674 | 100.0 | 77,817 | 100.0 | 299,491 | 100.0 | 74.0 |
| | | R E S T O F U N I O N | | | | | | |
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | % |
| 0-14 | M | 14,552 | 43.1 | 1,042 | 41.5 | 15,594 | 43.0 | 93.3 |
| | F | 13,898 | 48.3 | 930 | 46.0 | 14,828 | 48.1 | 93.7 |
| | P | 28,450 | 45.5 | 1,972 | 43.5 | 30,422 | 45.4 | 93.5 |
| 15-44 | M | 14,750 | 43.7 | 1,106 | 44.1 | 15,856 | 43.8 | 93.0 |
| | F | 12,543 | 43.6 | 925 | 45.8 | 13,468 | 43.7 | 93.1 |
| | P | 27,293 | 43.7 | 2,031 | 44.8 | 29,324 | 43.7 | 93.1 |
| 45-64 | M | 3,231 | 9.6 | 244 | 9.7 | 3,475 | 9.6 | 93.0 |
| | F | 2,004 | 7.0 | 133 | 6.6 | 2,137 | 6.9 | 93.8 |
| | P | 5,235 | 8.4 | 377 | 8.3 | 5,612 | 8.4 | 93.3 |
| 65 & over | M | 1,193 | 3.5 | 117 | 4.7 | 1,310 | 3.6 | 91.1 |
| | F | 339 | 1.2 | 33 | 1.6 | 372 | 1.2 | 91.1 |
| | P | 1,532 | 2.5 | 150 | 3.3 | 1,682 | 2.5 | 91.1 |
| TOTAL* | M | 33,782 | 100.0 | 2,516 | 100.0 | 36,298 | 100.0 | 93.1 |
| | F | 28,851 | 100.0 | 2,024 | 100.0 | 30,875 | 100.0 | 93.4 |
| | P | 62,633 | 100.0 | 4,540 | 100.0 | 67,173 | 100.0 | 93.2 |

Source: Volume V., 1951 Population Census.

* Including persons of unspecified age.

1. For purposes of comparison, Natal figures are related to those for the Rest of the Union (i.e. excluding Natal) rather than to figures for the whole of the Union.

APPENDIX 3 (d) DISTRIBUTION OF COLOUREDS ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL AGE GROUPS AND URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, NATAL AND UNION, 1951.

| AGE GROUP | | URBAN | | RURAL | | TOTAL | | PERCENT URBAN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N A T A L | | | | | | |
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No | % | % |
| 0-14 | M | 5,431 | 44.9 | 1,331 | 42.5 | 6,762 | 44.4 | 80.3 |
| | F | 5,484 | 41.0 | 1,392 | 49.2 | 6,876 | 42.4 | 79.8 |
| | P | 10,915 | 42.8 | 2,723 | 45.6 | 13,638 | 43.3 | 80.0 |
| 15-44 | M | 5,330 | 44.0 | 1,295 | 41.3 | 6,625 | 43.5 | 80.5 |
| | F | 6,226 | 46.5 | 1,055 | 37.3 | 7,281 | 44.9 | 85.5 |
| | P | 11,556 | 45.3 | 2,350 | 39.4 | 13,906 | 44.2 | 83.1 |
| 45-64 | M | 1,096 | 9.1 | 394 | 12.6 | 1,490 | 9.8 | 73.6 |
| | F | 1,328 | 9.9 | 286 | 10.1 | 1,614 | 10.0 | 82.3 |
| | P | 2,424 | 9.5 | 680 | 11.4 | 3,104 | 9.9 | 78.1 |
| 65 & over | M | 252 | 2.1 | 115 | 3.7 | 367 | 2.4 | 68.7 |
| | F | 350 | 2.6 | 98 | 3.5 | 448 | 2.8 | 78.1 |
| | P | 602 | 2.4 | 213 | 3.6 | 815 | 2.6 | 73.9 |
| TOTAL* | M | 12,119 | 100.0 | 3,136 | 100.0 | 15,255 | 100.0 | 79.4 |
| | F | 13,399 | 100.0 | 2,831 | 100.0 | 16,230 | 100.0 | 82.6 |
| | P | 25,518 | 100.0 | 5,967 | 100.0 | 31,485 | 100.0 | 81.0 |
| | | U N I O N | | | | | | |
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | % |
| 0-14 | M | 146,712 | 43.0 | 90,481 | 43.3 | 237,193 | 43.1 | 61.9 |
| | F | 148,441 | 40.0 | 87,081 | 48.2 | 235,522 | 42.7 | 63.0 |
| | P | 295,153 | 41.4 | 177,562 | 45.6 | 472,715 | 42.9 | 62.4 |
| 15-44 | M | 148,766 | 43.6 | 86,410 | 41.4 | 235,176 | 42.8 | 63.2 |
| | F | 168,252 | 45.3 | 70,843 | 39.2 | 239,095 | 43.0 | 70.4 |
| | P | 317,018 | 44.5 | 157,253 | 40.4 | 474,271 | 43.0 | 66.8 |
| 45-64 | M | 34, | 10.2 | 23,849 | 11.4 | 58,546 | 10.6 | 59.2 |
| | F | 40,42 | 10.9 | 16,805 | 9.3 | 57,128 | 10.4 | 70.6 |
| | P | 75,12 | 10.5 | 40,654 | 10.4 | 115,774 | 10.5 | 64.9 |
| 65 & over | M | 11,0 | 3.2 | 8,156 | 3.9 | 19,226 | 3.5 | 57.8 |
| | F | 14,0 | 3.8 | 6,042 | 3.3 | 20,122 | 3.6 | 70.2 |
| | P | 25,1 | 3.5 | 14,198 | 3.6 | 39,348 | 3.6 | 64.1 |
| TOTAL* | M | 341,569 | 100.0 | 209,010 | 100.0 | 550,579 | 100.0 | 62.0 |
| | F | 371,559 | 100.0 | 180,878 | 100.0 | 552,437 | 100.0 | 67.3 |
| | P | 713,128 | 100.0 | 389,888 | 100.0 | 1,103,016 | 100.0 | 64.7 |

Source: Volume V., 1951 Population Census.
* Including persons of unspecified age.

APPENDIX 4 URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS OF NATAL, BY RACIAL GROUP, 1921-51

| YEAR | U R B A N | | | | | R U R A L | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | EURS. | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLS. | ALL | EURS. | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLS. | ALL |
| 1921 | 101,725 | 85,870 | 79,109 | 6,863 | 273,567 | 35,113 | 1,053,934 | 62,540 | 4,244 | 1,155,831 |
| 1936 | 151,256 | 150,878 | 122,783 | 12,937 | 437,854 | 39,293 | 1,402,751 | 60,878 | 5,692 | 1,508,614 |
| 1946 | 200,728 | 224,510 | 160,457 | 19,552 | 605,247 | 35,969 | 1,483,973 | 72,860 | 5,343 | 1,597,145 |
| 1951 | 235,340 | 288,598 | 221,674 | 25,518 | 771,130 | 38,900 | 1,521,504 | 77,817 | 5,967 | 1,644,188 |
| | Percentage of Total (urban and rural) populations | | | | | | | | | |
| 1921 | 74.3 | 7.5 | 55.8 | 61.8 | 19.1 | 25.7 | 92.5 | 44.2 | 38.2 | 80.9 |
| 1936 | 79.4 | 9.7 | 66.9 | 69.4 | 22.5 | 20.6 | 90.3 | 33.1 | 30.6 | 77.5 |
| 1946 | 84.8 | 13.1 | 69.1 | 78.5 | 27.5 | 15.2 | 86.9 | 30.9 | 21.5 | 72.5 |
| 1951 | 85.8 | 15.9 | 74.0 | 81.0 | 31.9 | 14.2 | 84.1 | 26.0 | 19.0 | 68.1 |
| | Racial composition (percentages) | | | | | | | | | |
| 1921 | 37.2 | 31.4 | 28.9 | 2.5 | 100.0 | 3.0 | 91.2 | 5.4 | 0.4 | 100.0 |
| 1936 | 34.5 | 34.4 | 28.0 | 3.0 | 100.0 | 2.6 | 93.0 | 4.0 | 0.4 | 100.0 |
| 1946 | 33.2 | 37.1 | 26.5 | 3.2 | 100.0 | 2.3 | 92.9 | 4.5 | 0.3 | 100.0 |
| 1951 | 30.5 | 37.4 | 28.7 | 3.3 | 100.0 | 2.4 | 92.5 | 4.7 | 0.4 | 100.0 |
| | Mean annual rate of population growth | | | | | | | | | |
| 1921-36 | 2.7 | 3.9 | 3.0 | 4.3 | 3.1 | 0.8 | 2.0 | -0.2 | 1.2 | 1.8 |
| 1936-46 | 2.9 | 4.1 | 2.7 | 4.2 | 3.3 | -0.6 | 0.6 | 1.6 | -0.6 | 0.6 |
| 1946-51 | 3.2 | 5.2 | 6.7 | 5.4 | 5.0 | 1.6 | 0.5 | 1.6 | 2.2 | 0.6 |
| 1921-51 | 2.8 | 4.1 | 3.5 | 4.5 | 3.5 | 0.3 | 1.3 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 1.2 |

Source: revised Population Census figures, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, August - December, 1958.

APPENDIX 5 DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES IN NATAL, 1946 AND 1951

| AREA | 1946 | | 1951 | PERCENTAGE INCREASE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | % |
| Municipal Locations | 23,243 | 1.4 | 43,685 | 2.4 | 87.9 |
| Municipal Compounds | 11,064 | 0.6 | 7,013 | 0.4 | -36.6 |
| Other urban areas | 152,869 | 8.9 | 203,411 | 11.2 | 33.1 |
| Sub-urban areas | 1,977 | 0.1 | 1,772 | 0.1 | -10.4 |
| Quasi-urban townships | 2,109 | 0.1 | 2,578 | 0.1 | 22.2 |
| Industrial compounds | 54,641 | 3.2 | 56,699 | 3.1 | 3.8 |
| Mine compounds | 23,884 | 1.4 | 27,836 | 1.5 | 16.5 |
| Construction gangs | 12,352 | 0.7 | 9,132 | 0.5 | -26.1 |
| Government areas | 5,788 | 0.3 | 8,811 | 0.5 | 52.2 |
| Rural townships | 1,665 | 0.1 | 2,231 | 0.1 | 34.0 |
| Farms, total | 454,070 | 26.6 | 487,503 | 26.9 | 7.4 |
| " occupied by Whites | 367,846 | 21.5 | 366,001 | 20.2 | - 0.5 |
| " occupied by Indians or Coloureds | 26,768 | 1.6 | 31,089 | 1.7 | 16.1 |
| " not occupied by Whites Indians, or Coloureds | 59,456 | 3.5 | 90,413 | 5.0 | 52.1 |
| Native Areas, total | 957,385 | 56.0 | 954,838 | 52.8 | - 0.3 |
| Trust lands, locations, reserves | 777,106 | 45.5 | 773,033 | 42.7 | - 0.5 |
| Other Trust-vested lands | 4,411 | 0.3 | 13,951 | 0.8 | 216.3 |
| Trust purchased land | 11,639 | 0.7 | 14,142 | 0.8 | 21.5 |
| Mission stations | 30,776 | 1.8 | 29,885 | 1.7 | - 2.9 |
| Tribally-owned land | 12,841 | 0.8 | 13,216 | 0.7 | 2.9 |
| Native-owned land | 81,983 | 4.8 | 83,259 | 4.6 | 1.6 |
| Crown lands | 38,629 | 2.3 | 27,352 | 1.5 | -29.2 |
| Other areas | 7,436 | 0.4 | 4,593 | 0.3 | -38.2 |
| Total Urban | 224,510 | 12.6 | 288,600 | 15.9 | 34.2 |
| Total Rural | 1,483,975 | 87.4 | 1,521,502 | 84.1 | 1.9 |
| TOTAL NATAL | 1,708,483 | 100.0 | 1,810,102 | 100.0 | 5.9 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

# NATAL'S LABOUR RESOURCES

# AND

# INDUSTRY IN GREATER DURBAN

## PART TWO : THE NATAL LABOUR FORCE

# CHAPTER FOUR

# WORK PARTICIPATION IN NATAL

## § 1 Introduction

Part One of this survey gave attention to the growth, structure, and distribution of the population of Natal, and suggested a measure of labour potential. The potential working population was described as being roughly equivalent to the total number of persons aged between 15 and 64 years. It is now necessary to refine our analysis of labour resources a little further by investigating the extent to which the labour potential of Natal is employed, and by taking into account some of the more important ways in which the size of the working population, or labour force, differs from the population of working age.

## § 2 The Concept of Work

In a modern, industrial society, the distinguishing line between work and non-work can generally be drawn quite precisely and most people are easily classified as either workers or non-workers. But this is not always so, even under optimum conditions, because our concept of work (and hence our concept of workers) is open to alternative interpretations. To put it another way, there is no one, categorical answer to the question "Just how long must one work or what sort of work must one do to be included in the labour force?"

One example of the basic theoretical difficulty is the comparison between a family worker and a housewife. The family worker, who assists in an enterprise operated by one or more of the members of the same family, is conventionally included in the labour force, even though he may receive no normal cash wages. His inclusion is usually justified on the grounds that he is carrying out an economically useful activity and is rewarded by the provision of board and lodging. A further argument for his inclusion is that his participation in work has an effect on the labour wage rate, since if he were not to work, his place would have to be filled by another (paid) worker. This may be true, but, on the other hand, the housewife, who also performs economically useful functions (domestic service, cooking, care of children, maintenance, etc.) in return for board and lodging, is usually omitted from the labour force, even though the alternative cost of replacing her services may be remarkably high.

As with the greater part of census material, however, it is left mainly to the individual himself to classify his own work status, and he will in most cases be recorded according to the description given on his form. However conscientious the enumerators may be, one must assume that they will query this information only when there is an obvious contradiction or when they have reason to believe that a question has been misunderstood or falsely answered.

There is, therefore, often a choice open to the individual of alternative ways of classifying himself. Very frequently the choice is merely between two or more ways of describing a non-worker (as, for example, "retired" or "independent" or "pensioner") or of describing the same worker (see Chapter Six). Errors which arise in this way are of minor importance to the present discussion because they do not affect our measure of work participation. But inaccuracies in the estimate of work potential can occur when it is possible to classify a person as either a worker or a non-worker.

This possibility is most likely in the case of part-time, seasonal, or intermittent workers, who work for only part of the day

or for discontinuous periods during the year. Once again the problem is not serious in an "industrial" economy, although it may be important in the case of housewives working part-time, pensioners supplementing their income in various ways, or among the chronically unemployed whose work participation is sporadic and irregular. But it is when one attempts to apply "western" concepts of work to agricultural communities that the dividing line between work and non-work is hardest to draw, and in Natal, with its large proportion of Natives living in the partial subsistence economy of the Reserves, the assessment of the size of the labour force is further complicated by the traditional migrant labour system.

In any peasant community tied closely to the productivity of the soil, no one can be an absolute non-worker, and both the number of workers and the amount of effort expended varies according to the seasons and the vagaries of climate, pests, and natural disasters. Employment and unemployment in the sense understood in an urban community are unknown; instead every member of the family may be regarded as a part-time or partial worker, although the degree of work participation will differ according to age and sex and will vary from time to time.

The migrant worker, on the other hand, should rather be classed as a "sporadic" or "intermittent" worker, since he alternates between being a worker and a non-worker or peasant, although during his periods as a worker he is a full member of the labour force. These considerations illustrate the dangers of interpreting census figures as very accurate estimates of the Native labour force.

A special word should be said about the position of Native women in the working population. In the 1936 census, every Native women of 10 years and over in the Reserves was classified as being engaged in agricultural occupations, and hence as being gainfully-occupied. The result of this classification was to swell the Native labour force very considerably. But it was realized that these Reserve women, although responsible for a considerable amount of the agricultural work, spend most of their time in "household" duties such as caring for children, cooking food, fetching water, and so on, and it was estimated that only a quarter of their working days are spent in actual agricultural work. In the report of occupations and industries of the 1946 census, therefore, the number of Native women who were classified as agricultural workers fell drastically, and over a million women, who on the 1936 basis would have been classed as workers, were recorded as dependants instead. In 1951 the revision passed to its final stage, and <u>all</u> Native women in the Reserves were classified as dependants. This progressive change in classification, although undoubtedly leading to a more accurate assessment of the Native labour force, makes it impossible to compare the Native (and hence total) working populations over successive censuses. The analysis of Native employment will, therefore, be restricted mainly to the 1951 census figures.

Since we are dependent upon census figures for all our material relating to Natal, it will be convenient to make the Natal labour force synonymous with the sum of all persons who in the census of 1951 were described as being "gainfully-occupied". This means that the labour force includes all those who were reported to be "economically active", including those recording themselves as "unemployed" (see Chapter Six). By the same token, we shall use the term "work" to refer to the activity in which a gainfully-occupied person is engaged. For want of any simpler expression, we shall use "participation in work" to refer to what might otherwise only be described as the "state of being gainfully-occupied".

## § 3 <u>Work Participation in Natal</u>

There are three necessary and sufficient conditions for a person to enter the labour force: the ability to work, the desire to work, and the availability of work. These are all elementary and well known economic

conditions, but are important enough to merit brief discussion here.

The ability to work implies that a potential worker should possess standards of health and physique, mentality, training, and behaviour not less than those demanded by his society. The level of these standards exclude most children, either directly or indirectly, a proportion of oldsters (which proportion increases with age), and a group of persons, such as the permanently incapacitated and the mentally abnormal, who as a rule are unemployed in a competitive economy. In addition, there is a changing group of people who, mainly for reasons of health, are for varying periods (although not permanently) unable to participate in any work. This group includes workers who have lost their jobs through illness, women during the period immediately before and immediately after childbirth, and possibly might also be broadened to include South African workers temporarily absent from the country. In estimating the potential working population, it may be remembered, all persons able to work were taken to be potential workers and all persons aged 15-64 were assumed to be able to work.

The fact that a person is able-bodied, however, is not a sufficient condition for him to seek entry to the labour force, since in theory a free society leaves the choice between work and leisure to the individual. Yet, although the advance of social security in "western" countries has relieved man from much of the fear of physical want, the social stigma and economic hardships attached to unemployment still remain, and an able-bodied person has little choice but to seek work, unless he has alternative means of support. The desire to work is, therefore, a factor depending not so much upon the particular way an individual rates work and leisure as upon his role in society, and especially upon his sex and age. With males, the probability that an able-bodied person will seek work depends mainly upon his age, with the existence of alternative means of support as a factor of secondary importance. With females, the most important determinants of the desire to work are marital status and motherhood, although both of these factors are correlated with age. Marriage provides the security of an alternative means of support, while pregnancy and childbirth reduce both the desire and the ability to work.

Assuming that a potential worker has the ability and the desire to work, the only other condition which is necessary before he can be employed is that there should be work available for him. In the period of full and over-full employment to which Europeans in South Africa became accustomed after World War II, this problem resolves itself into the need to find a job of the right kind, in the right place, at the right time, and at the right wage, although the ease with which a workseeker will find a suitable job will depend upon the current conditions of supply and demand in the labour market.

We may now return to the important consideration of the extent to which the potential labour resources of the population are employed, and in order to do this it will be necessary to retrace briefly some of the ground already covered.

The first index of labour resources is the total population of the region under consideration. This is the primary source of all labour supplies and in the long run determines, through its rate of growth, the secular trend in the supply of labour. As was emphasised in Chapter Two, the total population of an area can be increased in only two ways - by natural increase or by encouraging immigration - of which immigration may be the more feasible and the quicker acting.

While the size of the total population is the primary determinant of labour resources, certain classes of persons such as the very young and the old do not generally participate in the work of the community, and, for this reason, the population of working age (taken to be between 15 and 64 years) was thought to be the more practical measure of the community's basic manpower.

For purposes of comparison between different communities or racial groups, an approximate idea of labour potential can, therefore, be derived by a comparison between the population of working age and the total population with which we are concerned. If this relationship is expressed as a simple ratio, we may employ the term the Work Potential Ratio[1], which as the following table shows, varies noticeably though not drastically, between the racial groups:

Table 70 POPULATION AND WORK POTENTIAL, BY RACIAL GROUPS, NATAL, 1951

| RACIAL GROUP | TOTAL POPULATION | POPULATION AGED 15-64 | WORK POTENTIAL RATIO |
|---|---|---|---|
| Europeans | 274,240 | 175,094 | 0.64 |
| Natives | 1,810,102 | 1,010,218 | 0.56 |
| Indians | 299,491 | 149,189 | 0.50 |
| Coloureds | 31,485 | 17,010 | 0.54 |
| All Races | 2,415,318 | 1,351,511 | 0.56 |

Source: calculated from 1951 Population Census figures.

The population of working age may be taken as a crude measure of the manpower potentially available for work, and, similarly, the work potential ratio may be used as a rough index of the proportion of the total population which is capable of work, on the assumption that the age range 15-64 years provides a guide to capability for work.

The size of the work potential ratio is, of course, dependent entirely upon demographic factors, and it will be seen from the above table that the most favourable ratio is found amongst the Europeans of Natal, because a comparatively large proportion of them are in the adult age groups. On the other hand, the least favourable work potential is displayed by the Indian community, owing to the fact that nearly half of the population are children under the age of 15.

However, not all of the population of working age enter the labour force, and we must now consider the extent to which the potential working population is actively employed. In order to do this we shall introduce another term - the Net Work Participation Rate - which relates the actual labour force to the potential working population[2]:

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1 Work Potential Ratio = $\frac{\text{Population of Working Age}}{\text{Total Population}}$

2 Net Work Participation Rate = $\frac{\text{Total Labour Force} \times 100}{\text{Population of Working Age}}$

Table 71 WORK POTENTIAL AND LABOUR FORCE, BY RACIAL GROUP, NATAL, 1951

| RACIAL GROUP | POPULATION AGED 15-64 | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE* | NET WORK PARTICIPATION RATE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Europeans | 175,094 | 110,191 | 62.9 |
| Natives | 1,010,218 | 581,898 | 57.6 |
| Indians | 149,189 | 74,976 | 50.3 |
| Coloureds | 17,010 | 10,850 | 63.8 |
| All Races | 1,351,511 | 777,915 | 57.7 |

Sources: Volume V, 1951 Population Census; unpublished figures, 1951 Population Census.
* 15 years and over.

The Net Work Participation rate depends not so much upon demographic factors as upon cultural and economic factors, and is especially affected by the participation of women in the labour force.

We can now deal more intensively with the correlation between the labour force and the population of working age. In doing this, it is necessary to answer two associated questions: one, what proportion of the labour force falls within the age range 15-64 and, two, to what extent does the population of working age participate in work?

Provisional figures from the 1951 population census tabulating the ages of the gainfully-occupied populations are available only for the total Union and not separately for each province, while figures for the Native population are only available from the 1946 census. Nevertheless, the figures for Europeans and Indians have been put to use below, since there is no reason to suspect that the general age pattern of European employment in Natal should be materially different from that in the Union as a whole, while the figures for Union Indians can be applied to Natal at the risk of little error because the majority of South Africa's Indians are in Natal.

Only the Coloureds' figures have been rejected, since the age structures cannot be assumed to be comparable when the Coloured population of Natal forms such a small part of the Union total. Table 72 shows the age distribution of the labour force and the work participation rate of each age group over 15 years. At least as far as Europeans and Indians are concerned, all but a small proportion of the labour force falls between the ages of 15 and 64. One obvious fault is that there must be a few workers below the age of 15, although no figures are available of the number involved. But the figures in Table 72 show that the distribution of workers in the 15-19 year age group falls rapidly towards the age of 15, while Figure 12 suggests that a projection of the curves would give an almost negligible rate of work participation for children under fifteen.[1]

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1 Figure 12 is based on unpublished data on the age distribution of the gainfully-occupied population of the Union at the time of the 1951 population census. The points used to plot the curves are the single year values for ages 15-19, and the mean values of the five-year age groups 20-24 to 70-74 plotted at the mid points of these intervals. The mean age of workers in the open-ended "75 years and over" age group is taken to be 80 years.

Table 72 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS AND WORK PARTICIPATION BY AGE, EUROPEANS AND INDIANS, AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER, UNION, 1951

| AGE | WORKERS OF EACH AGE AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WORKING POPULATION | | | | AGE-SPECIFIC WORK PARTICIPATION RATE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MEN | | WOMEN | | MEN | | WOMEN | |
| | Europ. | Inds. | Europ. | Inds. | Europ. | Inds. | Europ. | Inds. |
| 15 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.7 | 3.5 | 7.1 | 23.2 | 6.5 | 5.5 |
| 16 | 1.0 | 1.7 | 3.1 | 4.5 | 34.8 | 39.0 | 30.9 | 7.4 |
| 17 | 1.7 | 2.4 | 5.0 | 6.0 | 60.6 | 57.3 | 52.3 | 10.2 |
| 18 | 2.1 | 3.2 | 5.9 | 6.2 | 78.7 | 72.8 | 61.9 | 10.6 |
| 19 | 2.4 | 3.4 | 6.0 | 5.6 | 86.1 | 83.2 | 61.9 | 10.6 |
| 15 - 19 | 7.4 | 11.8 | 20.7 | 25.8 | 52.6 | 54.1 | 42.0 | 8.7 |
| 20 - 24 | 12.7 | 18.0 | 22.2 | 21.2 | 93.7 | 95.1 | 46.3 | 8.5 |
| 25 - 29 | 12.5 | 15.2 | 11.8 | 10.6 | 97.6 | 98.3 | 25.6 | 5.2 |
| 30 - 34 | 12.4 | 12.8 | 8.8 | 8.6 | 98.4 | 97.4 | 19.7 | 5.2 |
| 35 - 39 | 12.4 | 11.4 | 8.8 | 8.6 | 98.6 | 98.2 | 19.7 | 6.3 |
| 40 - 44 | 11.8 | 9.0 | 8.7 | 7.2 | 98.4 | 97.4 | 20.6 | 7.3 |
| 45 - 49 | 9.3 | 6.6 | 6.9 | 6.5 | 97.8 | 96.8 | 20.7 | 9.1 |
| 50 - 54 | 6.8 | 5.1 | 4.9 | 5.1 | 95.9 | 95.4 | 18.2 | 10.1 |
| 55 - 59 | 5.9 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 92.2 | 93.7 | 13.7 | 8.1 |
| 60 - 64 | 4.1 | 3.1 | 1.9 | 2.0 | 78.2 | 85.1 | 9.2 | 6.9 |
| 15 - 64 | 95.3 | 96.3 | 98.3 | 98.4 | 90.0 | 87.8 | 25.8 | 7.4 |
| 65 - 69 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 61.6 | 71.1 | 6.0 | 5.6 |
| 70 - 74 | 1.4 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 42.5 | 48.3 | 3.5 | 4.9 |
| 75 + | 0.8 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 24.2 | 31.1 | 2.3 | 1.4 |
| TOTAL 15+ | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 85.8 | 86.0 | 23.7 | 7.3 |

Source: calculated from unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

A more serious exclusion is the group of older workers (65 years and over), who account for almost 5 per cent of the European male labour force. On the other hand, the age group 15-19, which is included in the population of working age, is not really a very important working group, only half of the European men so aged being workers. The problem is one of coverage for, while one can incorporate more and more workers by extending the theoretical working age group, the work participation rate becomes smaller in each successive age group, until the group covered loses its identity as a labour force.

For both European and Indian men, the best coverage appears to be provided by the age range 17-69, in which 96.6 per cent and 95.8 per cent of the workers of 15 years and over fall. Moreover, the work participation rate of both European and Indian men in this age range is over 90 per cent. The most suitable coverage for women is, of course, determined by different factors, which will be discussed in the following chapter. The fact that their working age range falls within narrower limits is shown by the following figures, which reflect the age groups for which the work participation rate is higher than the average for the whole population aged 15 years and over:

| | Europeans | Indians |
|---|---|---|
| Men | 19-69 | 20-69 |
| Women | 16-29 | 16-24 and 40-59 |

It will be recalled (Table 71) that the net participation rate varies considerably as between the racial groups, and it can now be shown that this variation is very largely due to the different work

# Percentage of Population Working by age, Union – 1951

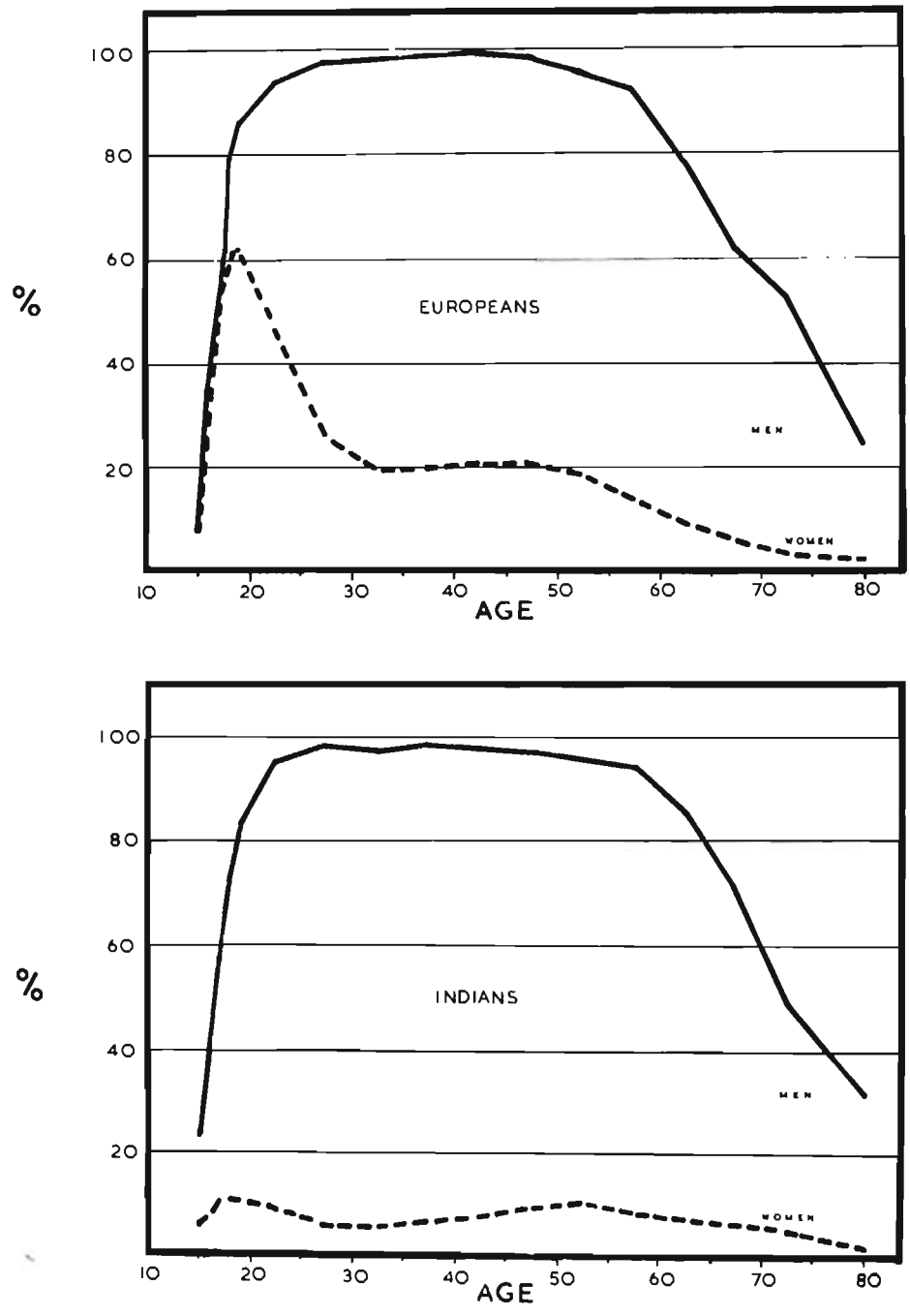


Figure 12

participation rates of women, since the male rates normally tend towards 100:

Table 73 NET WORK PARTICIPATION RATE, BY SEX, NATAL, 1951

| RACIAL GROUP | MEN | WOMEN | PERSONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Europeans | 94.9 | 31.4 | 62.9 |
| Natives | 101.2 | 17.7 | 57.6 |
| Indians | 91.3 | 6.5 | 50.3 |
| Coloureds | 94.8 | 35.5 | 63.8 |
| All Races | 99.1 | 18.5 | 57.6 |

Sources: calculated from Volume V, 1951 Population Census and provisional unpublished figures from 1951 Population Census.

It can be seen now why the masculinity rate of a population may be an important factor affecting the work participation of the community, since, other things being equal, the greater the ratio of men to women the greater will be the work participation.

While the male participation rates vary between the racial groups, in no instance is it less than 90 per cent. In fact the Native rate exceeds 100, implying a fairly high rate of work participation among men aged 65 and over. On the other hand, the female rate shows much greater variations, and, although in no case does it compare with the male, the Coloured rate is over five times as high as the Indian rate.

It is apparent that to a large extent the female work participation rates are the deciding factor in determining the general participation rates. For example, it is the greater participation in work by Coloured women that enables the Coloureds to show a higher rate than the Europeans, while the Indian participation rate, already low in the case of the men, is further lowered by the very low work participation of the women.

As a final index of work participation, the labour force can be related to the population of all ages to give the Gross Work Participation Rate[1], which is determined by all those demographic, cultural, and economic factors which affect either the size of the population of working age or the size of the labour force. In the following table all three functions are given for the various demographic groups:

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1 Gross Work Participation Rate = $\frac{\text{Total Labour Force} \times 100}{\text{Total Population}}$

This is the more usual index of work participation which in most publications on the labour force is simply called the "Work Participation Rate". It can be seen that the Gross Work Participation Rate is really the multiple of the Net Work Participation Rate and the Work Potential Ratio:

Net Work Participation Rate x Work Potential Rate =

$$\frac{\text{Total Labour Force} \times 100}{\text{Population of Working Age}} \times \frac{\text{Population of Working Age}}{\text{Total Population}}$$

$$= \frac{\text{Total Labour Force} \times 100}{\text{Total Population}}$$

= Gross Work Participation Rate

Table 74 WORK PARTICIPATION IN NATAL, BY RACE AND SEX, 1951

| RACIAL GROUP | MEN | | | WOMEN | | | PERSONS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Europeans | 0.64 | 94.9 | 60.6 | 0.64 | 31.4 | 20.0 | 0.64 | 62.9 | 40.2 |
| Natives | 0.55 | 101.2 | 55.7 | 0.57 | 17.7 | 10.0 | 0.56 | 57.6 | 32.1 |
| Indians | 0.50 | 91.6 | 45.8 | 0.49 | 6.5 | 3.2 | 0.50 | 50.3 | 25.0 |
| Coloureds | 0.53 | 94.8 | 50.4 | 0.55 | 35.5 | 19.5 | 0.54 | 63.8 | 34.5 |

Sources: calculated from published and unpublished provisional figures from the 1951 Population Census.

Note: 1 = Work Potential Ratio
2 = Net Work Participation Rate
3 = Gross Work Participation Rate

The highest gross work participation rate is found amongst the Europeans, and this can be seen to be due to a high work potential, and a high participation rate for both men and women. The gross rate for Natives is lower (32.1%) both because of a lower work potential and because the high male work participation rate is partly offset by the low female rate. On the other hand, the high work participation of Coloured women helps to raise the general rate almost as high as the Natives', despite a lower male rate. In the case of the Indians, a low work potential, combined with a work participation rate which is low for men and almost negligible for women, results in the lowest gross work participation rate of all four racial groups.

Although the size of the Native labour force is not comparable over time, a comparison of the labour forces of the other groups between 1936 and 1951 is of some interest:

Table 75 NON-NATIVE WORKING POPULATIONS, NATAL, 1936-51

| YEAR | EUROPEANS | INDIANS | COLOUREDS |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Numbers | |
| 1936 | 74,686 | 50,197 | 6,035 |
| 1946 | 93,133 | 56,070 | 8,441 |
| 1951 | 110,210 | 75,029 | 10,850 |
| | | Work Potential Rate | |
| 1936 | 67.2 | 51.1 | 54.5 |
| 1946 | 66.0 | 50.2 | 57.3 |
| 1951 | 63.8 | 49.8 | 54.1 |
| | | Net Work Participation Rate | |
| 1936 | 58.3 | 53.5 | 59.4 |
| 1946 | 59.7 | 48.1 | 59.2 |
| 1951 | 62.9 | 50.3 | 63.8 |
| | | Gross Work Participation Rate | |
| 1936 | 39.2 | 27.3 | 32.4 |
| 1946 | 39.3 | 24.1 | 33.9 |
| 1951 | 40.2 | 25.1 | 34.5 |

Sources: calculated from Volume VII, 1936 Population Census - U.G. 11/1942, Volume II, 1946 Census - U.G. 41/1954, and from unpublished, provisional figures from the 1951 Population Census.

The increase in European work participation, although small, is of considerable importance, for it not only reflects the increased participation of women, but also shows that male participation has been maintained despite a drop in working potential. Between 1936

and 1951, the number of men of working age dropped from 67 per cent to 64 per cent of the total male population. Yet in the same period there was no change in the work participation rate of men, except for a slight drop during the immediate post-war census of 1946. This phenomenon seems to be caused by a fuller utilization of persons of working age in 1951 than in 1936. It is also probable that under considerably more favourable conditions of employment in 1951 employment opportunities were created for more oldsters beyond normal working age and for some of the weaker members of the working age group.

Over this same period, the participation rate of women increased from 17.9 per cent to 20.0 per cent, in spite of an increase in median age and a lower proportion of the population in the working age groups - especially in the age range 15-24 years, which is the most important range for female employment. Work participation was encouraged on the other hand by a fall in the relative importance of the whole age range 15-44 years (which represents the period during which women are likely to withdraw or abstain from work through childbirth) and by the highly favourable condition of the labour market.

The tendency for Indian participation to slacken is attributable to two purely demographic factors, although there has been chronic unemployment among Indians in recent years. One of these factors is the fall in the masculinity rate of the total population; the other is the fall in the proportion of males of working age. The rate of work participation has always been low owing to the youth of the Indian population (approximately half of the population being under 15 years) and the very low female work participation rate. Both these factors have been reinforced by a decrease in masculinity and a fall in the median age of the Indian population.

The percentage of women in the labour force is most important, for, while a high ratio of women to men generally indicates a full utilization of potential labour, the greater the participation of women in the labour force, the more elastic will the supply of labour tend to be (see Chapter Five). The rise in the percentage of women in the European labour force over the years can be attributed partly to the fall in the masculinity of the population as a whole and to a higher rate of female participation, the latter being supported and accelerated by a relative increase in the less masculine spheres of activity - especially manufacturing and services. The fact that there was no further increase in the percentage of women in the labour force between 1946 and 1951 is explained by the already high proportion of women employed in 1946 as a result of the wartime shortage of manpower.

The increase in the employment of Coloured women has been even greater. In their case the main cause can be found in their emergence as important industrial workers. On the other hand, Indian women have not yet entered the labour market to any great extent, and the percentage of women in the labour force seems even to have fallen between 1946 and 1951.[1]

In all communities, and especially in the modern industrial society, there are three important groups of the population who generally show a high rate of voluntary or involuntary non-participation in work, whether or not they are included in the hypothetical "population of working age". Of first importance are the children, who may be divided into two further groups: those of pre-working age and those of working age. The children of pre-working age form such a high proportion of a young population such as the Indian community, that the total available labour force must necessarily be relatively small. On the other hand, the non-employment of children (or young adults) of working age must be

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1 See Chapter Six, p. 150.

viewed from a different standpoint, since a postponement of their entry into the labour force due to secondary and higher education or technical training must be considered not as a wastage of labour but as an investment. By delaying employment, they are equipping themselves to make a greater contribution to their community, and from this point of view a low rate of work participation among juveniles is a necessary and desirable sign of an increase in the skill and efficiency of the future labour force.

Quite different considerations affect the employment of women and the older members of the community who are the other two groups which usually contain a relatively low proportion of workers, and their utilization will be discussed separately in the next chapter. Work participation in South Africa is further complicated by racial differences, but this is a factor affecting not so much the entry or non-entry into employment as the kind of work available to a worker.

In this and the following chapter, however, we are concerned mainly with that part of the total population which is in fact employed, although in Appendix 1 some reference is also made to the composition of the non-workers.

APPENDIX 1

## WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS OF NATAL, BY RACE AND SEX, 1951

| STATUS | EUROPEANS | | | | INDIANS | | | | COLOUREDS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MEN | | WOMEN | | MEN | | WOMEN | | MEN | | WOMEN | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Workers, 15 and over | 82,575 | 60.6 | 27,616 | 20.0 | 70,259 | 45.8 | 4,717 | 3.2 | 7,692 | 50.4 | 3,158 | 19.4 |
| Children, under 15 | 38,591 | 28.3 | 37,532 | 27.2 | 71,848 | 46.9 | 71,916 | 49.2 | 6,762 | 44.3 | 6,876 | 42.4 |
| Non-workers : | 15,134 | 11.1 | 72,792 | 52.8 | 11,198 | 7.3 | 69,566 | 47.6 | 801 | 5.3 | 6,196 | 38.2 |
| Independent persons | 8,200 | 6.0 | 2,739 | 2.0 | 2,473 | 1.6 | 612 | 0.4 | 182 | 1.2 | 103 | 0.6 |
| Household duties | - | - | 64,743 | 46.9 | - | - | 65,325 | 44.7 | - | - | 5,622 | 34.6 |
| Scholars, 15 and over | 4,462 | 3.3 | 3,427 | 2.5 | 7,588 | 4.9 | 3,335 | 2.3 | 522 | 3.4 | 429 | 2.6 |
| Foreign visitors | 1,743 | 1.3 | 862 | 0.6 | 581 | 0.4 | 3 | 0.0 | 27 | 0.2 | 1 | 0.0 |
| Other non-workers | 729 | 0.5 | 1,021 | 0.7 | 556 | 0.4 | 291 | 0.2 | 70 | 0.5 | 41 | 0.2 |
| TOTAL POPULATION | 136,300 | 100.0 | 137,940 | 100.0 | 153,305 | 100.0 | 146,199 | 100.0 | 15,255 | 100.0 | 16,230 | 100.0 |

| STATUS | NATIVES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MEN | | WOMEN | |
| | No. | % | No. | % |
| Workers, 15 years and over | 488,718 | 55.7 | 93,180 | 10.0 |
| Children, under 15 years | 363,442 | 41.4 | 363,000 | 38.9 |
| Non-workers | 25,919 | 2.9 | 475,843 | 51.1 |
| TOTAL POPULATION | 878,079 | 100.0 | 932,023 | 100.0 |

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Sources: Volume V, 1951 Population Census; unpublished provisional figures, 1951 Population Census.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## POSSIBILITIES FOR INCREASING WORK PARTICIPATION

### A. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The most obvious way of increasing work output is by increasing the size of the labour force or, in other words, by producing a greater number of workers, and this can only be done by increasing the rate of growth of population or by increasing work participation. In earlier chapters it was pointed out that the rate of population growth depends upon the natural rate of increase and upon the excess (if any) of immigration over emigration and, as the government is unable or unwilling to influence either of these, the possibility of increasing the labour force through a stimulation of population growth will be ignored in this chapter.

In any case, an increase in population by itself will not lead to an increase in per capita output, unless the ratio of producers to consumers is increased (or productivity is improved). The emphasis will therefore be placed on possibilities for increasing the rate of work participation - that is, on ways to use a greater proportion of our labour resources.

As was shown in Chapter Four, the work participation of men in most working-age groups is so high that there is little room for increasing the number of male workers. When account is taken of the scholars over the age of fifteen, foreign visitors, and unemployables, there is a very small wastage among men of working age.

If the number of workers is to be increased, therefore, one must look beyond the adult men, either to the woman worker or to people of non-working age. The employment of pre-working age children has already been discarded as a practical measure for increasing labour supplies: on the contrary, one should rather strive for a reduction in the number of (mainly Native) working children so as to increase the educational standards of the adult population.

As practical methods of significantly increasing the number of workers, then, we are left with the possibilities for increasing work participation either among women of working age or among the older members of the community.[1] These two alternatives will be discussed in the following two sections of this chapter.

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1 As early as 1951, the Annual Report of the Department of Labour mentioned the "increasing number of European male pensioners and European married women applying for employment ... throughout the year" - p. 4, U.G. 45/1953.

## B. THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

### § 1 The Significance of the Working Woman

The work participation of women in Natal is shown in the following table:

Table 76 WORK PARTICIPATION RATES[1] OF WOMEN IN NATAL, 1951

| RATE | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Net | 31.4 | 17.7 | 6.5 | 35.5 |
| Gross | 20.0 | 10.0 | 3.2 | 19.5 |

Sources: calculated from Volume V, 1951 Population Census and unpublished, provisional figures, 1951 Population Census.

About one in five European and Coloured women in Natal were gainfully occupied in 1951, compared with only one in ten Native women (mainly in farming and domestic service), and one in thirty Indian women.

Apart from the fact that the female participation rates are so much lower than the male, the significance of these figures lies in the huge latent work potential of the Native and Indian women. If the gross work participation rate of Indian women, for example, were raised to that of the Europeans, a further 25,000 workers would be added to the labour force, while, if Native female participation were increased to a similar level, some 93,000 new workers would be added. This greater utilisation of Indian and Native women alone would increase the Natal labour force by over 15 per cent.

Moreover, the European work participation rate - used here as a standard with which to compare with non-European - is by no means high by international standards, as can be seen from the following table:

Table 77 GROSS WORK PARTICIPATION RATES OF WOMEN IN VARIOUS AREAS

| AREA | GROSS WORK PARTICIPATION RATE | AREA | GROSS WORK PARTICIPATION RATE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Japan, 1954 | 36.8 | Italy, 1951 | 20.3 |
| Germany, 1954 | 31.4 | Natal (Whites), 1951 | 20.0 |
| France, 1954 | 29.9 | Australia, 1954 | 19.0 |
| United Kingdom, 1951 | 27.4 | Canada, 1951 | 16.9 |
| United States, 1950 | 21.8 | Union (Whites), 1951 | 16.3 |

Source: International Labour Reviews.

Natal's gross participation rate (at 20.0) is higher than the rates prevailing in Canada and in the Union as a whole, and is on about the

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1 Net Work Participation Rate = $\frac{\text{Total Labour Force X 100}}{\text{Population of Working Age}}$

Gross Work Participation Rate = $\frac{\text{Total Labour Force X 100}}{\text{Total Population}}$

same level as those in Australia, the United States, and Italy. On the other hand it is considerably lower than the rates of Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom and France, and both the participation rates of European women in both the Union and Natal must be regarded as low when the availability of non-European domestic labour is taken into account.

Taking all races together, only one in five of Natal women of working age was gainfully-occupied in 1951, compared with virtually all the men of working age. In view of the greater unused potential of the female population of working age therefore, the following section will give some attention to the factors affecting female employment. For simplicity, the analysis will be treated in terms of European women workers only, since the conditions underlying their work participation may be expected eventually to apply to the non-European groups too.

## § 2 Factors affecting a Woman's Entry into the Labour Force

General Considerations. It may be remembered from the last chapter that the principal factor which determines whether or not a man enters the labour force is his age, with the existence of alternative means of support appearing as a secondary and relatively unimportant causative factor, and it was this close relationship between age and male participation that enabled the population of working age to be used as an approximate index of labour resources. With the employment of women, however, age is seen to play a lesser role (although it still tends to set the outer limits of the ability to work), and female work participation varies very widely within the working age groups for reasons quite different from those affecting male participation.

Within the age groups of greatest working potential, the participation of men in some kind of gainful work must be regarded as the normal form of behaviour, and the extent to which the male population aged, say, 20-59 years, abstains from work largely depends upon the proportion of its members who are incapacitated or independent. In other words it is the inability or refusal of a few to conform to the normal pattern of behaviour that determines the rate of work participation of the group as a whole. Quite the reverse applies to the participation of women, however, since the extent to which they participate in work largely depends upon the degree to which the biological and cultural barriers to the employment of women can be lifted. An increase in the work participation of the bulk of the adult male population can only be achieved by a reduction in the relative importance of the men who deviate from the normal role of breadwinner; to do the same for women implies a further weakening of the traditional role of women in the home.

The changing role of women in society and in the labour force is closely linked with a number of associated developments. Apart from the relevant aspects of the increasing emancipation of women, importance must be attached to the gradual displacement of agriculture as the primary source of employment and means of support, the large scale movement of population to the towns, and the gradual elimination of the self-employed man and the consequent differentiation between a worker's home and place of work. This latter development is of special importance because, while a woman can be economically active as a family worker in the operation of a small holding or home craft without shedding her responsibility as a mother and a housewife, the assumption of the same double function becomes very much harder - and often impossible - when the only choice open to a woman is between full-time employment outside the home or no work at all. We shall have more to say about part-time employment later, but the argument in the following paragraphs applies mainly to well defined, full-time work, which necessarily implies a separation from home and family, and it is hoped to demonstrate that the entry of a woman into the labour force (and the length of her working life) depends upon the balance of a number of favourable and unfavourable factors.

As a general rule, the entry of women (unlike men) into the labour market is limited to the extent that they perform their biological function of reproduction, and is therefore directly related to the incidence of marriage, the size and spacing of family, and changing attitudes towards the care of children and family limitation. The age of a woman is usually only of importance insofar as it bears on any of the other factors.

Marital Status. The primary factor affecting a woman's work participation is her marital status, because marriage not only generally eliminates or reduces the economic necessity for her to work but also impairs her ability to work, both directly through the assumption of household duties and indirectly through future child-bearing.

In the Union, about one third of all European women who marry for the first time do so before the age of twenty, half marry between the ages of 20 and 24, and a tenth marry between 25 and 29. Altogether, 85 per cent of spinsters get married (if they marry at all) between the ages of 18 and 29. The profound effect of the high marriage rate of women during these twelve years on work participation rates is seen in the following table:

Table 78 FEMALE WORK PARTICIPATION AND MARITAL STATUS OF EUROPEANS, BY AGE GROUPS, UNION, 1951

| AGE GROUP | PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN WORKING | MARRIAGE RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION | PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN MARRIED |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | 6.5 | 1.5 | 0.2 |
| 16 | 30.9 | 26.3 | 1.6 |
| 17 | 52.3 | 61.3 | 5.6 |
| 18 | 61.9 | 106.1 | 13.8 |
| 19 | 61.9 | 130.7 | 24.8 |
| 20 | 58.2 | 131.2 | 36.6 |
| 21-24 | 43.1 | 108.7 | 63.7 |
| 25-29 | 25.6 | 36.7 | 83.9 |
| 30-34 | 19.7 | 16.6 | 88.1 |
| 35-39 | 19.7 | 11.3 | 87.1 |
| 40-44 | 20.6 | 9.6 | 83.9 |
| 45-49 | 20.7 | 8.1 | 79.3 |
| 50-54 | 18.2 | 6.0 | 73.2 |
| 55-59 | 13.7 | 4.1 | 66.7 |
| 60-64 | 9.2 | 3.6 | 57.4 |
| 65 & over | 4.1 | 1.7 | 35.0 |
| Total 15 & over | 23.7 | 12.6 | 64.9 |

Sources: calculated from Volume V, Volume II (Marital Status - U.G. 61/1954) and unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census, and from "Marriages (all races) - 1957", U.G. 38/1958".

There are no statistics on the relative work participation rates of married and unmarried women in South Africa. But a recent official survey[1] of urban families found that approximately 30 per cent of wives were working, while the participation rates shown above for those ages when most women are unmarried would seem to suggest that two-thirds or more of the unmarried women are working. This would agree with the findings in other countries, where the work participation rates for single women are generally two to three times higher than for married women.[2]

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1 Report No. 3 Survey of Family Expenditure - November, 1955, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Pretoria.

2 "Women in the Labour Force", International Labour Review, March, 1958.

One can delineate four major phases of work participation of women according to age. From the age of 15 to 18 years, the work participation rate of women swiftly rises to a peak as women enter the labour force for the first time after leaving school and while marriage is still a factor of relatively little importance. By the age of 19, however, almost a quarter of women are married, and the work participation rate remains at 61.9 per cent despite further accessions of workers from high schools and training centres.

The next stage - between the ages of 20 and 34 - is marked by a declining rate of work participation as the percentage of married women rises to a maximum of 88 per cent. The early years of this period coincide with the years of highest marriage rates among spinsters, while later on, further separations from the labour force are brought about during the ages of greatest fertility.

In the third stage, which lasts from about 35 to 49, the trend is temporarily reversed, and the rate of work participation registers a slight increase as the percentage of married women begins to fall. Three processes operate over this age range. First, separations from work through first marriage become increasingly rare because very few spinsters marry after the age of 30. Second, the number of widows and divorcees begins to assume a sizeable proportion of the total female population, and many of these women will have to enter or re-enter the labour force in order to support themselves. The third and most important reason for this recovery in work participation is that by middle age many married women are relieved of the main burdens of child care and are then free to seek employment again. This aspect of female work participation is discussed a little later.

From the age of 50, work participation falls steadily from more than 20 per cent to only 4 per cent in the 65 and over group, in spite of a continually falling percentage of married women. It is in these older age groups that age comes into its own as a primary determinant of work participation and many erstwhile workers leave the labour force for physical reasons. A probable factor of special significance is the aging of the non-married population for, while younger widows (and divorcees) tend to return to the labour force, older women are usually unwilling (and often unable) to seek work when widowed. In addition, throughout middle age, the labour force is further depleted by the re-marriage of widows and divorcees, whose median age of remarriage is 48 and 33 years respectively.

Although it cannot be disputed that marriage plays a major part in reducing the size of the female labour force, married women still comprise a most important section of the total female labour force. Once again no figures are available on the South African working population, but figures from other countries suggest that between a fifth and a half of the female labour force is married. For example, of thirteen countries for which data are available, one (United States) has over half of its female labour force married, while six (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, West Germany, and the United Kingdom) have between 30 and 40 per cent married. Three (Greece, Netherlands, and Sweden) have proportions between 20 and 30 per cent, and Australia (19.5 per cent), Switzerland (16.3 per cent), and Ireland (6.8 per cent) have less than a fifth of their female labour forces married.[1]

In spite of the fact that marriage generally reduces the immediate necessity for a woman to participate in work, this freedom

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1 Table III,"Women in the Labour Force", International Labour Review, March, 1958. A number of departmental stores in Durban, employing 377 European women, reported that two-thirds (250) of them were married. (Information kindly supplied by Durban Chamber of Commerce.) This represents a ratio of married women far higher than any mentioned above.

from want does not necessarily put an end to either the ability or the desire to work, and many childless wives find it possible to continue working after marriage. Frequently the reason for continuing work is to supplement family income; sometimes the woman may be loath to give up the independence and interests of her pre-marital life. The ability of the married woman to continue working has, of course, been facilitated by a number of important developments, and particularly by the advent of the smaller, well-planned house and self-contained flat, the increased use of electricity and labour-saving equipment, and also, in South Africa, the availability of cheap domestic service.

In fact, in the modern urban environment, marriage itself presents no insuperable barriers to woman's ability to work, and it is rather the presence of children which emerges as the crucial factor affecting the work participation of women. The effect of the size of family on work participation is shown in the following table, which applies to a sample of families in the ten principal towns in the Union:

Table 79 WORK PARTICIPATION OF MARRIED WOMEN, BY SIZE OF FAMILY, TEN PRINCIPAL URBAN AREAS OF UNION, 1955

| Number of hildren | None | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Work Participation Rate | 37.2 | 31.5 | 27.4 | 26.7 | 20.8 | 18.6 |

Source: Report No. 3, Survey of Family Expenditure.

It may be seen that work participation decreases steadily as the size of family increases, so that the participation rate of working wives in the family with five or more children is only half that of the family with no children. But the above figures can only show the overall relationships and the ability of a woman to enter the labour market depends very largely upon the age of her children as well as the number of children.

In his "Tables of Working Life for Women, 1950", Garfinkle[1] has applied work participation rates to a stationary female population, classified in each age group according to marital status and motherhood. (A stationary population is the hypothetical population generally used for illustrating the expectation of life, and provides an estimate of the number of persons surviving at each age from 100,000 hypothetical live births.) While this technique is founded on data concerning the female population of the United States, the following work participation rates at a few single year ages are of considerable interest to the present analysis, especially when no more relevant information can be obtained:

Table 80 WORK PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN BY MARITAL STATUS AND PRESENCE OF CHILDREN, AT DIFFERENT AGES, UNITED STATES, 1950

| AGE | ALL WOMEN | SINGLE WOMEN | MARRIED WOMEN* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | NEVER MOTHER | WITH CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS | WITH CHILDREN 5 YEARS & OVER |
| 20 | 46.9 | 66.0 | 51.5 | 12.8 | 36.6 |
| 30 | 30.6 | 79.3 | 52.3 | 11.3 | 32.8 |
| 40 | 35.9 | 75.8 | 46.2 | 12.0 | 32.5 |
| 50 | 32.4 | 69.9 | 36.2 | ---- | 26.4 |

Source: Adapted from Table 2, "Tables of Working Life for Women, 1950".
* Includes married women, widows, divorcees, etc.

1 "Tables of Working Life for Women, 1950", Stuart Garfinkle, Monthly Labor Review, June, 1956.

While work participation rates of all categories of women tend to fall with increasing age, there are wide variations between the rates applicable to women of each status which are not connected with age. For example, for each age represented in the above table, the highest rate of work participation is found among single women, with childless married women showing the second highest rates. The effect of the presence of children is clearly dependent upon the age of the children for, whereas married women with children of five years and over have work participation rates not far below those of childless married women, the comparable rates for women with children of pre-school age are by far the lowest.

The overall effect of these varying participation rates depends upon the relative importance of the above categories of women in the total female population. The following table shows the distribution of the same stationary population according to marital status and motherhood:

Table 81 DISTRIBUTION OF THE FEMALE POPULATION ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS AND PRESENCE OF CHILDREN, UNITED STATES, 1950
(PERCENTAGES)

| AGE | ALL WOMEN | SINGLE WOMEN | MARRIED WOMEN* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | NEVER MOTHER | WITH CHILDREN UNDER 5 YEARS | WITH CHILDREN 5 YEARS & OVER |
| 20 | 100.0 | 49.5 | 20.9 | 28.0 | 1.6 |
| 30 | 100.0 | 9.5 | 13.5 | 52.1 | 24.9 |
| 40 | 100.0 | 8.0 | 12.0 | 21.1 | 58.9 |
| 50 | 100.0 | 8.0 | 12.0 | 0.9 | 79.1 |

Source: Adapted from Table 1, "Tables of Working Life for Women, 1950".
* Includes married women, widows, divorcees, etc.

If these figures are read in conjunction with those in Table 80, the reasons for the variations in the work participation of all women at each age can be better guaged.

At the age of twenty, only about half the female population is married and a good proportion of married women have not yet borne children. These two facts lead to the highest work participation rate, namely 46.9 per cent of all women aged 20. By the age of thirty, though, over 90 per cent of the female population have married and, what is more, over half of all women have children of pre-school age. The result of this concentration of young children is to bring the work participation rate down from its highest figure to its lowest (30.6%).

By forty, although the relative number of spinsters, childless married women, and mothers have undergone little change, there has been a very important move in the age distribution of children, the majority of whom are now aged five years and over. It is this easing of the responsibilities of mothers that increases work participation to 35.9 per cent. After forty, the number of children of under five falls rapidly as women near the end of their child-bearing life, but from middle age, age becomes the most important factor determining work participation, and the percentage of working women progressively falls.

Owing to the importance of the presence of children of pre-school age as a factor affecting a woman's work participation, the size and spacing of the family, the age of child-bearing, and the age of family completion assume greater importance than does the age or frequency of marriage. It seems likely, however, that the female labour force is

becoming more and more dependent upon older, married women for its workers. Unfortunately, the age of the mother is not required when a birth is registered in South Africa, so that little or no information can be gathered as to the age and spread of child-bearing. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that the potential pre-marital working life of women has decreased under the influence of a lower median age of marriage for spinsters (which fell by more than 1½ years between 1935 and 1957) and by the prolongation of school and other education. With a median age of marriage at a little over 21 years, most girls would have between four and six years of working life open to them before marriage. Yet, other things being equal, earlier marriage means earlier family completion, especially with the smaller families of today.

An important facet of the effective length of a woman's child-bearing life is the substantial reduction effected in infantile mortality of Europeans over the last century, which is now being repeated among the non-Europeans of South Africa. Even apart from the conscious limitation of the size of the average family, which has been facilitated by the gradual acceptance and employment of birth control practices, the increased survival rate of infants has meant that the desired size of family can be attained with fewer pregnancies and therefore with a potentially shorter separation from work participation.

All this implies that a woman who marries in her early twenties can terminate her effective child-bearing life within a comparatively short time and can re-enter the labour market in her early thirties, by which time her children are of school-going age. By this age too, married women, besides being more mature and responsible, offer a safer employment risk than spinsters and younger married women, whose turn-over due to marriage and child-birth is necessarily very high. Moreover, there are two factors which frequently allow women to enter the labour market even though they have children of pre-school age. The first is the existence of nursery schools and children's creches which enable a working mother to leave even very young children in safe keeping for at least part of the day. The second is the availability (in South Africa) of plentiful supplies of cheap domestic servants and nurse-maids, to whom much or all of the responsibility for the care of children is not infrequently entrusted. This latter factor introduces a complication into the assessment of female work potential, since the availability of a married women for work must be made a function of the extent to which her domestic and maternal duties are handed over to hired labour.

The difficulties of holding down a full-time job at the same time as caring for small children can be seen to have a danger for the fertility of married women whenever their occupation is sufficiently important to them. To many women (as to many men), work is undoubtedly just a means to an end, which they are happy to abandon with the security of marriage. But other women, who enjoy both their work and the social and economic freedom that accompanies it, resent having to stop work for the sake of home and family, and such attitudes may be quite forceful in delaying child-birth or reducing the eventual size of the family. Although there is no information available on the effects of female work participation on fertility, one can imagine that woman's so-called "maternal instincts" are generally sufficient to outweigh by far whatever attractions employment may have for her. Yet employment is not a factor to be ignored in determining fertility, especially when women continue working without interruption after marriage, in their years of highest potential fertility. Moreover, the depressing effect on fertility is likely to be increased the greater the economic incentives towards work participation by married women.

Economic Factors. Working women might perhaps be divided into three broad categories so far as economic incentives to work are concerned. First, there are the women who have no option but to find work, regardless of the remuneration, in order to support themselves or to bolster a sagging family income. Second, there are the women, who, while provided with an alternative means of support, still find a monthly pay packet a

sufficiently attractive source of supplementary income to participate in work. This latter group will include the bulk of the marginal workers - that is, the women who are most affected by changes in remuneration paid for work participation. The third and smallest group would comprise those women whose financial position reduces the relative attraction of a cash wage, but who enter the labour market mainly for enjoyment or interest.

Many single women fall into the first group and are forced to seek work in order to support themselves. On the other hand, with the high standard of living enjoyed by the South African European population, it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that a fair proportion of the young women at present employed in shops and offices have not been forced there through economic necessity, and that other factors may be of more importance.[1]

With married women, the position is somewhat different, as their wages normally represent only a supplementary source of income, and most of them could presumably be assumed to fall into either the second or third categories above. Moreover, the decision whether or not to enter the labour market is often a far more complex one for the married woman, who has to balance the financial gain against the welfare of the family, than for the single women, for whom the choice is usually more individual and clear cut.

While many married women may work continuously to provide a permanent supplementary source of the income, others may seek employment only in times of special need, for example when the husband is unemployed or unable to work through illness. Moreover, it seems that sometimes women may enter employment for a limited period solely to earn enough money for a specific purpose. Thus a married woman might find a job to earn the down payment on a house, to put a son through University, or even to save up for a holiday, and, although there is no information available, such goal-specific motivation might not be at all uncommon.

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1 It is important to make a distinction here, and to point out that a woman can be persuaded to participate in work for economic <u>reasons</u> even though there is no economic <u>necessity</u> for her to work. These terms are obviously relative, but in most cases it is quite unrealistic to employ the same term economic necessity as a motive for work participation both to the young South African European women and to women in, say, India or the Native Reserves. In one case the women's work participation is dictated by the need to maintain the minimum requirements of life; in the other case employment may only be necessary to maintain a standard of family living which, though high by world standards, has come to be accepted as some sort of minimum level.

For the single women work participation has a much greater significance than as a means of earning a living, whether or not economic necessity exists. Even if she still has family support, a regular job, besides enabling her to buy semi-luxuries which may have been denied her at home, provides a degree of social and economic independence which her mother never knew. Moreover, with the advent of a new cultural pattern in which work participation is the accepted behaviour among unmarried women, the place of work assumes many of the functions which were previously carried out by the home and becomes, for many women, the focal point of their social life.

In the survey of family expenditure which was mentioned earlier,[1] it was found that over 69 per cent of total income was brought in by the heads of households, 8 per cent came from business profits, 15 per cent from "other sources", while working wives were responsible for only 7.4 per cent of total family income. This does not seem to be a very important contribution on the part of the wives. Yet this 7.4 per cent represents the average percentage contribution of all wives (including the majority who do not work at all) to total income, and if the average contribution of the working wife to her own family income is considered, the importance of her participation is seen in a truer perspective.

The survey showed that the average annual income of European families in Durban was £1,268 and that the average income of working wives[2] amounted to £351. While it cannot be assumed that the average income of households with working wives was the same as the average income of all households, the contribution of the average working wife to household income could not have been far from 25 per cent. Data were also available according to the occupation of the husband and these showed that the contribution of the wife to total income varied from 18 per cent in the case of men working on their own account to over 33 per cent in the case of transport and service workers.

To gain a more realistic impression of the contribution of a working wife to family income, however, the costs of employment must be considered. Apart from the direct costs (such as transport) incurred when a married woman is employed, there are a number of important indirect costs which may arise and which may materially reduce the real net contribution of the wife's earnings to the total family income.

Often of prime importance is the extra income tax which is incurred by the increase in the combined taxable income of the husband and wife. The effect of the tax formula applied in the Union is that a wife's earnings are unprofitable (from a tax point of view) only in households with an already high income. For example, a husband will pay an extra £35 on his wife's earnings of £300, whether he himself earns £500, £1,000, or £1,500 a year, and even at £2,000 the tax on the additional £300 only amounts to £38. But if he earns as much as £2,500 a year, he will have to pay £111 on his wife's £300, and the monetary incentive to the wife to work is reduced both by the high rate of taxation and by the absolute size of the husband's income. The presence of children relieves the position in only the lower ranges of income. Thus the man earning £500 will only pay £3 extra tax on his wife's £300 if they have three children and £24 if he earns £1,000. But at an income of £2,000, the man with three children pays just as much extra tax on his wife's earnings as the man with no children.

The other indirect costs depend very largely upon the extent to which the wife is forced to delegate her duties as housewife and mother to others. Whether there are children or not, a household in which the wife is in full-time employment frequently employs a domestic servant, who, unless employed anyway, represents a cost so far as the wife's job is concerned. Secondly, where there are children, the wife's work participation involves the additional complication of child care, which, in the case of the single family, can usually only be solved by employing a competent domestic servant or nurse or by sending the children to a nursery school. Once again if neither of these alternatives were in use when the mother was at home, they represent the costs of her working, which must be subtracted from her gross earnings.

The force of these indirect costs is illustrated by the following figures, which represent a reasonable assessment of the minimum costs

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1 Report No. 3, Survey of Family Expenditure - November, 1955.

2 Only women earning £50 or more a year were included.

which would have to be deducted from the hypothetical earnings of a working wife with a child and a husband earning £1,000 a year, whose employment forces the family to employ a domestic servant and to send the child to nursery school:

| | £ | £ |
|---|---|---|
| Gross salary of working wife | | 500 |
| Less: Resulting increase in income tax | 55 | |
| Wages and keep of domestic servant | 60 | |
| Fees and other expenses of school | 25 | 140 |
| Net contribution to family income | | £360 |

In this case the effective value of the wife's earnings is only £360, or some 72 per cent of the apparent value. Indeed, if it were possible to calculate the alternative costs of all a housewife's activities,[1] some women would undoubtedly be found to be working for a very small return or for no return at all.

Although the real contribution of a working wife is reduced by these costs and her work participation thereby becomes relatively inefficient as a money-earning mechanism, the importance of the married woman to a household is often that she is the only means of supplementing income. This is especially true in those households in which the principal breadwinner has no choice as to the number of hours he can work or the amount of cash income he can earn.

## § 3 Possibilities for increasing Female Work Participation

In discussing the possibilities for increasing the size of the female labour force it will be useful to deal with each racial group separately, in view of their widely diverging characteristics and stages of development. This divergence is partly illustrated in Table 82 which compares the occupational distribution of Natal's working women with those of certain other countries in recent years:

Table 82 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NATAL'S WORKING WOMEN, BY RACIAL GROUPS, AND OF THE WOMEN OF THREE OTHER COUNTRIES (PERCENTAGES)

| COUNTRY | PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL | MANAGERS AND CLERICAL | SALES | FARM WORKERS | MANUAL, MINE AND TRANSPORT | SERVICE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Natal, 1951 | | | | | | |
| Europeans | 19.1 | 51.3 | 12.8 | 1.2 | 6.3 | 7.6 |
| Indians | 9.6 | 4.4 | 6.8 | 19.3 | 19.8 | 22.6 |
| Natives | 3.6 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 60.3 | 1.3 | 34.4 |
| Coloureds | 7.2 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 2.8 | 46.8 | 33.9 |
| U.S.A., 1950 | 12.8 | 32.0 | 8.6 | 3.7 | 20.4 | 22.5 |
| U.K., 1951 | 9.0 | 23.6 | 13.2 | 1.6 | 24.5 | 28.1 |
| Australia, 1947 | 11.7 | 31.9 | 12.6 | 3.2 | 23.5 | 17.1 |

Sources: International Labour Review, March, 1958; unpublished, provisional figures from Union Population Census, 1951.

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1 Including, for example, the care and maintenance of dwellings and other property, the production and preparation of food, and the incalculable cost of transferring the care of children to other persons.

Europeans. When compared with the other figures in Table 82, the occupational distribution of the Natal European women is remarkable for the very high proportion of professional and clerical workers in the labour force and, conversely, the very low proportion of manual and service workers.

This pattern of employment is consistent with an advanced stage of economy development, but it is important to bear in mind that the pattern of female employment in South Africa is not so much a result of evolution as a function of the peculiar structure of the economic system. For example, some of the jobs which are of prime importance as sources of female employment in other parts of the world - such as domestic and farm labour - have never been regarded as suitable occupations for European women in South Africa. Another usual field of employment for women - factory work - has never been as important to women in South Africa as in other countries either, mainly due to the early adoption of Native men as factory operatives in the economic history of the country. Even in manufacturing employment there is a marked movement of women from operative to office occupations, which is clearly shown in Chapter Eight (see Appendix 7).

All this implies that any increase in female employment must be sought in the principal spheres of professional, clerical and sales occupations, since almost all European women are in one of four categories - office workers, sales assistants, teachers, or nurses. This very restriction in the employment field and the rather specialized nature of most women's jobs, both tend to reduce the extent to which female participation might be increased.

While there is very little information upon which to base one's arguments, it does appear that in Durban there is no chronic shortage of full-time jobs for women - at least for women with secondary education, and it is in the field of part-time employment that a considerable extension of work participation would be possible if jobs were available.

The main advantage of part-time work for women and the reason for its popularity is that it enables women with family responsibilities to participate in work with little or no impairment of their efficiency as wives and mothers. From the economic standpoint, it becomes particularly useful to the married woman who is not forced by utmost need to work but whose earnings represent a very valuable supplement to family income. From the point of view of the age of the family, part-time employment is most useful to the women whose children are of school-going age and whose employment "mornings only" results in the minimum disruption to family life.

The difficulty concerning the increase of part-time employment of European women is that the occupations for which most women are trained - office and clerical occupations - do not normally provide many openings for part-time work. Research in overseas countries[1] shows that part-time women are generally employed in domestic and other service occupations in the distributive trades, and in catering, hotels, laundries, and so on. Some success has also been achieved in employing women part-time in manufacturing industries. But, again, most of these occupations are those which, in South Africa, are not normally filled by European women.

One of the largest employment Bureaux in Durban reports that it is asked to fill no more than 4-5 vacancies for part-time women workers a month, although many applications for such work are received. Moreover, when part-time work does become available it is almost always for either shorthand typists or qualified bookkeepers, and very few opportunities in other occupations ever occur. Furthermore, it is the usual practice for the large departmental stores to employ only full-time women, while the Natal Provincial Administration does not as a rule employ part-time

1 See, for example, "Part-time Employment for Women with Family Responsibilities", International Labour Review, June, 1957.

teachers or nurses except in times of acute shortage or emergency. In fact the general position seems to be that, except where the particular employment requirements of a small undertaking happen to be fulfilled by a part-time female clerk, most employers will take on part-time women only when full-time women cannot be found. This position may be of some use for the women who are content to participate in part-time employment intermittently, but does not help those in need of regular part-time work.

It is difficult to foresee any possibility for materially increasing the supply of part-time employment for European women in Natal so long as there is a relative sufficiency of full-time workers. As already indicated, some women will always be required to work part-time, where the nature of the job requires only a fraction of a working day, but few opportunities of a "shift basis" type job are to be found. Industrial jobs are few in any case, and most of the occupations normally open to European women (such as clerical jobs) are not generally suited to division between two or more shift workers.

The fields of employment in which an extension of part-time work would seem to be most practically possible are nursing, typing (of the general "pool" variety), and shop assistant jobs. However, the extra administration and loss in continuity of action involved in employing shifts of part-time workers and the possible increase in costs[1] are factors likely to limit part-time opportunities, and once again it appears that employers will not take on part-time workers as long as full-time workers are freely available.

Coloureds. The employment of Coloured women is discussed next because it is similar to that of the European in two ways. First, the Coloured women have a high work participation rate in comparison with other racial groups, and, in fact, the net rate for Coloureds (35%) is higher than for Europeans (32%) . Second, their employment is restricted to a relatively small range of occupations, although with Coloureds, industrial employment and domestic service, rather than clerical occupations, are the most important sources of employment. Indeed, the remarkable characteristic of the Coloured female labour force is the very large number of women employed as clothing workers, and an extension in their work participation would seem to be tied up very largely with the future of the textile industry in Durban and elsewhere in Natal.

But, like the European women, the Coloured women are not likely to participate in full-time employment to a very much greater extent than they do now, and the chief possibilities for increasing their total output seems to lie in an increase in part-time work. In this regard they are probably in a somewhat better potential position than the European, because both industrial and domestic employment, especially the latter, are fields in which part-time workers can be utilized. However, it is also probable that an increased demand for textile workers would be met first by a transfer of workers from domestic service rather than by either the employment of part-time workers or by an overall increase in work participation. In this case, the lost full-time domestic workers might be replaced by part-time working women, thereby increasing the effective size of the labour force.

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1 The question of costs in part-time work needs further investigation. Certain costs which are tied more to the number of workers than to the hours worked are likely to rise, but against this must be balanced the possible increase in productivity (and reduction in spoilt work) brought about by a lowered incidence of fatigue. Moreover, a woman working in a "morning only" job will work for something like 60 per cent as long as (and perhaps perform up to 75 per cent as much work as) the full-time worker in the same job, while possibly earning only half the wage.

The problem that seems likely to occur in respect of the Coloured women is not whether their work participation will increase but whether there will be sufficient work for them to maintain their present high participation rate. This question must be posed in view of the high rate of increase of the Coloured population of Natal and especially of Durban. Of particular relevance here is the very large proportion of the population which is of pre-working age, and so represents the working population of the future. In this respect the heavy dependence of the Coloured women on the textiles industry as a source of employment cannot be regarded as a healthy aspect of their employment pattern, and a diversity of industrial employment would be a desirable development.[1]

Indians. As was indicated in the beginning of this chapter, there are some 30,000 potential workers tied up in the Indian female population of Natal, if we use the European work participation rate as a yardstick, of which less than 5,000 were gainfully occupied at the time of the 1951 census. Within this small labour force, the majority of workers were unskilled domestic servants, labourers, and pedlars, although teachers were also important.

The low work participation rate among Indian women is seen as a result of traditional cultural barriers to the employment of women outside the home, and emphasises the importance of non-economic factors in determining female employment, since on economic grounds alone we would expect a far greater proportion of Indian than of European women to work. Yet there are signs that, with the extension of education and the encroachment of Western ideas, these old prejudices are breaking down, and that an increasing proportion of young Indian women are entering the labour market, not only as nurses and teachers, but as industrial and office workers.

However, like their husbands, the Indian women are faced with a chronic unemployment problem (see Table 101), which is likely to increase the more the Indian women become emancipated and seek work, unless a large source of employment is opened up for them. We are faced with a completely different problem here, since part-time work is not the primary need, nor is it likely to be offered in any quantity. The need of the Indian women is for a source of regular, full-time employment, of the same kind as that performed by European women. However, the greater part of European women are employed in clerical jobs, which, in the Indian economic sphere are filled mainly by male workers. In order for the women to fill these posts, it would be first necessary to solve an even greater and more chronic shortage of employment for the men.

It may be postulated that the demand for full-time employment on the part of Indian women would be very much greater, and the pressure on the old prejudices very much stronger, if suitable avenues of employment were open to them. One indirect advantage of this shortage of employment is that both boys and girls tend to stay on at school into secondary and even higher education, but all too often they do not get an opportunity to put this knowledge to effect.

The generally low work participation rates of Indian women and the low earning capacity of the majority of women who do work is one of the chief reasons for the poverty of the Indian community. In this respect, female employment must be seen as part of the larger problem of the poverty of the Indian population of Natal, which can probably only be solved if tackled on a far-reaching, national scale.

Natives. Of far the greatest importance from the numerical viewpoint are the Native women of Natal, representing the largest and

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1 This dependence is shown to be even more dangerous in the light of the potential threat of the "uncontrolled" rural textile factories to the established factories in the towns.

almost untapped source of potential labour in Natal. Apart from their various household and agricultural duties in the reserve areas, Native women are employed in very few occupations other than domestic service. A number of nurses and teachers represent the bulk of the skilled workers, and the number of industrial or office workers is practically negligible.

Yet, in spite of the low Native female work participation in Natal, it appears that in the towns most Native women contribute to household income in some way, either from full-time employment or from part-time domestic service, laundering or pedling. A survey of the Baumannville Native location in Durban, for example, showed that 55 per cent of the women over 15 years of age were employed.[1] Moreover, 73 out of a total of 270 adult women were estimated to be illicitly brewing or selling beer.[2] From all accounts, the importance of beer manufacture to the economy of Native urban life is not restricted to the Baumannville community, but its true significance in terms of employment provided and income recovered is, for obvious reasons, virtually impossible to discover or assess.

Like the Indians, therefore, the need of the Native women is for greater opportunities for full-time employment - especially for jobs outside domestic service - because there are already many part-time jobs, which, although unremunerative, are undertaken by Native women. Moreover, there are no strong cultural or religious bars to the employment of Native women, such as exist in the Indian community, and one might assume that an increase in the number of industrial jobs offered to Native women would be greatly welcomed in view of the popularity of factory work among Native men.

## C. THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE OLDER WORKER

### § 1 The Problem of an Aging Population

The combined effect of a decrease in both mortality and fertility has brought about, in countries where this decrease has operated over a considerable period, an aging of the population, which has important and often serious social and economic implications. From many points of view the increasing proportion of older people constitutes a challenge to our whole social framework, centering around the role to be played by an oldster after he has left the labour force, when a grandparent no longer enjoys the position of authority and influence he did in earlier, pre-industrial society.

We are mainly concerned here with the economic aspects of an aging population, and must see the problem as primarily concerning the ratio of dependants to workers. In the first place, a high ratio of persons aged 65 years and over to persons aged 15-64 years will, other things being equal, imply a relatively low work potential. But the real significance of an aging population for labour potential is the ratio of oldsters (or past workers) to children (or future workers). It is this relationship that makes the work potential of, say, the European population of Southern Rhodesia (with a ratio of oldsters to

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1 The Baumannville Community - A Study of the Family Life of Urban Africans, Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, 1955, p. 109.

2 Idem., p. 125.

children of 1:5) relatively more favourable than that of the population of England and Wales (with a ratio of only 1:2) even though they both have the same proportion of their population (67%) in the working age groups.[1]

There are three stages in the aging of a population which can be differentiated for their effect on the dependency ratio. At an early stage of aging, the rise in the proportion of older persons is more than offset by the fall in the relative numbers of children, with the result that the population of working age grows in proportion. At a later stage, however, these two movements exactly offset each other so that the population of working age remains the same relative size. Then, in the final stage of aging, the rise in the number of old people is greater than any fall in the number of children, and the potential working population is reduced and increases in age.

In Natal, aging is at present a phenomenon which affects only the European population. The Native population has experienced aging, seen both in the median age and in the proportion of oldsters in the population, but this increase in the proportion of oldsters has been more than offset by a fall in the proportion of children, so that the population of working age has increased its relative size since 1936. The Indian and Coloured communities, on the other hand, have actually shown a falling median age since 1921, and, though the proportion of persons aged 65 years and over has increased in both groups, the effect of this increase has been swamped by an increase in the proportion of children. This means that the Indians and Coloureds of Natal would benefit, so far as labour potential is concerned, by an increase in the age structure of their populations, and aging will obviously not constitute a problem for any of the non-European groups for many years to come.

The increase in the age of the European population of Natal presents a more immediate problem, however. In 1951, the number of persons aged 65 years and over constituted 8.4 per cent of the total population (7.8% of men and 9.0% of women) and, although this figure was not as high as those in the older European countries such as England and France (see Table 15), it was still considerably higher than in the total Union (6.5%). Moreover, the proportion of such oldsters had increased from 2.6 per cent in 1911 to 8.4 per cent in 1951. Over this period too, the median age of the Natal population increased by almost 4½ years and the ratio of persons aged 65 years and over to children under 15 increased from 1:12 to 1:3⅓.

The fact that this increase in the proportion of older people has been uninterrupted can be established from the following figures, reproduced from Table 13, showing the percentage of the total population aged 65 years and over at each census since 1911:

| 1911 | 1918 | 1921 | 1926 | 1931 | 1936 | 1941 | 1946 | 1951 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2.6 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 4.0 | 4.8 | 6.1 | 7.0 | 8.3 | 8.4 |

This increase in the relative size of the older age groups means that their work participation now becomes of rather more significance, whereas in 1911 it made little difference to the labour potential of Natal whether older persons worked or not. The economic implications of an increasing survival rate to the older age groups and the consequent deterioration in dependency ratio are either that the older persons must make a greater contribution, as a group, to their upkeep, or that the younger, working groups must work harder, through greater productivity, to support the larger numbers of oldsters. The only alternative to these two developments is a fall in the standard of living of the community as a whole.

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1 See Table 15 in Chapter 1. Other tables in Chapter 1 have relevance to the present discussion.

## § 2 Work Participation of the Older Worker

The factors which decide whether or not an older worker will seek to re-enter the labour market (or to retain his present job) are fundamentally the same as those determining anyone's participation in work, namely, the ability and desire (including need) to work and the availability of a suitable job. The application of these factors to the participation of older people, however, needs special consideration, especially since we have up to now deliberately excluded these oldsters from the assessment of the potential working population.

Some old people are forced to continue working, whether they want to or not, because of economic need. But economic motives for seeking work are surely becoming of less importance owing to the spread of pension schemes and personal life assurance. Even the state old-age pensions in South Africa must often operate, in a backhanded sort of way, as a disincentive towards work participation. The retention, in the revised legislation, of regulations making the payment of a pension conditional upon the financial position of the applicant, automatically makes employment less attractive to the oldster who stands to lose a pension through work participation.

Indeed, one is forced to conclude that (in rather the same way as with women) the motivation towards the continued employment of older workers implies more than pure economic needs, and that their participation in work has a deeper significance for them. One may postulate that employment provides social as well as economic independence and helps to maintain the older person's self-respect. Moreover, there is increasing medical evidence to support an older worker's belief that his continued employment in a satisfying job "keeps him young" and to show that the cessation of work may be harmful to a man's mental and physical health.[1]

Present day employment of older workers should have been facilitated by three events in recent years. These are the aging of the population itself, with the resulting increase in the number of oldsters, the war-time experience in the employment of older workers during the absence of the younger men, and the continued shortage of labour in the post-war period of prosperity. Yet in spite of these potentially favourable factors, an International Labour Office report[2] states that unemployment is generally a more serious problem for older workers than for younger workers and that older workers tend to suffer longer periods of unemployment. The report revealed that discrimination on the grounds of age alone, irrespective of the worker's capabilities or ability to perform the job, is a problem that confronts all types of economies throughout the world.

A very important finding of this investigation was that it is not only the 65 and over's whose age counts against them in the employment field, for the same prejudices and discriminations operating against the workers of 60 or 65 often operate against the men of 40 or 45. The particular problems facing these two age groups are of a different nature, however, for, whereas the genuine older worker may be forcibly retired or pensioned, or compelled to abandon his habitual occupation through physical degeneration, the problem of the middle-aged workers is more often one of re-employment rather than of employment. The middle-aged man who is actually in employment usually has little to fear as long as he is able to perform his job satisfactorily; it is when he changes his job that he is likely to meet difficulty in finding employment.

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1 See, for example, "The Problem of the Employment of the Older Worker", International Labour Review, June 1954, p. 595.

2 Idem., p. 600.

The sparse information available locally tends to corroborate the findings of this international survey. The results of the 1951 census, for example, show the following differences between the ages of the total labour force and the ages of those reporting themselves as unemployed:

Table 83 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN EUROPEAN LABOUR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYED, 1951
(PERCENTAGES)

| AGE GROUP | M E N | | W O M E N | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | UNEMPLOYED | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE | UNEMPLOYED | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE |
| 15-24 | 30.4 | 20.1 | 46.9 | 43.0 |
| 25-49 | 35.0 | 58.4 | 37.1 | 45.0 |
| 50 and over | 34.6 | 21.5 | 16.0 | 11.0 |
| Total 15 + | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

The greater incidence of unemployment among older workers is demonstrated by the older age structure of the unemployed (especially the men) as compared with the total labour force. Thus, while only 22 per cent of the total labour force is aged 50 and over, some 35 per cent of the unemployed are so aged.

Moreover, these figures reflect not the total number of unemployed but only the number of persons who report themselves as unemployed in the census, without stating their usual occupations. Since one may assume that the ability to "state one's usual occupation" will increase with age and experience (the juvenile may be still looking for his first job), the proportion of older workers among the total number of unemployed must be even greater than suggested in the last table. This probability is confirmed by the recent[1] statement by the Deputy Minister of Labour that over half the unemployed in the Union were over the age of 45.

Under normal conditions, the question need not be even raised whether the middle-aged worker wishes to continue working, since he is still in the age groups of maximum work participation. The relatively high rates of unemployment[2] among these workers can therefore only be attributed to discrimination on the part of employers against the "older" workers. In suggesting the reasons for this discriminatory attitude of the employers to recruiting workers aged as low as 40, we should like to quote at some length from the authoritative report published by the International Labour Office to which we have already referred:[3]

> "In this field there is little variation between the findings of the different countries on which this study was based. Generally speaking, employers consider that the output of older workers is lower, that they are slower and less adaptable and that their

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1 16th March, 1959. The annual reports of the Secretary for Labour also from time to time stress that unemployment in South Africa is of particular concern to the older worker, the unskilled, and the aged.

2 "The Problem of the Employment of the Older Worker", International Labour Review, June 1954, p. 595. For example, two-thirds of unemployed workers in the United Kingdom were aged 40 years and over in 1953. Similar percentages were found in Belgium (64%), Holland (47%), Switzerland (70%), etc.

3 Idem., p. 605.

diminishing muscular strength and powers of resistance render them unsuitable for a number of tasks for which workers in full physical health are needed. They fear, moreover, that older workers may have some difficulty in adapting themselves to the new rhythm of mass production and to the frequent changes in the organisation of work made necessary by continuous progress in the techniques and equipment used. Another reason often given is that absenteeism, sickness and accidents are more common among older employees, particularly older women, while others point out that the other workers are unwilling to accept older workers in the factory."

"It seems that the reluctance of undertakings to engage older workers increases as production standards become more uniform, work becomes more mechanised and rationalised, the speed of production is increased and output raised by mass production methods that require the employment of more and more semi-skilled workers.[1] A further reason quoted by employers is the cost of social services for older workers and the pension schemes that have been organised. They consider that the existing rules concerning contributions and benefits cannot be applied to older workers without upsetting the entire system; moreover, these schemes encourage the workers to stay with the same firm, which leads to an increase in the average age of the employees and so, as workers retire or leave, they must be replaced entirely by younger elements."

"The existence of collective agreements containing clauses prohibiting reductions in the remuneration of older workers when their output decreases or dismissal on the grounds of age is another factor mentioned by a number of employers."

"Lastly, particularly in office, administrative and similar jobs where the wage usually increases according to the age of the worker, some employers prefer younger workers because they can offer them lower wages. In this connection it would appear that the attaching of an age limit to an offer of employment means often that the wage offered will be relatively low."

The discrimination practised by employers against older workers will vary, of course, with the current manpower situation, and older workers find jobs more easily when there is a shortage of labour in their occupations or in the economy as a whole. Differences in attitudes towards age also exist as between different occupations, with the older workers having a comparative advantage in occupations which demand a high degree of experience and craftsmanship, especially where speed is of less importance than quality. As a rule, too, the skilled older worker finds it easier to hold or obtain a job than one who has no special knowledge of his work. On the other hand, a worker with specialist knowledge may be placed at a severe disadvantage if technological advance displaces his craft, and he finds himself unable to adapt to new methods of production or to learn a completely different occupation.

All that has been said above concerning the employment of the older worker applies to the older woman even more forcibly than to the older man.[2] Not only is unemployment generally higher among older women than men, but age tends to count against a woman earlier too. This is particularly true in occupations where the woman comes into contact with the public, and where appearance and youth may be considered

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1 G. Daric: "Vieillissement de la population et prolongation de la vie active", Institut national d'etudes demographiques, Travaux et documents, Cahier No. 7 (Paris, Presses universitaires de France), p. 29.

2 "The Employment of the Older Woman", International Labour Review, July, 1955, p. 65 et. seq.

important qualifications. Unfortunately, any discrimination against the older women as workers is made more serious by virtue of their majority in the older age groups. In Natal, for example, the masculinity rate of the 65 and over age groups was as low as 86 per cent in 1951.

## § 3 Work Participation of Older Workers in South Africa[1]

As mentioned previously there are no figures of the Natal labour force by age, but comparable figures are available (Table 84) for the European population of the Union for the last three full population censuses, 1936, 1946 and 1951. While bearing in mind two important differences between the Union and Natal which are relevant here - that the Natal European population is older and engaged in agriculture to a lesser degree than the Union's population - we may expect these figures to have certain application to Natal.

Table 84 WORK PARTICIPATION OF EUROPEANS AGED 60 YEARS AND OVER, UNION, 1936, 1946 AND 1951

| AGE GROUP | PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN EACH AGE GROUP | | | PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WORKERS IN EACH AGE GROUP | | | WORK PARTICIPATION RATE IN EACH AGE GROUP | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 |
| | | | | M E N | | | | | |
| 60-64 | 3.2 | 3.1 | 3.0 | 4.2 | 4.2 | 4.1 | 78.1 | 79.2 | 78.2 |
| 65-69 | 2.3 | 2.6 | 2.4 | 2.0 | 2.9 | 2.5 | 51.9 | 64.8 | 61.6 |
| 70-74 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 1.9 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 49.9 | 46.4 | 42.5 |
| 75 + | 1.3 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 30.7 | 28.8 | 24.2 |
| 65 + | 5.0 | 6.1 | 6.2 | 3.9 | 5.2 | 4.7 | 45.9 | 49.4 | 44.1 |
| | | | | W O M E N | | | | | |
| 60-64 | 2.8 | 3.2 | 3.4 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 7.3 | 8.2 | 9.2 |
| 65-69 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 2.6 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 5.7 | 5.9 | 6.0 |
| 70-74 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 1.9 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 4.0 | 4.2 | 3.5 |
| 75 + | 1.4 | 1.9 | 2.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 2.6 | 2.6 | 2.3 |
| 65 + | 4.9 | 6.2 | 6.7 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 4.4 | 4.4 | 4.1 |

Sources: calculated from Volume V, 1951 Population Census and from unpublished, provisional figures, 1951 Population Census.

1 The work participation of men and women aged 65 and over is given below for a number of countries in recent years:

| | Canada (1951) | U.S.A. (1950) | Japan (1954) | France (1946) | U.K. (1951) | Italy (1954) | Germany (1950) | Australia (1947) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 38.6 | 41.4 | 62.0 | 54.4 | 32.0 | 33.1 | 26.8 | 33.9 |
| Women | 5.1 | 7.8 | 29.2 | 22.3 | 5.3 | 6.9 | 9.7 | 5.1 |

Table 84 shows that, while the proportion of oldsters in the population increased quite considerably between 1936 and 1951 (Column 1), there was a fall in work participation over the whole period (Column 3), so that the proportion of older workers in the labour force increased by a relatively smaller degree (Column 2). This was true for both men and women, but the work participation rate was, however, higher in 1946, probably due to the continued effect of war-time manpower shortages.

Some of the possible reasons for this fall in work participation between 1936 and 1951 were suggested in the previous sections, but one factor which is of primary importance is the relative decline in farming as a field of employment for older workers. For example, in 1936 farming, fishing, and forestry accounted for no less than 59 per cent of the male and 27 per cent of the female European workers aged 65 years and over in the Union; by 1951 farming activities accounted for only 45 per cent and 19 per cent of these workers respectively.

One must be wary, however, in the interpretation of these figures, because it may be questioned what proportion of these older people who report themselves as farmers really are actively engaged in farming. It might very well be that some old people on farms report themselves as farmers, even though they have to all intents and purposes retired, on the principle of "once a farmer always a farmer". The fact that the line of demarcation between work and non-work is not easy to draw with respect to farming occupations has been mentioned in earlier chapters, and it can be understood that this applies particularly to the older worker, for whom there is no legal or customary age of retirement.

In view of the overwhelming importance of farming in the figures of employment for the older workers and the dubious reliability of these data, one must re-approach the trend in participation with more caution. The figures in Table 84 show a slight fall in the work participation rate of oldsters between 1936 and 1951, when all persons over the age of 64 reporting as gainfully occupied are related to total population. Yet, although the increase in the number of older farmers between these two years was only 17 per cent (26 per cent for women), the increase in the number of non-agricultural workers amounted to more than 100 per cent for men and 91 per cent for women. The significance of this is that if a considerable proportion of those elderly persons reporting themselves as farmers in 1936 were not <u>really</u> active workers (as suggested above), then the true work participation rate for oldsters may actually have risen between 1936 and 1951.

A further possibility is that there has been an actual movement of older persons from agriculture to other occupations, and this might be connected with the tendency for older people to move towards the coast in their later years. It does not seem likely, however, that many elderly persons would abandon the security of farm life and emigrate to the coast with the intention of finding other employment, and it is more probable that most older people who do undertake this move have retired from the labour force.

The importance of farming in South Africa as an old person's job is illustrated by the figures in Table 85, which contrast the occupational distribution of oldsters with the occupations of the total labour force. The comparative rarity of older workers is noticeable in the more strenuous and physically demanding groups of occupations such as the mining and manual occupations, while the effect of a compulsory early retiring age is seen in the low proportion of elderly workers in operating transport occupations. Apart from the very high proportion of older workers in farming, only the managerial and service occupations are of greater importance to the older worker than to the average worker, while, with women, professional occupations are also important.

Table 85 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN EUROPEAN WORKERS AGED 65 YEARS AND OVER AND OF THE TOTAL EUROPEAN LABOUR FORCE, 1951 (PERCENTAGES)

| OCCUPATIONAL GROUP | M E N | | W O M E N | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 65 & over | 15 & over | 65 & over | 15 & over |
| Professional, technical | 6.0 | 7.7 | 27.2 | 17.3 |
| Managers, administrative | 12.1 | 9.4 | 9.1 | 2.9 |
| Clerical, office | 7.7 | 13.2 | 6.7 | 44.8 |
| Salesmen | 4.1 | 4.6 | 3.4 | 13.0 |
| Farmers | 45.0 | 18.2 | 19.3 | 1.8 |
| Miners | 1.9 | 4.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Transport workers | 0.6 | 3.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Manual workers | 14.1 | 31.6 | 5.6 | 11.6 |
| Service workers | 5.2 | 4.1 | 24.3 | 6.9 |
| Total Labour Force* | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including "other" workers.

On the other hand the effect of discrimination is obvious in keeping out the older workers from the occupations for which they would seem most fitted. This is best seen in the clerical and sales occupations, which, since they generally require little physical exertion but make good use of experience, are quite suitable for the older workers. Yet both of these occupational groups prove to be of less importance to the older worker than to the labour force as a whole, and this is particularly true in the case of women workers. There were, for example, only 45 typists aged 65 and over in the whole of the Union in 1951.

The relative importance of the older workers varies quite considerably from one individual occupation to the next. There are no men over 60 in the case of air operating transport occupation, for example, owing to compulsory early retirement, while workers aged 65 and over account for as many as 11 per cent of the labour in "other service occupations", which include many of the jobs customarily associated with (and sometimes reserved for) older persons such as lift and other attendants, porters, caretakers, and so on. Other jobs with relatively high proportions of older workers were lawyers and judges (8%) and priests and charitable workers (11%), while particularly low proportions were found in the heavy manual occupations such as metal workers (1%) and stevedores (1%). The highest proportion of older women was found in the general class of welfare workers, in which 15 per cent of the women were aged 65 and over.

The census figures of the ages of workers also throw some light on the rate at which older workers withdraw from the labour force, and two methods of assessment are possible (see Table 86):

Table 86 NUMBER OF OLDER EUROPEAN WORKERS IN THE UNION, 1936, 1946 AND 1951

| CENSUS YEAR | M E N | | | | W O M E N | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 60-64 | 65-69 | 70-74 | 75+ | 60-64 | 65-69 | 70-74 | 75+ |
| 1936 | 25,828 | 12,207 | 7,214 | 4,062 | 2,008 | 1,203 | 544 | 344 |
| 1946 | 29,619 | 20,337 | 10,099 | 5,869 | 3,110 | 1,766 | 888 | 574 |
| 1951 | 31,175 | 19,535 | 10,417 | 6,251 | 4,089 | 2,059 | 894 | 679 |

Sources: Volume VII, 1936 Population Census - U.G. 11/1942, Volume II, 1946 Population Census - U.G. 41/1954, and from unpublished, provisional figures from the 1951 Population Census.

The first is to compare the numbers of workers in each age group horizontally for each year; the second is to follow the survivors of the 60-64 age group in 1936 through each age group up to 1951, when they will all have reached the 75 and over age group. While neither of these methods provides a precise measurement - because of certain variable factors such as size of population, age and mortality conditions - they do allow a rough picture of how the labour force dwindles with age to be drawn.

Different treatments of the same figures will, of course, give different results, but the overall impression to be gained from a thorough analysis is that, of every ten workers aged 60-64, about six will still be working in the age range 65-69, three will still be working when they are 70-74, and two will continue working past the age of 75. This fall-out of workers will take into account the withdrawal of workers from the labour force both through death and through normal retirement. If the natural decrease in the total population and working population of each age group because of death is ignored (as far as possible), the rate of retirement of surviving persons can be estimated, on the assumption of constant work participation at the 1951 rates. The continued work participation of surviving persons, taking the average work participation of all workers aged 15-64 as a base of 100, would then be 87 per cent at 60-64, 68 per cent at 65-69, 47 per cent at 70-74, and 27 per cent at ages 75 and over.

## § 4 Possibilities for increasing Work Participation among Older Workers

One of the aims of any progressive community should be to provide rest and security for its older members after they have contributed their share of work to the community. Some would like to see an extension of adequate pensions to all old persons, regardless of means, while others would restrict such aid to those who really need it. But most would agree that old people should not be forced to work by economic necessity and that it is also a good thing for younger people to be able to look forward to security in their old age.

On the other hand, a complementary aim of society should also be to provide jobs for those older people who do wish to work - whether their search for work is compelled by need or not. The task of finding suitable employment for the older workers is especially important when, through population aging, the older age groups are increasing in proportion. Under these circumstances it would seem desirable to encourage older people to continue working when they want to and to find suitable work for them to do.

Taking as a further premise the condition that no assistance programme for the older worker will be welcomed if it in any way threatens the job opportunities of younger men with greater family commitments, we may ask what steps can be taken to assist the employment of the older worker. Two broad fronts can be outlined on which the problem may be approached, although both methods would probably succeed only if implemented on a governmental level. The first task is to study the barriers to the employment of able-bodied older workers imposed by employers' prejudices and the existence of institutional impediments such as pensions schemes and compulsory retiring ages. The second task concerns the employment of those older workers who are no longer able to carry out their habitual occupation because of ensuing physical frailty, and who need to be retained and placed in a new occupation more suited to their physical capabilities.

Barriers to Employment. In spite of the prejudices and discrimination which exist against the employment of the older worker by many employers, there is much evidence to suggest that the efficiency

of a worker by no means inevitably decreases with age.[1] While advancing age does generally restrict his ability to perform heavy manual work, the beginning of physical degeneration is a phenomenon which affects every man at a different age, and some old men of 75 are physically stronger than other men of 45 or 50. Moreover, the growth in the relative number of non-manual and sedentary jobs has meant that physical frailty alone need not be a bar to employment in a very wide range of present-day occupations.

What is necessary in this connection is that employers should not regard age, as such, as a determining factor in their employment policies, and that the ability to perform the job should be taken as the sole criterion. These conditions tend to obtain during a period of full employment, but if the present easing in the labour market continues, one may expect that the older workers (and some female workers) will be among the first to go. If this should happen, and with continued aging of the population, the employment of the older worker may become a problem of sufficient gravity to warrant government action on a national scale, as has happened in other countries in recent years.

The effect of pension schemes on the employment of workers of 65 and over is of less importance than it is with the younger "older" workers in their forties and fifties, since, by the age of 65, one can assume that an older person in search of work is already receiving a pension or is not eligible for a pension (other than a government old age pension) at all. From the point of view of the private employment pensions, it is mainly in the years immediately prior to the pensionable age that the existence of a pension scheme presents the greatest barrier to the hiring of older men.

On the other hand, a pension may be an important factor affecting older persons' work participation, when the existence or non-existence of a pension determines whether or not an oldster will have to find work in order to support himself. This aspect of employment was discussed earlier.

Placement of Older Workers. Up to now we have been concerned with overcoming the mainly artificial barrier against the employment of able-bodied older workers, who are discriminated against only on the grounds of age. But a problem of comparable importance is the employment of older workers who can no longer adequately perform the occupation in which they have been trained and cannot easily find any other job. This is not a question of employers discriminating against the older worker because of some imaginary inferiority inherent in him, but is a very real problem of how to employ men who can no longer carry out the only job they know how to do, at an age when they cannot adapt themselves to new processes and new skills as easily as they used to.

The employment of this sort of older worker is probably more of a problem than available statistics can show since many older people who would take a job if a suitable one could be found do not register at employment offices - probably because they know that they have little hope of finding suitable employment. But this problem is not one that can easily solve itself, and requires an active policy of guidance,

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1 "The Problem of the Employment of the Older Worker", International Labour Review, June, 1954. Much of this report is concerned with the much more important problem of discrimination against the "older" worker of 40-64. The preference for young workers has been obscured in South Africa, at least during and since the Second World War, and has only become noticeable in the last few years. It is too early to guess whether the unemployment of the over-40s will assume chronic proportions, or whether the present position is merely a normal by-product of the long period of full and over full employment.

placement, and, if necessary, training schools and special workshops. In the last analysis, therefore, only a positive policy on the part of government can hope to produce conditions in which there are jobs for all or most older people who want to work, although it is quite possible and desirable that agencies such as Chambers of Industries and Commerce, or even large private employers, could play an important role in setting an example.

## A NOTE

The relevance of the bulk of this chapter may be questioned in the light of recurring reports of severe and apparently chronic unemployment among Indians in Natal and in view of other signs of an easing in the demand for labour. Indeed it might even appear a little ridiculous to consider the possibilities of increasing work participation by attracting additional workers from their wash-tubs or bathchairs against the background of increasing queues of able-bodied men seeking work.

We feel, however, that a report of this nature can pay only limited attention to contemporary trends and events, and that the above discussion forms an integral part of the logical development of the analysis.

# CHAPTER SIX

## THE COMPOSITION OF THE NATAL LABOUR FORCE

### § 1 Introduction

The material in the first six sections of this chapter has been obtained from the population censuses of the South African Bureau of Census and Statistics, which, except for the errors common to all such censuses, comprise the most reliable and comprehensive source of information on the composition of the gainfully-occupied population. It is therefore all the more regrettable that the most recently published data are from the 1946 census[1], although it has been possible to obtain provisional and unpublished figures from the 1951 census to give a more up-to-date picture of the more important aspects of the labour force.

Of course, even the figures of the 1951 census are now out of date, and can hardly represent an accurate description of the present employment position in Natal. In § 7 of this chapter and in Chapter Eight the latest figures from other sources will be used to give a more topical description of certain sectors of economic activity. But for the rest we must rely solely upon the 1951 population census, since to estimate the present size and composition of the labour force is an even more hazardous procedure than to estimate the present size of the total population: on top of the demographic determinants are all the social and economic forces which affect the processes of economic growth and change. As the relevant report from the 1951 census is still (at the time of writing) not published, the provisional figures are reproduced in some detail in Appendices 1 and 2 of this chapter.

A worker can be classified in a number of different ways according to the purposes of the classification. The Bureau of Census and Statistics uses four methods of classification which will be adopted in the following sections. The four methods of differentiation are:

1) the occupation of the worker;
2) the industry in which he is engaged;
3) the identity of his employer; and
4) the status of his employment.

The differences between these classifications are not always fully understood, and it is not uncommon to see a worker's "occupation" given as "government service" or "commerce", whereas these descriptions should be more accurately used to identify his employer or the industry in which he is employed rather than his occupation. It would be as well therefore if these classifications were defined to avoid confusion in the following paragraphs.

The occupation of a worker specifies the kind of work he does, irrespective of where he works or who employs him. An industry refers to the class of economic activity in which he carries out his occupation. For example, the mining industry employs workers following many occupations such as blasters, cooks, firemen, and medical practitioners. On the other hand, a worker following a general occupation can be employed in virtually any industry - one might cite a typist or book-keeper, who can be employed in agriculture almost as readily as in commerce.

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1 Population Census, 7th May 1946, Volume V, Occupations and Industries, U.G. 41/1954.

Changes in the categories of both occupations and industries between 1936 and 1946 and again between 1946 and 1951 make comparisons through time difficult. The most serious change was made in the classification of occupations between 1946 and 1951, and, where figures for occupations are given from the 1946 census, they have in all cases been adjusted to compare with the 1951 census. The classification of industries, although undergoing certain changes, has remained sufficiently similar to permit broad comparisons over time.

The identity of the worker's employer is classified as either Union government, provincial or local authorities, other government institutions, business, private employer, and so on, and is a useful, though limited source of information. A worker's status of employment classifies him into an employer (or person working on his own account), an employee, or a family worker.

The difference between these methods of description are often not fully realised by those who complete forms themselves, with the result that official figures are inevitably subject to errors. In addition, distortions occur when workers deliberately misreport their occupations or give other false particulars in an attempt to increase (in some way best known to themselves) their prestige or self-respect. When this occurs, an electrician might become an electrical engineer, a bank employee becomes a banker, a van driver becomes a cartage contractor, and so on. Moreover under "status of employment" an employee who supervises or hires and fires other employees may be tempted to classify himself as an "employer". On the other hand, there is sometimes a tendency for workers to describe themselves in too general terms. It is often easier, for example, to use such an envelope term as "factory worker" or "professional" or "retired", even when a more precise definition of one's occupation (as "machine attendant", "medical practitioner", or "pensioner") is quite possible.[1]

Since they differ in the extent to which information is available about them, each racial group will be analysed separately in the following sections.

## § 2 The Composition of the European Labour Force

Industrial Distribution. The industrial distribution of the European labour force of Natal at the last three full censuses is reflected in Table 87 /see also Appendix 1(a)/, which reflects three important features of the increase in economic activity. First, there was an increase of nearly fifty per cent in the total labour force during the fifteen-year period, which represents a mean annual rate of increase of a little over 2½ per cent. This rate of growth is slightly higher than that of the total European population over the same period, mainly owing to the increased participation in work by women. Moreover, the post-war expansion in employment which occurred in the five-year period 1946-51 was almost as great as the increase over the whole ten-year period 1936-46, which included the war years.

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1 For description of census labour force statistics see "The World Programme of Population Censuses: Prime Source of Essential Labour Data", International Labour Review, January, 1958.

Table 87 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE EUROPEAN WORKERS OF NATAL, 1936, 1946, AND 1951.[1]

| INDUSTRY | 1936 | | 1946 | | 1951 | | INDEX OF GROWTH 1936=100 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | 1946 | 1951 |
| Primary Industry | 10,971 | 14.7 | 10,837 | 11.6 | 10,393 | 9.4 | 99 | 95 |
| Agriculture | 9,753 | 13.1 | 9,266 | 9.9 | 8,709 | 7.9 | 89 | 89 |
| Mining, quarrying | 1,218 | 1.6 | 1,571 | 1.7 | 1,684 | 1.5 | 122 | 138 |
| Secondary Industry | 15,200 | 20.4 | 22,622 | 24.3 | 31,479 | 28.5 | 149 | 207 |
| Manufacturing | 11,392 | 15.3 | 16,407 | 17.6 | 22,721 | 20.6 | 144 | 199 |
| Construction | 3,808 | 5.1 | 6,215 | 6.7 | 8,758 | 7.9 | 163 | 230 |
| Tertiary Industry | 45,924 | 61.5 | 58,292 | 62.6 | 63,829 | 58.0 | 127 | 139 |
| Commerce | 13,620 | 18.2 | 17,341 | 18.6 | 21,454 | 19.5 | 127 | 158 |
| Transport | 13,068 | 17.5 | 18,936 | 20.3 | 15,721 | 14.3 | 145 | 120 |
| Services [a] | 19,236 | 25.8 | 22,015 | 23.6 | 26,654 | 24.2 | 114 | 139 |
| Other [b] | 2,591 | 3.5 | 1,382 | 1.5 | 4,509 | 4.1 | 53 | 174 |
| Total Labour Force | 74,686 | 100.0 | 93,133 | 100.0 | 110,210 | 100.0 | 125 | 148 |

Sources: Volume VII: "Occupations and Industries", 1936 Population Census - U.G. 11/1942; Volume V: "Occupations and Industries", 1946 Population Census - U.G. 41/1954; unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

a. includes categories "Professions" and "Public Administration and Defence" in 1936. Most of these would have been incorporated into one or other of the services in 1951.

b. includes category "Electricity, Water, Gas, etc." in 1951. This category did not exist in earlier censuses.

The second feature is the pronounced relative movement from both primary and tertiary industries to secondary industry, which more than doubled its European labour force during the period 1936-51. Apart from manufacturing and construction, the only other industry to increase

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1. By way of comparison, the following figures represent the industrial distribution of four foreign countries as well as Natal and the Union. (Figures are calculated as percentages of total labour forces; in the case of the South African figures excluding the unknown and unspecified group.)

| Industrial Group | Canada (1951) | Britain (1951) | New Zealand (1950) | Japan (1951) | Natal (1951) | Union (1951) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | 20 | 5 | 22 | 44 | 8 | 15 |
| Mining | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Manufacturing | 29 | 41 | 25 | 18 | 22 | 20 |
| Construction | 6 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 7 |
| Commerce | 17 | 12 | 16 | 15 | 20 | 19 |
| Transport | 8 | 8 | 10 | 5 | 15 | 12 |
| Services | 18 | 24 | 19 | 13 | 25 | 21 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Sources: United Nations Statistical Yearbooks; unpublished, provisional figures from the 1951 Union Population Census.

its relative importance was commerce, while mining, transport, and services failed to keep pace with the average rate of increase and agriculture suffered an absolute decline. This transition coincides with the movement of population from rural to urban areas and is a sign of the same process of maturation. Secondary industry will receive more detailed attention in the following chapters.

The third noticeable feature is the increased participation of women, as reflected in the lowered masculinity rate. This process was by no means consistent throughout all industries however, and, in fact the masculinity of workers in manufacturing rose during the period:

Table 88 PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE EUROPEAN LABOUR FORCE OF NATAL, BY MAJOR INDUSTRIES, 1936, 1946, AND 1951

| INDUSTRY | PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 |
| Primary Industry | 3 | 6 | 5 |
| Agriculture | 3 | 6 | 4 |
| Mining, quarrying | 2 | 5 | 6 |
| Secondary Industry | 20 | 17 | 14 |
| Manufacturing | 26 | 22 | 18 |
| Construction | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Tertiary Industry | 28 | 31 | 34 |
| Commerce | 30 | 42 | 42 |
| Transport | 5 | 8 | 10 |
| Services | 42 | 43 | 42 |
| Total Labour Force | 23 | 25 | 25 |

Sources: calculated from U.G. 11/1942, U.G. 41/1954, and unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

Note: Although the purpose of this table is to show the masculinity of the working force, it does in fact give the feminity of the working force, since it uses the percentage of women as the index. The demographic index of masculinity (number of males per 100 females) will not be used in the present discussion of employment because it becomes too unwieldy in the many cases where the proportion of male to female workers is very great. Further, the percentage of women has been chosen as an index rather than the percentage of men because it is thought easier to compare a series of small numbers than a series of large numbers (for example, in the first line of the above table, 3, 6, and 5 rather than 97, 94 and 95).

Occupational Distribution. The 1946 figures of occupations have been adjusted to fit the 1951 system of classification[1], and the occupational distribution for these two years is shown in Table 89 (see also Appendix 2(a)7.

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1 This code of adjustment was devised by the writer and it is not claimed that the result is foolproof. But the two years can now be compared with the risk of only very small differences.

Table 89 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE EUROPEAN WORKERS OF NATAL, 1946 AND 1951[1]

| OCCUPATION | 1946 | | | 1951 | | | INDEX OF GROWTH 1946=100 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Per Cent Women | Number | Per Cent | Per Cent Women | |
| Prof., technical | 10,702 | 11.1 | 47 | 13,143 | 11.9 | 40 | 123 |
| Managers, officials | 6,563 | 6.8 | 7 | 10,005 | 9.1 | 10 | 152 |
| Clerical, office | 20,821 | 21.6 | 47 | 26,480 | 24.0 | 50 | 127 |
| Salesmen | 6,378 | 6.6 | 48 | 7,760 | 7.0 | 45 | 122 |
| Farmers | 9,432 | 9.8 | 6 | 8,390 | 7.6 | 4 | 89 |
| Miners, quarrymen | 698 | 0.7 | -- | 789 | 0.7 | 0 | 113 |
| Transport workers | 3,944 | 4.1 | 1 | 3,771 | 3.4 | 1 | 94 |
| Manual workers | 27,823 | 28.9 | 7 | 31,141 | 28.3 | 5 | 112 |
| Service workers | 5,840 | 6.1 | 38 | 5,833 | 5.3 | 36 | 100 |
| Other workers | 4,039 | 4.2 | 24 | 2,879 | 2.6 | 17 | 73 |
| Total Labour Force | 96,240 | 100.0 | 25 | 110,191 | 100.0 | 25 | 115 |

Sources: U.G. 41/1954 and unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

Note: It will be noticed that these totals (of the labour forces) are not the same as those shown in Table 87. Apart from minor differences in classification which account for the discrepancy between the 1951 totals, over 3,000 persons, who at the time of the 1946 census were unemployed, are included in the classification of occupations but not in the classification of industries.[2]

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1 The following were the percentage distributions of workers by occupation in a number of countries in recent years:

| OCCUPATION | COUNTRY AND YEAR | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | U.S.A. | CANADA | AUSTRALIA | FRANCE | JAPAN |
| | 1950 | 1951 | 1951 | 1946 | 1950 |
| Professional | 8.2 | 7.3 | 5.5 | 5.0 | 4.6 |
| Managers, etc. | 21.6 | 21.0 | 11.5 | 14.0 | 10.6 |
| Salesmen | 7.0 | 5.9 | 3.0 | 2.1 | 8.4 |
| Farmers | 12.3 | 19.2 | 33.2 | 38.5 | 48.0 |
| Miners | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 1.1 |
| Transport | 4.4 | 5.0 | 4.2 | 1.9 | 1.2 |
| Manual | 34.5 | 32.4 | 32.7 | 30.0 | 22.1 |
| Service | 10.9 | 7.9 | 8.7 | 7.0 | 4.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: International Labour Review, August, 1956.

2 It is necessary at this stage to explain the position of unemployed persons in census figures. It should be noted, first of all, that an unemployed person in a population census is any person who reports himself (or herself) as "unemployed", and does not mean that the person has registered as an unemployed worker, or indeed, that he is necessarily unemployed at all.

In the economic sense of the word, an unemployed person is one who is actively engaged in looking for work, and it is in this sense that the census includes the unemployed in the gainfully-occupied

The system of classification for occupations is perhaps less satisfactory than that for industries, and cannot be easily divided into major groupings. For this reason some brief explanation for the categories is necessary. The first class is straightforward and includes all those who are normally thought of as following a profession. The class "managers, administrators, and officials (excluding farming and mining)" comprises two sub-groups: "public administration officials" and "other managers, directors, and administrative officials and proprietors". In spite of its grandiose title, this latter class relies for its numbers mainly upon general dealers, caterers, and traders, although managers and directors of factories are also important. "Clerical, office and related workers" is, of course, mainly dependent upon clerks and other office workers, but also includes less obvious occupations as bus conductors, telegraphists, and postmen. Division 3

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Footnote 2 (continued)

population. Yet it is possible that some persons who are by no means actively engaged in looking for work report themselves as unemployed (which in the broad sense of the word is true if they are not employed) and are thereby wrongly included in the total working force. For example, housewives, students, and even won't work dependents may wrongly report as unemployed. Among certain classes of worker too, retirement from work is not always an abrupt and irreversible separation from work, and a worker may pass through a period of partial retirement, marked by intermittent stretches of employment. The idle periods between these periodic jobs may be thought of either as unemployment or as interrupted retirement depending upon the circumstances.

How is a person classified if he reports himself as unemployed in the population census? If a person reports unemployed but also states his usual occupation, he will be classified as following that particular occupation: for example he will be recorded as a clerk, labourer, or typist. If he does not give his usual occupation, however, he will be included in the category "unemployed", the total size of which indicates not the total number of unemployed at the time of the census but the number who reported themselves as unemployed and gave no normal occupation. Note that in this case although these unemployed people cannot be given an occupation they are still included in the gainfully-occupied population.

An unemployed person cannot be allotted to any specific industry, however, since a man is more likely to change the industry in which he works than his occupation. There is an important difference in the industrial classification of unemployed persons between 1946 and 1951. In 1946, the unemployed were not included in the gainfully-occupied population, but were shown separately as part of the non-gainfully-occupied population; in 1951 the unemployed were merged into the "not adequately described" group of the gainfully-occupied population. To achieve agreement between the 1946 figures for the total number of workers in all industries and the total number in all occupations therefore, one must add the unemployed workers to the industrial total (or subtract it from the occupation total). The 1951 figures for the total number employed in industries and following occupations are the same, except for a few small discrepancies. It will have been realised, however, that under the 1951 classification, there is no record of the total number of persons reporting unemployed; the only figures available relate to the number of unemployed who were unable to report any occupation.

includes all salesmen and agents, the most important group being shop assistants. Division 4 consists mainly of farmers and farm workers but also includes a scattering of fishermen and associated workers such as groundsmen and animal attendants. Division 5 comprises all those who direct, supervise, or carry out actual mining or quarrying work. Of course, persons employed by a mine or quarry who follow some other occupation (for example, accounting) would not be included in the category, although he would be included in the industrial classification "mining and quarrying", which is for that reason considerably larger. In a similar way, the occupation group of persons engaged in operating transport occupations is much smaller than the industrial category "transport", and embraces only those who actually operate a means of transport - drivers of cars, taxis, vans, steam engines and aeroplanes, firemen, seamen and so on. Related workers engaged in transport industries (for example, porters) are not included, nor are communication workers.

The largest and most diverse occupational class is that of "craftsmen, factory operatives, manual workers, labourers, etc." This class includes all manual workers, both artisans and labourers, and also all factory workers and machine attendants, irrespective of their industry. Service workers (Division 9) are broken down into protective service workers (policemen, firemen, lighthouse keepers, etc.), domestic servants, and other service workers, including barbers, hotel-keepers, cobblers, laundry workers and miscellaneous attendants. The last group (Division10) gathers together all "other workers not elsewhere classified and workers in occupations unidentifiable or not reported." The most important of these in 1951 were members of the Union Defence Force, the unemployed, and persons not reporting any occupation or reporting one which was unidentifiable or unclassifiable.[1]

Compared with the 15 per cent increase in the total European labour force between 1946 and 1951, the largest proportional gain was in the managerial and administrative class, which increased by over a half in five years. Other occupations to increase at a faster than average rate were the professional, clerical and office, and sales jobs. Occupations recording a relative decline were mining and quarrying, service work and manual work, while farming and transport work suffered an absolute decline.

Although the average ratio of men to women remained at three to one, the proportion of women increased in two individual occupational classes. These were "managers and administrators", the number of women in which more than doubled during the period, and "clerical and office" occupations, in which women had all but achieved numerical equality with men by 1951. The proportion of women in all other occupations fell, however, reflecting, as far as one can tell, a return to more normal employment conditions after the war.

A somewhat clearer picture of the occupations of Natal's Europeans can be obtained from Table 90, which shows the number of workers in those individual occupations which in 1951 occupied ½ per cent or more of the male or female European labour force in Natal.

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1 For a detailed description, discussion and criticism of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (I.S.C.O.) see the report by Neil McKellor in International Labour Review, July 1956.

Table 90 INDIVIDUAL OCCUPATIONS ACCOUNTING FOR ONE PER CENT OR MORE OF THE EUROPEAN WORKERS OF NATAL, 1951

| M E N | | | W O M E N | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OCCUPATION | Number | Per Cent | OCCUPATION | Number | Per Cent |
| Clerk (not civ.serv.) | 6,934 | 8.4 | Typiste | 5,388 | 19.5 |
| Farmer | 6,877 | 8.3 | Clerk (not civ. serv.) | 3,609 | 13.1 |
| Manager (trade) | 3,971 | 4.8 | Shop Assistant | 3,461 | 12.5 |
| Fitter and turner | 2,802 | 3.4 | Teacher | 1,799 | 6.5 |
| Carpenter | 2,579 | 3.1 | Nurse | 1,751 | 6.3 |
| Shop Assistant | 2,544 | 3.1 | Bookkeeper | 1,591 | 5.8 |
| Clerk (civ. service) | 2,238 | 2.7 | Clerk (civ. service) | 797 | 2.9 |
| Electrician | 2,080 | 2.5 | Telephonist | 549 | 2.0 |
| Bricklayer | 1,786 | 2.2 | Housekeeper | 474 | 1.7 |
| Motor Mechanic | 1,726 | 2.1 | Manager (trade) | 424 | 1.5 |
| Policeman | 1,567 | 1.9 | Hairdresser | 399 | 1.4 |
| Bookkeeper | 1,496 | 1.8 | Manager (bus. catering) | 368 | 1.3 |
| Storeman | 1,170 | 1.4 | Dressmaker | 321 | 1.2 |
| Manager (factory) | 1,124 | 1.4 | Unemployed | 315 | 1.1 |
| Engine driver | 1,040 | 1.3 | Farmer | 304 | 1.1 |
| Motor vehicle driver | 904 | 1.1 | Cashier | 302 | 1.1 |
| Teacher | 894 | 1.1 | Postal employee | 279 | 1.0 |
| Painter | 891 | 1.1 | | | |
| Total 1 per cent + | 42,623 | 51.7 | Total 1 per cent + | 22,131 | 80.0 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

These occupations cover almost 65,000 workers, or some 59 per cent of the European labour force.[1] The employment of men is considerably more diversified than that of women. Although eighteen occupations each employ 1 per cent or more of European men - as against seventeen employing 1 per cent of European women - these major occupations employ only just over half the men and over 80 per cent of the women. Moreover, as large a proportion of women follow the four most "feminine" occupations - typistes, clerks, shop assistants, and teachers - as the proportion of men who follow all eighteen specified "masculine" occupations.

The major occupations are consistent with a predominantly urban economy such as Natal's. Although farmers form the second most numerous occupation group, this is only so because agriculture cannot be split into as many individual occupations as can, for instance, manufacturing or mining. Thus, although agriculture is a minor field of employment for Europeans in Natal, farming is represented as an important individual occupation since virtually all Europeans engaged in agriculture are farmers.

Even in the rural areas, however, less than half (46 per cent) of the gainfully-occupied population are farmers (see Table 91). All occupations except farming and mining show a distribution more urban than the average or than the distribution of the total population (86 per cent, see Chapter 3). The occupations in order of urban concentration are clerical and office, salesmen, transport workers,

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1 The balance of some 45,000 workers not shown in this table represent the sum of all those who work in occupations employing less than one per cent of all workers. The most important occupation categories of these workers (with rough proportions in parentheses) are, men : manual (2/5) and professional and managerial (1/4), and women : professional and managerial (1/3), manual (1/4), and service (1/5). Only an eighth of the balance of female workers are employed in clerical occupations.

Table 91 RURAL AND URBAN OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE EUROPEAN WORKERS OF NATAL, 1951
(PERCENTAGES)

| OCCUPATION | RURAL DISTRIBUTION | URBAN DISTRIBUTION | PERCENTAGE OF EACH OCCUPATION IN URBAN AREAS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Professional, technical | 10.8 | 12.1 | 87.6 |
| Managers, officials | 8.0 | 9.3 | 88.0 |
| Clerical and office | 7.8 | 26.6 | 95.5 |
| Salesmen | 2.7 | 7.7 | 94.7 |
| Farmers | 46.3 | 1.5 | 16.8 |
| Miners, quarrymen | 2.6 | 0.4 | 50.4 |
| Transport workers | 1.6 | 3.7 | 93.6 |
| Manual workers | 15.1 | 30.8 | 92.7 |
| Service workers | 3.4 | 5.6 | 91.3 |
| Other workers | 1.7 | 2.8 | 91.1 |
| Total Labour Force | 100.0 | 100.0 | 86.0 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

manual workers, service workers, managers and officials, professional workers, miners, and lastly, farmers.[1]

Identity of Employer. The census breakdown of the identity of employer is not wholly satisfactory in that, while being detailed on the side of government employment, it does not give sufficient information on the side of private employment (see Table 92).

Table 92 IDENTITY OF EMPLOYER OF EUROPEAN WORKERS IN NATAL, 1951.
(PERCENTAGES)

| EMPLOYER | MEN | WOMEN | PERSONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Union Government | 7.7 | 5.9 | 7.2 |
| Natal Provincial Administration | 3.5 | 10.6 | 5.3 |
| Local authorities | 5.4 | 2.4 | 4.6 |
| Institutions for higher and special education, research, and culture | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.5 |
| Control boards | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Other semi-public corporations | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| South African Railways | 16.5 | 2.0 | 12.8 |
| Electricity Supply Commission | 0.6 | 0.2 | 0.5 |
| Business Enterprise | 61.1 | 65.9 | 62.3 |
| Other private non-profit organizations | 1.4 | 8.2 | 3.1 |
| Unspecified (including unemployed) | 3.4 | 3.9 | 3.5 |
| Total Labour Force | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

1 It may be questioned how farmers and miners come to be enumerated in urban areas at all. First, it may not be clear in the text that the group farmers includes market gardeners, florists, poultry-farmers, fishermen, and so on, all of whom can be urban residents. Similarly, "miners" include quarry-workers, who are likewise frequent town residents. Second, it must be remembered that the South African census is a de facto census, so that farmers and miners from other parts of Natal or the Union on holiday in or visiting Durban, say, on the night of the census, would be enumerated as urban dwellers. Third, the classification of urban and rural areas does not in all cases coincide with the distribution of economic activity.

If one includes "institutions for higher and special education, research, and culture" in government service (on the grounds that most of these institutions are presumably financed mainly by government funds), then some 34 per cent of male workers and 22 per cent of female workers are employed by public or semi-public bodies. Moreover, since no public servant, by definition, can be an employer or work on his own account (see sub-section below on "status of employment"), it would be better to express the number of government workers as a percentage of the total number of "employees". If this is done, some 43 per cent of the male, 24 per cent of the female, or almost 38 per cent of the total European employees are employed by the public sector.

The occupational distribution according to the identity of employer is shown in summarized form in Table 93 (see also Appendix 3).

Table 93 IDENTITY OF EMPLOYER AND OCCUPATION OF EUROPEAN WORKERS, 1951

| OCCUPATION | UNION GOVNT. | N.P.A. | LOCAL AUTHS. | S.A.R. | OTHER PUBLIC | BUSI-NESS | OTHER | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prof., tech. | 602 | 3,578 | 482 | 220 | 531 | 5,440 | 2,290 | 13,143 |
| Man., offs. | 631 | 119 | 407 | 455 | 24 | 8,268 | 101 | 10,005 |
| Clerical | 3,412 | 659 | 1,698 | 2,983 | 280 | 16,547 | 901 | 26,490 |
| Salesmen | 11 | 2 | 39 | 21 | 1 | 7,526 | 160 | 7,760 |
| Farmers | 120 | 7 | 60 | 16 | 7 | 8,063 | 117 | 8,390 |
| Miners | -- | 16 | 2 | -- | 2 | 747 | 22 | 789 |
| Transport | 86 | 112 | 587 | 1,955 | 2 | 899 | 130 | 3,771 |
| Manual | 897 | 1,058 | 1,058 | 7,766 | 399 | 18,836 | 824 | 31,141 |
| Service | 1,528 | 266 | 266 | 543 | 44 | 2,124 | 892 | 5,833 |
| Others | 658 | 21 | 21 | 186 | 2 | 181 | 1,806 | 2,879 |
| Total | 7,945 | 5,838 | 5,097 | 14,145 | 1,292 | 68,631 | 7,242 | 110,191 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

The Union Government is important mainly as an employer of clerical and service workers, the Natal Provincial Administration as an employer of professional workers (mostly teachers) and manual workers, and the local authorities as employers of clerical and manual workers. Business enterprise is by far the largest employer of the workers of all occupations except that of transport worker, which is, of course, largely the concern of the South African Railways.

Status of Employment. A large proportion of Natal's European workers fall into the category of employees (see Table 94 and also Appendix 4). This fact needs a little care in interpretation. At

Table 94 STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEAN WORKERS IN NATAL, 1951

| STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT | DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS | | | | PERCENTAGE URBAN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Men | | Women | | Men | Women | Persons |
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Per Cent | Per Cent | Per Cent |
| Employers & workers on own account | 12,852 | 15.6 | 1,512 | 5.5 | 58.3 | 82.1 | 60.8 |
| Employees | 66,299 | 80.3 | 25,124 | 91.0 | 89.9 | 93.1 | 90.8 |
| Other workers* | 3,424 | 4.1 | 980 | 3.5 | 73.1 | 89.0 | 76.6 |
| Total Labour Force | 82,575 | 100.0 | 27,616 | 100.0 | 84.3 | 92.4 | 86.3 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including family workers and unemployed and unspecified persons.

first sight it might appear that an "employer" or "worker on own account" should have a higher work status than an "employee", but this is by no means always the case. The classification of status of employment should be thought of as displaying the degree of independence of a worker rather than as putting him in a social or income bracket, since many of the employers and workers on own account are really quite humble members of society, while included under the "employees" are a not inconsiderable number of workers such as managers and officials who may, paradoxically, wield great powers over employment.

In whatever way one accounts for the status of an individual worker, however, it is the proportion of employees, rather than employers and workers on own account, which tends to be related to the stage of development of a country. Other things being equal, it seems that the more advanced an economy, the greater will be the ratio of employees to employers and workers on own account.

As an economy matures, two processes tend to increase the proportion of employees in the working population. On the one hand, there is a movement (either absolute or relative) from agriculture - in which there is a high proportion of self-employed farmers - to manufacturing and other forms of economic activity in which the ratio of employees to employers and workers on own account is considerably higher than in agriculture. On the other hand this process is accompanied by and closely linked with a trend towards larger units of production, both in manufacturing, where the craftsman gives way to the factory, and also in other industries such as commerce, where the small trader is displaced by the trading corporation. This second process may even be accentuated by an increase in the size of the farming unit consequent upon the reduction in the number of independent farmers and the introduction of mechanisation.

Table 95 illustrates in the case of a few countries, the way in which the ratio of employers to employees tends to vary in relation to the relative importance of agriculture in the economy. Comparatively

Table 95 STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT OF WORKERS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES
(PERCENTAGES)

| COUNTRY AND CENSUS YEAR | EMPLOYERS AND OWN ACCOUNT | | EMPLOYEES | | PERCENT OF TOTAL LABOUR FORCE IN AGRICULTURE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Persons |
| United Kingdom, 1951 | 8 | 4 | 90 | 94 | 5 |
| Natal, 1951 | 16 | 6 | 80 | 91 | 8 |
| Canada, 1951 | 24 | 5 | 73 | 92 | 20 |
| New Zealand, 1951 | 24 | 8 | 74 | 90 | 22 |
| France, 1946 | 33 | 38 | 67 | 62 | 37 |
| Yugoslavia, 1948 | 69 | 86 | 20 | 9 | 75 |
| Pakistan, 1951 | 82 | 81 | 16 | 15 | 77 |

Source: United Nations Statistical Yearbooks.

few European workers in Natal are employers and workers on own account compared with most other countries selected, although Natal shows a proportion twice as high as that of the United Kingdom.

The importance of agriculture is seen more clearly in Table 96, which shows that 70 per cent of the Natal Europeans engaged in farming occupations in 1951 were working on their own account, Moreover, although farmers comprised no more than 7.6 per cent of the total working population and less than 2 per cent of the total number of employees, they accounted for over 40 per cent of the total number of employers and workers on own account.

Table 96 OCCUPATION AND STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEAN WORKERS IN NATAL, 1951

| OCCUPATION | EMPLOYERS AND OWN ACCOUNT | | EMPLOYEES | | TOTAL* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| Prof., technical | 1,827 | 13.9 | 11,060 | 84.2 | 13,143 | 100.0 |
| Managers, officials | 4,304 | 43.0 | 5,630 | 56.3 | 10,005 | 100.0 |
| Clerical, office | 313 | 1.2 | 25,758 | 97.3 | 26,480 | 100.0 |
| Salesmen | 413 | 5.3 | 7,177 | 92.5 | 7,760 | 100.0 |
| Farmers | 5,870 | 70.0 | 1,713 | 20.4 | 8,390 | 100.0 |
| Miners, quarrymen | 15 | 1.9 | 753 | 95.4 | 789 | 100.0 |
| Transport workers | 65 | 1.7 | 3,608 | 95.7 | 3,771 | 100.0 |
| Manual workers | 1,251 | 4.0 | 29,142 | 93.6 | 31,141 | 100.0 |
| Service workers | 243 | 4.2 | 5,481 | 93.9 | 5,833 | 100.0 |
| Other workers | 63 | 2.2 | 1,101 | 38.2 | 2,879 | 100.0 |
| Total Labour Force | 14,364 | 13.0 | 91,423 | 83.0 | 110,191 | 100.0 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including family workers, unemployed, unspecified, etc.

In only four occupational groups do employers and workers on own account comprise more than 5 per cent of the total number of workers. Of these the greatest by far was the farming group, in which employees are outnumbered by 7 : 2 by employers and workers on own account, and, as might be expected, a high proportion of employers (43 per cent) is found among the managerial class. These two groups, together with the professions (of which some 14 per cent were employers), account for over 83 per cent of employers and persons working on their own account.

Farming, besides embracing the greatest proportion of non-employees, is also the most rural form of activity and one of the most masculine occupations. It is therefore not surprising that these three characteristics, masculinity, rurality, and independence of employment tend to go together, so that there is a higher proportion of women workers in urban than in rural areas and also among employees than among employers and workers on own account:

Table 97 PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN NATAL EUROPEAN LABOUR FORCE, BY STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT, 1951

| STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT | PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Urban | Rural | Total Natal |
| Employers and own account | 14 | 5 | 11 |
| Employees | 28 | 20 | 27 |
| Total Labour Force | 27 | 14 | 25 |

Source: calculated from unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

Women are relatively most numerous among the ranks of urban employees, while, at the other end of the scale, male employers in rural areas (being mostly farmers) outnumber women by almost twenty to one.

## § 3 The Composition of the Indian Labour Force

The total number of Indian workers in Natal is considerably less than that of European workers. The reasons for this were given in the previous chapter, the most important being the youthfulness of

the Indian population and the low participation of Indian women in work. Moreover, the already low working potential of the Indians has fallen still further in relation to total population growth under the influence of a falling median age and masculinity rate and in the absence (up to 1951) of any tendency towards an increase in female participation.

Industrial Distribution. In the industrial distribution of the Indians, over three-quarters of the workers are employed in farming, manufacturing, commerce, or services. Table 98 shows that all four of these industries are more important for Indians than for Europeans and that no other industry is of any great importance.

Table 98 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE INDIAN WORKERS OF NATAL, 1936, 1946, AND 1951

| INDUSTRY | 1936 | | 1946 | | 1951 | | INDEX OF GROWTH 1936=100 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | 1946 | 1951 |
| Primary Industry | 18,532 | 36.9 | 14,020 | 25.0 | 13,230 | 17.6 | 76 | 71 |
| Agriculture | 17,859 | 35.6 | 13,504 | 24.1 | 12,753 | 17.0 | 76 | 71 |
| Mining, quarrying | 673 | 1.3 | 516 | 0.9 | 477 | 0.6 | 77 | 71 |
| Secondary Industry | 9,994 | 19.9 | 17,215 | 30.7 | 21,937 | 29.2 | 172 | 220 |
| Manufacturing | 9,027 | 18.0 | 15,742 | 28.1 | 19,770 | 26.3 | 174 | 219 |
| Construction | 967 | 1.9 | 1,473 | 2.6 | 2,167 | 2.9 | 152 | 224 |
| Tertiary Industry | 18,700 | 37.3 | 20,767 | 37.0 | 27,742 | 37.0 | 111 | 148 |
| Commerce | 7,581 | 15.1 | 8,931 | 15.9 | 11,393 | 15.2 | 118 | 150 |
| Transport | 1,475 | 2.9 | 1,965 | 3.5 | 2,271 | 3.0 | 133 | 154 |
| Services[a] | 9,644 | 19.2 | 9,871 | 17.6 | 14,078 | 18.8 | 102 | 146 |
| Other[b] | 2,971 | 5.9 | 4,068 | 7.3 | 12,120 | 16.2 | 137 | 408 |
| Total Labour Force | 50,197 | 100.0 | 56,070 | 100.0 | 75,029 | 100.0 | 112 | 149 |

Sources: U.G. 11/1942, U.G. 41/1954, and unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

a, b See note to Table 87.

For more detailed figures see Appendix 1 (b)

Despite the difference between the Indians' industrial distribution and the Europeans', there is a similarity between the two growth patterns, with agriculture showing an absolute loss in workers, tertiary industry a slight relative decline, and secondary industry a large gain. The decline in Indian agriculture was considerable between 1936 and 1946, although between 1946 and 1951 the numbers employed fell much less. Most of the fall in employment in this last five-year period was due to a 45 per cent drop in the employment of women, while this in turn may be due to a change in

classification rather than in actual employment.[1]

The total increase in the Indian gainfully-occupied population between 1936 and 1951 was equivalent to that of the European - almost 50 per cent. In the first ten years of the period the rate of Indian increase was only half that of the European, but between 1946 and 1951 the Indian labour force increased by a third, or three times as fast as the European labour force increased.

The percentage of women in the Indian labour force is shown in the following table:

Table 99 PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE INDIAN LABOUR FORCE OF NATAL, BY MAJOR INDUSTRIAL GROUPS, 1936, 1946, AND 1951

| INDUSTRY | PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 |
| Primary Industry | 6 | 10 | 6 |
| Agriculture | 6 | 10 | 6 |
| Mining, quarrying | - | - | - |
| Secondary Industry | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Manufacturing | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Construction | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tertiary Industry | 8 | 7 | 8 |
| Commerce | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Transport | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Services | 11 | 10 | 12 |
| Total Labour Force | 6 | 7 | 6 |

Sources: calculated from U.G. 11/1942, U.G. 41/1954, and unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

The figures vary too much to give a very distinct trend, but it is clear that, up to 1951 at least, Indian women played a very minor role in all branches of economic activity.

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1 This "hump" in the employment of women in agriculture in 1946 appears in the figures for Europeans and Coloureds as well, and is mainly responsible for the fluctuations in the masculinity of agriculture employment and for certain other phenomena. The reason for the unexpectedly large number of women engaged in farming in 1946 seems to lie in the inclusion of a special category of agricultural occupation in that year called "farmer's daughter, assisting on farm". This category existed in neither the 1936 nor the 1951 census. The most likely explanation seems to be that many of those who were returned as "farmers' daughters" in 1946 would have been described as "engaged in household duties" - and therefore as not gainfully-occupied - in 1951. If the farmers' daughters are deducted from the number of women engaged in agriculture in 1946, the figures for all three censuses become considerably more feasible, while the trends in the masculinity of the total working forces and the female work participation data appear more constant.

Occupational Distribution. The principal occupations of the Indian workers of Natal in 1946 and 1951 are shown in Table 100 [see also Appendix 2(b)].

Table 100 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE INDIAN WORKERS OF NATAL, 1946 AND 1951

| OCCUPATION | 1946 | | | 1951 | | | INDEX OF GROWTH 1946=100 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Per Cent Women | Number | Per Cent | Per Cent Women | |
| Prof., technical | 1,519 | 2.4 | 17 | 2,226 | 3.0 | 20 | 147 |
| Managers, officials | 3,092 | 5.0 | 3 | 3,837 | 5.1 | 4 | 124 |
| Clerical, office | 1,777 | 2.9 | 1 | 2,565 | 3.4 | 1 | 144 |
| Salesmen | 4,809 | 7.7 | 6 | 6,299 | 8.4 | 5 | 131 |
| Farmers | 13,296 | 21.4 | 10 | 12,787 | 17.1 | 7 | 96 |
| Miners, quarrymen | 296 | 0.5 | -- | 302 | 0.4 | 0 | 102 |
| Transport workers | 2,401 | 3.9 | 0 | 3,407 | 4.5 | 0 | 142 |
| Manual workers | 20,157 | 32.5 | 3 | 25,965 | 34.6 | 4 | 129 |
| Service workers | 7,058 | 11.4 | 12 | 8,123 | 10.8 | 13 | 115 |
| Other workers | 7,693 | 12.4 | 14 | 9,465 | 12.6 | 9 | 123 |
| Total Labour Force | 62,098* | 100.0 | 7 | 74,976 | 100.0 | 6 | 121 |

Sources: U.G. 41/1954 and unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

* Including 6,028 unemployed persons not shown in the table on industrial distribution of Indians. See note to Table 89.

Over a third of Natal Indian workers in 1951 were employed as craftsmen, factory operatives, labourers, and other manual workers. The second largest group of workers were farmers and farm workers, comprising 17 per cent of the working force, while service workers accounted for a little over 11 per cent. The large number of "other" occupations include many persons who either reported themselves as unemployed or were not able to report any occupation (see Table 101).

Although farming and service and manual work can be regarded as consisting largely of relatively unskilled labour, the Indians like the Europeans, tended to move to more skilled jobs between 1946 and 1951. This tendency is illustrated by the fact that, compared with the increase in the total labour force of 21 per cent during these five years, the relatively less skilled occupations of farmers, miners and service workers increased less than proportionately, while there was a relative gain by clerical and transport workers, salesmen, manual workers, and by the managerial class of workers. The largest proportional gain was recorded by the professional workers - who, to a large extent, are teachers.

Eighteen specific occupations (Table 101) each employed one per cent or more of the total number of Indian men, while seventeen occupations employed one per cent or more of Indian women. By a coincidence, the number of these occupations is exactly the same as the number of occupations employing 1 per cent or more of Europeans, although the actual occupations do, of course, differ. Indian employment, compared with European employment, is less diverse, with 70 per cent of Indians, as against only 52 per cent of Europeans, being employed in the first eighteen occupations. Nevertheless, the Indians show the same tendency as Europeans for female employment to be considerably less diverse than male, the proportions of Indian and European women employed in the first seventeen occupations being

80 per cent and 86 per cent respectively.[1]

Table 101 INDIVIDUAL OCCUPATIONS ACCOUNTING FOR ONE PER CENT OR MORE OF THE INDIAN WORKERS OF NATAL, 1951

| MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OCCUPATION | Number | Per Cent | OCCUPATION | Number | Per Cent |
| Labourer, miscellaneous | 8,020 | 11.4 | Unemployed | 657 | 13.9 |
| Farmer* | 6,213 | 8.8 | Dom. servant, pvt.h'hold | 652 | 13.8 |
| Unemployed | 5,344 | 7.6 | Labour, farm | 459 | 9.7 |
| Shop assistant | 4,583 | 6.5 | Labourer, miscellaneous | 300 | 6.4 |
| Labourer, farm | 4,054 | 5.8 | School teacher | 300 | 6.4 |
| Waiter | 3,249 | 4.6 | Farmer | 269 | 5.7 |
| Whsle/retail trader | 2,791 | 4.0 | Hawker, pedlar | 256 | 5.4 |
| No occupation reported | 2,664 | 3.8 | Sewing machinist | 255 | 5.4 |
| Motor-vehicle driver | 2,468 | 3.5 | Domestic servant, farm | 142 | 3.0 |
| Clerk (not civ. serv.) | 1,553 | 2.2 | Whsle/retail trader | 138 | 2.9 |
| Boot/shoe fact. oper.) | 1,504 | 2.1 | Dom.servant,other | 135 | 2.8 |
| School teacher | 1,322 | 1.9 | No occupation reported | 113 | 2.4 |
| Sugar mill worker | 1,185 | 1.7 | Clothing workers, misc. | 112 | 2.4 |
| Tailor | 1,090 | 1.6 | Nurse | 83 | 1.8 |
| Hawker, pedlar | 966 | 1.4 | Shop assistant | 62 | 1.3 |
| Gardener | 878 | 1.2 | Unidentifiable occup. | 52 | 1.1 |
| Sewing machinist | 860 | 1.2 | Laundry worker | 48 | 1.0 |
| Misc. printing operative | 711 | 1.0 | | | |
| Total 1 per cent + | 49,455 | 70.3 | Total 1 per cent + | 4,033 | 85.4 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including market gardeners.

The largest proportion of Indian men (17.2 per cent) were occupied as farm or miscellaneous labourers in 1951, while farmers comprised 8.8 per cent, shop assistants 6.5 per cent, and waiters 4.6 per cent of the total male labour force. Since the group "wholesale and retail traders" would comprise all forms of traders from wealthy merchants to impoverished traders operating on a very small scale, one might include in this group the hawkers and pedlars, the two groups together accounting for some 5 per cent of the workers. The most important industrial workers were boot and shoe operatives, sugar mill workers, and sewing machinists. It is interesting to note that, while the number of sugar mill workers barely increased between 1946 and 1951, the number of boot and shoe operatives increased by 75 per cent. Another occupation to increase in importance was motor-vehicle driving.

Just on a fifth of Indian women were employed as domestic servants of one kind or another, and a further 16 per cent as farm or miscellaneous labourers. These general labourers were employed mainly by "business enterprise" as unskilled labour. Traders, hawkers, and pedlars accounted for 8.3 per cent, teachers and nurses for 8.2 per cent, and farmers for 5.7 per cent of the women workers.

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1 The Indian workers employed in other occupations (i.e. those employing less than 1 per cent of the workers) amount to some 21,000 men and only 684 women. The bulk of these (74 per cent of the men and 72 per cent of the women) are engaged in either manual or service occupations, with few other occupational groups being of any great significance.

Identity of Employer. The figures of the identity of employers of Indian labour in Natal (Table 102) illustrate the limited avenues of employment which are open to it. Almost three-quarters of Indian men

Table 102 IDENTITY OF EMPLOYER OF INDIAN WORKERS IN NATAL, 1951
(PERCENTAGES)

| EMPLOYER | MEN | WOMEN | PERSONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Union Government | 0.6 | 1.0 | 0.7 |
| Natal Provincial Administration | 2.4 | 7.4 | 2.7 |
| Local authorities | 3.2 | 0.6 | 3.0 |
| South African Railways | 0.9 | 0.2 | 0.9 |
| Business enterprise | 74.2 | 49.6 | 72.6 |
| Other private non-profit organizations | 2.1 | 22.1 | 3.4 |
| Others | 16.6 | 19.1 | 16.7 |
| Total Labour Force | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: calculated from unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

and half the women are employed by private enterprise, and only a very small proportion (7 per cent) are employed by the central, provincial, and local governments or by the railways. The only other known employers of importance are the "other private non-profit organizations" being mainly the employers of female domestic servants and other service workers (see Table 103).

Table 103 IDENTITY OF EMPLOYER AND OCCUPATION OF INDIAN WORKERS, 1951

| OCCUPATION | UNION GOVNT. | N.P.A. | LOCAL AUTHS. | S.A.R. | BUSINESS ENTERPR. | OTHER PVTE. | OTHERS | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prof., tech. | 52 | 1,542 | 14 | 2 | 356 | 199 | 61 | 2,226 |
| Man., officials | 9 | 1 | 16 | -- | 3,794 | 2 | 15 | 3,837 |
| Clerical | 97 | 30 | 88 | 37 | 2,137 | 37 | 140 | 2,566 |
| Salesmen | 6 | -- | 6 | 3 | 5,964 | 3 | 316 | 6,298 |
| Farmers | 38 | 34 | 89 | 2 | 11,984 | 337 | 303 | 12,787 |
| Manual | 58 | 121 | 1,919 | 551 | 21,377 | 165 | 1,774 | 25,965 |
| Service | 220 | 247 | 51 | 62 | 5,416 | 1,682 | 445 | 8,123 |
| Others* | 21 | 47 | 78 | 18 | 3,473 | 97 | 9,440 | 13,174 |
| Total Labour Force | 501 | 2,022 | 2,261 | 675 | 54,501 | 2,522 | 12,494 | 74,976 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including mine and transport workers.

Apart from the teachers employed by the province and a scattering of clerks, most of the government-employed Indians are manual or service workers. Only in business are any other occupations of relative importance.

Status of Employment.

Table 104 STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN WORKERS IN NATAL, 1951

| STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT | DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS | | | | PERCENTAGE URBAN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | | Females | | Males | Females | Persons |
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | | | |
| Employers & workers on own account | 11,027 | 15.7 | 761 | 16.1 | 65.6 | 75.2 | 69.7 |
| Employees | 46,906 | 66.8 | 3,053 | 64.7 | 75.9 | 71.4 | 75.6 |
| Other workers* | 12,326 | 17.4 | 903 | 19.1 | 77.6 | 79.6 | 77.7 |
| Total Labour Force | 70,259 | 100.0 | 4,717 | 100.0 | 74.6 | 73.6 | 74.5 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including family workers and unemployed and unspecified persons.

There are two conclusions to be drawn from the figures in Table 104. First, a higher proportion of Indians than of Europeans is classified as "employers and workers on own account" and, second, the proportion of Indian women so classified is actually greater than the proportion of men - quite the reverse of the European conditions of employment. These conclusions are apt to be misleading, however, unless it is remembered that most of the employers and workers on own account

Table 105 OCCUPATION AND STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN WORKERS IN NATAL, 1951

| OCCUPATION | EMPLOYERS AND OWN ACCOUNT | | EMPLOYERS | | TOTAL* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| Prof. technical | 163 | 7.3 | 2,016 | 90.6 | 2,226 | 100.0 |
| Managers, officials | 3,380 | 88.6 | 411 | 10.7 | 3,837 | 100.0 |
| Clerical, office | 53 | 2.1 | 2,405 | 93.8 | 2,565 | 100.0 |
| Salesmen | 1,370 | 21.7 | 4,523 | 71.8 | 6,299 | 100.0 |
| Farmers | 5,253 | 41.1 | 6,232 | 48.7 | 12,787 | 100.0 |
| Miners, quarrymen | -- | -- | 299 | 99.0 | 302 | 100.0 |
| Transport workers | 203 | 6.0 | 3,001 | 88.1 | 3,407 | 100.0 |
| Manual workers | 1,009 | 3.9 | 23,360 | 90.0 | 25,965 | 100.0 |
| Service workers | 291 | 3.6 | 7,373 | 90.8 | 8,123 | 100.0 |
| Other workers | 65 | 0.7 | 338 | 3.6 | 9,465 | 100.0 |
| Total Labour Force | 11,788 | 15.7 | 49,958 | 66.6 | 74,976 | 100.0 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including family workers and unemployed and unspecified persons.

are occupied as managers and officials, salesmen, or farmers (Table 105). Not much less than half of these are farmers and market gardeners. The next most important group are the traders included under "managers and officials", while among the salesmen class are the large numbers of hawkers and other independent salesmen.

## § 4 Composition of the Coloured Labour Force

Industrial Distribution. Between 1936 and 1951, the Coloured gainfully-occupied population of Natal increased by 80 per cent, or at a mean rate of increase of almost 4 per cent a year. This was an even faster rate of increase than that of the rapidly increasing total population itself and was achieved through the greater participation of women. In fact the proportional increase in the number of female workers (129 per cent) was twice that of the male workers (65 per cent).

Table 106 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE COLOURED WORKERS OF NATAL, 1936, 1946 AND 1951

| INDUSTRY | 1936 | | 1946 | | 1951 | | INDEX OF GROWTH 1936=100 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | 1946 | 1951 |
| Primary Industry | 1,053 | 17.4 | 983 | 11.6 | 1,022 | 9.4 | 93 | 97 |
| Agriculture | 910 | 15.1 | 926 | 11.0 | 932 | 8.6 | 102 | 102 |
| Mining, quarrying | 143 | 2.4 | 57 | 0.7 | 90 | 0.8 | 40 | 63 |
| Secondary Industry | 2,152 | 35.7 | 3,505 | 41.5 | 4,985 | 45.9 | 163 | 232 |
| Manufacturing | 1,521 | 25.2 | 2,552 | 30.2 | 3,775 | 34.8 | 168 | 248 |
| Construction | 631 | 10.5 | 953 | 11.3 | 1,210 | 11.2 | 151 | 192 |
| Tertiary Industry | 2,399 | 39.8 | 3,518 | 41.7 | 3,176 | 29.3 | 147 | 132 |
| Commerce | 357 | 5.9 | 491 | 5.8 | 553 | 5.1 | 138 | 155 |
| Transport | 473 | 7.8 | 539 | 6.4 | 434 | 4.0 | 114 | 92 |
| Services[a] | 1,569 | 26.0 | 2,488 | 29.5 | 2,189 | 20.2 | 159 | 140 |
| Other[b] | 431 | 7.1 | 435 | 5.2 | 1,667 | 15.4 | 101 | 387 |
| Total Labour Force | 6,035 | 100.0 | 8,441 | 100.0 | 10,850 | 100.0 | 140 | 180 |

Sources: U.G. 11/1942, U.G. 41/1954 and unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

a, b See note to Table 87.

For more detailed figures see Appendix 1(c).

An already familiar pattern of growth is retraced by the figures in Table 106: an absolute decline in primary industry, a relative decline in tertiary industry, and a rapid increase in secondary industry. By 1951, agriculture's share of the Coloured workers of Natal had fallen from 15 per cent in 1936 to less than 9 per cent, and that of services from 26 per cent to 20 per cent, while the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing had increased from a quarter to over a third. This large increase in manufacturing is aided by a 266 per cent increase in the number of women factory workers alone. The only other industry to increase in relative importance was building and construction. The disproportionate size of the "other" category is partly due to the high rate of unemployment amongst Coloureds in 1951 (see Table 109).

The extent to which the Coloured women contribute to the labour force is shown in the following table:

Table 107 PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN COLOURED LABOUR FORCE OF NATAL BY MAJOR INDUSTRIAL GROUPS, 1936, 1946, 1951

| INDUSTRY | PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 |
| Primary Industry | 4 | 9 | 3 |
| Agriculture | 4 | 10 | 3 |
| Mining, quarrying | -- | -- | -- |
| Secondary Industry | 18 | 23 | 28 |
| Manufacturing | 25 | 31 | 37 |
| Construction | -- | 0 | 0 |
| Tertiary Industry | 38 | 28 | 46 |
| Commerce | 5 | 8 | 12 |
| Transport | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Services | 57 | 38 | 63 |
| Total Labour Force | 23 | 23 | 29 |

Source: calculated from U.G. 11/1942, U.G. 41/1954, and unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

The ratio of women to men in services was abnormally low in 1946 because this category included over 1,000 Coloured servicemen awaiting demobilization. Apart from this, the trend in both secondary and tertiary industries was towards an increasing participation by women. Agriculture shows the same inconsistency in the employment of Coloured women as of European and Indian women (see footnote 1 to page 151).

Occupational Distribution

Table 108 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF COLOURED WORKERS OF NATAL, 1946 AND 1951[1]

| OCCUPATION | 1946 | | | 1951 | | | INDEX OF GROWTH 1946=100 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Per Cent Women | Number | Per Cent | Per Cent Women | |
| Prof., technical | 216 | 2.3 | 59 | 400 | 3.7 | 57 | 185 |
| Managers, officials | 103 | 1.1 | 5 | 94 | 0.9 | 5 | 91 |
| Clerical, office | 146 | 1.5 | 6 | 168 | 1.5 | 20 | 115 |
| Salesmen | 153 | 1.6 | 13 | 223 | 2.1 | 13 | 146 |
| Farmers | 871 | 9.2 | 11 | 832 | 7.7 | 10 | 96 |
| Miners, quarrymen | 43 | 0.5 | -- | 65 | 0.6 | -- | 151 |
| Transport workers | 441 | 4.7 | 0 | 650 | 6.0 | 0 | 147 |
| Manual workers | 4,317 | 45.8 | 19 | 5,686 | 52.4 | 26 | 132 |
| Service workers | 1,405 | 14.9 | 66 | 1,563 | 14.4 | 69 | 111 |
| Other workers | 1,736 | 18.4 | 10 | 1,169 | 10.8 | 19 | 67 |
| Total Labour Force | 9,431 | 100.0 | 23 | 10,850 | 100.0 | 29 | 115 |

Source: U.G. 41/1954 and unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

1 Also see Appendix 2(c) to this Chapter.

Over half the workers in 1951 were manual workers (Table 108), an increase on the already high proportion of manual workers in 1946. This concentration is to a large extent due to the importance of manufacturing to the Coloureds (both men and women), but also reflects the large number of men working as artisans, handymen, and other labourers. Farming, again, declined as an occupation and mining occupies proportionately fewer Coloureds than Europeans. Of particular interest is the relative insignificance of managerial, clerical, and sales occupations to the Coloureds. In the professions, men are outnumbered by women, owing to the number of female nurses.

Table 109 INDIVIDUAL OCCUPATIONS ACCOUNTING FOR ONE PER CENT OR MORE OF THE COLOURED WORKERS OF NATAL, 1951

| M E N | | | W O M E N | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OCCUPATION | No. | Per Cent | OCCUPATION | No. | Per Cent |
| Labourers, miscellaneous | 686 | 8.9 | Sewing machinists | 703 | 22.3 |
| Unemployed | 631 | 8.2 | Dom. servant,pvt.h'hold | 679 | 21.5 |
| Bricklayer | 387 | 5.0 | Clothing workers, misc. | 250 | 7.9 |
| Painter | 365 | 4.7 | Unemployed | 157 | 5.0 |
| Motor-vehicle driver | 343 | 4.5 | Dom. servant, other | 155 | 4.9 |
| Farmer | 272 | 3.5 | Dressmaker, not factory | 113 | 3.6 |
| Labourer, farm | 258 | 3.4 | Nurse | 110 | 3.5 |
| No occupation reported | 232 | 3.0 | School teacher | 98 | 3.1 |
| Boot/shoe fact. operative | 222 | 2.9 | Dressmaker, factory | 62 | 2.0 |
| Carpenter | 190 | 2.5 | Unidentifiable occup. | 61 | 1.9 |
| Shop assistant | 180 | 2.4 | Domestic servant, farm | 57 | 1.8 |
| Handyman | 158 | 2.1 | Tailor | 56 | 1.8 |
| Moulder | 145 | 1.9 | Housekeeper, pvt.h'hold | 36 | 1.1 |
| Seaman | 141 | 1.8 | | | |
| Motor-vehicle assembler | 122 | 1.6 | | | |
| Tailor | 115 | 1.5 | | | |
| School teacher | 97 | 1.3 | | | |
| Cobbler | 86 | 1.1 | | | |
| Dom. servant, pvt. h'hold | 86 | 1.1 | | | |
| Welder | 83 | 1.1 | | | |
| Plumber | 79 | 1.0 | | | |
| Unidentifiable occupation | 79 | 1.0 | | | |
| Motor mechanic | 78 | 1.0 | | | |
| Total 1 per cent + | 5,037 | 65.5 | Total 1 per cent + | 2,537 | 80.4 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census

The employment of Coloured males is diverse (Table 109), with 23 individual occupations each employing 1 per cent or more of the workers, although these occupations together employ almost two-thirds of the workers.[1] Their employment pattern is more akin to the European pattern than the Indian, the main difference being the comparative importance of managers and clerks and relative absence of labourers among Europeans. Compared with Indian employment, too, the employment of Coloured men is on a more skilled level. Although it is difficult to define skill in employment one could perhaps say that some three-fifths of the men covered in the above table could be classified as either skilled (artisans, farmers, professional men, etc.) or semi-skilled (operatives, shop assistants, and any artisans who for some reason do not qualify for skilled status). Only about a fifth of these men would fall in the unskilled body (labourers), while a further fifth remain unidentifiable, unemployed, and so on.

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1 The balance of the workers (2,655 men and 621 women) were very largely employed in manual or service occupations (72 per cent of the men and 80 per cent of the women).

Female Coloured employment, on the other hand, is much more concentrated, with some two-thirds of the workers being employed either as clothing and textile workers or as some kind of domestic servant. The only other known occupations to employ more than 1 per cent of Coloured women were the two professions teaching and nursing. These four basic occupations, together with the unemployed and unidentifiable, covered more than 80 per cent of the workers in 1951.

Table 110 RURAL AND URBAN OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE COLOURED WORKERS OF NATAL, 1951
(PERCENTAGES)

| OCCUPATION | RURAL DISTRIBUTION | URBAN DISTRIBUTION | PERCENTAGE OF EACH OCCUPATION IN URBAN AREA |
|---|---|---|---|
| Professional, technical | 3.3 | 3.8 | 84.5 |
| Managers, officials | 1.5 | 0.7 | 69.1 |
| Clerical, office | 1.0 | 1.7 | 88.7 |
| Salesmen | 3.7 | 1.7 | 68.6 |
| Farmers | 37.2 | 1.5 | 16.2 |
| Miners, quarrymen | 2.9 | 0.1 | 15.4 |
| Transport workers | 4.6 | 6.3 | 86.8 |
| Manual workers | 30.5 | 57.0 | 89.9 |
| Service workers | 6.5 | 16.1 | 92.2 |
| Other workers | 8.6 | 11.2 | 86.2 |
| Total Labour Force | 100.0 | 100.0 | 82.7 |

Source: calculated from unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

Table 110 shows that well over half (57 per cent) of the urban workers (and 60 per cent of the urban men) are in manual occupations, and those, with service workers (16 per cent), transport workers (6 per cent), and professional workers (4 per cent), account for the bulk of Coloured workers in the urban areas of Natal. In the rural areas, manual workers are second only to farmers in importance, while service and transport workers assume a lesser role than in the towns.

From Column 3 of Table 110, it can be seen that service workers show the highest degree of urbanization, followed by manual and clerical workers. Apart from the predominantly rural primary industrial occupations, managers and officials and salesmen are the only workers to show a lower than average urban concentration.

Identity of Employer:

Table 111 IDENTITY OF EMPLOYER OF COLOURED WORKERS IN NATAL, 1951
(PERCENTAGES)

| EMPLOYER | MEN | WOMEN | PERSONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Union Government | 3.3 | 0.6 | 2.5 |
| Natal Provincial Administration | 2.1 | 6.5 | 3.4 |
| Local authorities | 1.2 | 0.1 | 0.9 |
| South African Railways | 2.6 | 0.0 | 1.9 |
| Business enterprise | 68.9 | 55.3 | 64.9 |
| Other private non-profit organisations | 2.7 | 27.7 | 10.0 |
| Others | 19.2 | 9.8 | 16.4 |
| Total Labour Force | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: calculated from unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

As with the Indian, the Coloured worker of Natal has to rely to a very large extent upon business enterprise and other private employment for his livelihood (Table 111). Very few Coloureds are employed by any government agencies and, as Table 112 shows, apart from provincially-employed teachers and a few government clerks and transport workers, they are employed mainly as manual and service workers.

Table 112 IDENTITY OF EMPLOYER AND OCCUPATION OF COLOURED WORKERS, 1951

| OCCUPATION | UNION GOVNT. | N.P.A. | LOCAL AUTHS. | S.A.R. | BUSINESS ENTERPR. | OTHER PVTE. | OTHERS | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prof.,tech. | 8 | 239 | -- | 1 | 69 | 76 | 7 | 400 |
| Man. officials | 2 | 1 | -- | -- | 90 | -- | 1 | 94 |
| Clerical | 39 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 104 | 2 | 18 | 168 |
| Salesmen | -- | 1 | -- | 1 | 203 | -- | 18 | 223 |
| Farmers | 19 | -- | 9 | 1 | 704 | 71 | 28 | 832 |
| Miners | -- | -- | -- | -- | 64 | -- | 1 | 65 |
| Transport | 9 | 5 | 6 | 42 | 495 | 15 | 78 | 650 |
| Manual | 168 | 46 | 72 | 59 | 4,855 | 49 | 437 | 5,686 |
| Service | 25 | 67 | 6 | 96 | 433 | 868 | 68 | 1,563 |
| Other | 3 | 5 | -- | 3 | 30 | -- | 1,128 | 1,169 |
| Total Labour Force | 273 | 366 | 95 | 204 | 7,047 | 1,081 | 1,784 | 10,850 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

Business enterprise is by far the largest employer in all occupations except the professions (in which the Province is predominant) and services (in which domestic servants employed in private households are the largest group).

Status of Employment

Table 113 STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT OF COLOURED WORKERS OF NATAL, 1951

| STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT | DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS | | | | PERCENTAGE URBAN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | | Females | | Males | Females | Persons |
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | | | |
| Employers and workers on own account | 528 | 6.9 | 95 | 3.0 | 49.2 | 69.5 | 52.3 |
| Employees | 5,691 | 74.0 | 2,774 | 87.8 | 80.4 | 93.2 | 84.6 |
| Others* | 1,473 | 19.1 | 289 | 9.2 | 83.4 | 90.0 | 84.5 |
| Total Labour Force | 7,692 | 100.0 | 3,158 | 100.0 | 78.9 | 92.2 | 82.7 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including family workers and unemployed and unspecified persons.

The relative proportions of employers and workers on own account and of employees are obscured in Table 113 by the large proportion of workers of "other" status, which is swollen by the large number of unemployed Coloureds. However, if the simple ratio of employees to employers and workers on own account is calculated, it is more than twice as high for Coloured men (11:1) as for European men (5:1), although the difference between the Coloured women's ratio (29:1) and the European women's ratio (17:1) is less pronounced.

When the status of employment of Coloured workers is analysed by occupation (Table 114), it is found that in seven of the nine specified occupations only a very small proportion of the workers are employers or workers on own account. This high proportion of Coloured employees is due mainly to the relatively small numbers engaged in those occupations in which persons can most readily operate on their own account, especially farming and trading. Only in the relatively insignificant

Table 114 OCCUPATION AND STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT OF COLOURED WORKERS IN NATAL, 1951

| OCCUPATION | EMPLOYERS & OWN ACCOUNT | | EMPLOYEES | | TOTAL* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| Prof., technical | 13 | 3.3 | 382 | 95.5 | 400 | 100.0 |
| Managers, officials | 69 | 73.4 | 23 | 24.5 | 94 | 100.0 |
| Clerical, office | 1 | 0.6 | 157 | 93.5 | 168 | 100.0 |
| Salesmen | 5 | 2.2 | 196 | 87.9 | 223 | 100.0 |
| Farmers | 245 | 29.4 | 522 | 62.7 | 832 | 100.0 |
| Miners, quarrymen | --- | --- | 64 | 98.5 | 65 | 100.0 |
| Transport workers | 9 | 1.4 | 571 | 87.8 | 650 | 100.0 |
| Manual workers | 239 | 4.2 | 5,034 | 88.5 | 5,686 | 100.0 |
| Service workers | 39 | 2.5 | 1,439 | 92.1 | 1,563 | 100.0 |
| Other workers | 3 | 0.3 | 77 | 6.6 | 1,169 | 100.0 |
| Total Labour Force | 623 | 5.7 | 8,465 | 78.0 | 10,850 | 100.0 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including family workers and unemployed and unspecified persons.

managerial class is there a preponderance of employers and workers on own account, while less than 30 per cent of farm workers are self-employed farmers. The manual workers on own account are mainly builders and women working as dressmakers, tailors, and similar workers.

Coloured employers and workers on own account are also relatively more numerous in rural than in urban areas (Table 113) for substantially the same reasons that were discussed in the section on Europeans - rural masculinity and agricultural independence. It will be seen, too, that the Coloured woman is very much more of an urban worker than is the man.

## § 5 The Composition of the Native Labour Force

Industrial Distribution. Although figures are available from both the 1946 and 1951 censuses on the industrial distribution of Natives, historical comparisons are made difficult by a change in the definition of a female agricultural worker.[1] Table 115 reflects the industries in which Natives were engaged in 1951 /also see Appendix 1(d)/.

1 See Chapter Four, p. 103.

Table 115 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIVE WORKERS OF NATAL, 1951

| INDUSTRY | MEN | | WOMEN | | PERSONS | | PER CENT WOMEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | |
| Primary Industry | 306,171 | 62.6 | 21,087 | 22.6 | 327,258 | 56.2 | 6 |
| Agriculture | 285,839 | 58.5 | 21,060 | 22.6 | 306,899 | 52.7 | 7 |
| Mining, quarrying | 20,332 | 4.2 | 27 | 0.0 | 20,359 | 3.5 | 0 |
| Secondary Industry | 69,192 | 14.1 | 758 | 0.8 | 69,950 | 12.0 | 1 |
| Manufacturing | 43,603 | 8.9 | 667 | 0.7 | 44,270 | 7.6 | 2 |
| Construction | 25,589 | 5.2 | 91 | 0.1 | 25,680 | 4.4 | 0 |
| Tertiary Industry | 101,309 | 20.8 | 71,134 | 76.3 | 172,443 | 29.7 | 41 |
| Commerce | 17,497 | 3.6 | 482 | 0.5 | 17,979 | 3.1 | 3 |
| Transport | 18,437 | 3.8 | 35 | 0.0 | 18,472 | 3.2 | 0 |
| Services | 65,375 | 13.4 | 70,617 | 75.8 | 135,992 | 23.4 | 52 |
| Others* | 12,046 | 2.4 | 201 | 0.3 | 12,247 | 2.1 | 2 |
| Total Labour Force | 488,718 | 100.0 | 93,180 | 100.0 | 581,898 | 100.0 | 16 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including class "electricity, gas, water and sanitary services".

Despite the change in classification which drastically reduced the number of Native women recorded as being engaged in agriculture in the 1951 census as compared with earlier censuses, over half of the Native workers are still farmers or farm workers. The only other industry of large importance was services, with over 23 per cent of the total number of workers. The next most important industry, manufacturing, which is of special interest to us, employed little more than 7 per cent of the total working force.

In 1946 one out of every three Native workers was a woman, owing to the definition of a female agricultural worker existing at that time. But by 1951, with the new classification, the percentage of women in the working force had fallen to only 16. Of obvious importance are services, in which Native women outnumber men, but in no other industry do women account for even one-tenth of the labour force.

This picture of Native employment is not altogether satisfactory because of the overriding importance of agriculture in the picture. It is useful to separate agricultural industries from non-agricultural industries for two reasons. The first is that the figures of the number of Natives engaged in agriculture are likely to be the least accurate of industrial figures, not only because rural enumeration is usually less reliable than urban enumeration, but also because farming provides an ill-defined boundary between work and non-work, especially in the partial subsistence economy of the Native Reserves.

The second reason for separating non-agricultural industries is that, to a greater extent than with the other three racial groups, future developments in Native employment will necessitate a further move away from primary industrial employment. Only when the agricultural employment giant has been excluded can their true proportions be clearly seen:

Table 116 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NON-AGRICULTURAL NATIVE LABOUR FORCE OF NATAL, 1951
(PERCENTAGES)

| INDUSTRY | MEN | WOMEN | PERSONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mining | 10.0 | 0.0 | 7.4 |
| Manufacturing | 21.5 | 0.9 | 16.1 |
| Construction | 12.6 | 0.1 | 9.3 |
| Commerce | 8.6 | 0.7 | 6.5 |
| Transport | 9.1 | 0.0 | 6.7 |
| Services | 32.2 | 97.9 | 49.5 |
| Others | 6.0 | 0.4 | 4.5 |
| Total Non-Agricultural Labour Force | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: calculated from unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

Although services have not the relative importance in Native employment they had a generation ago, they still accounted for almost half of the non-agricultural labour force in 1951, with a third of all Native male workers and the vast majority of the women. The remaining industries employing Natives were, in order of importance, manufacturing, construction, mining, transport, and, lastly, commerce.

Occupational Distribution. The occupational distribution of Native workers in 1951 showed the same agricultural orientation (see Table 117 and Appendix 2(d)). The restricted nature of Native

Table 117 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIVE WORKERS OF NATAL, 1951

| OCCUPATION | MEN | | WOMEN | | PERSONS | | PER CENT WOMEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent | |
| Prof., technical | 3,080 | 0.6 | 3,710 | 4.0 | 6,790 | 1.2 | 55 |
| Managers, officials | 819 | 0.2 | 69 | 0.1 | 888 | 0.1 | 8 |
| Clerical, office | 1,737 | 0.4 | 107 | 0.1 | 1,844 | 0.4 | 5 |
| Salesmen | 1,662 | 0.3 | 256 | 0.3 | 1,918 | 0.3 | 15 |
| Farmers, farm workers | 291,712 | 59.7 | 53,088 | 57.0 | 344,800 | 59.2 | 15 |
| Miners, quarrymen | 20,154 | 4.1 | 25 | 0.0 | 20,179 | 3.5 | 0 |
| Transport workers | 5,091 | 1.0 | 8 | 0.0 | 5,099 | 0.9 | 0 |
| Manual workers | 112,350 | 23.0 | 1,129 | 1.2 | 113,479 | 19.5 | 10 |
| Service workers | 42,983 | 8.8 | 34,655 | 37.2 | 77,638 | 13.3 | 45 |
| Other workers | 9,130 | 1.9 | 133 | 0.1 | 9,263 | 1.6 | 1 |
| Total Labour Force | 488,718 | 100.0 | 93,180 | 100.0 | 581,898 | 100.0 | 16 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

employment is apparent, with only manual and service workers, apart from farmers and farm workers, being of any relative importance. Table 118, which lists the individual occupations employing 1 per cent or more of the non-agricultural workers, shows even more clearly the limited range of Native employment. A large proportion of the non-agricultural male workers were concentrated in only seven occupations, while the great majority of the women were to be found in four occupations.

Table 118 INDIVIDUAL OCCUPATIONS ACCOUNTING FOR ONE PER CENT OR MORE OF THE NON-AGRICULTURAL NATIVE WORKERS* OF NATAL, 1951

| M E N | | | W O M E N | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OCCUPATION | Number | Per Cent | OCCUPATION | Number | Per Cent |
| Labourer, general | 87,347 | 43.5 | Domestic servant | 34,014 | 82.8 |
| Domestic servant | 37,669 | 18.7 | Teacher | 2,103 | 5.1 |
| Labourer, mine | 20,313 | 10.1 | Nurse | 1,516 | 3.7 |
| Labourer, railway | 14,705 | 7.3 | Labourer, general | 698 | 1.7 |
| Deliveryman | 2,628 | 1.3 | | | |
| Policeman | 2,250 | 1.1 | | | |
| Watchman, guard | 2,114 | 1.1 | | | |
| Total 1 per cent + | 167,026 | 83.1 | Total 1 per cent + | 38,331 | 93.3 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* aged 10 years and over.

Over 60 per cent of the non-agricultural Native workers were enumerated as some form of labourer. The size of the labouring classes, however, conceals much of the diversity that exists in Native employment. It is necessary at this stage to point out that census figures on Natives - to a greater extent than any other racial group - rely on information provided by third parties. In addition, the third parties are more often than not the employers of Native labour, for whom the census provides yet another time-consuming form to be completed. It is therefore understandable that the convenient envelope term "labourer" might be resorted to a little more frequently than the actual job performed by the employee might warrant, and that a sizeable proportion of Natives could have their occupations more specifically classified than as a labourer. To a large extent, however, the predominance of labourers in the census returns is a function of the wide definition given to labourers in wage agreements and determinations and reflects the traditional association of Natives with unskilled work.

## § 6 The Total Labour Force of Natal

The industrial distribution of the total labour force of all races at the time of the 1951 census is shown in Table 119.

Table 119 TOTAL LABOUR FORCE OF NATAL (ALL RACES), BY MAJOR INDUSTRIAL GROUPS AND ITS RACIAL COMPOSITION, 1951

| INDUSTRY | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE | RACIAL COMPOSITION (PERCENTAGES) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Europeans | Natives | Indians | Coloureds |
| Agriculture | 329,293 | 2.6 | 93.2 | 3.9 | 0.3 |
| Mining | 22,610 | 7.4 | 90.0 | 2.2 | 0.4 |
| Manufacturing | 90,536 | 25.1 | 48.9 | 21.8 | 4.2 |
| Construction | 37,815 | 23.2 | 67.9 | 5.7 | 3.2 |
| Commerce | 51,379 | 41.8 | 35.0 | 22.2 | 1.1 |
| Transport | 36,898 | 42.6 | 50.1 | 6.2 | 1.2 |
| Services | 178,913 | 14.9 | 76.0 | 7.9 | 1.2 |
| Total* | 777,987 | 14.2 | 74.8 | 9.6 | 1.4 |
| Total Non-Agricultural* | 448,696 | 22.6 | 61.3 | 13.9 | 2.2 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.
* Including "other" industries.

Although the racial composition of the total working force is determined very largely by the relative proportions of the four racial groups in the total population and the age and sex composition of the groups, the racial composition of the working force varies considerably from industry to industry. The most obviously important evidence to be found from these figures is the preponderance of Natives, who outnumber the other three racial groups combined in all industries except commerce and manufacturing. In the total employment field (including agriculture), the Native outnumbers his fellow-workers by almost 3 to 1, while, even if agriculture is ignored, he still exceeds a majority of 3 to 2.

The highest Native content is, of course, found in agriculture, in which, in numerical terms, the other racial groups are unimportant. Not far behind agriculture, mining employs a working force in which 9 out of 10 workers are Natives. Although mining is relatively unimportant as a source of employment in Natal, and coal mines are not a "traditional" source of Native employment in the same way as the goldmines are, mining is still more important to Natives in Natal than to any other racial group.

Both in mining and in other industries, the proportion of Natives employed might perhaps be used as a rough index of relative skill on the complementary grounds that:

(i) Native labour is predominantly unskilled, and

(ii) that most unskilled jobs are filled by Natives.

This correlation is clearly observable. The third highest proportion of Natives to non-Natives is found in the services which provide, in domestic service, a large field of employment for Natives, and especially for Native women. On the other hand, construction, which is a highly masculine industry and demands a larger proportion of skilled workers, employs a smaller proportion of Natives. The same is true of transport, wherein, despite the need for a large number of labourers, there are about as many Natives as non-Natives. Manufacturing employs a relatively small proportion of Natives, mainly owing to their partial replacement in Natal by Indians, while commerce relies on Native labour for only a little over a third of its labour requirements.

Peculiar to Natal is the high proportion of Indians (9.6 per cent of the total working force and 13.9 per cent of the non-agricultural force), although their relative importance would be much more but for the youthfulness of their population and the small extent to which Indian women participate in work. Despite their heavy concentration in Natal, however, the Indian content of employment only achieves real importance in two fields of activity: manufacturing and commerce. In both these industries Europeans are proportionately weaker in Natal than in the Union as a whole owing to the employment of Indians. Although commerce is not nearly as important to Indians in Natal as in the Transvaal, Indians still carry on much of the trading in Natal which in other provinces would be in the hands of Europeans or Coloureds. In manufacturing, there were almost as many Indians as Europeans employed in 1951, and, although secondary industry will be further discussed in Chapter 8, it is interesting to note that manufacturing and construction together tend to rely on <u>all four</u> racial groups to a larger extent than any other industry.

## § 7 <u>Other Sources of Information</u>

Apart from the population censuses, which have been analysed in the preceding sections, and the industrial censuses, which will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters, two other official sources of information may be tapped to supplement our knowledge. These are the periodic agricultural censuses and the annual reports of the Government Mining Engineer.

The Union Agricultural Censuses

Although there is an annual agricultural census, the full scope of the census is not covered every year, and comparable figures on labour are available for only seven years since the Second World War. There were no censuses taken during the war and the figures for earlier years are not fully comparable with those of the post-war years. The figures in Table 120 refer to the total number of regular farm labourers employed on only European farms. They include "bywoners" and domestic servants, but exclude the European occupiers of the farms (farmers), their wives and relatives, and all seasonal and occasional labour.

Table 120 LABOUR ON EUROPEAN FARMS IN NATAL IN AUGUST[1] 1946-56

| YEAR | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS AND COLOUREDS | TOTAL NON-EUROPEAN | TOTAL ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1946 | 1,276 | * | * | 140,102 | 141,378 |
| 1947 | 1,083 | * | * | 164,240 | 165,323 |
| 1950 | 1,376 | * | * | 161,979 | 163,355 |
| 1952 | 834 | 168,029 | 7,117 | 175,146 | 175,980 |
| 1953 | 873 | 173,065 | 6,851 | 179,916 | 180,789 |
| 1954 | 648 | 177,332 | 7,752 | 185,084 | 185,732 |
| 1956 | 757 | 181,768 | 6,934 | 188,702 | 189,459 |

Source: Union Agricultural Census Reports.
* Not available.

It is clear from these figures that, by 1956, the proportion of Natives in farm labour was so high that the other racial groups could almost be ignored. Since 1946 European farm workers have fallen in number, although in none of these years did they comprise as much as 1 per cent of the total regular farm labour. Separate figures for Indians and Coloureds were not available in the immediate post-war years, but they together accounted for less than 4 per cent of farm labour in 1956. This has not always been the case, of course, and one of the most important features of the growth of Natal agriculture, namely the replacement of the Indian farm worker by the Native, is not brought out by Table 120.

Hurwitz[2] quotes the following figures of farm labour from the agricultural censuses to illustrate this movement:

| | Natives | Indians |
|---|---|---|
| 1911 | 45,499 | 26,030 |
| 1925 | 101,288 | 16,255 |
| 1930 | 106,352 | 14,221 |
| 1936 | 120,198 | 16,198 |

---

1 It is not known why August is chosen as the end month of the agricultural census year, nor if the employment conditions in August of each year can be taken as typical of those applying throughout the year. In the 1946 census report, however, employment figures are given for each month of the year September, 1945 - August, 1946. An analysis of this single year shows that the average deviation of the monthly figures from the mean for the whole year was 3.8 per cent, while the employment in August was some 2 per cent lower than the average for the rest of the year. In 1956 the census month was changed to June.

2 Hurwitz, N., Volume 12 of the Natal Regional Survey, "Agriculture in Natal 1860-1950", O.U.P., Capetown, 1957, p. 30.

At about the time of Union, the Indians formed a most important part of the farm labour force, and it appears that in 1908 they actually outnumbered Natives on European farms.[1] The importance of these figures lies not so much in the decline in the number of Indian workers, although under the competition from urban employment this was considerable, as in the great expansion in the Native labour force from 45,000 in 1911 to 177,000 in 1954. The crucial period seems to have occurred about the time of the First World War, for between 1911 and 1925 the Indian labour force fell by some 10,000 workers while the Native force increased by 56,000, or by more than double.

Over the decade between 1946 and 1956 the total labour force on European farms in Natal increased by over a third despite an almost constant total area of farming land (Table 121).

Table 121 TOTAL AREA OF EUROPEAN FARMS IN NATAL AND FARM LABOUR FORCE, 1946-56

| YEAR | TOTAL AREA OF EUROPEAN FARMS (1,000 MORGEN) | INDEX 1946= 100 | TOTAL FARM LABOUR FORCE (ALL RACES) | INDEX 1946= 100 | NUMBER OF WORKERS PER 1,000 MORGEN OF FARM LAND |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1946 | 5,188 | 100 | 141,378 | 100 | 27.3 |
| 1947 | 5,132 | 99 | 165,323 | 117 | 32.2 |
| 1950 | 5,176 | 100 | 163,355 | 116 | 31.6 |
| 1952 | 5,209 | 100 | 175,980 | 124 | 33.8 |
| 1953 | 5,239 | 101 | 180,789 | 128 | 34.5 |
| 1954 | 5,192 | 100 | 185,732 | 131 | 35.8 |
| 1956 | 5,244 | 101 | 189,459 | 134 | 36.1 |

Source: Union Agricultural Census Reports.

The increasing number of workers per 1,000 morgen of farm land might imply either a greater use of labour in relation to other factors of production (through a change to more labour-intensive forms of agriculture) or a more intensive use of farming land (through a greater proportion of the land being cultivated). On the other hand it might point to a less efficient utilization of labour supplies. In view of the tendency for agriculture to fall in relative importance with the expansion of secondary industry and the traditional anxiety of farmers about shortages of labour, the utilization of farm labour provides an especially interesting study for the labour economist. But in the absence of a vigorous study of farming methods, which cannot be undertaken in this report, it is possible to make only tentative suggestions where the significance of available figures is readily apparent.

Moreover, the foregoing discussion is concerned with only the regular labourers working on European farms. Details are not available of the numbers of occasional, seasonal, and migrant workers employed on farms, although the agricultural census does record the total cash wages earned by such workers during the course of the census year. However, imperfect it may be to compare the total earnings of non-regular workers with those of permanent farm labourers (who receive in addition to their cash wages not only various payments in kind but also a number of other rewards such as grazing rights, free housing, clothing, and medical attention), such a comparison can at least allow some appreciation of the relative importance of these two sources of labour (Table 122). Although the number of man hours worked by regular and non-regular workers in not known, these figures suggest that a not inconsiderable proportion of farm work is carried out by seasonal and occasional workers, mainly Natives.

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1 Ibid.

Table 122 CASH AND KIND PAYMENTS MADE TO REGULAR AND NON-REGULAR* LABOURERS EMPLOYED ON EUROPEAN FARMS IN NATAL, 1956

| PAYMENTS | MADE TO: | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS & COLOUREDS | ALL WORKERS |
| | £ 000s | | | |
| Average monthly cash wages paid to regular workers in 1956 | 36 | 343 | 37 | 416 |
| Estimated value of payments in kind to above during June, 1956 | 3 | 165 | 11 | 179 |
| Estimated monthly payments in both cash and kind to regular workers | 39 | 508 | 48 | 595 |
| Average monthly cash wages paid to non-regular workers in 1956 | 2 | 116 | 4 | 122 |
| Ratio non-regular : regular | 1:19.5 | 1:4.4 | 1:12.0 | 1:4.9 |

Source: "Report on Agricultural and Pastoral Production, Sugar Cane Plantations and Timber and Wattle Plantations - 1955-56", Agricultural Census No. 30, U.G. 57/1958.

* occasional, seasonal and migrant workers

An associated aspect of the increase in Native farm labour is that the increase in the employment of regular Native farm labourers has been achieved in spite of a smaller number of Natives resident on European farms. It may be remembered that in Chapter Three figures were quoted from the population censuses giving the distribution of Natives in various areas. Among other things, these tabulations show the total number of Natives resident on European-occupied farms, and if these numbers are compared with the number of regular farm labourers reported in the agricultural census, a ratio of farm residents to farm workers can be obtained. At the time of the 1936 population census there were 407,000 Natives enumerated on European farms in Natal, while the agricultural census of the same year reported only 120,000 Native farm labourers and domestic servants. This meant that only 30 per cent of those Natives resident on European farms were regular farm workers. In the 1946 agricultural census, the Native farm workers were grouped together with Indians and Coloureds in a single Non-European group amounting to 140,000 workers. A reasonable estimate of the number of Natives amongst these Non-Europeans would be between 130 and 135 thousand, which, compared to the 368,000 Natives enumerated in the 1946 population census, gives an employment ratio of between 35 and 37 per cent. The number of labourers on European farms was not revealed by the 1951 agricultural census, but the number in 1952 was 168,000. If it can be assumed that the number of Natives on European farms in 1952 was similar to that enumerated in the 1951 population census[1], then an employment ratio of 46 per cent is obtained. Thus although the total number of Natives resident on European farms had fallen from 407,000 in 1936 to 366,000 in 1951, the number of those who were engaged in regular work on the farms had increased from 120,000 to 168,000, or from 30 per cent to 46 per cent.

1 This seems a reasonable assumption on the grounds that the number of Natives enumerated on Europeans farms changed by less than 1 per cent in the five years between the 1946 and the 1951 population censuses.

Department of Mines Reports. One of the most comprehensive sources of statistics is the annual report of the Government Mining Engineer. As far as Natal is concerned, the only two classes of mining of any importance are coal mining and quarrying, which together accounted for almost 99 per cent of the total labour in the service of Natal mines in 1953.

Table 123 LABOUR IN THE SERVICE OF NATAL COAL MINES AND QUARRIES, 1920-55

| YEAR | COAL MINES | | | | QUARRIES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Eur. | Nat. | Indians | Total | Eur. | Nat. | Indians | Total |
| 1920 | 701 | 11,514 | 2,802 | 15,017 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1925 | 764 | 16,284 | 1,720 | 18,768 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1930 | 628 | 14,293 | 1,022 | 15,943 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1935 | 523 | 10,920 | 665 | 12,108 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1941 | 621 | 13,621 | 621 | 14,863 | 54 | 1,206 | 71 | 1,331 |
| 1945 | 677 | 17,449 | 488 | 18,614 | 60 | 1,361 | 66 | 1,487 |
| 1950 | 817 | 18,646 | 493 | 19,956 | 70 | 1,523 | 84 | 1,677 |
| 1955 | 788 | 17,285 | 364 | 18,437 | 95 | 1,991 | 128 | 2,214 |

Source: Annual Reports of the Government Mining Engineer.

Notes: (a) The figures for quarry employment before 1936 are not shown because they do not include lime works, which form a large part of the post 1936 totals.

(b) Coloureds are included with Natives in these reports.

(c) Coal statistics for 1920 and 1925 are taken from Table XII, "The Distribution of Population in Natal" - Volume 3, Natal Regional Survey, T.J.D. Fair.

Table 123 shows the employment in Natal mines and quarries since 1920. Although the early years of the century saw a fairly rapid expansion in both the output and the employment of Natal coal mines, which expansion was aided by the emergence of Durban as an important bunkering port during the First World War, the industry has failed to keep pace with its earlier rate of progress in more recent years. In fact, as the above table shows, the total labour force of the mines in 1955 was no more than that in 1925. After this latter year the industry suffered a long period of depression which was only reversed by the onset of the war in 1939. Since the end of the war the industry has maintained its position under the influence of the rapid industrialisation and expansion of the Union economy during the post-war period.

Although there is no noticeable upward or downward trend in total employment between 1920 and 1953, it is interesting to see the pronounced changes that have taken place in the racial structure of the labour force over the same period. As in agriculture, it is the Indian who has been most noticeably affected by changes through time, for, while the number of Europeans employed in mining increased by about 3 per cent and the number of Natives by about 6 per cent during the period, the number of Indian employees fell by almost 80 per cent. The Indian miner as such, who was a very important worker for the first two decades of the century, has now virtually disappeared and has been replaced by the Native. The remaining Indian workers on the mines are mainly employed as supervisory, skilled, or semi-skilled workers. For this reason, it appears that the racial composition of the mine labour force has reached some sort of equilibrium and that any further changes will be in the nature of only minor adjustments.

The growth of quarry employment has been steady and uneventful. Although early figures are not comparable and are therefore not quoted, an analysis of the figures since the early days of the Second World War are sufficient to show the trend in employment in quarries, which, although unimportant in relation to coal mining, has increased steadily.

In the fourteen years between 1941 and 1955, the total employment in quarries increased by some 66 per cent, while the Native workers increased by a similar degree (65 per cent). The respective percentage increases of Europeans and Indians, however, were 76 per cent and 80 per cent, which would seem to indicate an increase in supervisory and office staff in quarrying and a possible increase in the employment of Indians in such occupations.

## APPENDICES TO CHAPTER SIX

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 51 | Electricity, gas and power | 5,764 | 873 | 459 | 307 | 53 | 41 |
| 52 | Water and sanitary services | 939 | 98 | 60 | 30 | 4 | 2 |
| 6 | COMMERCE | 109,050 | 12,561 | 8,494 | 69,789 | 8,893 | 6,545 |
| 61 | Wholesale and retail trade | 88,429 | 10,203 | 6,913 | 55,461 | 7,199 | 5,306 |
| 62 | Banks and other financial institutions | 11,992 | 1,372 | 854 | 8,728 | 1,053 | 718 |
| 63 | Insurance | 6,270 | 606 | 449 | 4,439 | 397 | 332 |
| 64 | Real estate | 2,359 | 380 | 278 | 1,161 | 244 | 189 |
| 7 | TRANSPORT, STORAGE AND COMMUNICATION | 102,589 | 14,088 | 8,383 | 10,593 | 1,633 | 998 |
| 71 | Railway transport | 68,247 | 9,834 | 5,329 | 2,597 | 460 | 331 |
| 72 | Road transport | 15,456 | 1,684 | 1,198 | 324 | 83 | 70 |
| 73 | Water transport | 2,295 | 710 | 693 | 407 | 105 | 103 |
| 74 | Air transport | 1,258 | 75 | 60 | 150 | 9 | 6 |
| 75 | Transport and tourist services | 1,217 | 375 | 365 | 611 | 165 | 154 |
| 76 | Miscellaneous transport industries | 191 | 6 | 3 | 7 | - | - |
| 77 | Storage and warehousing | 83 | 11 | 10 | 15 | 2 | 2 |
| 78 | Communication | 13,842 | 1,393 | 725 | 6,482 | 809 | 332 |
| 8 | SERVICES | 124,009 | 15,422 | 8,802 | 80,343 | 11,232 | 6,341 |
| 81 | Government service | 54,832 | 6,635 | 3,795 | 12,312 | 1,395 | 762 |
| 82 | Business service | 13,995 | 1,925 | 1,245 | 7,478 | 1,072 | 730 |
| 83 | Community service | 31,734 | 3,888 | 1,730 | 41,055 | 5,716 | 2,965 |
| 84 | Recreational service | 4,620 | 709 | 567 | 1,713 | 243 | 197 |
| 85 | Personal service | 18,828 | 2,265 | 1,465 | 17,785 | 2,806 | 1,687 |
| 9 | ACTIVITIES NOT ADEQUATELY DESCRIBED | 20,982 | 2,466 | 1,556 | 6,837 | 1,015 | 637 |
| | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, 15 YEARS AND OVER | 768,584 | 82,581 | 46,685 | 214,839 | 27,629 | 18,167 |

Source: unpublished provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | CONSTRUCTION | 2,297 | 2,163 | 1,029 | 6 | 4 | 2 |
| 5 | ELECTRICITY, GAS, WATER AND SANITARY SERVICES | 163 | 159 | 89 | = | = | = |
| 51 | Electricity, gas and power | 23 | 20 | 4 | - | - | - |
| 52 | Water and sanitary services | 140 | 139 | 85 | - | - | - |
| 6 | COMMERCE | 21,960 | 10,897 | 6,520 | 1,155 | 496 | 319 |
| 61 | Wholesale and retail trade | 21,661 | 10,657 | 6,351 | 1,147 | 492 | 316 |
| 62 | Banks and other financial institutions | 44 | 30 | 24 | 2 | 1 | - |
| 63 | Insurance | 140 | 126 | 72 | 1 | - | - |
| 64 | Real estate | 115 | 84 | 73 | 5 | 3 | 3 |
| 7 | TRANSPORT, STORAGE, COMMUNICATION | 2,439 | 2,254 | 1,527 | 22 | 17 | 14 |
| 71 | Railway transport | 612 | 603 | 499 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| 72 | Road transport | 1,654 | 1,498 | 898 | 12 | 8 | 8 |
| 73 | Water transport | 66 | 58 | 58 | - | - | - |
| 74 | Air transport | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - |
| 75 | Transport and tourist services | 50 | 47 | 44 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 76 | Miscellaneous transport industries | 3 | 2 | - | - | - | |
| 77 | Storage and warehousing | 8 | 8 | 6 | 1 | - | - |
| 78 | Communication | 45 | 37 | 21 | 1 | 1 | - |
| 3 | SERVICES | 14,858 | 12,355 | 8,277 | 2,002 | 1,723 | 1,044 |
| 31 | Government | 2,069 | 2,046 | 1,625 | 21 | 20 | 10 |
| 32 | Business | 274 | 207 | 146 | 5 | 1 | - |
| 33 | Community | 2,584 | 2,262 | 1,297 | 578 | 498 | 332 |
| 34 | Recreational | 665 | 585 | 429 | 19 | 19 | 17 |
| 35 | Personal | 9,266 | 7,255 | 4,780 | 1,379 | 1,185 | 685 |
| ) | ACTIVITIES NOT ADEQUATELY DESCRIBED | 12,979 | 11,093 | 7,030 | 1,122 | 868 | 559 |
| | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, 15 YEARS AND OVER | 87,868 | 70,318 | 38,010 | 6,602 | 4,711 | 2,622 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | CONSTRUCTION | 38,628 | 1,207 | 478 | 93 | 3 | 2 |
| 5 | ELECTRICITY, GAS, WATER AND SANITARY SERVICES | 1,552 | 21 | 5 | 13 | = | = |
| 51 | Electricity, gas and power | 834 | 14 | 1 | 9 | - | - |
| 52 | Water and sanitary services | 718 | 7 | 4 | 4 | - | - |
| 6 | COMMERCE | 23,104 | 487 | 221 | 1,889 | 66 | 39 |
| 61 | Wholesale and retail trade | 22,385 | 482 | 219 | 1,856 | 64 | 38 |
| 62 | Banks and other financial institutions | 282 | 3 | - | 9 | 1 | - |
| 63 | Insurance | 329 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 1 | 1 |
| 64 | Real estate | 108 | - | - | 10 | - | - |
| 7 | TRANSPORT, STORAGE AND COMMUNICATION | 14,091 | 429 | 329 | 103 | 5 | 3 |
| 71 | Railway transport | 7,348 | 76 | 68 | 44 | - | - |
| 72 | Road transport | 4,060 | 153 | 75 | 23 | 1 | 1 |
| 73 | Water transport | 929 | 75 | 75 | 7 | - | - |
| 74 | Air transport | 78 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 75 | Transport and tourist services | 117 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 1 | - |
| 76 | Miscellaneous transport industries | 82 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 77 | Storage and warehousing | 39 | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| 78 | Communication | 1,438 | 118 | 104 | 20 | 3 | 2 |
| 8 | SERVICES | 32,815 | 813 | 430 | 78,660 | 1,376 | 752 |
| 81 | Government | 8,416 | 121 | 47 | 143 | 10 | 3 |
| 82 | Business | 414 | 8 | 3 | 46 | 2 | 2 |
| 83 | Community | 6,248 | 201 | 115 | 4,253 | 289 | 194 |
| 84 | Recreational | 786 | 45 | 37 | 70 | 5 | 5 |
| 85 | Personal | 16,951 | 438 | 228 | 74,148 | 1,070 | 548 |
| 9 | ACTIVITIES NOT ADEQUATELY DESCRIBED | 32,297 | 1,368 | 813 | 9,012 | 278 | 195 |
| | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, 15 YEARS AND OVER | 284,995 | 7,692 | 4,092 | 118,999 | 3,158 | 2,243 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | CONSTRUCTION | 131,511 | 25,589 | 10,956 | 426 | 91 | 43 |
| 5 | ELECTRICITY, GAS, WATER AND SANITARY SERVICES | 16,664 | 1,257 | 524 | 26 | 2 | = |
| 6 | COMMERCE | 98,581 | 17,497 | 10,844 | 2,095 | 482 | 200 |
| 61 | Wholesale and retail trade | 97,057 | 17,330 | 10,719 | 2,068 | 480 | 200 |
| 62 | Banks and other financial institutions | 824 | 79 | 53 | 5 | - | - |
| 63 | Insurance | 382 | 47 | 39 | 9 | - | - |
| 64 | Real estate | 318 | 41 | 33 | 13 | 2 | - |
| 7 | TRANSPORT, STORAGE AND COMMUNICATION | 72,786 | 18,437 | 11,144 | 246 | 35 | 12 |
| 71 | Railway transport | 52,744 | 12,621 | 6,907 | 167 | 26 | 9 |
| 72/8 | Other transport, storage and communication | 20,042 | 5,816 | 4,237 | 79 | 9 | 3 |
| 8 | SERVICES | 284,516 | 65,375 | 31,128 | 456,517 | 70,617 | 18,500 |
| 81 | Government | 56,260 | 11,765 | 5,725 | 422 | 113 | 66 |
| 82 | Business | 1,665 | 348 | 196 | 47 | 13 | 8 |
| 83 | Community | 26,147 | 4,572 | 1,169 | 15,496 | 4,202 | 1,168 |
| 84 | Recreational | 5,973 | 864 | 562 | 74 | 5 | 2 |
| 85 | Personal | 194,471 | 47,826 | 23,476 | 440,478 | 66,284 | 17,256 |
| 9 | ACTIVITIES NOT ADEQUATELY DESCRIBED | 112,105 | 10,789 | 1,566 | 6,058 | 199 | 17 |
| | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, 15 YEARS AND OVER | 2,542,676 | 488,718 | 89,896 | 567,484 | 93,180 | 19,073 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | WORKERS IN OPERATING TRANSPORT OCCUPATIONS | 30,230 | 3,730 | 2,140 | 105 | 41 | 35 |
| 61 | Drivers and deliverymen | 18,909 | 1,735 | 1,122 | 105 | 41 | 35 |
| 62 | Locomotive engineers and firemen | 10,045 | 1,622 | 663 | - | - | - |
| 63 | Workers in water transport occupations | 1,084 | 356 | 343 | - | - | - |
| 64 | Workers in air transport occupations | 192 | 17 | 12 | - | - | - |
| 7/8 | CRAFTSMEN, FACTORY OPERATIVES, MANUAL WORKERS, LABOURERS, ETC. | 243,051 | 29,454 | 18,403 | 24,963 | 1,687 | 1,341 |
| 700/44 | Metal workers | 73,945 | 8,877 | 5,765 | 597 | 33 | 27 |
| 745/55 | Workers in wood and cane | 25,314 | 3,052 | 2,108 | 112 | 23 | 22 |
| 756/75 | Building and other construction | 58,815 | 7,922 | 4,561 | 98 | 11 | 6 |
| 776/806 | Makers of textiles, textile goods, leather, and leather goods | 8,440 | 562 | 396 | 15,542 | 926 | 801 |
| 807/19 | Food, drink and tobacco workers | 5,022 | 641 | 310 | 2,274 | 147 | 40 |
| 820/21 | Paper and paper products | 349 | 34 | 32 | 285 | 3 | 2 |
| 822/27 | Printers and bookbinders | 5,661 | 815 | 624 | 2,690 | 152 | 109 |
| 828/29 | Workers in rubber - not boots and shoes | 1,400 | 320 | 222 | 62 | 6 | 6 |
| 830/36 | Makers of bricks, tiles, glass, etc. | 1,502 | 169 | 51 | 58 | 4 | 1 |
| 837/44 | Makers of chemicals (excluding professional workers- 02) | 1,364 | 267 | 258 | 471 | 82 | 81 |
| 845/47 | Makers of fuel | 194 | 30 | 16 | 6 | - | - |
| 848/53 | Watchmakers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, etc. | 2,346 | 145 | 118 | 67 | 5 | 2 |
| 854/63 | Makers of other products | 709 | 82 | 61 | 289 | 22 | 15 |
| 864/68 | Industrial workers, specific occupations not specified | 6,951 | 943 | 548 | 858 | 49 | 25 |
| 869/79 | Machine operators, etc. | 7,107 | 1,002 | 654 | 280 | 47 | 43 |
| 880/94 | Stevedores, freight handlers, and other transport workers | 36,895 | 4,381 | 2,578 | 1,033 | 165 | 151 |
| 895/98 | Other manual workers | 7,037 | 212 | 101 | 241 | 12 | 10 |
| 9 | SERVICE AND RELATED WORKERS | 31,927 | 3,746 | 2,357 | 14,840 | 2,087 | 1,202 |
| 91 | Protective service workers | 18,130 | 2,369 | 1,393 | 169 | 30 | 16 |
| 92 | Service workers in private households (not farming) | 139 | 6 | 4 | 2,861 | 379 | 251 |
| 93 | Barbers, undertakers, etc. | 2,360 | 242 | 172 | 2,406 | 409 | 291 |
| 94/5 | Other service workers | 11,298 | 1,129 | 788 | 9,404 | 1,269 | 644 |
| X | OTHER WORKERS, NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSSIFIED OR IN UNIDENTIFIABLE OCCUPS. | 22,591 | 2,398 | 1,606 | 3,467 | 481 | 334 |
| X11 | Members of armed forces | 6,937 | 657 | 604 | 110 | 6 | 5 |
| X51 | Unemployed (so stated) | 6,623 | 735 | 494 | 2,043 | 315 | 149 |
| - | Other and unidentifiable occupations, no occupation reported | 9,031 | 1,006 | 508 | 1,314 | 160 | 180 |
| | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, 15 YEARS AND OVER | 769,136 | 82,575 | 46,707 | 214,760 | 27,616 | 18,242 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | WORKERS IN OPERATING TRANSPORT OCCUPATIONS | 3,857 | 3,402 | 1,777 | 13 | 5 | 2 |
| 61 | Drivers and deliverymen | 3,758 | 3,310 | 1,729 | 13 | 5 | 2 |
| 62/3 | Other operating transport occupations | 99 | 92 | 48 | - | - | - |
| 7/8 | CRAFTSMEN, FACTORY OPERATIVES, MANUAL WORKERS, LABOURERS, ETC. | 26,846 | 25,034 | 15,973 | 1,638 | 931 | 666 |
| 700/44 | Metal workers | 1,351 | 1,283 | 814 | 11 | 10 | 5 |
| 745/55 | Workers in wood and cane | 1,876 | 1,769 | 1,235 | 35 | 34 | 26 |
| 756/75 | Building and other construction | 1,814 | 1,725 | 748 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| 776/807 | Makers of textiles, textile goods, leather, and leather goods | 6,788 | 5,733 | 4,021 | 1,127 | 500 | 440 |
| 808/19 | Food, drink and tobacco workers | 2,039 | 1,976 | 620 | 35 | 28 | 10 |
| 820/21 | Paper and paper products | 262 | 249 | 199 | 30 | 7 | 7 |
| 822/27 | Printers and bookbinding | 845 | 822 | 735 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| 828/29 | Workers in rubber - not boots and shoes | 159 | 154 | 25 | - | - | - |
| 830/36 | Makers of bricks, tiles, glass,etc. | 105 | 89 | 62 | - | - | - |
| 837/44 | Makers of chemicals (excluding professional workers- 02) | 131 | 126 | 118 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| 845/47 | Makers of fuel | 8 | 8 | - | - | - | - |
| 848/53 | Watchmakers, goldsmiths, silversmiths,etc. | 246 | 231 | 167 | - | - | - |
| 854/63 | Makers of other products | 92 | 87 | 77 | 5 | 3 | 2 |
| 864/68 | Industrial workers, specific occupations not specified | 891 | 852 | 561 | 30 | 11 | 10 |
| 869/79 | Machine operators, etc. | 439 | 426 | 231 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 880/94 | Stevedores, freight handlers, and other transport workers | 1,367 | 1,290 | 1,079 | 24 | 15 | 10 |
| 895/98 | Other manual workers | 8,433 | 8,214 | 5,281 | 323 | 308 | 143 |
| 9 | SERVICE AND RELATED WORKERS | 8,995 | 7,057 | 4,664 | 1,243 | 1,066 | 690 |
| 91 | Protective service workers | 272 | 265 | 162 | 1 | 1 | - |
| 92 | Service workers in private households(not farming) | 596 | 538 | 278 | 934 | 825 | 565 |
| 93 | Barbers, undertakers, etc. | 453 | 310 | 216 | 5 | 3 | 3 |
| 94/5 | Other service workers | 7,674 | 5,944 | 4,008 | 303 | 237 | 122 |
| X | OTHER WORKERS, NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED OR IN UNIDENTIFIABLE OCCUPS. | 10,095 | 8,643 | 5,459 | 1,034 | 822 | 524 |
| X51 | Unemployed (so stated) | 6,153 | 5,344 | 3,679 | 822 | 657 | 470 |
| - | Other and unidentifiable occupations, no occupation reported | 3,942 | 3,299 | 1,780 | 212 | 165 | 54 |
| | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, 15 YEARS AND OVER | 87,869 | 70,259 | 38,010 | 6,602 | 4,717 | 2,622 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | WORKERS IN OPERATING TRANSPORT OCCUPATIONS | 11,615 | 649 | 446 | 42 | 1 | 1 |
| 61 | Drivers and deliverymen | 10,947 | 456 | 259 | 42 | 1 | 1 |
| 62/3 | Other operating transport occupations | 668 | 193 | 187 | - | - | - |
| 7/8 | CRAFTSMEN, FACTORY OPERATIVES, MANUAL WORKERS, LABOURERS, ETC. | 125.139 | 4,209 | 2,443 | 27,976 | 1,477 | 1,291 |
| 700/44 | Metal workers | 3,722 | 963 | 729 | 176 | 8 | 6 |
| 745/55 | Workers in wood and cane | 6,243 | 289 | 155 | 103 | 15 | 14 |
| 756/75 | Building and other construction | 21,874 | 1,051 | 402 | 42 | 2 | 2 |
| 776/807 | Makers of textiles, textile goods, leather, and leather goods | 11,129 | 523 | 345 | 16,589 | 1,261 | 1,159 |
| 808/19 | Food, drink and tobacco workers | 2,753 | 85 | 25 | 3,785 | 20 | 9 |
| 820/27 | Paper, paper products, printing and bookbinding | 1,721 | 72 | 45 | 1,177 | 37 | 3 |
| 828/29 | Workers in rubber - not boots and shoes | 143 | 43 | 11 | 12 | 2 | 2 |
| 830/36 | Makers of bricks, tiles, glass,etc. | 1,899 | 23 | 9 | 16 | - | - |
| 837/44 | Makers of chemicals (excluding professional workers - 02) | 248 | 38 | 38 | 198 | 25 | 21 |
| 845/47 | Makers of fuel | 14 | 4 | 4 | 2 | - | - |
| 848/53 | Watchmakers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, etc. | 143 | 9 | 4 | 15 | 1 | - |
| 854/63 | Makers of other products | 239 | 10 | 9 | 148 | 2 | 2 |
| 864/68 | Industrial workers, specific occupations not specified | 2,519 | 204 | 118 | 1,303 | 32 | 22 |
| 869/79 | Machine operators, etc. | 627 | 66 | 50 | 111 | 9 | 9 |
| 880/94 | Stevedores, freight handlers, other transport workers | 10,019 | 108 | 83 | 896 | 35 | 25 |
| 895/98 | Other manual workers | 61,846 | 721 | 416 | 3,403 | 28 | 17 |
| 9 | SERVICE AND RELATED WORKERS | 15,203 | 492 | 301 | 56,273 | 1,071 | 594 |
| 91 | Protective service workers | 1,267 | 28 | 14 | 19 | 4 | - |
| 92 | Service workers in private households ( not farming) | 6,575 | 94 | 35 | 49,710 | 763 | 417 |
| 93 | Barbers, undertakers, etc. | 169 | 1 | 1 | 45 | 1 | 1 |
| 94/5 | Other service workers | 7,192 | 369 | 251 | 6,499 | 303 | 176 |
| X | OTHER WORKERS, NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED OR IN UNIDENTIFIABLE OCCUPATIONS | 18,410 | 943 | 564 | 7,073 | 226 | 163 |
| X51 | Unemployed (so stated) | 10,031 | 631 | 409 | 5,387 | 157 | 109 |
| - | Other and unidentifiable occupations, no occupation reported | 8,379 | 312 | 155 | 1,686 | 69 | 54 |
| | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, 15 YEARS AND OVER | 284,995 | 7,692 | 4,092 | 118,999 | 3,158 | 2,243 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | WORKERS IN OPERATING TRANSPORT OCCUPATIONS | 30,625 | 5,091 | 3,115 | 124 | 8 | 2 |
| 61 | Drivers and deliverymen | 30,412 | 4,963 | 2,991 | 124 | 8 | 2 |
| 62/3 | Other operating transport occupations | 213 | 128 | 124 | - | - | - |
| 7/8 | CRAFTSMEN, FACTORY OPERATIVES, MANUAL WORKERS, LABOURERS, ETC. | 590,849 | 112,350 | 57,124 | 10,231 | 1,129 | 348 |
| 700/44 | Metal workers | 1,775 | 195 | 74 | - | - | - |
| 745/55 | Workers in wood and cane | 2,674 | 339 | 127 | 119 | 13 | - |
| 756/75 | Building and other construction | 10,377 | 1,720 | 492 | - | - | - |
| 776/806 | Makers of textiles, textile goods, leather and leather goods | 5,406 | 483 | 254 | 2,927 | 281 | 100 |
| 807/19 | Food, drink and tobacco workers | 3,436 | 1,795 | 1,282 | 248 | 12 | - |
| 820/21 | Paper and paper products | 654 | 9 | 6 | 12 | 1 | - |
| 822/27 | Printers and bookbinders | 245 | 26 | 10 | 54 | 4 | - |
| 828/29 | Workers in rubber - not boots and shoes | 446 | 329 | 26 | - | - | - |
| 830/36 | Makers of bricks, tiles, glass, etc. | 4,479 | 436 | 414 | 70 | 21 | 3 |
| 837/44 | Makers of chemicals | 163 | 83 | 31 | 3 | - | - |
| 845/47 | Makers of fuel | 31 | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| 848/53 | Watchmakers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, etc. | 204 | 47 | 15 | 17 | 7 | - |
| 854/63 | Makers of other products | 176 | 15 | 10 | 68 | 5 | - |
| 864/68 | Industrial workers, unspecified occupation | 2,320 | 1,128 | 542 | 316 | 32 | 14 |
| 869/79 | Machine operators, etc. | 1,573 | 272 | 174 | 28 | 6 | - |
| 880/94 | Stevedores, freight handlers, and other transport workers | 67,285 | 17,537 | 10,286 | 207 | 31 | 11 |
| 895/98 | Other manual workers | 489,605 | 87,936 | 43,381 | 6,101 | 716 | 220 |
| 9 | SERVICE AND RELATED WORKERS | 178,698 | 42,983 | 23,017 | 274,103 | 34,655 | 17,450 |
| 91 | Protective service workers | 24,887 | 5,057 | 2,260 | 73 | 21 | 2 |
| 92 | Service workers in private households - not farming | 112,895 | 26,639 | 14,844 | 265,117 | 32,243 | 16,833 |
| 93 | Barbers, undertakers, etc. | 309 | 66 | 26 | 84 | 11 | 3 |
| 94/5 | Other service workers | 40,607 | 11,221 | 5,887 | 8,829 | 2,380 | 612 |
| X | OTHER WORKERS, NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED OR IN UNIDENTIFIABLE OCCUPATIONS | 83,521 | 9,130 | 1,461 | 5,601 | 133 | 16 |
| | TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, 15 YEARS AND OVER | 2,542,676 | 488,718 | 89,744 | 567,484 | 93,180 | 19,131 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

APPENDIX 3 EUROPEANS, 15 YEARS AND OVER, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO IDENTITY OF EMPLOYER IN OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS, NATAL, 1951

| OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION | UNION GOVERNMENT | | NATAL PROVINCIAL ADMIN'TION | | LOCAL AUTHORITIES | | INSTS. FOR HIGHER ED. RES.& CUL. | | CONT. BDS. | | SEMI-PUBL. CORPS. | | S. A. RAILWAYS | | ESCOM. | | BUSINESS ENTERPRISE | | OTHER PRIVATE NON-PROFIT | | TOTAL GAINFULLY OCCUPIED * | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | U R B A N W O R K E R S | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | Persons |
| Prof., technical | 430 | 97 | 1,056 | 2,238 | 373 | 97 | 226 | 103 | 1 | — | 61 | 17 | 208 | 10 | 89 | — | 4,059 | 1,040 | 413 | 748 | 7,032 | 4,481 | 11,513 |
| Managers, officials | 354 | 26 | 98 | 6 | 379 | 11 | 5 | — | 10 | — | 1 | 1 | 359 | 5 | 2 | — | 6,626 | 826 | 28 | 6 | 7,917 | 884 | 8,801 |
| Clerical, office | 1,920 | 1,287 | 342 | 286 | 1,181 | 482 | 10 | 75 | 24 | 23 | 9 | 35 | 2,423 | 419 | 45 | 46 | 6,365 | 9,487 | 124 | 208 | 12,637 | 12,664 | 25,301 |
| Salesmen | 11 | — | 1 | 1 | 34 | 5 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | 18 | — | — | 3,810 | 3,311 | 2 | 8 | 3,941 | 3,407 | 7,348 |
| Farmers | 29 | — | 7 | — | 58 | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | 14 | — | — | — | 1,143 | 86 | 18 | 2 | 1,323 | 88 | 1,411 |
| Miners, quarrymen | — | — | 9 | — | 2 | — | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 383 | 2 | — | — | 396 | 2 | 398 |
| Transport workers | 56 | — | 62 | — | 574 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 11,904 | — | 2 | — | 774 | 34 | 6 | 2 | 3,490 | 39 | 3,529 |
| Manual workers | 791 | 9 | 722 | 33 | 1,326 | 10 | 6 | — | 7 | — | 7 | — | 7,307 | 11 | 366 | — | 15,982 | 1,528 | 50 | 16 | 27,203 | 1,655 | 28,856 |
| Service workers | 1,282 | 60 | 83 | 178 | 391 | 43 | 20 | 10 | — | — | 3 | — | 495 | 35 | 2 | — | 1,060 | 960 | 97 | 538 | 3,470 | 1,855 | 5,325 |
| Other workers | 618 | 9 | 11 | 3 | 25 | 1 | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | 171 | 5 | — | — | 135 | 30 | 3 | 1 | 2,185 | 458 | 2,625 |
| TOTAL URBAN WORKERS | 5,491 | 1,488 | 2,371 | 2,745 | 4,341 | 650 | 271 | 188 | 44 | 23 | 81 | 53 | 12,884 | 501 | 506 | 46 | 40,317 | 17,504 | 741 | 1,529 | 69,594 | 25,511 | 95,105 |
| | R U R A L W O R K E R S | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | Persons |
| Prof., technical | 63 | 12 | 127 | 157 | 9 | 3 | 22 | 7 | — | — | 1 | — | 2 | — | 4 | — | 288 | 53 | 311 | 548 | 832 | 798 | 1,630 |
| Managers, officials | 230 | 21 | 15 | — | 17 | — | 2 | 1 | — | — | 2 | — | 90 | 1 | — | — | 754 | 62 | 6 | 1 | 1,118 | 86 | 1,204 |
| Clerical, office | 110 | 95 | 18 | 13 | 19 | 16 | 4 | 4 | — | — | — | 2 | 108 | 33 | 3 | — | 354 | 341 | 12 | 15 | 640 | 539 | 1,179 |
| Salesmen | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 289 | 116 | — | 1 | 293 | 119 | 412 |
| Farmers | 91 | — | — | — | 2 | — | 6 | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | 6,601 | 233 | 18 | 17 | 6,728 | 251 | 6,979 |
| Miners, quarrymen | — | — | 7 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 381 | 1 | — | — | 390 | 1 | 391 |
| Transport workers | 30 | — | 50 | — | 12 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 50 | 1 | — | — | 91 | — | 1 | — | 240 | 2 | 242 |
| Manual workers | 96 | 1 | 320 | 1 | 23 | — | 5 | — | — | — | — | — | 447 | 1 | 8 | — | 1,300 | 26 | 27 | 3 | 2,251 | 54 | 2,285 |
| Service workers | 184 | 2 | 10 | 15 | 4 | — | 5 | 4 | — | — | — | — | 11 | 2 | — | — | 50 | 54 | 10 | 150 | 276 | 232 | 508 |
| Other workers | 31 | — | 6 | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 11 | 1 | — | — | 15 | 1 | — | — | 213 | 43 | 256 |
| TOTAL RURAL WORKERS | 835 | 131 | 536 | 187 | 87 | 19 | 44 | 16 | — | — | 3 | 2 | 721 | 39 | 15 | — | 10,123 | 887 | 385 | 735 | 12,981 | 2,105 | 15,086 |
| | T O T A L U R B A N A N D R U R A L W O R K E R S | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL NATAL WORKERS | 6,326 | 1,619 | 2,906 | 2,932 | 4,428 | 669 | 315 | 204 | 44 | 23 | 84 | 55 | 13,605 | 540 | 521 | 46 | 50,440 | 18,191 | 1,126 | 1,264 | 82,575 | 27,616 | 110,191 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

* Including unspecified and unknown.

APPENDIX 4 STATUS OF EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEAN WORKERS AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER IN OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS, NATAL, 1951.

| OCCUPATION GROUP | URBAN | | | | | | | RURAL | | | | | | | TOTAL NATAL WORKERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | EMPLOYERS & OWN ACCOUNT | | EMPLOYEES | | TOTAL WORKERS* | | | EMPLOYERS & OWN ACCOUNT | | EMPLOYEES | | TOTAL WORKERS* | | | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Persons | |
| Engineer and related prof. and technical workers | 274 | 8 | 2,231 | 54 | 2,562 | 62 | 2,624 | 15 | — | 158 | 2 | 174 | 2 | 176 | 2,800 |
| Chemists, pharmacists & laboratory technicians | 169 | 2 | 587 | 89 | 770 | 94 | 864 | 2 | — | 57 | 3 | 59 | 3 | 62 | 926 |
| Professors and teachers | 13 | 34 | 1,065 | 1,650 | 1,085 | 1,705 | 2,790 | 2 | 1 | 200 | 241 | 203 | 243 | 446 | 3,236 |
| Lawyers, judges, and related workers | 285 | 1 | 205 | 10 | 491 | 11 | 502 | 13 | — | 16 | — | 29 | — | 29 | 531 |
| Medical and related professions | 522 | 107 | 483 | 1,778 | 1,017 | 1,946 | 2,963 | 34 | 7 | 37 | 156 | 73 | 177 | 250 | 3,213 |
| Artists, writers, entertainers & related workers | 140 | 127 | 434 | 206 | 594 | 356 | 950 | 9 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 20 | 15 | 35 | 985 |
| Religions, charitable & social welfare workers | 4 | 3 | 386 | 174 | 394 | 184 | 578 | 1 | 3 | 257 | 348 | 258 | 351 | 609 | 1,187 |
| Other professional and related workers | 40 | 6 | 76 | 115 | 119 | 123 | 242 | 1 | — | 15 | 7 | 16 | 7 | 23 | 265 |
| TOTAL PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL AND RELATED WORKERS | 1,447 | 288 | 5,467 | 4,076 | 7,032 | 4,481 | 11,513 | 77 | 15 | 750 | 767 | 832 | 798 | 1,630 | 13,143 |
| Public Administrative Officials | — | — | 850 | 43 | 855 | 43 | 898 | 2 | — | 266 | 22 | 268 | 22 | 290 | 1,188 |
| Other managers, admin. officials & proprietors | 3,310 | 504 | 3,704 | 326 | 7,062 | 841 | 7,903 | 444 | 44 | 401 | 18 | 850 | 64 | 914 | 8,817 |
| TOTAL MANAGERS, ADMINISTRATORS, OFFICIALS | 3,310 | 504 | 4,554 | 369 | 7,917 | 884 | 8,801 | 446 | 44 | 667 | 40 | 1,118 | 86 | 1,204 | 10,005 |
| Stenographers, typists, & office mach. operators | 3 | 18 | 16 | 5,208 | 19 | 5,362 | 5,381 | 1 | 1 | — | 169 | 1 | 183 | 184 | 5,565 |
| Accountants, bookkeepers, cashiers, etc. | 227 | 11 | 2,784 | 1,835 | 3,051 | 1,877 | 4,928 | 13 | 1 | 131 | 74 | 147 | 76 | 223 | 5,151 |
| Workers in other clerical and rel. occupations | 22 | 14 | 9,418 | 5,366 | 9,567 | 5,425 | 14,992 | 2 | — | 481 | 276 | 492 | 280 | 772 | 15,764 |
| TOTAL CLERICAL, OFFICE, AND RELATED WORKERS | 252 | 43 | 12,218 | 12,409 | 12,637 | 12,664 | 25,301 | 16 | 2 | 612 | 519 | 640 | 539 | 1,179 | 26,480 |
| Salesmen (wholesale and retail) & street vendors | 35 | 18 | 2,244 | 3,273 | 2,347 | 3,361 | 5,708 | 4 | — | 219 | 115 | 228 | 118 | 346 | 6,054 |
| Other salesmen and related workers | 329 | 10 | 1,243 | 35 | 2,594 | 46 | 1,640 | 17 | — | 47 | 1 | 65 | 1 | 66 | 1,706 |
| TOTAL SALESMEN AND RELATED WORKERS | 364 | 28 | 3,487 | 3,308 | 3,941 | 3,407 | 7,348 | 21 | — | 266 | 116 | 293 | 119 | 412 | 7,760 |
| Farmers | 888 | 73 | 91 | 5 | 1,056 | 81 | 1,137 | 4,686 | 193 | 452 | 10 | 5,821 | 223 | 6,044 | 7,181 |
| Farm workers and gardeners | 6 | 1 | 205 | 6 | 219 | 7 | 226 | 14 | 2 | 795 | 23 | 821 | 28 | 849 | 1,075 |
| Fishermen, hunters and trappers, lumbermen, etc. | 6 | — | 41 | — | 48 | — | 48 | 1 | — | 85 | — | 86 | — | 86 | 134 |
| TOTAL FARMERS, FISHERMEN, HUNTERS, LUMBERMEN, ETC. | 900 | 74 | 337 | 11 | 1,323 | 88 | 1,411 | 4,701 | 195 | 1,332 | 33 | 6,728 | 251 | 6,979 | 8,390 |
| TOTAL MINERS, QUARRYMEN, AND RELATED WORKERS | 12 | — | 365 | 2 | 396 | 2 | 398 | 2 | 1 | 386 | — | 390 | 1 | 391 | 789 |
| Drivers and deliverymen | 51 | 3 | 1,498 | 34 | 1,587 | 39 | 1,626 | 6 | — | 139 | 1 | 148 | 2 | 150 | 1,776 |
| Locomotive engineers and firemen | 1 | — | 1,526 | — | 1,533 | — | 1,533 | — | — | 87 | — | 89 | — | 89 | 1,622 |
| Workers in water and air transport occupations | 4 | — | 321 | — | 370 | — | 370 | — | — | 2 | — | 3 | — | 3 | 373 |
| TOTAL WORKERS IN OPERATING TRANSPORT OCCUPATIONS | 56 | 3 | 3,345 | 34 | 3,490 | 39 | 3,529 | 6 | — | 228 | 1 | 240 | 2 | 242 | 3,771 |
| Metal workers | 220 | — | 7,897 | 31 | 8,289 | 31 | 8,390 | 26 | — | 554 | 2 | 588 | 2 | 590 | 8,910 |
| Workers in wood and cane | 126 | — | 2,675 | 23 | 2,865 | 23 | 2,888 | 12 | — | 166 | — | 187 | — | 187 | 2,075 |
| Building and other construction workers | 433 | 3 | 6,393 | 6 | 7,013 | 10 | 7,023 | 38 | — | 858 | 1 | 909 | 1 | 910 | 7,933 |
| Makers of textiles and leather goods | 47 | 181 | 484 | 692 | 550 | 904 | 1,454 | — | 6 | 12 | 14 | 12 | 22 | 34 | 1,488 |
| Food, drink, and tobacco workers | 33 | 4 | 526 | 138 | 569 | 145 | 714 | 1 | — | 71 | 2 | 72 | 2 | 74 | 788 |
| Printers and bookbinders | 24 | 1 | 761 | 150 | 795 | 152 | 947 | — | — | 19 | — | 20 | — | 20 | 967 |
| Workers in rubber (not boots/shoes) | 7 | — | 307 | 6 | 315 | 6 | 321 | — | — | 5 | — | 5 | — | 5 | 326 |
| Makers of bricks, tiles, glass etc. | 8 | 1 | 154 | 2 | 162 | 3 | 165 | — | — | 7 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 173 |
| Makers of chemicals (excl. working proprietors) | — | — | 263 | 82 | 265 | 82 | 347 | — | — | 2 | — | 2 | — | 2 | 349 |
| Watchmakers, goldsmiths, silversmiths | 41 | — | 99 | 5 | 144 | 5 | 149 | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | — | 1 | 150 |
| Makers of fuel, paper and other products | 14 | — | 115 | 23 | 131 | 23 | 154 | — | 1 | 15 | 1 | 15 | 2 | 17 | 171 |
| Industrial workers, occup. or industry not spec. | 8 | — | 755 | 47 | 878 | 48 | 926 | 2 | — | 59 | 1 | 65 | 1 | 66 | 992 |
| Machine operators, etc. | 1 | 1 | 923 | 45 | 935 | 46 | 981 | — | — | 64 | 1 | 67 | 1 | 68 | 1,049 |
| Stevedores, freight and other transp. workers | 5 | — | 4,058 | 161 | 4,099 | 163 | 4,262 | — | — | 282 | 2 | 282 | 2 | 284 | 4,546 |
| Other manual workers | 6 | — | 152 | 11 | 193 | 12 | 205 | — | — | 19 | — | 19 | — | 19 | 224 |
| TOTAL CRAFTSMEN, FACT. OPERATIVES, LABS., MANUAL | 973 | 191 | 25,562 | 1,422 | 27,203 | 1,653 | 28,856 | 80 | 7 | 2,133 | 25 | 2,251 | 34 | 2,285 | 31,141 |
| Protective service workers | 5 | 1 | 2,152 | 28 | 2,158 | 30 | 2,188 | — | — | 211 | — | 211 | — | 211 | 2,399 |
| Service workers in pvte. households (not farming) | — | 2 | 6 | 322 | 6 | 338 | 344 | — | — | — | 40 | — | 41 | 41 | 385 |
| Barbers, etc. | 57 | 45 | 164 | 331 | 233 | 389 | 622 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 13 | 9 | 20 | 29 | 651 |
| Other service workers | 66 | 56 | 962 | 1,027 | 1,073 | 1,098 | 2,171 | 4 | 2 | 50 | 167 | 56 | 171 | 227 | 2,398 |
| TOTAL SERVICE AND RELATED WORKERS | 138 | 104 | 3,284 | 1,708 | 3,470 | 1,855 | 5,325 | 5 | 6 | 269 | 220 | 276 | 232 | 508 | 5,833 |
| Members of the Union Defence Force | — | — | 624 | 5 | 628 | 6 | 634 | — | — | 29 | — | 29 | — | 29 | 663 |
| Persons reporting unident. or unclass. occups. | 51 | 7 | 355 | 53 | 1,557 | 432 | 1,989 | 5 | — | 29 | 6 | 184 | 43 | 227 | 2,216 |
| TOTAL OTHER WORKERS NOT ELSEWHERE CLASSIFIED | 51 | 7 | 979 | 58 | 2,185 | 438 | 2,623 | 5 | — | 58 | 6 | 213 | 43 | 256 | 2,879 |
| TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED EUROPEAN POPULATION | 7,493 | 1,242 | 59,598 | 23,397 | 69,594 | 25,511 | 95,105 | 5,359 | 270 | 6,701 | 1,727 | 12,981 | 2,105 | 15,086 | 110,191 |

Source: unpublished, provisional figures from 1951 Population Census.

* Including unemployed and unspecified.

# NATAL'S LABOUR RESOURCES

# AND

# INDUSTRY IN GREATER DURBAN

## PART THREE: THE LABOUR REQUIREMENTS OF THE INDUSTRIES OF DURBAN AND PINETOWN

## INTRODUCTION

This part of the report will endeavour to cover the special field of investigation mentioned in the terms of reference, namely, "the labour requirements of the industries of Durban and Pinetown". The whole of the following analysis will be based on the complementary assumptions that the best index of the labour requirements of an industry is the labour which it actually employs, that past changes in labour requirements can be best understood by a study of changes in past employment, and that a logical projection of these past trends in employment provides the only feasible guide to the future.

The analysis will, therefore, be carried out in three chapters. In Chapter 7, the industrial area of Greater Durban will be defined and the size and structure of its population described, after which the distribution of industrial workers within the area will also be dealt with. In some ways this chapter is a continuation of Chapter 3, but has been included here the more easily to set the scene for the following two chapters. Chapter 8 analyses the figures from the annual censuses of industrial establishments and from these an attempt will be made to trace the trends of past growth. In Chapter 9, these trends will be projected into the future to form the basis for a medium-term forecast of possible labour requirements.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

## THE GREATER DURBAN INDUSTRIAL AREA

### § 1 The Area

The area which has been chosen to represent Greater Durban in this survey is the combined area of the magisterial districts of Durban and Pinetown, plus the small sections of the Umlazi District[1] which form part of the Metropolitan Area. The advantages of this delimitation are that the area coincides (except for the insignificant slice of Umlazi) with the Durban and Pinetown industrial area used in the annual censuses of industrial establishments, while population figures are also available according to magisterial districts.[2]

The component areas of Greater Durban are the Municipality of Durban, eighteen adjoining local authorities (of which ten are included in the Metropolitan Area and eight have been added), and the balance of the area, which is rural (see Figure 13). All of this should be made clear by Table 124.

Table 124 THE POPULATION OF GREATER DURBAN, 1951

| AREA | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DURBAN MUNICIPALITY | 132,654 | 137,976 | 147,264 | 16,654 | 434,548 |
| Metropolitan Suburbs | 18,457 | 12,756 | 13,410 | 803 | 45,426 |
| Malvern (Queensburgh) | 5,138 | 2,495 | 3,194 | 457 | 11,284 |
| Pinetown | 3,864 | 3,032 | 1,669 | 87 | 8,652 |
| Westville | 1,597 | 1,812 | 2,448 | 111 | 5,968 |
| Isipingo Rail | 234 | 529 | 3,498 | 89 | 4,350 |
| S. Umlazi (Kingsburgh) | 3,010 | 1,104 | 205 | 12 | 4,331 |
| Amanzimtoti | 2,486 | 1,059 | 116 | 14 | 3,675 |
| Lower Illovo | 199 | 815 | 1,877 | 11 | 2,902 |
| Umbogintwini | 376 | 1,432 | 393 | 15 | 2,216 |
| Isipingo Beach | 1,135 | 394 | 10 | 7 | 1,546 |
| Reunion | 418 | 84 | -- | -- | 502 |
| METROPOLITAN AREA | 151,111 | 150,732 | 160,674 | 17,457 | 479,974 |
| Other Suburbs | 2,649 | 12,254 | 5,560 | 91 | 20,554 |
| Mhlatuzana | 20 | 4,051 | 3,158 | 24 | 7,253 |
| Clermont | -- | 4,680 | -- | 23 | 4,703 |
| Kloof | 1,404 | 2,133 | 969 | 19 | 4,525 |
| Gillitts-Emberton | 205 | 300 | 635 | 1 | 1,141 |
| New Germany | 324 | 524 | 273 | 15 | 1,136 |
| Hillcrest | 595 | 382 | 55 | 5 | 1,037 |
| Cavendish | -- | -- | 455 | 1 | 456 |
| Everton | 101 | 184 | 15 | 3 | 303 |
| Rural Areas * | 483 | 18,056 | 5,093 | 135 | 23,767 |
| TOTAL GREATER DURBAN | 154,243 | 181,042 | 171,327 | 17,683 | 524,295 |

Source: Volume I, 1951 Population Census.

* Marriannhill, which was a rural rea in 1951, has since been given a health committee and thus becomes an urban area. Its population is not known, however.

---

1 These comprise the small section of the Umlazi District which is included in the Durban Borough (population: 1,342) and the "semi-urban area" of Reunion (population: 502) which is included in the Metropolitan Area.

2 A more detailed discussion of the area of Greater Durban is provided in Appendix 1 to this chapter.

# THE GREATER DURBAN INDUSTRIAL AREA

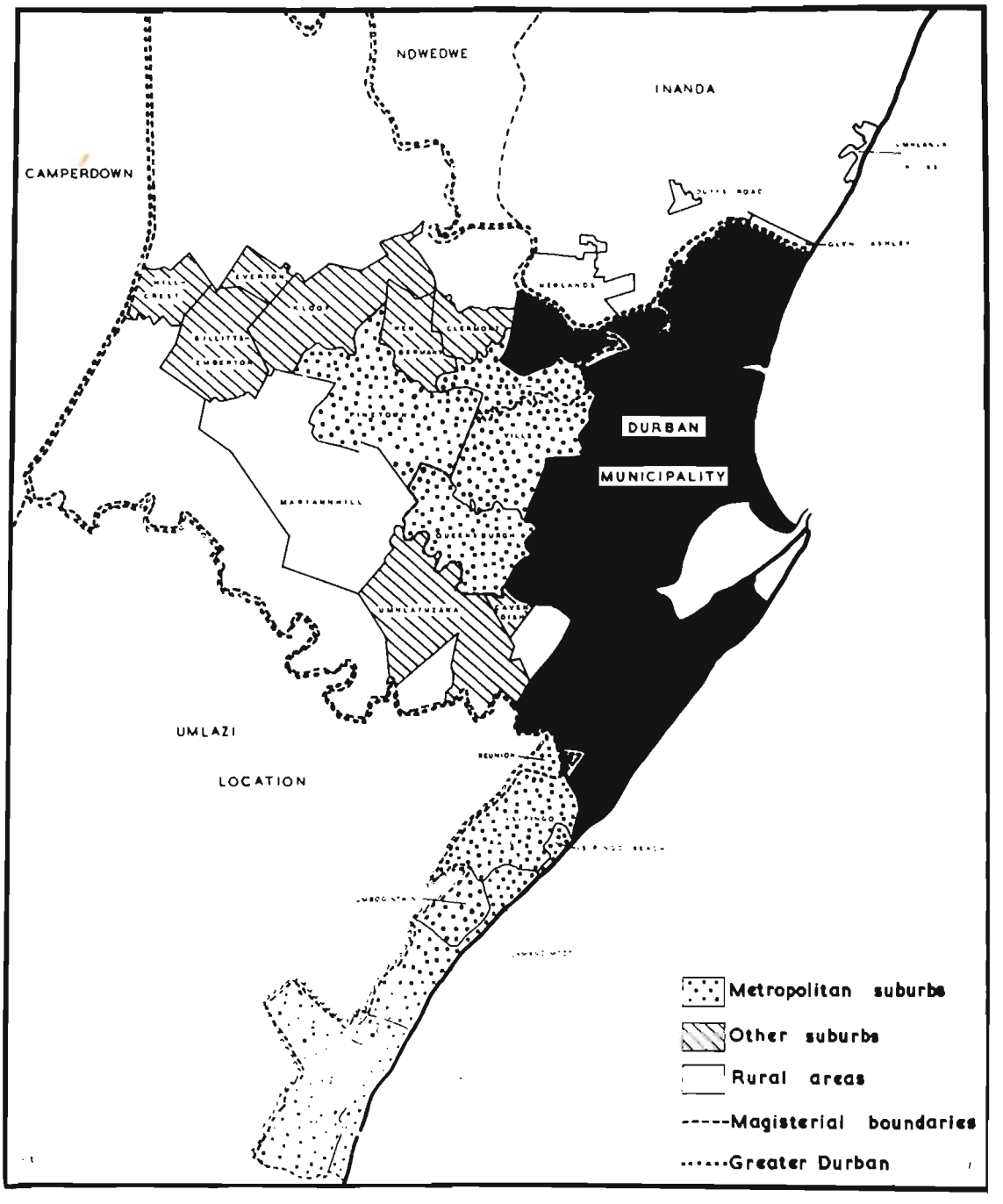


Figure 13

The Municipal population of 434,548 persons is increased by some 45,000 by the addition of the Metropolitan suburbs and by a further 44,000 by the addition of the other areas, incorporating a total population of over 524,000 persons. The effect of these additions is to increase the borough population by just over a fifth. The greatest proportional increase is in the Native population, which is swollen by as much as 31 per cent (due partly to the large Native "rural" additions), while the Indian population is increased by 17 per cent, the European by 16 per cent, and the Coloured by only 6 per cent. The effect on racial composition is to bring up the Natives to the largest racial group, with Europeans remaining in third place, and to bring about a slight fall in the White:Non-White ratio from 1: 2.3 to 1:.2.4.

The total area of Greater Durban in 1951 amounted to between 280 and 290 square miles, which represented less than 1 per cent of the total provincial area. Within this area, however, lived over half of Natal's European, Indian and Coloured populations and a tenth of her Native population. The result of this great concentration of urban population is that the density of persons in Greater Durban amounts to over 1,800 persons per square mile, even when the relevant less densely populated rural areas are added.

As might be expected, the composition of all racial groups in Durban shows the same tendency towards bunching in the younger working age groups which has already been demonstrated as a characteristic of a migrant-receiving community and which is favourable towards a high degree of work participation. This is especially noticeable amongst the Native males, three quarters of whom fall between the ages of 15 and 44 years (Table 125). The table shows that the working age groups

Table 125 AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF DURBAN, 1951

| AGE | | EUROPEANS | | NATIVES | | INDIANS | | COLOUREDS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 0-14 | M | 19,085 | 25.7 | 12,550 | 12.1 | 37,766 | 45.9 | 3,622 | 44.5 |
| | F | 18,760 | 24.4 | 11,965 | 25.6 | 38,271 | 48.8 | 3,665 | 39.3 |
| | T | 37,845 | 25.0 | 24,515 | 16.3 | 76,037 | 47.3 | 7,287 | 41.7 |
| 15-44 | M | 35,544 | 47.9 | 77,890 | 74.9 | 35,096 | 42.7 | 3,659 | 45.0 |
| | F | 34,999 | 45.5 | 30,060 | 64.3 | 33,555 | 42.8 | 4,480 | 48.1 |
| | T | 70,543 | 46.7 | 107,950 | 71.6 | 68,651 | 42.7 | 8,139 | 46.6 |
| 45-64 | M | 13,782 | 18.6 | 12,511 | 12.0 | 7,262 | 8.8 | 704 | 8.7 |
| | F | 15,956 | 20.8 | 4,089 | 8.7 | 5,530 | 7.0 | 922 | 9.9 |
| | T | 29,738 | 19.7 | 16,600 | 11.0 | 12,792 | 8.0 | 1,626 | 9.3 |
| 65 + | M | 5,806 | 7.8 | 1,009 | 1.0 | 2,045 | 2.5 | 144 | 1.8 |
| | F | 7,151 | 9.3 | 647 | 1.4 | 1,054 | 1.3 | 242 | 2.6 |
| | T | 12,957 | 8.6 | 1,656 | 1.1 | 3,099 | 1.9 | 386 | 2.2 |
| Total* | M | 74,228 | 100.0 | 103,967 | 100.0 | 82,222 | 100.0 | 8,138 | 100.0 |
| | F | 76,883 | 100.0 | 46,765 | 100.0 | 78,452 | 100.0 | 9,319 | 100.0 |
| | T | 151,111 | 100.0 | 150,732 | 100.0 | 160,674 | 100.0 | 17,457 | 100.0 |
| | | | | MASCULINITY RATES | | | | | |
| 0-14 | | 101.7 | | 104.9 | | 98.7 | | 98.8 | |
| 15-44 | | 101.6 | | 259.1 | | 104.6 | | 81.7 | |
| 45-64 | | 86.4 | | 306.0 | | 131.3 | | 76.4 | |
| 65 + | | 81.2 | | 156.0 | | 194.0 | | 59.5 | |
| Total | | 96.5 | | 222.3 | | 104.8 | | 87.3 | |

Source: Volume V, 1951 Population Census.
* Including persons of unspecified age.

claim an unusually large proportion of the population at the expense of both children and oldsters. The notable exception to this is the very high proportion of elderly European women, whose tendency to move to the towns was mentioned in Chapter Three.

Once again the comparative youth of the non-European groups is well displayed, and it is an important aspect of this youthfulness that the population of working age is itself young. For example, as much as 30 per cent of the European population of working age is over the age of 44, compared with only 17 per cent, 16 per cent, and 11 per cent in the case of the Coloureds, Indians, and Natives, respectively. There were in fact more Europeans over the age of 64 than there were Indians aged 45-64, although the Indians are, in total, numerically stronger.

## § 2 The Working Population

The manufacturing area of Durban is of great importance to Natal's economy, for, although the Metropolitan Area of Durban contained a mere 20 per cent of the total population of Natal in 1951 it accounted for 23 per cent of the population of working age, 28 per cent of the gainfully-occupied population, 49 per cent of the non-agricultural working population, and as much as 54 per cent of the workers engaged in secondary industry. The industrial distribution of the working population of Metropolitan Durban (which, in 1951, was rapidly advancing to the quarter million mark) is shown in Table 126.

Table 126 INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORKING POPULATION OF THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF DURBAN, 1951

| INDUSTRY | EUROPEANS | | NATIVES | | INDIANS | | COLOUREDS | | ALL RACES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Primary | 1,351 | 2 | 2,964 | 3 | 1,906 | 5 | 198 | 3 | 6,419 | 3 |
| Agriculture | 684 | 1 | 2,316 | 2 | 1,861 | 5 | 191 | 3 | 5,052 | 2 |
| Mining | 667 | 1 | 648 | 1 | 45 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 1,367 | 1 |
| Secondary | 21,183 | 33 | 32,070 | 29 | 13,347 | 33 | 3,350 | 53 | 69,950 | 32 |
| Manufacturing | 15,988 | 25 | 21,071 | 19 | 12,316 | 30 | 2,870 | 45 | 52,245 | 24 |
| Construction | 5,195 | 8 | 10,999 | 10 | 1,031 | 3 | 480 | 8 | 17,705 | 8 |
| Tertiary | 39,563 | 61 | 71,828 | 66 | 17,701 | 44 | 1,774 | 28 | 130,866 | 60 |
| Commerce | 15,039 | 23 | 11,044 | 10 | 6,839 | 17 | 260 | 4 | 33,182 | 15 |
| Transport | 9,381 | 15 | 11,156 | 10 | 1,541 | 4 | 332 | 5 | 22,410 | 10 |
| Services | 15,143 | 23 | 49,629 | 46 | 9,321 | 23 | 1,182 | 19 | 75,274 | 35 |
| Other | 2,755 | 4 | 2,107 | 2 | 7,678 | 19 | 1,013 | 16 | 13,553 | 6 |
| Total Working Force | 64,852 | 100 | 108,969 | 100 | 40,632 | 100 | 6,335 | 100 | 220,788 | 100 |

Source: provisional, unpublished figures from 1951 Population Census.

With primary industry employing only an insignificant proportion of workers of this urban community, service work emerges as the largest single employer, with manufacturing second and commerce third. Secondary industry, however, appears as the largest source of employment of all racial groups except Natives (to whom domestic service is still a major industry) and includes more than half of all Coloured workers.

The rapid rate of increase in secondary industry in Durban since the last war is illustrated by the figures in Table 127, which are fairly typical of the recent trends in industrialization and which reveal what will be a recurring theme in the following chapter, namely the rapid rate of absorption of Natives into secondary industry.

Table 127 PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN SECONDARY AND OTHER FIELDS OF EMPLOYMENT IN GREATER DURBAN, 1946-51.

| FIELD OF EMPLOYMENT | PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN EMPLOYMENT, 1946-51. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | EUROPEANS | NATIVES* | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
| Secondary Industry | 38 | 87 | 34 | 81 | 58 |
| Other fields of employment | 12 | 15 | 57 | 88 | 21 |
| All fields of employment | 19 | 30 | 49 | 84 | 30 |

Sources : calculated from Volume V, 1946 Population Census and from provisional, unpublished figures from 1951 Population Census.
* aged 10 years and over.

During this period of five years, the employment of Europeans in secondary industry increased at a rate which was more than three times as fast as in other industries. Yet over the same period, the increase in Native employment in secondary industry was over five times as fast as in other fields of employment and over twice as fast as the European rate of industrialization[1]. The slowest rate of increase was recorded by the Indians, whose employment in secondary industry showed a decrease in importance between 1946 and 1951. The rate of increase of Coloureds in secondary industry was also slower that in other fields of employment, although their rate of industrialization was still fast, considering the great extent to which they were already employed in manufacturing in 1946.

The occupations of the working population of Greater Durban will not be discussed in detail here, since, if one excludes agriculture, the occupational structure of Durban is not far different from that of Natal. The greatest difference to occupational structure brought about by the exclusion of agricultural workers is, of course, seen in the case of the Native population. An analysis of the occupations of Natives aged 15 years and over in Durban emphasises the limited scope of their employment : in 1951, some 80 per cent of Native males working in Durban were classified as either domestic servants or " labourers ", while almost 90 per cent of the women were occupied as domestic servants.

## § 3 The Distribution of Industrial Workers.

From information kindly supplied by the Department of Sociology of the University of Natl, it has been possible to prepare maps showing the distribution of workers who were recorded as being engaged in manufacturing industry in the 1951 Population Census. These maps ( see Figure 14) show the density ( number per square mile ) of industrial workers in all of the thirty-six enumerators' sub-districts for which information was available[2]. It should be emphasised that these sub-districts comprise the Municipal area of Durban and not the Metropolitan area, but would still cover the areas of greatest concentration.

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1. The term "industrialization" is used here merely to denote the extent to which a working population is engaged in secondary industry, and no deeper interpretation should be given to it.

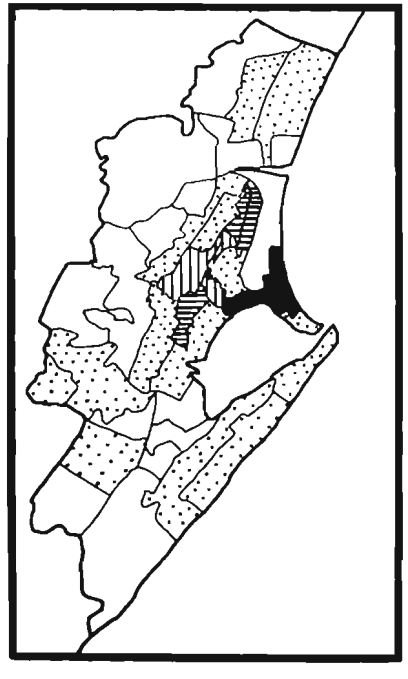
2. The breakdowns of census material by enumerators' sub-districts formed the basis of the publication : " Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology ", Kuper, Watts and Davies, Jonathan Cape, London, 1958.

Figure 14

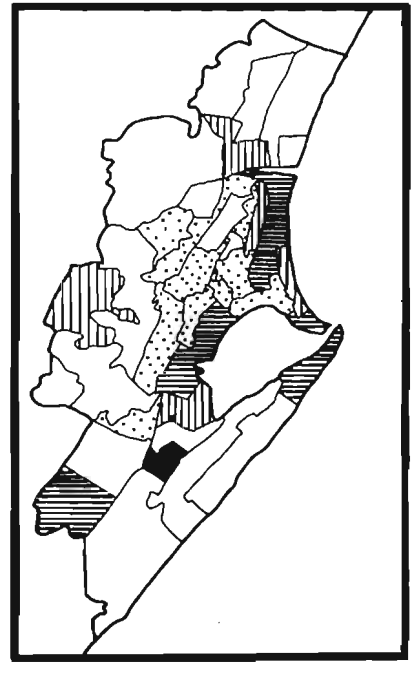
# Distribution of Durban's Industrial Labour Force :

## DENSITY OF WORKERS [PER SQUARE MILE] - 1951 CENSUS

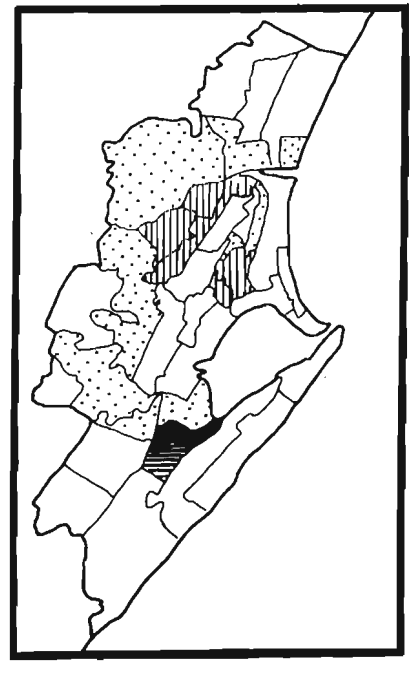
EUROPEANS



NATIVES



INDIANS



**Numbers per sq. mile**

UNDER 100 | 100 – 499 | 500 – 999 | 1000 – 1499 | 1500 & OVER

## APPENDIX 1: A NOTE ON THE DEFINITION OF THE GREATER DURBAN AREA

The question of what constitutes the population of an industrial city cannot always be answered to the complete satisfaction of all parties, however meticulously the problem is investigated. Depending upon the criteria used, one can manipulate the perimeter of the metropolis to include or exclude large tracts of land and many thousands of peri-urban residents. It is perhaps obvious that, for the purposes of a social or economic survey, to stop short at the borough boundaries is quite inadequate, and that the perimeter must be extended beyond the administrative area to include adjoining suburbs.

The South African Bureau of Census and Statistics, recognizing this, tabulated statistics for "Durban and Suburbs" up to 1946 and in the 1951 census introduced the concept of the "Metropolitan Area".[1] The definition of this term, which has already been given in an earlier section,[2] is not altogether satisfactory when applied to Durban. The addition of ten suburbs to the Municipality (see Table 124) is undoubtedly an improvement, but, whatever the criteria used by the Bureau of Census in designating these areas as "economically linked with the parent body", there are several other adjoining urban suburbs which to a greater or lesser degree must be regarded as economically linked and which, it might be argued, should be included within the geography of Metropolitan Durban. For example, New Germany, Clermont, and Mariannhill are not included in the Metropolitan Area, but are all linked with Durban or with Pinetown, which is itself part of the Metropolitan Area.

The problem is to decide how far the perimeter should be extended. As the centre of emphasis in these chapters is on the industries of Durban and Pinetown and their labour requirements, it would be useful to delimit an area from which these labour requirements are drawn or in which the potentially usable labour is to be found. But neither of these desirable objectives is readily attainable in theory or in practice. Whether one thinks in terms of workers actually employed or in terms of potential labour, a labour market is not strictly geographically delineable. For example, it would be true to say that the bulk of Durban's labour lives within the borough boundaries and, conversely, that the vast majority of gainfully-occupied persons living within the borough boundaries are employed in Durban. But even in the simplest form the matter becomes complicated, and it would not be legitimate to conclude from this that Durban supplies the larger part of its own labour needs. Many of those living and working in Durban have temporarily or permanently moved to Durban from other areas to find work, and this is particularly true of Natives, very few of whom have actually been born in Durban.[3]

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1 The "Metropolitan Area of Durban" used in the 1951 census is substantially the same as the "Durban and Suburbs" used in the 1946 census, except for the inclusion of Reunion in 1951.

2 See Chapter Three, § 2.

3 For example, only four Natives (1.5%) of a total labour force of 269 working in a Durban factory in 1946 gave their district of origin as Durban. The highest proportion came from Pinetown, but other important districts were as far afield as Bergville, Ixopo, and Port Shepstone. See Appendix 2, African Factory Workers, Report No. 2 of the Natal Regional Survey. The recent survey of employment cards undertaken by the writer revealed the same proportion (1.5%) of Natives whose tax payment district is Durban (see Appendix 2).

Thus, even by taking the borough area itself, we have included in the labour resources persons from Kloof or Paulpietersburg or Johannesburg. And again, while this is not yet serious, we undoubtedly include some who do not work in Durban at all, although they live there. But we are forced to spread the net wider owing to the fact that many of Durban's workers do not live within the Borough, and that there are also surrounding and adjoining districts the bulk of whose workers are employed in Durban.

In this way, the boundaries of Greater Durban are extended, and, as this happens, the coverage becomes increasingly less accurate until it is difficult to know where to draw the line. After all, Durban can (and does) attract labour from far afield, and all Natal districts and every other province contribute in some measure to Durban's labour supplies. The difference between their contributions is merely a matter of degree and, in the last analysis, the supplies of labour do not even cease at the Union borders, a fact that Natal has reason to remember especially in the presence of her Indian population. If suitable figures were available, an arbitrary delimitation might be made on the basis, say, of relative participation in work in Durban, but this area, when finally decided upon, would not correspond (except by chance) with any statutory or administrative residential unit.

It may be claimed that the area defined as "Greater Durban" represents a fair approximation to the total population available for work in Durban's industries in 1951. Industrial workers in Durban and Pinetown might perhaps be classified into three categories: those who live in the Metropolis itself; those who live outside the area, but who are sufficiently near to travel to and from work each day; and those who live further afield (including those from other districts and provinces) who remain in the City for at least the working week, only returning home at weekends or less frequently. The census, being on a week night, includes both the first and the third kind in the population of Metropolitan Durban, but excludes the large number of daily commuters. By taking the whole of Greater Durban, most of these daily travellers are probably also included and therefore a good coverage of those who work in Durban or who are currently available for work in Durban is obtained.

Yet this definition is obviously inadequate in a number of ways. On the one hand, there are doubtless some people living in Umlazi and Inanda and to a lesser extent Ndwedwe and Camperdown who are daily workers in Durban. This omission is probably most serious in the case of the Native reserves and locations in Umlazi, whose workers are within commuting distance of Durban. Another nearby area which has been excluded is the Inanda district to the north of the Umgeni river. It may be expected, however, that at least a part of Inanda will be incorporated into either the Borough or the Metropolitan Area by the next population census of 1960, when the Native township of Kwa Mashu should have reached the proportions of a medium-sized town.

On the other hand, some rural as well as adjoining urban areas have been added to the Metropolitan Area to form Greater Durban. This is not altogether unwise, since many of these rural areas such as Mariannhill and the tract of land to the South of Mhlatuzana, although observably rural in character, depend upon urban employment for their livelihood.

But, although some people in some areas have been unavoidably left out of the Greater Durban area and others unnecessarily included, these inadequacies are more than offset by the ability to use the same geographical area to represent Greater Durban as is used by the industrial census. Unfortunately, not being an officially defined residential unit, the usefulness of the Greater Durban area is restricted, and it was found necessary to use figures of the Metropolitan Area for most of the foregoing analysis. But most Metropolitan figures can, with due discretion, be applied pro rata to Greater Durban, since the populations of the two areas largely correspond.

## APPENDIX 2 SOURCES OF SUPPLY OF NATIVE MALES WORKING IN DURBAN AND FIVE OTHER NATAL TOWNS, 1957-8

As part of the investigation into the labour resources of Natal, information about Native workers was recorded off a sample number of employment cards at the Labour Bureau of the Durban Municipal Native Administration Department in September and October of 1957. After the provisional report of this survey had been analysed, it was decided to extend the enquiry to incorporate other principal urban areas in Natal. Accordingly, surveys of employment cards in the labour bureaux of Pietermaritzburg, Newcastle, Estcourt, Ladysmith and Dundee were carried out early in 1958.

To investigate the sources from which the Natal towns obtain their supplies of Native male labour, the tax payment areas of all registered workers in the sample were recorded. This is not, of course, a completely reliable method of estimating a worker's place or origin, since urban residents of long standing can change their area of tax payment, while a man's tax payment area is no sure guide to where he had been in the immediate past. Nevertheless, the area of tax payment has traditionally been used as evidence of the rate and direction of migration, and is undoubtedly a most useful and mainly reliable tool.

The Native men registering for employment in the six major urban areas were grouped according to origin into the same major regions as have been used earlier in this chapter, and their distribution can be found in Table 128. All these towns, with the

Table 128 REGION OF ORIGIN (TAX PAYMENT) OF NATIVE MEN REGISTERED IN NATAL TOWNS, 1957-8

| REGION OF ORIGIN | DURBAN | PIETER-MARITZBURG | ESTCOURT | LADY-SMITH | NEW-CASTLE | DUNDEE | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Coastal | 47.6 | 5.1 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 1.8 | — | 33.3 |
| Midlands | 17.6 | 65.8 | 80.6 | 5.7 | 2.7 | — | 29.3 |
| Northern | 8.4 | 7.4 | 8.0 | 83.0 | 76.8 | 72.7 | 13.2 |
| Zululand | 15.5 | 5.5 | 1.7 | 1.1 | 8.9 | 24.9 | 12.4 |
| Total Natal | 89.1 | 83.8 | 90.6 | 90.1 | 90.2 | 97.6 | 88.2 |
| Cape | 9.0 | 13.7 | 6.0 | 6.0 | 4.5 | 1.0 | 9.6 |
| Transvaal | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 1.8 | 1.0 | 0.7 |
| O.F.S. | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 1.1 | 2.7 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| Total Union | 99.2 | 98.8 | 97.1 | 97.5 | 99.2 | 100.0 | 99.0 |
| Non-Union | 0.8 | 0.8 | 2.9 | 0.7 | -- | — | 0.8 |
| Total* | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: writer's field survey.
* Including unspecified areas of origin.

exception of Durban, obtain a large part of their Native labour from the districts within which they themselves lie. Thus 30 per cent of Pietermaritzburg's, 46 per cent of Newcastle's, 52 per cent of Dundee's, 69 per cent of Estcourt's and 81 per cent of Ladysmith's Native male labour comes from the magisterial districts of Pietermaritzburg, Newcastle, Dundee, Estcourt, and Klip River respectively. In contrast, less than 5 per cent of the Natives registered in Durban payed their taxes in either Durban or Pinetown. Of course, Durban is unique in the sense that it embraces the whole of the magisterial district of Durban, as well as part of Pinetown and Umlazi.

Table 129 shows that Durban (and to a lesser extent Pietermaritzburg) draws its labour more evenly throughout the province than do the other centres. This fact is also demonstrated in Table 130. As many

Table 129 SIZE OF CONTRIBUTION OF FORTY-FIVE MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS OF NATAL TO TOTAL NATIVE LABOUR FORCE OF SIX MAJOR URBAN AREAS

| PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTION | NUMBER OF DISTRICTS CONTRIBUTING TO: | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Durban | P'm'burg | Estcourt | L'smith | N'castle | Dundee |
| Under 1 per cent | 15 | 31 | 40 | 41 | 38 | 40 |
| 1- 1.9 " " | 20 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | — |
| 2- 4.9 " " | 5 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 5- 9.9 " " | 4 | — | 2 | — | 3 | 2 |
| 10-19.9 " " | 1 | 1 | — | — | 1 | — |
| 20-49.9 " " | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| 50 per cent and over | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | 1 |
| Total | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 |

Source: writer's field survey.

as thirty (two-thirds) of the forty-five magisterial districts of Natal each contribute over 1 per cent of Durban's Native male labour, representing a total contribution of 82 per cent. These thirty districts can be contrasted with the three districts which together provide almost 87 per cent of Ladysmith's labour.

At the time of writing, government policy permits Durban to draw Native labour freely from seven "open" areas, namely:

Stanger (Lower Tugela)
Ndwedwe
Mapumulo
Umbumbulu (Umlazi)
Pinetown
Umzinto
Verulam (Inanda)

apart from the magisterial district of Durban itself. Natives wishing to enter Durban from other areas are severely restricted and have little hope of gaining permission to seek work in Durban unless they have worked there before. The effect of this influx control is that, whereas these seven "open" areas supplied only 38 per cent of the workers covered by the whole survey, they account for as much as 62 per cent of those workers who were recorded as having had their first job in Durban in 1957. If the present policy of influx control continues, therefore, it can be expected that an increasing proportion of Durban's Native workers will be from these open areas, since men from other areas already working in Durban will find it difficult to return after any future period of absence.

On the other hand, however, the male labour resources of these "open districts" are limited, and in 1951 for example, less than 160,000 Native males between the ages of 15 and 59 years were enumerated in Durban and the seven districts mentioned above. In the following two chapters it will be suggested that if the future growth of the manufacturing industries of Greater Durban is anywhere near as fast as its past growth, then the supplies of Native labour from these areas will be very soon exhausted.

TABLE 130 DISTRICTS CONTRIBUTING MORE THAN ONE PER CENT OF THE NATIVE MALE LABOUR SUPPLIES OF SIX NATAL TOWNS

| Durban | | Pietermaritzburg | | Newcastle | | Dundee | | Ladysmith | | Estcourt | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Umzinto | 10.1 | Pm'burg | 30.2 | Newcastle | 45.5 | Dundee | 52.2 | Ladysmith | 81.3 | Estcourt | 69.4 |
| Cape | 9.0 | Cape | 13.7 | Ngotshe | 12.5 | Nqutu | 23.9 | Cape | 6.0 | Weenen | 6.9 |
| Umlazi | 8.3 | Polela | 10.9 | Utrecht | 8.0 | Msinga | 8.3 | Bergville | 2.1 | Cape | 6.0 |
| Ndwedwe | 6.9 | Msinga | 4.9 | Mahlabatini | 5.4 | Helpmekaar | 6.3 | Estcourt | 2.1 | Msinga | 6.0 |
| Mapumulo | 6.0 | Ixopo | 4.1 | Cape | 4.5 | Newcastle | 2.4 | O.F.S. | 1.1 | Bergville | 2.9 |
| Eshowe | 5.3 | Nkandhla | 4.1 | O.F.S. | 2.7 | | | | | Nqutu | 1.1 |
| Ixopo | 4.7 | New Hanover | 4.0 | Paulpietersburg | 2.7 | | | | | | |
| Alfred | 3.4 | Richmond | 3.6 | Polela | 1.8 | | | | | | |
| Pinetown | 3.2 | Kranskop | 3.0 | Transvaal | 1.8 | | | | | | |
| Port Shepstone | 2.9 | Umvoti | 2.8 | | | | | | | | |
| Nhandhla | 2.4 | Camperdown | 2.7 | | | | | | | | |
| Lower Tugela | 1.9 | Impendhle | 2.6 | | | | | | | | |
| Camperdown | 1.8 | Estcourt | 2.4 | | | | | | | | |
| Richmond | 1.8 | Lions River | 1.1 | | | | | | | | |
| Durban | 1.7 | Underberg | 1.0 | | | | | | | | |
| Estcourt | 1.7 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kranskop | 1.6 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Umvoti | 1.6 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vryheid | 1.6 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mtunzini | 1.5 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dundee | 1.4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Inanda | 1.4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Klip River | 1.4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pm'burg | 1.4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Polela | 1.4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nongoma | 1.3 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Msinga | 1.2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bergville | 1.1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mtonjaneni | 1.1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Newcastle | 1.1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| New Hanover | 1.1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL | 91.1 | | 90.5 | | 86.6 | | 93.2 | | 92.6 | | 92.3 |

Source: writer's field survey.

# CHAPTER EIGHT

## EMPLOYMENT IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF THE GREATER DURBAN INDUSTRIAL AREA

### § 1 Sources of Information

The principal source of information on manufacturing industry in South Africa is the annual census of industrial establishments undertaken by the Bureau of Census and Statistics. These census figures are available since 1915/16, although data for private undertakings were published only after 1924/25 and the most recent final report is for the census year ending 1950. However, preliminary reports have been published by the Bureau for the three years up to 1953, and use has also been made of a considerable amount of unpublished provisional material, mainly covering the period 1951-54. All information in this chapter therefore represents published or unpublished data from industrial consuses. No official figures of any description are available for Natal or Durban after 1953/54.

### § 2 Definitions

Industrial Establishments. The scope of the census is very broad and covers any establishment which manufactures, processes, or repairs goods for profit and which employs three or more hands or uses any form of power.[1] The result of this definition is that many of the establishments covered by the census are not what one would normally regard as "factories" and probably could better be described as workshops. Yet, although somewhere in the neighbourhood of half of the total number of firms employ no more than ten hands, a large proportion of the total employment is to be found in the larger firms (see § 6). It may be said, therefore, that the industrial census provides a much better review of factory employment than of the factories themselves, and, although it is impossible to eliminate the numerous small workshops, their total employment fortunately amounts to only a minor proportion of the total.

Census Year. The annual statistics of industrial establishments refer to the financial year which ended in the year of the census and, as all firms do not adhere to the same financial year, the aggregate figures are not applicable to any precise time period. Nevertheless, the Bureau has stated[2] that nearly 80 per cent of all firms end their financial years on 30th June, so that the census year may also be taken to run roughly from one mid-calendar year to the next.

In official publications, the census data are customarily described by reference to both calendar years over which any financial year is spread: for example, the financial year ending

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1. For the full definition of the scope of the census of industrial establishments, see U.G. 30/1954, p. iv.

2. See "Report on the Measurement of Employment and Labour Turnover in Manufacturing and Construction", Special Report No. 215, p.8.

about the middle of 1950 would be termed 1949/50. As this procedure is the only precise method of reference[1], it will be retained for use in tables although, for simplicity, the financial year will frequently be indicated by reference to the second calendar year only in the text.

The Greater Durban Industrial Area. Statistics of industrial establishments are published for Natal and the magisterial districts of Durban and Pinetown combined. The latter area to all intents and purposes co-incides with the area defined as Greater Durban (See Chapter Seven), while if any figure for Durban and Pinetown is subtracted from the Natal total the remainder may be termed the "rest of Natal"[2]. Whenever reference is made in this chapter to Durban, without any further qualification being made, the industrial area of Durban and Pinetown (Greater Durban) is intended.

Industrial Classes. Apart from the fundamental division between private undertakings and municipal and government concerns, the establishments are also grouped for convenience into a number of major industrial classes in the census reports. In addition, certain restricted information is made available in the bluebooks on the individual industries which make up the industrial classes.

During the years, certain changes have been made in the composition of these classes (as well as in the scope of the industrial census itself) and from time to time a particular industry is included, omitted, or moved from one class to another. Although these changes in the definition or scope of classes have not all been minor ones [3], they have as a rule been insignificant in relation to total industry or even to the long-run growth of the particular class of industry affected. Moreover, as with the population censuses, the census of industrial establishments is inevitably subject to certain errors which, although not measurable, may be assumed to vary in intensity between censuses, and it is therefore of little value to pursue year to year comparability too thoroughly.

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1. This is especially true when one wishes to think of the mean monthly employment over the financial year as being centred at the mid-point of the period, which, in this case, would be at the end of December. Neither 1949 nor 1950 can be precisely used to denote the period of which December, 1949 is the mid-point, and the only description which is at the same time unambiguous and concise is the reference 1949/50.

2. A sizable part of the industries of the "rest of Natal" must be situated in Pietermaritzburg, and it may be queried whether there would not be as much justification for including Pietermaritzburg in a combined industrial area with Durban in the census statistics as there is for joining Worcester with Cape Town or Uitenhage with Port Elizabeth. As it happens, however, Durban is physically by far the smallest of the five main industrial areas, comprising less than 3% of the total size of all industrial areas. Consequently, the density of industry in the Greater Durban region far exceeds that in any other, as the following figures for 1950 show :

| | Western Cape | Port Elizabeth | Durban | Southern Transvaal | Pretoria |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Establishments per square mile | 0.5 | 0.2 | 4.2 | 1.4 | 0.4 |
| Net output (£000s) per square mile | 14.2 | 10.0 | 143.9 | 45.0 | 13.9 |
| No. of employees per square mile | 28 | 17 | 279 | 92 | 19 |

3. See Appendix 1.

One change in the industrial census which does demand attention is the revised classification of industries which was used for the first time in the 1950/51 census, since it at first sight denies any systematic comparison with earlier years. Not only was the number of industrial classes increased from seventeen to twenty-three, but many of the older classes either completely disappeared to be replaced by new ones or were substantially changed in their scope and content. Further analysis and comparison revealed, however, that by re-grouping the industrial classes both before and after 1950/51 a number of consolidated classes could be created which would bridge the 1950 adjustment with only slight error.[1]

There are eight consolidated classes which will be used throughout this analysis, which, together with the public industries and a miscellaneous class of private industries, amount to ten classes in all.[2] They are :

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1. Less than 10 per cent. Twelve component industries accounting for 111 firms (9% of all firms) do not fit the consolidated classes. Although the employment in these industries is not known, it is possible that the error in employment is less than in the coverage of firms (9%), because they mostly consist of the smaller kind of establishment such as laundries, shoe repair workshops, and so on. (See also Appendix 4).

2. After this reclassification had been completed, an independent reclassification undertaken by D.J.L.McWhirter* was found to be very similar. The relation between McWhirter's classes and ours is as follows :

| Our Classes | Relation to McWhirter's Classes |
|---|---|
| 1. Clothing,etc. | Equal to his Class 2, except that he excludes leather (a minor item) after 1950/51. |
| 2. Construction | Not comparable. He puts non-metallic minerals in a class of their own and excludes construction altogether. |
| 3. Chemicals | Equal to his Class 6, except for heat,light and power which he excludes. |
| 4. Engineering | Equal to his Class 8. |
| 5. Food | Equal to his Class 1. |
| 6. Transport | Equal to his Class 9. |
| 7. Paper | Equal to his Class 5. |
| 8. Furniture | Equal to his two classes 3 and 4 combined. |

Five of our classes (nos.4,5,6,7,8), accounting for 42% of the total employment in 1953/54, are fully comparable with McWhirter's. Two classes (34% of total employment) are very nearly comparable: these are Class 1, which is 98% comparable (leather accounting for only 2% of the total class) and Class 3, which is 92% comparable (power accounting for only 8% of the class). Class 2 (17% of employment) is the only one that cannot usefully be compared, since construction (which accounts for 78% of our class) is not included in McWhirter's class at all.

* See Appendix 11, p.82, "Industry in Greater Durban - Part II, Raw Materials as a Factor in Industrial Location", Town and Regional Planning Commission, Natal, 1959.

| Industrial Class | Short Title |
|---|---|
| 1. Clothing, footwear, textiles, and leather | Clothing, etc. |
| 2. Construction and non-metallic minerals | Construction |
| 3. Chemicals and power | Chemicals |
| 4. Metals and engineering | Engineering |
| 5. Food, drink and tobacco | Food |
| 6. Transport equipment | Transport |
| 7. Paper and printing | Paper |
| 8. Furniture and wood | Furniture |
| 9. Other private industries | Others |
| 10. Municipal and government concerns and railway workshops | Public |

The composition of the nine consolidated classes of private industries is partly determined by the logical grouping of similar industries and partly dictated by the necessary combination of industries which, in either the old or the new classification, it is impossible to disentangle. For example, the second consolidated class is a natural combination of industries, since the "non-metallic minerals" industry, despite its name, consists almost entirely of establishments engaged in the manufacture of bricks, tiles, cement, and other building materials. Similarly, the obvious affinity of food, drink, and tobacco puts these industries into the same class, and to a lesser extent furniture and wood also form a natural association.

The combination of other industries into classes was dictated by the need to find "lowest common multiples" when industries changed their pattern of combination on the introduction of the new classification of industries in 1951. In two classes of industry the enforced combination of industries happily co-incided with a natural association; these were the clothing, footwear, textiles, and leather class and the metals and engineering class. But other industries were forced into less obvious associations : paper combined with printing (although there is no natural affinity between a publishing office, say, and a manufacturer of packaging materials) because the two industries formed a single class up to 1950, while chemicals had to be combined with power mainly to preserve the continuity of figures regarding the growing oil refining industry.

Class 9 (other private industries) brings together all the remaining private industries which could not be attached to any of the eight consolidated classes and which were too small to form separate classes of their own. It contains a number of activities which the Bureau itself ascribed to its miscellaneous class in the interests of security[1], and will be included in the analysis merely for the sake of completeness.

The "public" industries have all been combined into a single class of industry, even though they are spread over a few industries[2], in view of the special nature of these government undertakings.

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1. The Bureau is bound not to publish any material in respect of an industry consisting of less than four firms. This restriction results in a number of combinations of industries being necessary from time to time.

2. In 1953, over half (55%) of the workers employed by public industries in Durban were engaged in the transport industry (railway and municipal transport workshops), 17% were engaged in construction (including road construction), and another 13% were employed in power-generating stations.

In the first place, there are very few statistics available concerning the industrial distribution of public undertakings; second, the combined employment of the public sector is of a size to merit no more attention than that given to any one major private class; third, the lack of adequate statistics on public industries and the unpredictable nature of the movements in their employment in the past preclude the logical projection of their labour requirements into the future (see Chapter Nine). Nevertheless, the labour force employed by the public sector of industry will be added to the private manufacturing labour force in assessing the importance of manufacturing industry as a whole to the Greater Durban area.

The numerical order of Classes 1 - 8, which will be preserved throughout the analysis, reflects the relative importance of the classes in terms of their average employment in Durban in 1954. Short titles have been defined for the industrial classes to facilitate the tabulation of figures and the drawing of diagrams.

The growth of Durban's manufacturing industry will be analysed only as far back as the year 1925. This has the double advantage of avoiding most of the changes in the enumeration of industrial establishments which were made in the early days of the census, and of coinciding with the beginning of the era of protection, when the development of secondary industry was deliberately fostered as part of government policy.

## § 3 The Growth of Manufacturing Employment in Greater Durban.

Manufacturing employment in Durban, in common with secondary industry throughout the Union, has shown a remarkable expansion since 1925, and particularly so since the Great Depression:

Table 131 AVERAGE EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN GREATER DURBAN, 1924/25 - 1953/54.

| CENSUS YEAR | AVERAGE EMPLOYMENT | INDEX 1925=100 | CENSUS YEAR | AVERAGE EMPLOYMENT | INDEX 1925=100 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1924/25 | 25,595 | 100 | 1939/40 | 41,074 | 161 |
| 26 | 24,579 | 96 | 41 | 44,695 | 175 |
| 27 | 24,655 | 96 | 42 | 46,428 | 181 |
| 28 | 23,731 | 93 | 43 | 49,279 | 193 |
| 29 | 24,975 | 98 | 44 | 54,147 | 212 |
| 1929/30 | 26,013 | 102 | 1944/45 | 57,873 | 226 |
| 31 | * | * | 46 | 58,894 | 230 |
| 32 | * | * | 47 | 60,049 | 235 |
| 33 | 20,451 | 80 | 48 | 67,959 | 266 |
| 34 | 23,972 | 94 | 49 | 74,511 | 291 |
| 1934/35 | 28,146 | 110 | 1949/50 | 78,888 | 308 |
| 36 | 30,518 | 119 | 51 | 81,208 | 317 |
| 37 | 33,724 | 132 | 52 | 84,366 | 330 |
| 38 | 36,771 | 144 | 53 | 89,695 | 350 |
| 39 | 38,499 | 150 | 54 | 92,185 | 360 |

* There were no censuses in these two years.

This period of industrial growth can be conveniently broken up into five-year periods, each of which more or less corresponds with a distinct phase in the development of South African industry. Further attention will be given to variations in the rate of industrial expansion when the individual industries are discussed, but it is

already clear from the above index figures that the growth of Durban's industry can virtually be taken from around 1934/35 - at least so far as employment is concerned.

The late twenties (1925-29), although in most respects a period of prosperity, saw no increase in manufacturing employment in Durban; on the contrary, there was a slight fall in employment during the period. At this time industry was still largely made up of processing and service establishments, whose expansion is geared largely to the rate of growth of the population. The early thirties (1930-34) cover the period of the Great Depression, from the peak of the pre-depression boom in 1929/30 to the beginning of the recovery in 1933/34. Unfortunately, the absence of figures for the two census years 1930/31 and 1931/32 makes it impossible to trace fully the course of the depression. From the various diagrams appearing in this chapter and later it can be imagined that the employment in 1932 was even lower than that in 1933. Yet by the end of this five-year period the situation had virtually returned to what it had been before the depression.

The end of the depression and South Africa's abandonment of the Gold Standard heralded the great increase in manufacturing employment of the late thirties (1935-39). The very high rate of increase of this period was maintained despite of (or because of) the onset of the War and continued only slightly abated throughout the early forties.

The war period (1940-44) is perhaps the most crucial period in the growth of South African industrial employment for, although the rate of increase was neither materially accelerated nor decelerated, the peculiar and short-lived shortages and needs of a war-time economy brought about dramatic and permanent changes in the industrial structure and in its race and sex composition.

In the post-war period (1945-49), the very fast rate of increase in Durban's manufacturing employment was maintained, except for a short pause[1] around 1947. The release of unsatisfied demand for goods that had been in short supply during the war, the end of war-time restrictions on supplies and manufacture, a world-wide demand for primary products, and a high rate of immigration all helped to create boom conditions. Later the imposition of import control gave further room for expansion to most branches of industry.

The most recent period of development (1950-54) has brought a further large increase in manufacturing employment, although these years are characterised by a somewhat slower average rate of increase than were the previous fifteen years (see Table 134). This slowing in the rate of expansion has been encouraged by the government policy of "consolidation", although evidence seems to suggest that manufacturing employment may have been affected to a lesser extent that certain other sectors of the economy[2].

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1. This short-lived set-back or hesitation in the expansion of employment is illustrated in the diagrams (especially those showing Native employment). It may have been caused by the adjustment to peace-time employment conditions (for example the termination of war contracts), but the possibility cannot be ruled out that the lower employment recorded in this year might have been partly the result of a poor census.

2. See Chapter Nine.

These six periods of development may perhaps be summarised as follows :

1925-29 Pre-depression - constant level of employment
1930-34 Depression - rapid fall in employment followed by rapid recovery
1935-39 Post-depression, pre-war - very rapid expansion
1940-44 War-time - rapid, but unequal expansion
1945-49 Post-war - rapid expansion in all sectors
1950-54 Recent consolidation - slower rate of expansion

So that the growth in the labour force of Durban's manufacturing industries may be seen in its proper perspective, it is as well at this stage to relate employment in Greater Durban to that in the rest of Natal and in the Union as a whole (Table 132). The bulk of Natal's industry has been located in the Durban-Pinetown industrial area over

Table 132 MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN GREATER DURBAN AND IN NATAL AND THE UNION, 1924/25 - 1952/53.

| CENSUS YEAR | TOTAL MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN | | | DURBAN AS A PERCENTAGE OF | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | UNION | NATAL | DURBAN | UNION | NATAL |
| 1924/25 | 191,598 | 43,561 | 25,595 | 13 | 59 |
| 1929/30 | 218,298 | 44,833 | 26,013 | 12 | 58 |
| 1934/35 | 265,848 | 47,229 | 28,146 | 11 | 60 |
| 1939/40 | 360,456 | 65,070 | 41,074 | 11 | 63 |
| 1944/45 | 488,661 | 86,401 | 57,873 | 12 | 67 |
| 1949/50 | 712,103 | 113,033 | 78,888 | 11 | 70 |
| 1952/53 | 819,640 | 135,390 | 89,695 | 11 | 66 |

the whole period, and this tendency towards centralisation has increased during the period until by 1953 some two-thirds of Natal's manufacturing employment was centred in Durban. On the other hand, Durban has but a small share of the total Union's industrial employment, almost half of which is, of course, accounted for by the Southern Transvaal. Moreover, the slower mean rate of increase of the Durban employment over the period of 4.6 per cent a year as compared with the Union rate of 5.3 per cent has led to a gradual, slight reduction in the proportion of the Union's manufacturing employment which is located in Durban.

The growth of manufacturing employment in Durban has not proceeded at the same rate for all industries, and it is therefore necessary to outline the expansion which has taken place in the individual classes of industry into which manufacturing has been divided. It will be seen that there have been several changes in the relative importance of the industrial classes (Table 133).

Table 133 GROWTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY BY CLASS OF INDUSTRY, GREATER DURBAN, 1924/25 - 1953/54

| CLASS | 1925 | 1930 | 1935 | 1940 | 1945 | 1950 | 1954 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | NUMBERS | | | |
| Clothing, etc. | 1,557 | 2,066 | 4,325 | 6,014 | 8,693 | 12,721 | 15,988 |
| Construction | 3,166 | 3,378 | 3,450 | 5,579 | 6,647 | 10,008 | 14,505 |
| Chemicals | 2,760 | 3,202 | 3,058 | 4,231 | 6,898 | 10,018 | 12,461 |
| Engineering | 2,296 | 2,733 | 3,016 | 5,191 | 10,447 | 10,904 | 11,016 |
| Food | 3,391 | 3,837 | 3,819 | 4,756 | 6,696 | 8,270 | 10,167 |
| Transport | 579 | 834 | 832 | 1,620 | 1,706 | 3,070 | 5,282 |
| Paper | 843 | 1,095 | 1,192 | 1,848 | 1,823 | 3,368 | 4,347 |
| Furniture | 1,835 | 1,886 | 1,862 | 2,193 | 3,179 | 3,709 | 3,945 |
| Others | 1,215 | 1,310 | 1,950 | 2,880 | 4,089 | 4,416 | 5,951 |
| Total Private | 17,642 | 20,341 | 23,504 | 34,312 | 50,178 | 66,484 | 83,662 |
| Total Public | 7,953 | 5,672 | 4,642 | 6,762 | 7,695 | 12,404 | 8,523 |
| TOTAL INDUSTRY | 25,595 | 26,013 | 28,146 | 41,074 | 57,873 | 78,888 | 92,185 |
| | | | | PERCENTAGES | | | |
| Clothing, etc. | 6.1 | 7.9 | 15.4 | 14.6 | 15.0 | 16.1 | 17.3 |
| Construction | 12.4 | 13.0 | 12.3 | 13.6 | 11.5 | 12.7 | 15.7 |
| Chemicals | 10.8 | 12.3 | 10.9 | 10.3 | 11.9 | 12.7 | 13.5 |
| Engineering | 9.0 | 10.5 | 10.7 | 12.6 | 18.1 | 13.8 | 12.0 |
| Food | 13.2 | 14.8 | 13.6 | 11.6 | 11.6 | 10.5 | 11.0 |
| Transport | 2.3 | 3.2 | 3.0 | 3.9 | 2.9 | 3.9 | 5.7 |
| Paper | 3.3 | 4.2 | 4.2 | 4.5 | 3.1 | 4.3 | 4.7 |
| Furniture | 7.2 | 7.3 | 6.6 | 5.3 | 5.5 | 4.7 | 4.3 |
| Others | 4.7 | 5.0 | 6.9 | 7.0 | 7.1 | 5.6 | 6.5 |
| Total Private | 68.9 | 78.2 | 83.5 | 83.5 | 86.7 | 84.3 | 90.8 |
| Total Public | 31.1 | 21.8 | 16.5 | 16.5 | 13.3 | 15.7 | 9.2 |
| TOTAL INDUSTRY | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The "big five" industries - clothing, construction, chemicals, engineering, and food, which accounted for 70 per cent of all employment in 1954, had had only 52 per cent of employment in 1925, while the group of smaller industries - transport, paper, furniture, and others - maintained a fairly constant (16-21 per cent) share of employment. On the other hand the proportion of manufacturing labour employed by public industries underwent a large decrease from 31 per cent to 9 per cent over the same period.

By far the greatest increase has been recorded by the clothing and textiles industry, whose tenfold increase in employment represented 22 per cent of the total increase in manufacturing employment between 1925 and 1954. Other major contributors to industrial expansion were construction (17 per cent), chemicals (15 per cent), and engineering (13 per cent), which together with clothing, accounted for two-thirds of the total increase. But greater proportional increases were recorded by two smaller industries, namely transport and paper.

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# Employment by Industries

1925 and 1954

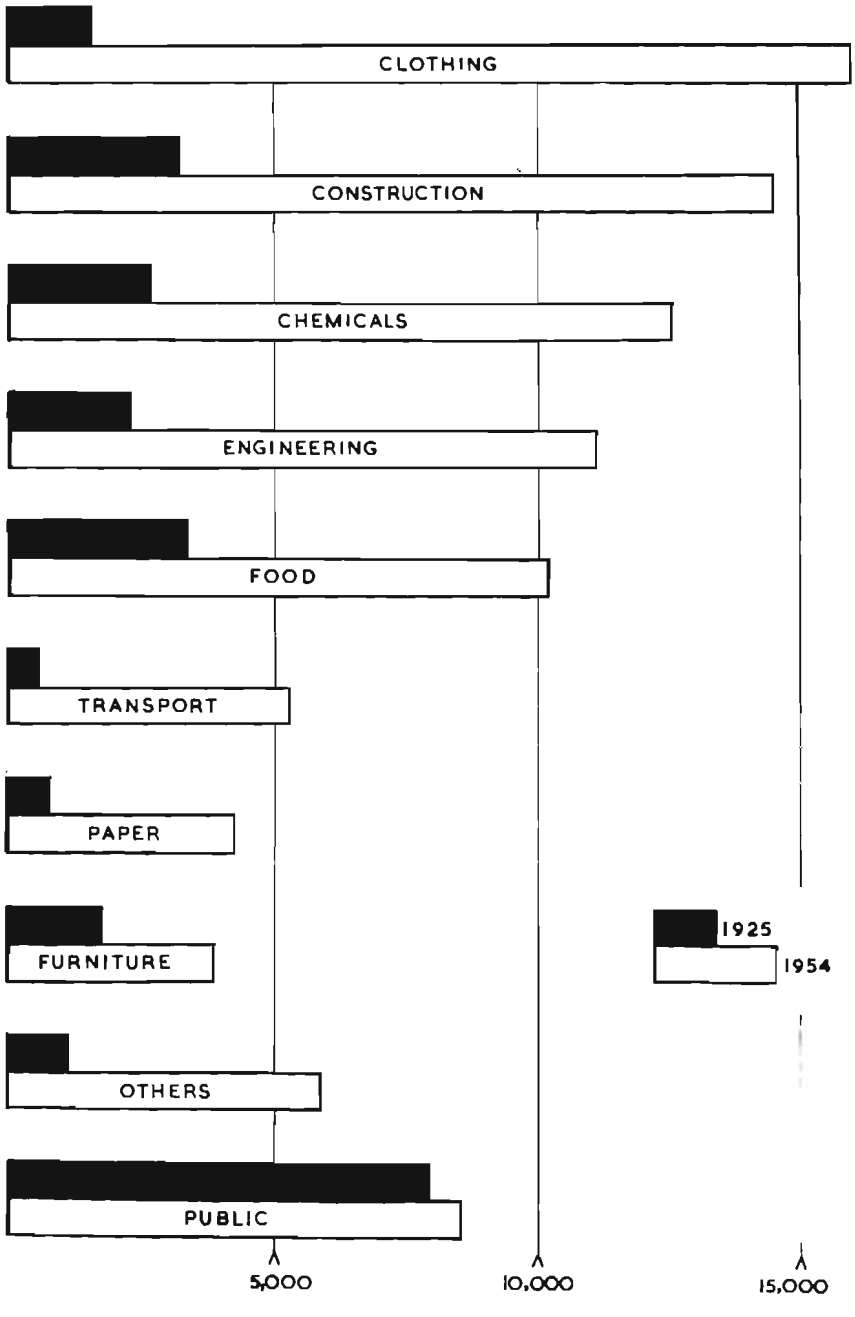


Figure 15

The relative increases of individual industries are brought out more clearly in Table 134. The highest mean annual rate of increase was recorded by the clothing industry, followed by the transport industry, which tripled its employment in the first ten years after

Table 134 MEAN ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY BY CLASS OF INDUSTRY, GREATER DURBAN, 1924/25 - 1953/54

| CLASS | 1925-30 | 1930-35 | 1935-40 | 1940-45 | 1945-50 | 1950-54 | 1925-54 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clothing, etc. | 5.8 | 16.0 | 6.8 | 7.6 | 7.9 | 5.9 | 8.3 |
| Construction | 0.1 | 1.6 | 10.1 | 3.5 | 8.5 | 9.7 | 5.4 |
| Chemicals | 3.0 | -0.9 | 6.7 | 10.3 | 7.7 | 5.6 | 5.3 |
| Engineering | 3.5 | 2.0 | 11.5 | 15.0 | 0.9 | 0.2 | 5.5 |
| Food | 2.5 | -0.1 | 4.5 | 7.1 | 4.3 | 5.1 | 3.9 |
| Transport | 7.6 | -0.0 | 14.2 | 1.0 | 12.5 | 14.5 | 7.9 |
| Paper | 5.4 | 1.7 | 9.1 | -0.3 | 13.1 | 6.6 | 5.8 |
| Furniture | 0.6 | -0.4 | 3.3 | 7.7 | 3.1 | 1.6 | 2.7 |
| Others | 1.5 | 8.2 | 8.1 | 7.3 | 1.6 | 7.7 | 5.6 |
| Total Private | 2.9 | 2.9 | 7.8 | 7.9 | 5.8 | 5.9 | 5.5 |
| Total Public | 6.5 | -3.9 | 7.8 | 2.6 | 10.0 | -9.0 | 0.4 |
| TOTAL INDUSTRY | 0.3 | 1.6 | 7.8 | 7.1 | 6.4 | 4.0 | 4.5 |

the Second World War. The lowest rates of increase among the private industries were experienced by the food and furniture industries, although even these grew considerably faster than the public industry, which was only slightly larger in 1954 than in 1925. The remainder of the individual industries increased at a rate very near to that of total private industry.

These figures also throw light on the patterns of development of each class of industry. Four classes of industries (chemicals, engineering, food, and furniture) experienced their highest rates of growth during the war years, whereas construction increased most quickly in the pre-war, paper in the post-war, and transport in the most recent years. Clothing was unique in being the only class of industry to record its highest rate of growth in depression years.

## § 4 Changes in the Racial Composition of Employment

One of the most important features of the growth of manufacturing industry in Durban (Table 135) has been the changes which have taken

Table 135 GROWTH OF MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN GREATER DURBAN, BY RACIAL GROUPS, 1924/25-1953/54.

| YEAR | EUROPEANS | | NATIVES | | INDIANS | | COLOUREDS | | ALL RACES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | INDEX 1925 =100 | Number | INDEX 1925 =100 | Number | INDEX 1925 =100 | Number | INDEX 1925 =100 | Number | INDEX 1925 =100 |
| 1924/25 | 7,848 | 100 | 11,787 | 100 | 5,237 | 100 | 723 | 100 | 25,595 | 100 |
| 1929/30 | 9,367 | 119 | 11,109 | 94 | 4,681 | 89 | 856 | 118 | 26,013 | 102 |
| 1934/35 | 10,634 | 135 | 10,887 | 92 | 5,647 | 108 | 978 | 135 | 28,146 | 110 |
| 1939/40 | 13,565 | 173 | 17,528 | 149 | 8,450 | 161 | 1,531 | 212 | 41,074 | 161 |
| 1944/45 | 15,251 | 194 | 28,878 | 245 | 11,549 | 221 | 2,195 | 304 | 57,873 | 226 |
| 1949/50 | 21,096 | 269 | 41,062 | 348 | 13,711 | 262 | 3,019 | 418 | 78,888 | 308 |
| 1953/54 | 23,737 | 302 | 47,709 | 405 | 16,827 | 321 | 3,912 | 541 | 92,185 | 360 |

# Durban's Manufacturing Labour Force

1925-65

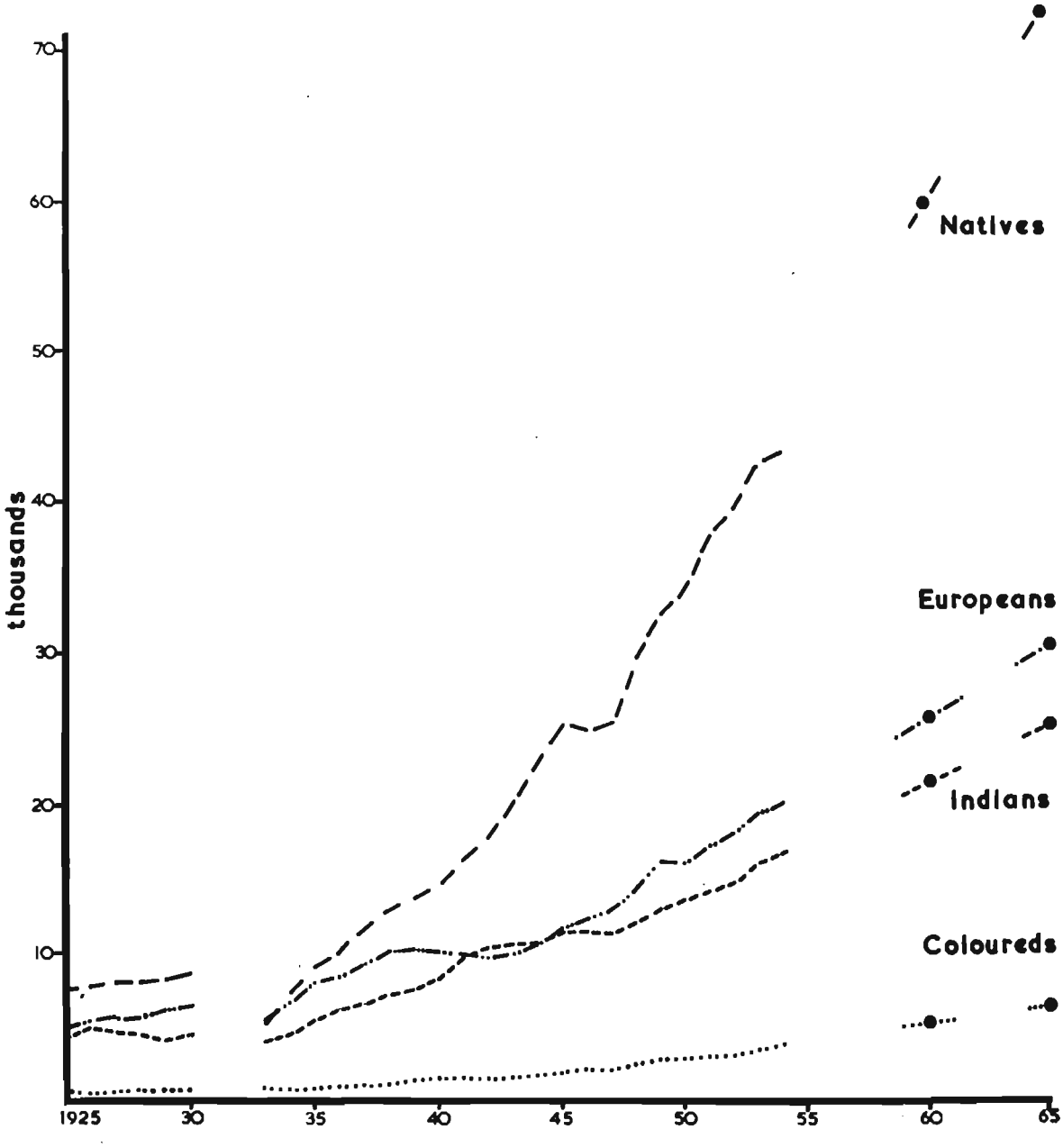


Figure 16

place in its racial composition, the most noticeable aspect of which has been the rapid rise of the Native worker as the predominant industrial worker. Over the whole period between 1925 and 1954 the total labour force engaged in manufacturing industry increased by some 66,000 workers, or by 260 per cent, while the European workers increased by 16,000 (202 per cent), Natives by 36,000 (305 per cent), Indians by 12,000 (221 per cent), and Coloureds by 3,000 (441 per cent).

The differences in the rates at which each racial group has increased are brought out by the following table :

Table 136 MEAN ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH OF MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN GREATER DURBAN BY RACIAL GROUPS, 1924/25-1953/54.

| PERIOD | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1925-30 | 3.6 | -1.2 | -2.2 | 3.5 | 0.3 |
| 1930-35 | 2.6 | -0.4 | 3.9 | 2.7 | 1.6 |
| 1935-40 | 5.0 | 10.0 | 8.4 | 9.3 | 7.8 |
| 1940-45 | 2.3 | 10.5 | 6.4 | 7.5 | 7.1 |
| 1945-50 | 6.7 | 7.3 | 3.5 | 6.6 | 6.4 |
| 1950-54 | 3.0 | 3.9 | 5.2 | 6.7 | 4.0 |
| 1925-54 | 3.9 | 4.9 | 4.1 | 6.0 | 4.5 |

The highest mean rate of growth over the whole period was recorded by the Coloured working force, which was the only Non-European group not to fall in numbers during the pre-depression period. The Natives showed the next highest rate of increase, while the Indians, though increasing at a less than average rate, still managed to gain in relation to Europeans.

The most important period, as far as changing racial composition is concerned, is the decade 1935-44 - especially the war period 1940-44. In this latter period, when many European men were serving in the armed forces, the rate of growth of the European working force was slowest. Because of the shortage of European workers, and despite certain limitations to industrial expansion imposed by the war, the Non-European groups spurted ahead.

The result of these different rates of growth of the four racial groups was a changing pattern of racial composition :

Table 137 RACIAL COMPOSITION OF MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN GREATER DURBAN, 1924/25 - 1953/54.

(PERCENTAGES)

| YEAR | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1924/25 | 31 | 46 | 20 | 3 | 100 |
| 1929/30 | 36 | 43 | 18 | 3 | 100 |
| 1934/35 | 38 | 39 | 20 | 3 | 100 |
| 1939/40 | 33 | 43 | 21 | 4 | 100 |
| 1944/45 | 26 | 50 | 20 | 4 | 100 |
| 1949/50 | 27 | 52 | 17 | 4 | 100 |
| 1953/54 | 26 | 52 | 18 | 4 | 100 |

These figures show that, while the trend over the years has been towards a falling ratio of Europeans to Non-Europeans, the racial

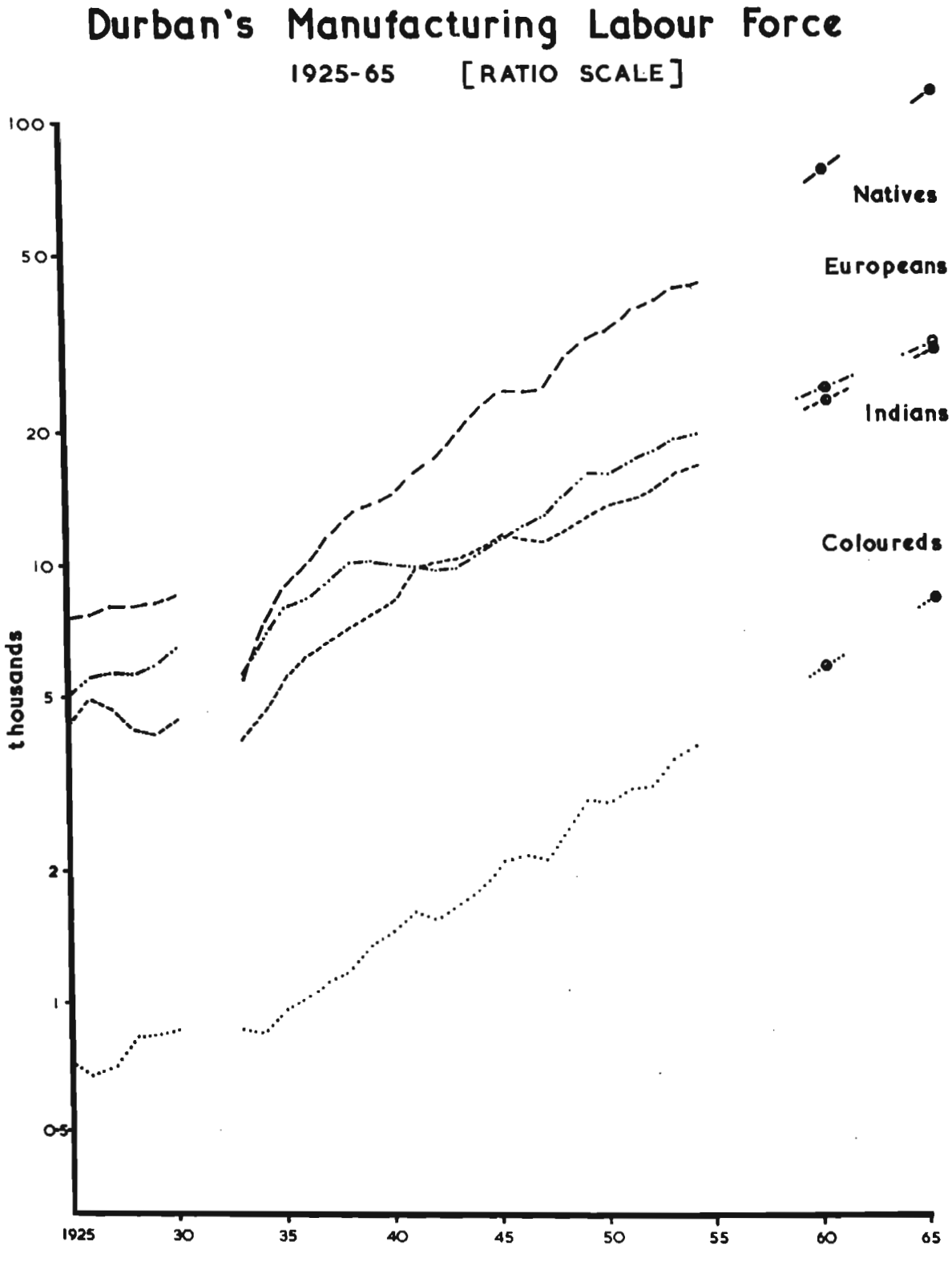
Durban's Manufacturing Labour Force
1925-65 [RATIO SCALE]
100
50
20
10
5
2
1
0·5
thousands
1925
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
Natives
Europeans
Indians
Coloureds

Figure 17

composition of manufacturing employment has fluctuated from period to period. Three phases of development can be observed in the Europeans' share of employment :- First, a period of ten years between 1925 and 1935 when the European content of employment increased, mainly owing to the policy of protection for European workers, reinforced by the effect of the depression years. Second, the crucial period between 1935 and 1945, when the proportion of Europeans fell very considerably at the same time as industry was increasing at its fastest rate. Third, the post-war period of nine years, which is characterised by a gradual return of the racial composition of industry to some sort of equilibrium. It is significant that the proportion of Europeans, which was low in 1945 because of the abnormal circumstances brought about by the war, increased for a time to 28 per cent between 1947 and 1949 on the return of servicemen from the war, but that by 1953, the proportion of Europeans in industry had again fallen to its previous lowest level (26 per cent in 1944).

The proportion of Natives in the labour force varied in inverse ratio to the proportion of Europeans, and has shown the same tendency towards equilibrium in recent years (the proportion was 52 per cent in every year between 1950 and 1954). Once again, the most important transitional period was between 1935 and 1945, during which the proportion of Natives in manufacturing rose from 39 per cent to 50 per cent.

The Indians, on the other hand, have shown a slight trend towards decreasing relative importance in spite of a war-time rise in the proportion of Indians employed. At the same time Coloureds have increased in proportion, owing to their high rate of absorbtion into industry. In fact, although they have only increased from 2.8 per cent to 4.2 per cent of the total working force, this represents a relative increase in their proportion greater than for any other race.

Despite fluctuations therefore, the long-run trend in the racial composition of manufacturing employment has been towards a greater proportion of Natives and Coloureds and a smaller proportion of Europeans and Indians. This changing pattern is intimately linked with changes in the relative importance of the various kinds of industry, which, as Table 138 shows, vary very considerably in their relative importance as an employer to the four racial groups.

Table 138 DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY CLASS OF INDUSTRY ACCORDING TO RACE, GREATER DURBAN, 1953/54.

| CLASS | EUROPEANS | | NATIVES | | INDIANS | | COLOUREDS | | ALL RACES | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Clothing, etc. | 1,627 | 7 | 5,473 | 12 | 6,759 | 40 | 2,129 | 54 | 15,988 | 17 |
| Construction | 3,330 | 14 | 10,369 | 22 | 609 | 4 | 197 | 5 | 14,505 | 16 |
| Chemicals | 4,297 | 18 | 7,354 | 15 | 673 | 4 | 137 | 4 | 12,461 | 14 |
| Engineering | 3,277 | 14 | 5,907 | 12 | 1,306 | 8 | 526 | 13 | 11,016 | 12 |
| Food | 1,760 | 7 | 5,917 | 12 | 2,387 | 14 | 103 | 3 | 10,167 | 11 |
| Transport | 1,785 | 8 | 2,624 | 6 | 335 | 2 | 538 | 14 | 5,282 | 6 |
| Paper | 1,530 | 6 | 1,452 | 3 | 1,320 | 8 | 45 | 1 | 4,347 | 5 |
| Furniture | 821 | 4 | 1,567 | 3 | 1,485 | 9 | 72 | 2 | 3,945 | 4 |
| Others | 1,388 | 6 | 2,556 | 5 | 1,861 | 11 | 146 | 4 | 5,951 | 6 |
| Total Private | 19,815 | 83 | 43,219 | 91 | 16,735 | 99 | 3,893 | 100 | 83,662 | 91 |
| Total Public | 3,922 | 17 | 4,490 | 9 | 92 | 1 | 19 | 0 | 8,523 | 9 |
| TOTAL INDUSTRY | 23,737 | 100 | 47,709 | 100 | 16,827 | 100 | 3,912 | 100 | 92,185 | 100 |

Quite evidently, the importance of a class of industry is not the same for every race. Among Europeans, chemicals, engineering, and

construction are the pre-eminent private industries, while clothing assumes only a minor rôle. On the other hand, the public industries are more important to Europeans than to the other races. With the Natives, construction is the most important single class of industry, accounting for over a fifth of all employment, while a further 40 per cent are employed in clothing, chemicals, engineering, and food. The distribution of Indians and Coloureds is remarkable for the very high concentration of both groups in the clothing industry, the only other industries of major importance being food (Indians) and engineering and transport (Coloureds).

The differences between the industrial distributions of the four racial groups are reflected in the widely differing racial compositions of the major classes of industry (see Table 139)

Table 139 RACIAL COMPOSITION OF MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT, BY CLASS OF INDUSTRY, GREATER DURBAN, 1953/54. (PERCENTAGES)

| CLASS | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clothing, etc. | 10.2 | 34.2 | 42.3 | 13.3 | 100.0 |
| Construction | 23.0 | 71.5 | 4.2 | 1.4 | 100.0 |
| Chemicals | 34.5 | 59.0 | 5.4 | 1.1 | 100.0 |
| Engineering | 29.7 | 53.6 | 11.9 | 4.8 | 100.0 |
| Food | 17.3 | 58.2 | 23.5 | 1.0 | 100.0 |
| Transport | 33.8 | 49.7 | 6.3 | 10.2 | 100.0 |
| Paper | 35.2 | 33.4 | 30.4 | 1.0 | 100.0 |
| Furniture | 20.8 | 39.7 | 37.6 | 1.8 | 100.0 |
| Others | 23.3 | 43.0 | 31.3 | 2.5 | 100.0 |
| Total Private | 23.7 | 51.7 | 20.0 | 4.7 | 100.0 |
| Total Public | 46.0 | 52.7 | 1.1 | 0.2 | 100.0 |
| TOTAL INDUSTRY | 25.7 | 51.8 | 18.3 | 4.2 | 100.0 |

Two classes of industry of greatly different composition call for special comment. These are the clothing industry, in which Indians are the most important group and in which Coloureds outnumber Europeans, and the public industries, which employ hardly any Indians or Coloureds at all. Other interesting patterns are seen in construction (large proportion of Natives), in furniture (large proportion of Indians), and in paper and printing (in which Europeans, Natives, and Indians have almost equal shares of employment).

Before leaving this important aspect of the development and composition of manufacturing industry, it is revealing to compare the racial composition of Durban's manufacturing industry with those of other major industrial areas in the Union. Such a comparison is given in Table 140 and is remarkable for two reasons: one, that each area draws upon the kinds of human resources that are available to it and, two, that despite their basic similarity, the industries in the various areas of industrial concentration in South Africa manage to carry on their production with a wide variety of racial composition.

Table 140 RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PRIVATE MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN DURBAN, THE REST OF NATAL, AND THE PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIAL AREAS OF THE UNION, 1949/50* (PERCENTAGES)

| INDUSTRIAL AREA | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Durban and Pinetown | 24 | 51 | 20 | 4 | 100 |
| The Rest of Natal | 17 | 65 | 16 | 2 | 100 |
| Western Cape | 28 | 24 | — | 47 | 100 |
| Port Elizabeth | 42 | 35 | 1 | 22 | 100 |
| Southern Transvaal | 34 | 61 | 1 | 4 | 100 |
| Pretoria | 37 | 62 | — | 1 | 100 |
| Total Union | 31 | 53 | 3 | 13 | 100 |

* The last census year for which comparable figures are available.

The proportion of Europeans in the labour force varies from only 17 per cent in the "rest of Natal" to 42 per cent in Port Elizabeth, while the proportion of Natives varies from as little as 24 per cent in the Western Cape to 65 per cent in the rest of Natal. Again, while the Cape areas rely very greatly upon Coloured labour (both men and women) and Indians are relatively important to Natal's industry, the Transvaal areas have an industrial labour force consisting almost entirely of Europeans and Natives.

An example of the flexibility of labour requirements can be given by a comparison between the employment structure of the clothing and textile industry in the major industrial areas. This industry may be taken as a fairly homogeneous industry, since, although the nature of its production and the quality of its output tend to vary from area to area,[1] there is less variation in the nature of the work processes (viz. machine operation) involved.

So we find that the clothing and textiles industry in South Africa is mainly centred in three areas: the Southern Transvaal, the Western Cape, and Durban and Pinetown. In the Transvaal, Native men form the greatest proportion (37 per cent) of the clothing and textile workers, followed by European women with 31 per cent. In the Western Cape, however, the most important group of workers are the Coloured women (54 per cent), Coloured men (17 per cent), and European women (15 per cent), while Native men comprise only 6 per cent of the labour force. Lastly, in Durban, by far the most important workers in this industry are Indian men (43 per cent), followed by Native men (26 per cent), and Coloured women (11 per cent).

Fundamentally, of course, the variety in racial structure is determined by the proportions between the racial groups in the particular industrial area concerned, for an industry can only draw its labour requirements from whatever labour is available. There is also the probability that these variations in racial structure, once formed, will not only continue but may even grow wider as one type of worker comes to be regarded as the chief source of labour by industry in a particular area. The greater the participation in industrial work by any particular group, the greater will be the pool of trained labour in that area, so that a new establishment wishing to employ that particular type of worker will, other things being equal, tend to locate itself in the area, thus re-inforcing the existing racial pattern.

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1 D.J.L. McWhirter, op.cit., p.21, et.seq.

But the fact that similar industries can rely mainly on Native men in Johannesburg, on Indian men in Durban, and on Coloured women in Cape Town makes suspect any attempt at rating a worker's suitability for a particular job - or for industrial employment in general - according to either his race or sex. This is a further example of the need for intensive research into the diversified pattern of employment to be found in the manufacturing industries of the Union.

## § 5 The Sex Structure of Employment

The ratio of women to men in manufacturing employment has never been very large in the period with which we are concerned, except in the case of the Coloured workers, among whom women are of almost equal importance with men. Although the general trend since 1930 has been towards a decreasing proportion of women in the labour force the ratio between the sexes has not varied very greatly:

Table 141 AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN GREATER DURBAN, BY RACE, 1924/25 - 1953/54

| PERIOD | EUROPEANS | NATIVES | INDIANS | COLOUREDS | ALL RACES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1925-30 | 12.6 | 0.1 | 6.0 | 38.4 | 6.7 |
| 1930-35 | 17.3 | 0.3 | 4.1 | 46.9 | 9.3 |
| 1935-40 | 18.4 | 0.8 | 3.1 | 46.4 | 9.3 |
| 1940-45 | 20.0 | 1.0 | 3.0 | 38.5 | 8.4 |
| 1945-50 | 16.4 | 0.8 | 4.2 | 41.6 | 7.4 |
| 1950-54 | 15.4 | 1.1 | 5.6 | 43.7 | 7.3 |

For the first twenty years, European female workers increased in relative importance, and during the peak years of the war accounted for one fifth of the European working force. After the war, however, the women again lost ground to men. The Indians and Coloureds, on the other hand, tended to behave in the opposite way, falling in proportion towards the war years and increasing again during the post-war period, while Native women, although still a very minor part of the labour force, have made great strides in their participation in industrial employment.

The movements in the proportion of women are closely allied to the happenings in the clothing industry, which, in 1954, employed 20 per cent of the European, 75 per cent of the Indian, 93 per cent of the Native, and 97 per cent of the Coloured women engaged in all manufacturing industry in Durban. The changes in the sex structure of the clothing industry over the years are in turn associated with the entry of the Native male as a worker of major importance:

Table 142 CHANGES IN THE SEX AND RACE STRUCTURE OF THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY IN GREATER DURBAN, 1924/25-1953/54.

| YEAR | Women as Percentage of the Total Labour Force of the Industry | Native Males as Percentage of the Total Labour Force of the Industry |
|---|---|---|
| 1924/25 | 19 | 18 |
| 1929/30 | 34 | 10 |
| 1934/35 | 37 | 9 |
| 1939/40 | 30 | 14 |
| 1944/45 | 24 | 22 |
| 1949/50 | 22 | 28 |
| 1953/54 | 24 | 30 |

But the same trend towards a smaller proportion of women in the labour force can also be observed in the classes of industry other than clothing, and part of the process can be attributed to the gradual elimination of European women as manual-operative workers (see § 6).

Table 143 shows the combined sex and race structure of the major classes of industry in Durban in 1954. Each groups of workers (by race and sex) is shown as a percentage of the total labour force in each industrial class.

Table 143 SEX AND RACE COMPOSITION* OF THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF GREATER DURBAN, 1953/54.

| SEX AND RACE | CLOTHING ETC. | CONSTR-UCTION | CHEMI-CALS | ENGIN-EERING | FOOD | TRANS-PORT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| European men | 5.4 | 22.0 | 25.4 | 27.2 | 12.1 | 30.8 |
| European women | 4.8 | 0.9 | 9.1 | 2.6 | 5.2 | 3.0 |
| Native men | 30.4 | 71.5 | 59.0 | 53.5 | 58.1 | 49.7 |
| Native women | 3.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | - |
| Indian men | 37.9 | 4.2 | 5.2 | 11.9 | 22.7 | 6.3 |
| Indian women | 4.4 | - | 0.2 | - | 0.8 | 0.0 |
| Coloured men | 2.4 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 4.7 | 0.7 | 10.2 |
| Coloured women | 10.9 | - | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.0 |
| Total men | 76.1 | 99.1 | 90.8 | 97.2 | 93.6 | 97.0 |
| Total women | 23.9 | 0.9 | 9.2 | 2.8 | 6.4 | 3.0 |
| TOTAL PERSONS | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

| SEX AND RACE | PAPER | FURNI-TURE | TOTAL PRIVATE | TOTAL PUBLIC | TOTAL INDUSTRY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| European men | 27.4 | 18.8 | 19.1 | 45.5 | 21.6 |
| European women | 7.8 | 2.0 | 4.6 | 0.5 | 4.2 |
| Native men | 33.4 | 39.2 | 50.9 | 52.7 | 51.0 |
| Native women | - | 0.6 | 0.8 | - | 0.7 |
| Indian men | 30.2 | 34.7 | 18.9 | 1.1 | 17.2 |
| Indian women | 0.2 | 3.0 | 1.1 | - | 1.0 |
| Coloured men | 1.0 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 0.2 | 2.3 |
| Coloured women | - | - | 2.1 | - | 1.9 |
| Total men | 92.0 | 94.5 | 91.4 | 99.4 | 92.1 |
| Total women | 8.0 | 5.5 | 8.6 | 0.5 | 7.9 |
| TOTAL PERSONS | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

* expressed as percentages.

## § 6 The Structure of Employment

Size of Establishments. One of the most interesting characteristics of manufacturing industry revealed by the census of industrial establishments is that the bulk of the manufacturing workers in Durban are to be found in a relatively small proportion of the larger factories, while the majority of enterprises which come under the classification "industrial establishments" could almost be ignored as employers of labour. This characteristic of manufacturing industry is displayed in Table 144, which presents the number of industries of each size class, the number of hands they employ, and individual and cumulative percentages.

Table 144 NUMBER AND SIZE OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN GREATER DURBAN, 1952/53

| SIZE OF ESTABLISHMENT (WORKERS) | ESTABLISHMENTS | | | WORKERS EMPLOYED | | | AVERAGE SIZE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Per cent | Cu. Percent | Number | Per cent | Cu. Percent | |
| 1,000 & over | 9 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 15,249 | 17.0 | 17.0 | 1,694 |
| 501 - 1,000 | 21 | 1.5 | 2.2 | 14,991 | 16.7 | 33.7 | 714 |
| 401 - 500 | 10 | 0.7 | 2.9 | 4,634 | 5.2 | 38.9 | 463 |
| 301 - 400 | 18 | 1.3 | 4.2 | 6,850 | 7.6 | 46.5 | 381 |
| 201 - 300 | 39 | 2.9 | 7.1 | 9,708 | 10.8 | 57.3 | 249 |
| 101 - 200 | 93 | 6.9 | 14.0 | 14,200 | 15.8 | 73.1 | 153 |
| 51 - 100 | 138 | 10.2 | 24.2 | 9,624 | 10.7 | 83.8 | 70 |
| 21 - 50 | 243 | 17.9 | 42.1 | 8,070 | 9.0 | 92.8 | 33 |
| 11 - 20 | 225 | 16.6 | 58.7 | 3,351 | 3.7 | 96.5 | 15 |
| 5 - 10 | 320 | 23.6 | 82.2 | 2,301 | 2.6 | 99.2 | 7 |
| Under 5 | 242 | 17.8 | 100.0 | 717 | 0.8 | 100.0 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 1,358 | 100.0 | — | 89,695 | 100.0 | — | 66 |

According to the industrial census, there were 1,358 industrial establishments in Greater Durban in 1953, employing at that time an average of 66 workers each. But the size of the establishments ranged from an average of 1,694 workers down to the lowest number of employees (3) qualifying a firm for inclusion in the census, and only about a quarter of the establishments employed even as many as 50 workers. The importance of the larger establishments is readily seen by taking those which employ over a hundred workers. These larger establishments, although accounting for only 14 per cent of the total number of establishments, employ 73 per cent of the manufacturing labour force. Moreover, thirty firms (2 per cent of the total) account for a third of all the workers, with an average of just over a thousand (1,008) workers per establishment.

Part of the difference in the size of establishments is a difference between classes of industries and, although there are no figures to show the distribution of each class of industry according to size of establishment, it is possible to compare the mean size of establishments:

Table 145 AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORKERS PER ESTABLISHMENT BY CLASS OF INDUSTRY, GREATER DURBAN, 1952/53

| CLASS | NUMBER OF FIRMS | NUMBER OF WORKERS | AVERAGE NO. PER FIRM |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clothing, etc. | 207 | 14,772 | 71 |
| Construction | 210 | 14,581 | 69 |
| Chemicals | 73 | 12,329 | 169 |
| Engineering | 202 | 10,711 | 53 |
| Food | 103 | 10,143 | 98 |
| Transport | 202 | 5,010 | 25 |
| Paper | 64 | 3,842 | 60 |
| Furniture | 110 | 4,193 | 38 |
| Public | 26 | 8,446 | 325 |
| Total Industry* | 1,358 | 89,695 | 66 |

* Including "Others".

The class of industry which had, on the average, by far the largest establishments was the public sector, with 325 workers per establishment, while the largest group of firms in the private sector was in the chemicals industry. The only other classes of industry to be above the average for industry as a whole were food (98), clothing (71), and construction (69). The smallest average sizes were found in the transport, furniture, and engineering industries.

Grade of Employment. The census of industrial establishments classifies industrial workers into three classes: "working proprietors","managers, accountants, and clerical staff",and "artisans and other industrial workers." The distribution of workers in 1953 according to these grades of employment is shown in Table 146, which shows quite clearly the overwhelming predominance of wage-earners among the Non-European groups.

Table 146 GRADES OF EMPLOYMENT OF WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN GREATER DURBAN, 1952/53

| RACIAL GROUP | WORKING PROPRIETORS | | MANAGERS, CLERICAL | | WAGE EARNERS* | | TOTAL WORKERS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent |
| Europeans | 393 | 1.7 | 7,244 | 31.2 | 15,563 | 67.1 | 23,200 | 100.0 |
| Natives | 1 | 0.0 | 230 | 0.5 | 46,436 | 99.5 | 46,667 | 100.0 |
| Indians | 292 | 1.8 | 354 | 2.2 | 15,517 | 96.0 | 16,163 | 100.0 |
| Coloureds | 3 | 0.1 | 11 | 0.3 | 3,651 | 99.6 | 3,665 | 100.0 |
| All Races | 689 | 0.8 | 7,839 | 8.7 | 81,167 | 90.5 | 89,695 | 100.0 |

* The term "wage-earners" is preferred to "artisans", because very few Non-Europeans (who comprise the bulk of this grade) are artisans in the full sense of the term.

Although the proportion of artisans (wage-earners) to total workers has remained near to 90 per cent throughout the period since 1925, there have been interesting trends in the proportions of both grades of salaried staff. On the one hand, the working proprietors have fallen in proportion by a considerable degree, which movement may perhaps be attributed in part to the increasing average size of firms. But at the same time, the proportion of managers and clerical staff has more than doubled between 1925 and 1954 indicating, as Mrs. Katzen points out, that "as the average size of establishment has grown, so the organisational, administrative and technical aspects of production have tended to increase more than proportionately as compared with the actual productive process carried out in the factory itself".[1]

This development is best illustrated by reference to the changing pattern of European employment over the period:

Table 147 CHANGES IN THE PROPORTIONS OF EUROPEAN WORKERS ENGAGED IN EACH GRADE OF EMPLOYMENT, GREATER DURBAN 1924/25 - 1952/53

| YEAR | MEN | | | WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | WORKING PROPRIETORS | MANAGERS, CLERICAL | ARTISANS, ETC. | WORKING PROPRIETORS | MANAGERS, CLERICAL | ARTISANS ETC. |
| 1924/25 | 5.4 | 12.2 | 82.4 | 2.6 | 16.3 | 81.1 |
| 1929/30 | 4.3 | 13.1 | 82.6 | 1.0 | 22.5 | 76.5 |
| 1934/35 | 3.6 | 17.8 | 78.6 | 1.9 | 24.7 | 73.4 |
| 1939/40 | 3.0 | 17.6 | 79.4 | 1.0 | 35.0 | 64.0 |
| 1944/45 | 2.5 | 18.6 | 79.0 | 0.9 | 51.1 | 48.0 |
| 1949/50 | 1.9 | 21.6 | 76.6 | 0.8 | 59.2 | 40.0 |
| 1952/53 | 2.0 | 23.7 | 74.3 | 0.1 | 70.7 | 29.2 |

Of particular importance is the very great relative movement of European women from industrial wage-earning jobs to salaried clerical jobs, which forces one to conclude that the European female operative is a fast-disappearing worker. In fact, their numbers have been declining for more than a decade now, and by 1950 the Coloured women had established themselves as Durban principal female operatives.

The Non-European groups have shown similar trends towards a substitution factor between working proprietors and office staff, but throughout the period between 1925 and 1953, less than 1 per cent of Natives and Coloureds were generally employed in the salaried grades of employment, so that in their case this trend was of no real significance. Even among the Indians, the relative movements concerned only a small fraction of the total number of workers because the proportion of wage-earners exceeded 96 per cent of the total during the whole period.

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1 This aspect of development of industrial employment is covered in some detail in Mrs. M.Katzen's report, "The Growth and Structure of Industry in Greater Durban", shortly to be published by the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission.

## APPENDIX 1 CHANGES IN DEFINITION OF INDUSTRIES, 1916/17 - 1950/51

| YEAR IN WHICH CHANGE MADE | DESCRIPTION OF CHANGE | CONSOLIDATED CLASSES AFFECTED |
|---|---|---|
| 1916/17 | Minimum size of establishment reduced from four to three hands. | All |
| 1919/20 | Establishments engaged in the construction of new roads and water and irrigation works included for the first time. | 2 |
| 1921/22 | Laundries included. | 9 |
| 1924/25 | Particulars of private industries shown separately for first time. | All |
| 1925/26 | Establishments engaged in the construction of new roads and water and irrigation works again excluded. | 2 |
| | Laundries restricted to steam laundries. | 9 |
| | Stone crushing industries omitted. | 2 |
| 1928/29 | Blacksmithing transferred from engineering to transport industry. | 4, 6 |
| 1932/33 | Non-generating electric light and power concerns omitted. | 3 |
| 1949/50 | Construction other than building construction (private and public) included. | 2 |
| 1950/51 | New classification (23 industries) replaced old classification (17 industries). | All |
| | Construction other than building construction restricted to private concerns only. | 2 |

## APPENDIX 2 CONSTRUCTION OF CONSOLIDATED INDUSTRIAL CLASSES FROM OLD AND NEW INDUSTRIAL CENSUS CLASSIFICATIONS

| CONSOLIDATED CLASS | INDUSTRIAL CENSUS CLASSES INCORPORATED: | |
|---|---|---|
| | Up to 1949/50 | After 1949/50 |
| 1. Clothing, footwear, textiles, leather | 6,15 | 4,5,10 |
| 2. Construction and non-metallic minerals | 2,16 | 14,21 |
| 3. Chemicals and power | 11,14 | 12,13,22 |
| 4. Metals and engineering | 4 | 15,16,17,18 |
| 5. Food, drink, tobacco | 5 | 1,2,3 |
| 6. Transport equipment | 8 | 19 |
| 7. Paper and printing | 7 | 8,9 |
| 8. Furniture and wood | 3,10 | 6,7 |
| 9. Other industries | 1,9,12,13,17 | 11,20,23 |

## APPENDIX 3 CLASSIFICATIONS OF INDUSTRIES USED BY BUREAU OF CENSUS AND STATISTICS IN CENSUSES OF INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS

(With New Consolidated Classes in Parentheses)

### Old Classification (up to 1949/50)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Treatment of raw materials, the products of agricultural and pastoral pursuits (excluding tanning). | (9) |
| 2. | Processes in stone, clay, earthenware, and glass. | (2) |
| 3. | Working wood. | (8) |
| 4. | Metal, engineering, machinery, and cutlery works. | (4) |
| 5. | Preparation, treatment and preserving of foods, drinks, condiments and tobacco. | (5) |
| 6. | Production of clothing (excluding boots and shoes), textile fabrics, and similar articles. | (1) |
| 7. | Books, paper, printing and bookbinding. | (7) |
| 8. | Vehicles (mechanically propelled and otherwise) fittings for and parts of vehicles. | (6) |
| 9. | Ship and boat building and repairing. | (9) |
| 10. | Furniture, bedding and upholstering. | (8) |
| 11. | Drugs, chemicals (including fertilizers and by-products), paints, varnishes, and allied products. | (3) |
| 12. | Surgical, dental and other instruments and apparatus. | (9) |
| 13. | Jewellery, time-pieces and plated ware. | (9) |
| 14. | Heat, light and power. | (3) |
| 15. | Leather and leatherware. | (1) |
| 16. | Building and contracting. | (2) |
| 17. | Other industries. | (9) |

### New Classification (1950/51 and after)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Food (excluding beverages). | (5) |
| 2. | Beverages. | (5) |
| 3. | Tobacco. | (5) |
| 4. | Textiles. | (1) |
| 5. | Manufacture of footwear, other wearing apparel, and made-up textile goods. | (1) |
| 6. | Manufacture of wood and cork (not furniture). | (8) |
| 7. | Manufacture of furniture and fixtures. | (8) |
| 8. | Paper and paper products. | (7) |
| 9. | Printing, publishing and allied industries. | (7) |
| 10. | Manufacture of leather and leather products (not footwear). | (1) |
| 11. | Manufacture of rubber products. | (9) |
| 12. | Manufacture of chemicals and chemical products. | (3) |
| 13. | Manufacture of petroleum and coal. | (3) |
| 14. | Manufacture of non-metallic mineral products except coal and petroleum. | (2) |
| 15. | Basic metal industries. | (4) |
| 16. | Metal products (not machinery and transport equipment). | (4) |
| 17. | Manufacture of machinery (not electrical machinery). | (4) |
| 18. | Manufacture of electrical machinery and supplies. | (4) |
| 19. | Manufacture of transport equipment. | (6) |
| 20. | Miscellaneous manufacturing industries. | (9) |
| 21. | Construction. | (2) |
| 22. | Electricity, gas, steam. | (3) |
| 23. | Personal service (laundries, dry cleaning). | (9) |

APPENDIX 4

## CHANGES IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONSOLIDATED CLASSES RESULTING FROM THE 1950/51 RECLASSIFICATION OF INDUSTRIES

| CONSOLIDATED CLASS | SUB-INDUSTRIES GAINED | SUB-INDUSTRIES LOST |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Clothing, footwear, textiles, etc. | Woolscouring from Class 9. | Laundries and dry-cleaners to Class 9.<br>Boot and shoe repairs to Class 9. |
| 2. Construction | Telephone (non-public) from Class 4.<br>Plumbing[1] from Class 4. | Signwriters, posters, etc. to Class 9. |
| 3. Chemicals, power. | Whaling from Class 9. | Edible fats and margarine to Class 5. |
| 4. Engineering and metals. | | Telephones (non-public) to Class 2.<br>Plumbing[1] to Class 2. |
| 5. Food, drink, tobacco. | Edible fats and margarine from Class 3.<br>Tallow from Class 9.<br>Balanced feeds from Class 9. | |
| 6. Transport equipment | Ship and boat building and repairs from Class 9. | |
| 7. Printing, paper. | | Rubber stamps to Class 9. |
| 8. Furniture and wood. | | Brushes and brooms to Class 9. |
| 9. Other industries. | Laundries and dry-cleaners from Class 1.<br>Boot and shoe repairs from Class 1.<br>Brushes and brooms from Class 8.<br>Rubber stamps from Class 7.<br>Signwriting, posters, etc. from Class 2. | Tallow to Class 5.<br>Balanced feeds to Class 5.<br>Woolscouring to Class 1.<br>Whaling to Class 3.<br>Ship and boat building and repairs to Class 6. |

[1] The position of plumbing up to 1950 is not clear. It is not specifically mentioned under building and construction, and is therefore assumed to be included under the sub-industry "galvanized ironware, tinware, and steel trunks, plumbing, lead works (not mining), zinc works". It is admitted that it is not clear whether this reference to plumbing includes all plumbing activities or only the manufacture of plumbing ware. In the absence of any other evidence, however, the former possibility is assumed to be true. The number of plumbing establishments is not known.

Notes:

(i) This table catalogues the exceptions to the comparability of the consolidated classes before and after the change in classification in 1950/51 by showing the sub-industries which changed from one class to another. It will be seen that no figures for years after 1949/50 can be compared with complete accuracy with figures for earlier years, but that in most cases the discrepancies are not large.

(ii) No statistics of employment are available from which to judge the relative importance of these sub-industries to Durban manufacturing industry, but the number of affected establishments (in 1949/50) was as follows:-

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Edible fats and margarine | 5 | Rubber stamps | 1 |
| Tallow | 1 | Whaling | 1 |
| Balanced feeds | 2 | Telephones (non-public) | 1 |
| Woolscouring | 2 | Plumbing[1] | Unknown |
| Laundries/dry-cleaners | 43 | Ship and boat building/repairs | 5 |
| Boot/shoe repairs | 38 | Sign writing | 5 |
| Brushes and brooms | 1 | | |

Although over 100 firms changed classes between 1949/50 and 1950/51, 81 of these were either laundries or shoe repair workshops which, as a rule, employ only a small labour force.

(iii) This catalogue of sub-industries which have changed classes only applies to those industries which were represented in Durban by the existence of private establishments in 1949/50. It is not applicable to any other areas, nor to public industries (the comparable figures for which are not published), nor will it necessarily remain valid in the future if new kinds of industry enter into production.

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[1] See footnote on previous page.

APPENDIX 5

NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF GREATER DURBAN, 1925-54

| | EUROPEANS | | | NATIVES | | | INDIANS | | | COLOUREDS | | | ALL RACES | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | MEN | WOMEN | PERSONS | MEN | WOMEN | PERSONS | MEN | WOMEN | PERSONS | MEN | WOMEN | PERSONS | MEN | WOMEN | PERSONS |
| 1924/25 | 7,128 | 720 | 7,848 | 11,767 | 20 | 11,787 | 4,892 | 345 | 5,237 | 548 | 175 | 723 | 24,335 | 1,260 | 25,595 |
| 26 | 7,253 | 987 | 8,240 | 10,339 | 12 | 10,351 | 4,964 | 353 | 5,317 | 411 | 260 | 671 | 22,967 | 1,612 | 24,579 |
| 27 | 7,397 | 1,161 | 8,558 | 10,383 | 12 | 10,395 | 4,648 | 349 | 4,997 | 404 | 301 | 705 | 22,832 | 1,823 | 24,655 |
| 28 | 7,113 | 1,174 | 8,287 | 10,144 | 9 | 10,153 | 4,243 | 228 | 4,471 | 512 | 308 | 820 | 22,012 | 1,719 | 23,731 |
| 29 | 7,663 | 1,245 | 8,908 | 10,863 | 7 | 10,870 | 4,173 | 184 | 4,357 | 442 | 398 | 840 | 23,141 | 1,834 | 24,975 |
| 1929/30 | 8,086 | 1,281 | 9,367 | 11,097 | 12 | 11,109 | 4,490 | 191 | 4,681 | 480 | 376 | 856 | 24,153 | 1,860 | 26,013 |
| 31* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 32* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 33 | 6,604 | 1,483 | 8,087 | 7,269 | 19 | 7,288 | 4,018 | 192 | 4,210 | 434 | 432 | 866 | 18,325 | 2,126 | 20,451 |
| 34 | 7,402 | 1,853 | 9,255 | 9,191 | 42 | 9,233 | 4,461 | 174 | 4,635 | 452 | 397 | 849 | 21,506 | 2,466 | 23,972 |
| 1934/35 | 8,542 | 2,092 | 10,634 | 10,830 | 57 | 10,887 | 5,385 | 262 | 5,647 | 498 | 480 | 978 | 25,255 | 2,891 | 28,146 |
| 36 | 8,895 | 2,202 | 11,097 | 11,840 | 72 | 11,912 | 6,136 | 202 | 6,338 | 707 | 464 | 1,171 | 27,578 | 2,940 | 30,518 |
| 37 | 9,887 | 2,219 | 12,106 | 13,601 | 110 | 13,711 | 6,588 | 196 | 6,784 | 589 | 534 | 1,125 | 30,665 | 3,059 | 33,724 |
| 38 | 10,757 | 2,280 | 13,037 | 15,060 | 134 | 15,194 | 7,163 | 189 | 7,352 | 631 | 557 | 1,188 | 33,611 | 3,160 | 36,771 |
| 39 | 11,017 | 2,294 | 13,311 | 15,812 | 157 | 15,969 | 7,637 | 212 | 7,849 | 700 | 670 | 1,370 | 35,166 | 3,333 | 38,499 |
| 1939/40 | 11,078 | 2,487 | 13,565 | 17,352 | 176 | 17,528 | 8,172 | 278 | 8,450 | 851 | 680 | 1,531 | 37,453 | 3,621 | 41,074 |
| 41 | 10,515 | 2,866 | 13,381 | 19,481 | 189 | 19,670 | 9,655 | 242 | 9,897 | 1,029 | 718 | 1,747 | 40,680 | 4,015 | 44,695 |
| 42 | 10,556 | 2,742 | 13,298 | 20,824 | 226 | 21,050 | 10,103 | 287 | 10,390 | 983 | 707 | 1,690 | 42,466 | 3,962 | 46,428 |
| 43 | 10,882 | 2,667 | 13,549 | 23,178 | 250 | 23,428 | 10,183 | 324 | 10,507 | 1,096 | 699 | 1,795 | 45,339 | 3,940 | 49,279 |
| 44 | 11,390 | 2,814 | 14,204 | 26,095 | 254 | 26,349 | 10,660 | 386 | 11,046 | 1,771 | 777 | 2,548 | 49,916 | 4,231 | 54,147 |
| 1944/45 | 12,345 | 2,906 | 15,251 | 28,643 | 235 | 28,878 | 11,135 | 414 | 11,549 | 1,295 | 900 | 2,195 | 53,418 | 4,455 | 57,873 |
| 46 | 13,278 | 2,878 | 16,156 | 28,520 | 230 | 28,750 | 11,211 | 453 | 11,664 | 1,363 | 961 | 2,324 | 54,372 | 4,522 | 58,894 |
| 47 | 14,270 | 2,765 | 17,035 | 29,091 | 223 | 29,314 | 10,965 | 466 | 11,431 | 1,311 | 958 | 2,269 | 55,637 | 4,412 | 60,049 |
| 48 | 16,009 | 2,842 | 18,851 | 33,968 | 294 | 34,262 | 11,657 | 540 | 12,197 | 1,521 | 1,128 | 2,649 | 63,155 | 4,804 | 67,959 |
| 49 | 17,681 | 3,046 | 20,727 | 37,279 | 331 | 37,610 | 12,473 | 617 | 13,090 | 1,822 | 1,262 | 3,084 | 69,255 | 5,256 | 74,511 |
| 1949/50 | 18,026 | 3,070 | 21,096 | 40,686 | 376 | 41,062 | 12,896 | 815 | 13,711 | 1,732 | 1,287 | 3,019 | 73,340 | 5,548 | 78,888 |
| 51 | 18,460 | 3,244 | 21,704 | 41,769 | 352 | 42,121 | 13,438 | 736 | 14,174 | 1,884 | 1,325 | 3,209 | 75,551 | 5,657 | 81,208 |
| 52 | 18,956 | 3,403 | 22,359 | 43,584 | 355 | 43,939 | 14,006 | 792 | 14,798 | 1,894 | 1,376 | 3,270 | 78,440 | 5,926 | 84,366 |
| 53 | 19,488 | 3,712 | 23,200 | 46,056 | 611 | 46,667 | 15,213 | 950 | 16,163 | 1,971 | 1,694 | 3,665 | 82,728 | 6,967 | 89,695 |
| 54 | 19,875 | 3,862 | 23,737 | 47,048 | 661 | 47,709 | 15,893 | 934 | 16,827 | 2,126 | 1,786 | 3,912 | 84,942 | 7,243 | 92,185 |

* There were no censuses in these two years.

APPENDIX 6

## DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYEES ACCORDING TO CLASS OF INDUSTRY, GREATER DURBAN, 1925-54.

| YEAR | CLOTHING | | CONSTRUCTION | | CHEMICALS | | ENGINEERING | | FOOD | | TRANSPORT | | PAPER | | FURNITURE | | OTHERS | | PUBLIC | | TOTAL | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 1924/25 | 1,557 | 6.1 | 3,166 | 12.4 | 2,760 | 10.8 | 2,296 | 9.0 | 3,391 | 13.2 | 579 | 2.3 | 843 | 3.3 | 1,835 | 7.2 | 1,215 | 4.7 | 7,953 | 31.1 | 25,595 | 100.0 |
| 26 | 1,317 | 5.4 | 3,180 | 12.9 | 2,965 | 12.1 | 2,358 | 9.6 | 4,608 | 18.7 | 584 | 2.4 | 871 | 3.5 | 1,813 | 7.4 | 1,265 | 5.1 | 5,618 | 22.9 | 24,579 | 100.0 |
| 27 | 1,568 | 6.4 | 3,062 | 12.4 | 3,139 | 12.7 | 2,303 | 9.3 | 4,481 | 18.2 | 605 | 2.5 | 988 | 4.0 | 1,787 | 7.2 | 1,314 | 5.3 | 5,408 | 21.9 | 24,655 | 100.0 |
| 28 | 1,573 | 6.6 | 2,813 | 11.9 | 3,039 | 12.8 | 2,472 | 10.4 | 4,311 | 18.2 | 632 | 2.7 | 964 | 4.1 | 1,661 | 7.0 | 1,326 | 5.6 | 4,940 | 20.8 | 23,731 | 100.0 |
| 29 | 1,792 | 7.2 | 3,034 | 12.1 | 3,107 | 12.4 | 2,452 | 9.8 | 3,900 | 15.6 | 673 | 2.7 | 1,045 | 4.2 | 1,794 | 7.2 | 1,270 | 5.1 | 5,908 | 23.7 | 24,975 | 100.0 |
| 1929/30 | 2,066 | 7.9 | 3,378 | 13.0 | 3,202 | 12.3 | 2,733 | 10.5 | 3,837 | 14.8 | 834 | 3.2 | 1,095 | 4.2 | 1,886 | 7.3 | 1,310 | 5.0 | 5,672 | 21.8 | 26,013 | 100.0 |
| 31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 32 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 33 | 3,019 | 14.8 | 1,581 | 7.7 | 2,114 | 10.3 | 2,170 | 10.6 | 3,465 | 16.9 | 558 | 2.7 | 1,067 | 5.2 | 1,087 | 5.3 | 886 | 4.3 | 4,504 | 22.0 | 20,451 | 100.0 |
| 34 | 3,651 | 15.2 | 2,680 | 11.2 | 2,546 | 10.6 | 2,660 | 11.1 | 3,539 | 14.8 | 691 | 2.9 | 1,119 | 4.7 | 1,503 | 6.3 | 1,319 | 5.5 | 4,264 | 17.8 | 23,972 | 100.0 |
| 1934/35 | 4,325 | 15.4 | 3,450 | 12.3 | 3,058 | 10.9 | 3,016 | 10.7 | 3,819 | 13.6 | 832 | 3.0 | 1,192 | 4.2 | 1,862 | 6.6 | 1,950 | 6.9 | 4,642 | 16.5 | 28,146 | 100.0 |
| 36 | 4,499 | 14.7 | 3,555 | 11.6 | 3,417 | 11.2 | 3,529 | 11.6 | 3,987 | 13.1 | 1,049 | 3.4 | 1,313 | 4.3 | 2,105 | 6.9 | 2,275 | 7.5 | 4,789 | 15.7 | 30,518 | 100.0 |
| 37 | 4,937 | 14.6 | 4,789 | 14.2 | 3,546 | 10.5 | 3,915 | 11.6 | 3,999 | 11.9 | 1,480 | 4.4 | 1,497 | 4.4 | 2,234 | 6.6 | 2,385 | 7.1 | 4,942 | 14.7 | 33,724 | 100.0 |
| 38 | 5,381 | 14.6 | 5,676 | 15.4 | 3,763 | 10.2 | 4,400 | 12.0 | 4,072 | 11.1 | 1,698 | 4.6 | 1,573 | 4.3 | 2,379 | 6.5 | 2,681 | 7.3 | 5,148 | 14.0 | 36,771 | 100.0 |
| 39 | 5,921 | 15.4 | 5,803 | 15.1 | 3,926 | 10.2 | 4,595 | 11.9 | 4,405 | 11.4 | 1,813 | 4.7 | 1,581 | 4.1 | 2,294 | 6.0 | 2,718 | 7.1 | 5,443 | 14.1 | 38,499 | 100.0 |
| 1939/40 | 6,014 | 14.6 | 5,579 | 13.6 | 4,231 | 10.3 | 5,191 | 12.6 | 4,756 | 11.6 | 1,620 | 3.9 | 1,848 | 4.5 | 2,193 | 5.3 | 2,880 | 7.0 | 6,762 | 16.5 | 41,074 | 100.0 |
| 41 | 6,804 | 15.2 | 5,017 | 11.2 | 4,853 | 10.9 | 6,576 | 14.7 | 5,546 | 12.4 | 1,631 | 3.6 | 1,887 | 4.2 | 2,300 | 5.1 | 2,973 | 6.7 | 7,108 | 15.9 | 44,695 | 100.0 |
| 42 | 7,180 | 15.5 | 4,901 | 10.6 | 5,327 | 11.5 | 7,626 | 16.4 | 6,104 | 13.1 | 1,411 | 3.0 | 1,834 | 4.0 | 2,477 | 5.3 | 2,430 | 5.2 | 7,138 | 15.4 | 46,428 | 100.0 |
| 43 | 7,372 | 14.9 | 5,062 | 10.3 | 5,947 | 12.1 | 8,783 | 17.8 | 6,098 | 12.4 | 1,370 | 2.8 | 1,641 | 3.3 | 2,700 | 5.5 | 3,035 | 6.2 | 7,271 | 14.8 | 49,279 | 100.0 |
| 44 | 7,975 | 14.7 | 6,227 | 11.5 | 6,485 | 12.0 | 9,706 | 17.9 | 6,279 | 11.6 | 1,490 | 2.8 | 1,685 | 3.1 | 2,865 | 5.3 | 3,488 | 6.4 | 7,947 | 14.7 | 54,147 | 100.0 |
| 1944/45 | 8,693 | 15.0 | 6,647 | 11.5 | 6,898 | 11.9 | 10,447 | 18.1 | 6,696 | 11.6 | 1,706 | 2.9 | 1,823 | 3.1 | 3,179 | 5.5 | 4,089 | 7.1 | 7,695 | 13.3 | 57,873 | 100.0 |
| 46 | 9,357 | 15.9 | 6,556 | 11.1 | 7,178 | 12.2 | 9,611 | 16.3 | 6,399 | 10.9 | 1,847 | 3.1 | 2,225 | 3.8 | 3,475 | 5.9 | 3,848 | 6.5 | 8,398 | 14.3 | 58,894 | 100.0 |
| 47 | 9,245 | 15.4 | 7,207 | 12.0 | 7,509 | 12.5 | 8,837 | 14.7 | 6,356 | 10.6 | 2,178 | 3.6 | 2,458 | 4.1 | 3,397 | 5.7 | 4,094 | 6.8 | 8,768 | 14.6 | 60,049 | 100.0 |
| 48 | 10,480 | 15.4 | 9,541 | 14.0 | 8,346 | 12.3 | 9,659 | 14.2 | 6,911 | 10.2 | 2,748 | 4.0 | 2,743 | 4.0 | 3,808 | 5.6 | 4,201 | 6.2 | 9,522 | 14.0 | 67,959 | 100.0 |
| 49 | 11,488 | 15.4 | 10,995 | 14.8 | 9,372 | 12.6 | 10,312 | 13.8 | 7,637 | 10.2 | 3,485 | 4.7 | 3,105 | 4.2 | 3,677 | 4.9 | 4,389 | 5.9 | 10,051 | 13.5 | 74,511 | 100.0 |
| 1949/50 | 12,721 | 16.1 | 10,008 | 12.7 | 10,018 | 12.7 | 10,904 | 13.8 | 8,270 | 10.5 | 3,070 | 3.9 | 3,368 | 4.3 | 3,709 | 4.7 | 4,416 | 5.6 | 12,404 | 15.7 | 78,888 | 100.0 |
| 51 | 12,006 | 14.8 | 12,707 | 15.6 | 11,163 | 13.7 | 10,003 | 12.3 | 9,261 | 11.4 | 4,179 | 5.1 | 3,555 | 4.4 | 3,781 | 4.7 | 5,113 | 6.3 | 9,440 | 11.6 | 81,208 | 100.0 |
| 52 | 12,781 | 15.1 | 13,249 | 15.7 | 11,266 | 13.4 | 10,605 | 12.6 | 10,041 | 11.9 | 4,452 | 5.3 | 3,756 | 4.4 | 3,820 | 4.5 | 5,126 | 6.1 | 9,270 | 11.0 | 84,366 | 100.0 |
| 53 | 14,772 | 16.5 | 14,581 | 16.3 | 12,329 | 13.7 | 10,711 | 11.9 | 10,143 | 11.3 | 5,010 | 5.6 | 3,842 | 4.3 | 4,193 | 4.7 | 5,668 | 6.3 | 8,446 | 9.4 | 89,695 | 100.0 |
| 54 | 15,985 | 17.3 | 14,505 | 15.7 | 12,461 | 13.5 | 11,016 | 12.0 | 10,167 | 11.0 | 5,282 | 5.7 | 4,347 | 4.7 | 3,945 | 4.3 | 5,951 | 6.5 | 8,523 | 9.2 | 92,185 | 100.0 |

APPENDIX 7 GRADES OF EMPLOYMENT OF WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF GREATER DURBAN, 1924/5 - 1952/3.

| YEAR | | WORKING PROPRIETORS | | | | | MANAGER, ACCOUNTANTS AND CLERICAL STAFF | | | | | ARTISANS AND OTHER INDUSTRIAL WORKERS | | | | | TOTAL WORKERS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. | All | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. | All | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. | All | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. | All |
| 1924/25 | M | 384 | 18 | 131 | 7 | 540 | 871 | 4 | 32 | 5 | 912 | 5,873 | 11,745 | 4,729 | 536 | 22,883 | 7,128 | 11,767 | 4,892 | 548 | 24,335 |
| | F | 19 | — | 1 | — | 20 | 117 | — | 1 | — | 118 | 584 | 20 | 343 | 175 | 1,122 | 720 | 20 | 345 | 175 | 1,260 |
| | P | 403 | 18 | 132 | 7 | 560 | 988 | 4 | 33 | 5 | 1,030 | 6,457 | 11,765 | 5,072 | 711 | 24,005 | 7,848 | 11,787 | 5,237 | 723 | 25,595 |
| 1929/30 | M | 347 | — | 112 | 7 | 466 | 1,057 | 7 | 48 | 1 | 1,113 | 6,682 | 11,090 | 4,330 | 472 | 22,574 | 8,086 | 11,097 | 4,490 | 480 | 24,153 |
| | F | 13 | — | 1 | - | 14 | 288 | — | — | — | 288 | 980 | 12 | 190 | 376 | 1,558 | 1,281 | 12 | 191 | 376 | 1,860 |
| | P | 360 | — | 113 | 7 | 480 | 1,345 | 7 | 48 | 1 | 1,401 | 7,662 | 11,102 | 4,520 | 848 | 24,132 | 9,367 | 11,109 | 4,681 | 856 | 26,013 |
| 1934/35 | M | 306 | — | 128 | 5 | 439 | 1,521 | 16 | 57 | — | 1,594 | 6,715 | 10,814 | 5,200 | 493 | 23,222 | 8,542 | 10,830 | 5,385 | 498 | 25,255 |
| | F | 40 | — | — | — | 40 | 517 | — | — | — | 517 | 1,535 | 57 | 262 | 480 | 2,334 | 2,092 | 57 | 262 | 480 | 2,891 |
| | P | 346 | — | 128 | 5 | 479 | 2,038 | 16 | 57 | — | 2,111 | 8,250 | 10,871 | 5,462 | 973 | 25,556 | 10,634 | 10,887 | 5,647 | 978 | 28,146 |
| 1939/40 | M | 332 | 2 | 213 | 11 | 558 | 1,947 | 25 | 77 | 1 | 2,050 | 8,799 | 17,325 | 7,882 | 839 | 34,845 | 11,078 | 17,352 | 8,172 | 851 | 37,453 |
| | F | 25 | — | 1 | — | 26 | 871 | — | 2 | — | 873 | 1,591 | 176 | 275 | 680 | 2,722 | 2,487 | 176 | 278 | 680 | 3,621 |
| | P | 357 | 2 | 214 | 11 | 584 | 2,818 | 25 | 79 | 1 | 2,923 | 10,390 | 17,501 | 8,157 | 1,519 | 37,567 | 13,565 | 17,528 | 8,450 | 1,531 | 41,074 |
| 1944/45 | M | 303 | — | 237 | 5 | 545 | 2,291 | 88 | 178 | 2 | 2,559 | 9,751 | 28,555 | 10,720 | 1,288 | 50,314 | 12,345 | 28,643 | 11,135 | 1,295 | 53,418 |
| | F | 26 | — | 3 | — | 29 | 1,484 | — | 2 | 1 | 1,487 | 1,396 | 235 | 409 | 899 | 2,939 | 2,906 | 235 | 414 | 900 | 4,455 |
| | P | 329 | — | 240 | 5 | 574 | 3,775 | 88 | 180 | 3 | 4,046 | 11,147 | 28,790 | 11,129 | 2,187 | 53,253 | 15,251 | 28,878 | 11,549 | 2,195 | 57,873 |
| 1949/50 | M | 341 | 1 | 276 | 3 | 621 | 3,885 | 111 | 248 | 2 | 4,246 | 13,800 | 40,574 | 12,372 | 1,727 | 68,473 | 18,026 | 40,686 | 12,896 | 1,732 | 73,340 |
| | F | 25 | — | 1 | 1 | 27 | 1,818 | — | 2 | 2 | 1,822 | 1,227 | 376 | 812 | 1,284 | 3,699 | 3,070 | 376 | 815 | 1,287 | 5,548 |
| | P | 366 | 1 | 277 | 4 | 648 | 5,703 | 111 | 250 | 4 | 6,068 | 15,027 | 40,950 | 13,184 | 3,011 | 72,172 | 21,096 | 41,162 | 13,711 | 3,019 | 78,888 |
| 1952/53 | M | 388 | 1 | 289 | 3 | 681 | 4,621 | 230 | 352 | 11 | 5,214 | 14,479 | 45,825 | 14,572 | 1,957 | 76,833 | 19,488 | 46,056 | 15,213 | 1,971 | 82,728 |
| | F | 5 | — | 3 | — | 8 | 2,623 | — | 2 | — | 2,625 | 1,084 | 611 | 945 | 1,694 | 4,334 | 3,712 | 611 | 950 | 1,694 | 6,967 |
| | P | 393 | 1 | 292 | 3 | 689 | 7,244 | 230 | 354 | 11 | 7,839 | 15,563 | 46,436 | 15,517 | 3,651 | 81,167 | 23,200 | 46,667 | 16,163 | 3,665 | 89,695 |

APPENDIX 8 RACIAL COMPOSITION OF MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN GREATER DURBAN, ACCORDING TO GRADE OF EMPLOYMENT, 1924/25 - 1952/53.

( PERCENTAGES )

| YEAR | WORKING PROPRIETORS | | | | MANAGERS AND CLERICAL | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. |
| 1924/25 | 72 | 3 | 24 | 1 | 96 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 1929/30 | 75 | - | 24 | 1 | 97 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 1934/35 | 72 | - | 27 | 1 | 97 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 1939/40 | 61 | 0 | 37 | 2 | 96 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 1944/45 | 57 | - | 42 | 1 | 93 | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| 1949/50 | 56 | 0 | 43 | 1 | 94 | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| 1952/53 | 57 | 0 | 42 | 1 | 92 | 3 | 5 | 0 |

| YEAR | WAGE EARNERS | | | | TOTAL WORKERS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. | Eur. | Nat. | Ind. | Col. |
| 1924/25 | 27 | 49 | 21 | 3 | 31 | 46 | 20 | 3 |
| 1929/30 | 32 | 46 | 19 | 3 | 36 | 43 | 18 | 3 |
| 1934/35 | 32 | 43 | 21 | 4 | 38 | 39 | 20 | 3 |
| 1939/40 | 28 | 47 | 22 | 4 | 33 | 43 | 21 | 4 |
| 1944/45 | 21 | 54 | 21 | 4 | 26 | 50 | 20 | 4 |
| 1949/50 | 21 | 57 | 18 | 4 | 27 | 52 | 17 | 4 |
| 1952/53 | 19 | 57 | 19 | 5 | 26 | 52 | 18 | 4 |

# CHAPTER NINE

## THE FUTURE LABOUR REQUIREMENTS OF THE INDUSTRIES OF GREATER DURBAN.

### § 1 Introduction

The task of estimating future labour requirements is fraught with even more difficulty than population estimation, for the growth of manufacturing employment is not even subject, in the short run, to the limits to probable growth that are imposed upon population increase by demographic considerations. Moreover, while in the last analysis the amount of labour that can be employed in manufacturing industry is geared to the rate of growth of the population itself, many other causative factors which may be guessed at but not predicted enter the picture. Therefore, the aim of this chapter will merely be to make a reasonable estimate of what the labour requirements of the industries of Greater Durban would be in the future if they continue to increase at the same rate as they have done in the past[1].

The analysis will be restricted to the private industries in Greater Durban (because the figures for private industries are more amenable to projection than those for all industries) and the labour requirements of industry will be estimated for two years : 1960 and 1965. The basis for projection to these two years will not always be the same, since the one (1960) is considered to be a short-to-medium term projection, while 1965 is taken as a medium-to-long term projection. It will be noticed, too, that the term "labour requirements" of industry will be given a meaning synonymous with the average employment in industry[2].

The method adopted in making these projections was to plot the average labour force employed in private manufacturing industry over the period from 1924/25 to 1953/54 and to fit a curve ( or "regression line" ) to the plotted points to represent the trend of growth. This

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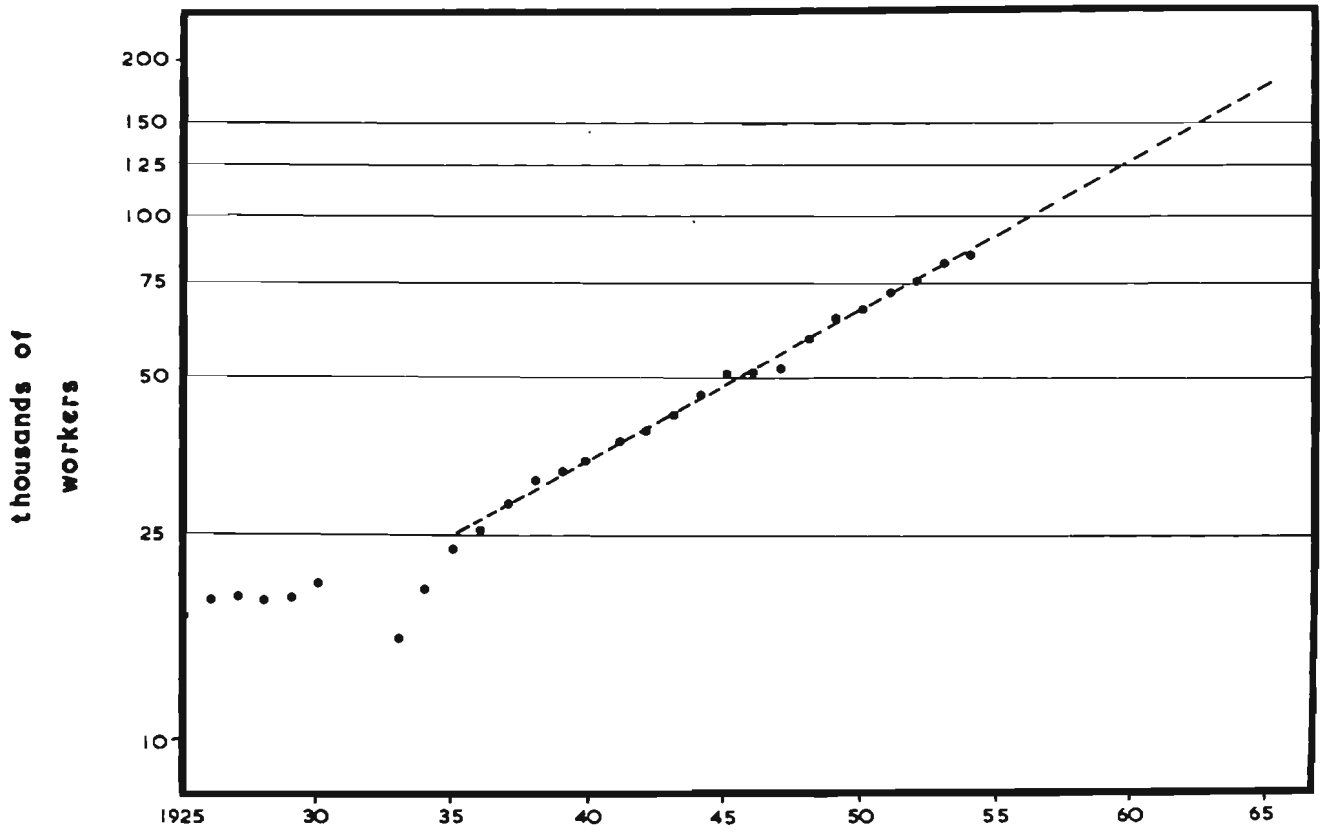
1. Even this unequivocal method of operation can become complicated, however, and in the course of the preparation of this chapter a lengthy array of alternative projections arose from the need to explore a variety of bases for projection. It is not difficult to imagine, for example, the range in the size and composition of the estimated future labour force, when this labour force is divided according to race and sex, and when each of these eight sub-groups so derived can be analysed according to a number of different (but all reasonable) interpretations of the past and assumptions regarding the future. It is suggested at the outset, therefore, that such a detailed treatment of the material is of no practical value and would but serve to confuse the issue. Accordingly, a secondary aim of this chapter will be to restrict the analysis to what, it is hoped, are the most important of the possibilities for the growth of manufacturing employment in Greater Durban.

2. See the Introduction to Part Three.

Figure 18

# Total Employment in Durban's Private Industry, 1925-65

[RATIO SCALE]



curve was thereafter extended to picture future growth. In the preliminary work undertaken to discover the best basis for projection, the employment values were plotted on both arithmetic and semi-logarithmic [1] ( ratio scale ) axes, and it was found that two fitted curves provided the most hopeful bases for extrapolation. These were :

(i) a straight-line curve fitted to the years 1947-54 on an arithmetic scale; and

(ii) a straight-line curve fitted to the years 1935-54 on a semi-logarithmic scale.

Both kinds of curve were fitted by the method of "least squares".

The years before 1935 have been ignored for the purposes of establishing a regression line, mainly because of the absence of figures for two of the depression years, but also because the pre-depression years have no real relevance in the estimation of the future growth of present-day industry. For most purposes, the year 1934/35 can be taken as the year by which manufacturing industry in Durban had recovered from the trough of the depression, and most clearly marks the real beginning of the growth of our modern secondary industry.

§ 2 Possibilities for the Labour Requirements of Industry up to 1965.

The past trend in the growth of the total labour force of Durban's private industries since 1935 can be illustrated in no better way than by a straight-line curve drawn on a ratio scale. In fact, the accuracy with which the trend curve ( see Figure 18 ) fits the actual plotted values is shown by the fact that the true values deviate from the "trend" or expected values by an average of only a little over 2 per cent [2].

If this trend line is projected as far as 1965 - which means the assumption that the same mean rate of increase ( 6.8% a year ) continues after 1954 - then the following pattern of growth in manufacturing employment is obtained :

| 1954 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|
| 84,000 | 128,000 | 178,000 |

But a constant rate of increase - which by its very nature demands that the absolute size of each successive increment should be continually increasing - is a difficult progression to maintain, and in view of the various signs of a slackening in the rate of progress in the last few (post 1954) years this basis for projection must be employed with considerable caution.

---

1. A semi-logarithmic scale is one in which one axis is measured in arithmetic (equal) units and the other axis is measured in logarithmic (non-equal) units; in our case, this means that the logarithm of the value for average employment is plotted against each year. This kind of graph is particularly useful to express relative movements, where the absolute size of the values is of minor importance. Thus in the ratio scales used in this analysis, equal distances up the y-axis represent equal proportional increases, while a straight line on a semi-logarithmic scale shows a constant rate of growth.

2. The correlation co-efficient is $S(xy) = 0.9974$.

# Union Employment Indices

[RATIO SCALE: 1948 = 100]

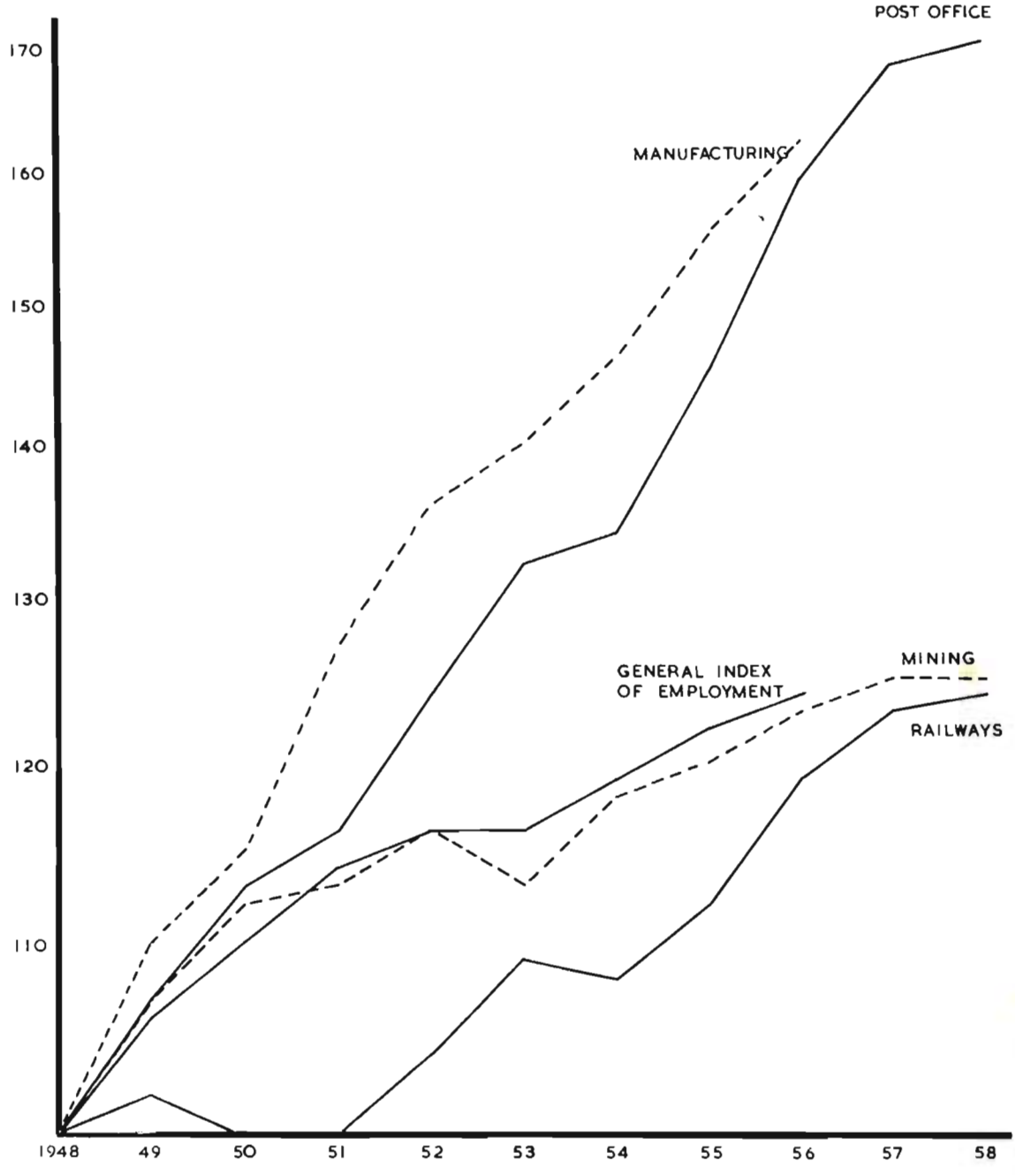



Figure 19

Figure 18 shows, it must be admitted, no pronounced tendency for the rate of growth of employment in Durban's industries to decline, but Durban's figures only go up to the year 1953/54. Material from the industrial census for the whole of the Union is available for an extra two years ( 1954/5 and 1955/6 )[2] and in Figure 19 the industrial employment figures, together with certain other information, are plotted on a ratio scale over the period 1948-56. It will be seen here that there is a tendency for the curves to flatten out, showing a falling rate of increase ( retardation ) rather than a constant rate. In fact the trend in Union employment over this period could probably better be represented by an arithmetic straight-line curve, showing a constant absolute increment.

Since Greater Durban's rate of growth is closely tied to that of the Union, we must take cognisance of the economic climate existing in the Union, even though the available figures on Durban's employment growth show no cause to drop the assumption of a constant rate of increase. It is therefore given as a basic assumption for projection that there was some slackening in the rate of growth of Durban's employment sometime after 1954, in sympathy with the movements in the Union employment figures. The extent of this fall in the rate of increase has not been estimated, for it is of little significance for the future projection of employment. What is of far greater importance is to decide just why this fall in the rate of increase has taken place, if it has taken place at all, and what the sequel might be.

Barring the possibility of an eventual recovery to a rate even higher than any before, it seems that we may postulate three possible outcomes of the slackening in the rate of increase in employment. The first and most optimistic interpretation is to regard this set-back as a temporary departure from a constant long-run rate of increase, which will have no significant repercussions on the expected volume of employment at any future date. According to this view, employment is expected not only to regain its previous rate of increase as soon as the short-lived factors causing the slack period have disappeared, but also to make up the lost ground, as it were, by returning to the original long-run trend line [ see Figure 20(a) ]. Quite clearly, this latter requirement implies that, for a time, employment will have to increase at a rate faster than before.

The second possibility also assumes that the fall in the rate of growth of employment is a temporary phenomenon and that there will be a return to the previous long-run average rate of increase. In this view, however, the lost ground will not be made up, and the new trend line, although at the same slope as the old, will be at a lower level. This sort of development is illustrated in Figure 20(b).

The third and most pessimistic view of the future interprets the slackening in the rate of increase as a permanent development and a move on to a new long-run trend line. In this view, the slower rate of growth is determined by a structural change in manufacturing industry or in the economy as a whole, and can take one of two forms [ see Figure 20(c) ]. In the first place, there may be a downswing of the curve on to a new slope, implying a slower, but still constant, rate of increase; in the second place, the slackening may continue indefinitely, with the rate of increase of employment continually falling until the growth curve approximates to a horizontal line and there is little or no increase in employment.

While the true growth of employment in Durban is unlikely to follow any of these patterns of growth very closely, it may perhaps

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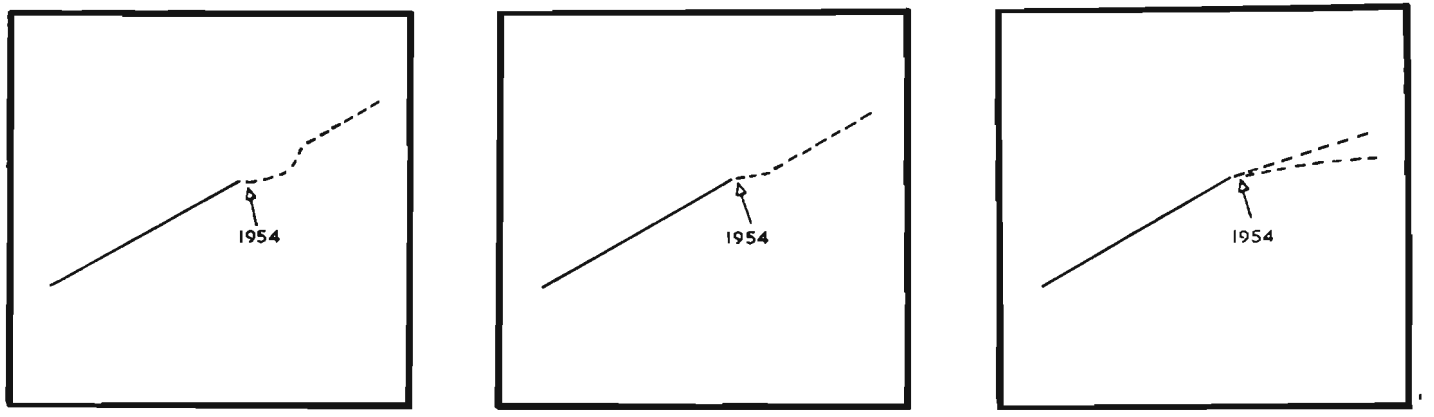
1. See Special Report No. 215.

Figure 20

## Three Possible Trends in Total Durban Employment after 1954



be of some value to suggest which hypothetical outcome might be most easily adopted as a working assumption for our projections. ( It must of course be remembered that these projections go only as far as 1965.)

If our assumption of a slackening in the rate of increase of employment in Durban is in fact true, then it may also be assumed that there will be no pronounced upswing much before 1960. In view of the tendency of the Union's employment to increase by a constant amount each year since 1948, therefore, the increase in employment in Durban is assumed to do the same, and to follow the projection of the arithmetic straight-line trend between 1947 and 1954 as far as 1960. After this, the growth of employment is assumed to return to the mean rate of growth experienced between 1935 and 1954 ( 6.8 per cent a year), and this growth is projected up to the year 1965. The choice of the years 1960 and 1965 has of course been made solely for statistical convenience.

This pattern of growth approximates to the second possibility mentioned above, which envisages a return to the long-run trend, but at a lower level. Now while this assumption can be neither substantiated nor refuted, it does call for brief comment. The stability of the total employment curve in the past makes it virtually impossible, from a statistical point of view, to extrapolate on any basis other than the continuation of the same rate - at least in the short-to-medium run ( see § 1 ). On this account the third possibility has been discounted, and a return of the rate of growth of employment to its previous level is assumed. On the other hand, the first possibility ( the making up of lost ground ) is also discounted because, in our view, there is no justification for assuming a rate higher than has existed in the past, especially when such a compensating movement implies very high rates of increase[1].

The projections of employment resulting from these assumed development are as follows :

| 1954 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|
| 84,000 | 112,000 | 156,000 |

Even on this basis, which may appear rather conservative on the evidence of past trends, the labour requirements of Durban's industries will have increased by a third between 1954 and 1960, and by almost another 40 per cent in the five years between 1960 and 1965. If this rate of increase were to be maintained, the number of new entrants into employment in the eleven-year period between 1954 and 1965 would be substantially more than the total number of new workers entering employment in the twenty-nine years between 1925 and 1954.

In accordance with the intentions stated in the introduction to this chapter, detailed projections of the employment of the four racial groups will not be given. But some reasonable estimates of the racial composition of employment in 1960 and 1965 may perhaps be offered[2].

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1. For example, if employment is assumed to increase at an arithmetic rate between 1954 (84,000) and 1960 (112,000), but to regain its position on the long-run logarithmic trend line by 1965, employment must increase by almost 10 per cent a year between 1960 and 1965, as compared with an average increase of only 5 per cent between 1954 and 1960.

2. The results of extrapolating past growth in the case of each racial groups are shown on an arithmetic scale in Figure 15 and on a semi-logarithmic scale in Figure 16.

In 1954, the racial composition of employment in private manufacturing industry in Greater Durban was Europeans : 24 per cent, Natives : 52 per cent, Indians : 20 per cent, and Coloureds : 5 per cent. If the same proportion between the races is assumed to prevail in 1960 and 1965, then the following pattern of employment growth can be envisaged :

| | 1954 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Europeans | 20,000 | 27,000 | 37,000 |
| Natives | 43,000 | 58,000 | 81,000 |
| Indians | 17,000 | 22,000 | 31,000 |
| Coloureds | 4,000 | 5,000 | 7,000 |
| All Races | 84,000 | 112,000 | 156,000 |

However, a study of the movements in racial composition since 1925 reveals that there has been a trend towards a smaller proportion of Europeans and Indians and a larger proportion of Natives and Coloureds in the manufacturing labour force, so that to assume a continuation of the proportion between the races which existed in 1954 might be rather unrealistic. A rough extrapolation of the trend in racial composition suggests that the numbers of each racial group in 1965 might fall within the following limits :

| Thousands of Workers | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Europeans | Natives | Indians | Coloureds | All Races |
| 32-37 | 80-87 | 28-31 | 7-8 | 156 |

These limits require that the total employment figure has been correctly estimated of course, and assume that there will be no major deviation from past trends, such as might be caused, for example, by the successful implementation of the policy of job reservation.

## § 3 Possibilities for Labour Requirements after 1965.

So far we have given attention only to the possibilities for the growth of employment up to the year 1965; and it is now necessary to consider the longer run prospects. In so doing we are faced with the anomaly that, just as it is difficult to project the future growth of employment on any basis other than the same constant rate of increase that has been experienced in the past, so we can be quite emphatic that this rate of progress cannot be maintained for any great length of time. This apparent contradiction needs further explanation.

Over the period between 1935 and 1954 which has largely been used as the base period for the drawing of our projections, manufacturing employment in the industrial area of Greater Durban has been expanding at the quite remarkable rate of 6.8 per cent a year. In contrast to this, the total population of Natal has been increasing at a rate of about 1.5 per cent a year ( 1935-58 ).

So great is the discrepancy between these two rates that we can readily show the impossibility of these rates continuing by carrying the argument ad absurdum. If we assume, for example, that employment of all races in Durban's industries were to continue to increase at a rate of 6.8 per cent a year, while the Natal population increased as only 1.5 per cent a year, then it is simply a matter of

calculation[1] to discover that the whole potential working population[2] of Natal would have been absorbed into the industries of Greater Durban by the end of the century. Further than this, our argument implies that within the short span of fifty years, every man, woman and child of all racial groups in Natal would be required to work in Durban's industries in order to maintain their same rate of growth.

If similar calculations are carried out in respect of the individual racial groups, a most surprising result is obtained, for we find that the supplies of Native labour would be exhausted much ealier ( within 48 years ) than the supplies of European labour ( within 117 years ). This unexpected finding is of course due to the very much faster rate of absorption of Natives into industry :

Table 148 THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT IN GREATER DURBAN AND OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF NATAL, 1935-58.

| RACIAL GROUP | MEAN ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT IN GREATER DURBAN, 1935-54 | MEAN ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH OF THE POPULATION OF NATAL, 1935-58. |
|---|---|---|
| Europeans | 4.7 | 2.4 |
| Natives | 8.6 | 1.0 |
| Indians | 5.4 | 3.3 |
| Coloureds | 7.4 | 3.8 |
| All Races | 6.8 | 1.5 |

European industrial employment has increased about twice as fast as population, whereas the increase in Native employment has been about $8\frac{1}{2}$ times faster than population growth. The hypothetical lengths of time it would require to exhaust the Indian and Coloured labour supplies were calculated to be 137 and 61 years respectively.

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1. The calculation is based on the orthodox compound interest formula :

$$A_2 = A_1 \left( 1 + \frac{x}{100} \right)^n$$

where $A_1$ is the value at the start of the period, $A_2$ the value at the end, x the rate of interest, and n the number of years. To find the length of time it will take employment to become equal to total employment, the following formula is used :

$$A \left( 1 + \frac{x}{100} \right)^n = B \left( 1 + \frac{y}{100} \right)^n$$

where A and B represent employment and population, and x and y their respective rates of increase. Then,

$$\log A + n \log \left( 1 + \frac{x}{100} \right) = \log B + n \log \left( 1 + \frac{y}{100} \right)$$

$$n \log \left( 1 + \frac{y}{100} \right) - n \log \left( 1 + \frac{x}{100} \right) = \log A - \log B$$

$$n = \frac{\log A - \log B}{\log \left( 1 + \frac{y}{100} \right) - \log \left( 1 + \frac{x}{100} \right)}$$

2. Taking the potential working population to be 60 per cent of the total projected population.

It is of no value to pursue this sort of argument further, but it should by now be clear that the past rate of growth of employment in the manufacturing industries of Greater Durban is far too high to continue unabated, even assuming optimum conditions for the expansion of industry. There are of course three main factors which would help to maintain the rate of industrial growth. These are an increase in the rate of population growth ( brought about by a higher natural rate of increase, by greater net immigration, or both ); an increase in overall work participation ( larger working population ); and a continued transfer of labour from non-industrial fields of employment.

With the bulk of Native and Indian women as yet unemployed, and with a large percentage of Native males only partly employed, there is still much room for improvement in the average work participation of the Natal population. Similarly, a further substantial transfer of labour from the primary and other industries to secondary industry is bound to occur as a healthy development, especially in the case of Native peasant labour. But there is a limit to the proportion of the population which is able and willing to enter employment and there is a limit to the extent to which secondary industry can attract workers from other fields of employment, and, in the last analysis, the rate of growth of employment must be geared more closely to the growth of the population as a whole.

Therefore, since one cannot imagine Natal's population growing at a rate of around 6.8 per cent a year, even on the broadest assumptions regarding natural increase and migration, the conclusion remains that the rate of growth of employment in manufacturing industry must fall in the comparatively near future. When the retardation takes place and by just what margin the rate of increase will fall cannot readily be estimated as this stage. The tacit assumption has been made in the foregoing analysis that no such development will take place before 1965, since the same constant rate of increase was assumed to operate between 1960 and 1965 as had been experienced before 1954. But, in view of the evidence presented above, it would certainly not be legitimate to assume a continuation of this constant rate after 1965, and even the projections up to 1965 may prove to be on the liberal side.

Before leaving this section of the analysis, it would be as well to emphasise that the conclusions reached in the foregoing paragraphs apply only to the employment potentialities of manufacturing industry, and, while we feel that the rate of growth of employment in industry is eventually bound to slow down, there is no reason to assume a comparable retardation in the expansion of industrial output, however one might wish to interpret or measure output. The extent to which employment is able to expand is physically limited by the number of potential workers available for work, and this number is in turn governed to within narrow limits by demographic factors largely beyond the ability of employers to control. Industrial output, on the other hand, being dependent upon demand, is only limited by the extent of the market and the capacity to produce, and, while the capacity to produce partly hinges on the availability of suitable labour in the short run, industry may in time adjust itself to a chronic shortage of labour by a change in the structure of production.

Thus a change in the productivity of labour, the improvement of other factors of production, such as management, used in combination with labour, or the direct substitution of capital for labour may all enable output to increase very much more quickly than employment. In fact, one of the dangers facing South Africa in the future may be a worsening of the present imbalance in the proportions of skilled and unskilled labour, through the extension of the use of automation in secondary industry.

## SUMMARY

Natal's population, having doubled in the first forty years after Union, was a little over two and a half millions in 1958, or about one-fifth of the total population of the Union. Three-quarters of the population consist of Natives, about one-eighth Europeans and Coloureds, and the remaining eighth is made up of Indians. Natal stands out from the other provinces mainly for the heavy concentration of Indians within her borders and for her small ratio of Whites to Non-Whites.

The age and sex composition of the Natal population is not very favourable towards a high work participation rate. In the first place, the proportion of males (who form the most important section of the labour force) to females is considerably lower in Natal than in the Union as a whole. In the second place, the work potential is kept low by the youthfulness of the Non-European peoples, little more than half of whom fall within the normal working age limits.

An analysis of the growth of the Natal European population reveals the importance of immigration, which has allowed the rate of increase in Natal to be higher than in the Union, despite a much lower natural rate of increase. Immigration of Europeans into Natal took place both from overseas and from other provinces, while there has also been a considerable net gain of Coloureds from the rest of the Union. On the other hand, migration is now a factor of little importance to the Indian population, and Natal is a net exporter of Natives, mainly owing to the attraction of the Witwatersrand.

For Europeans, the possibilities for the future seem, on balance, to be unfavourable to labour potential, with natural increase unlikely to rise as much as immigration is likely to fall, and with an increase in age structure aggravating the position. The greatest potential for future work participation is found in the youthfulness and fertility of the Indians and Coloureds. The future rate of growth of the Native population depends on, among other things, the rate at which improved hygeine and health services can bring down the infantile and general mortality rates.

One of the most important features of population growth in Natal has been the large movement of persons from the country to the towns, and since 1921 the urban population has grown twice as fast as the rural. But two different patterns of population distribution can be traced in Natal. The Europeans, Indians, and Coloureds, on the one hand, are spread out mainly along the Coast and in the Midlands, and are predominantly urban dwellers. The Native population, on the other hand, is the most evenly-distributed group. It has as yet been affected to only a minor extent by the urbanisation process, although the minority of Natives in the towns contribute far more than proportionately to labour potential because so many of them are men of working age. Over half of Natal's Natives still lived in the Native areas in 1951, while more than a quarter were enumerated on European and other farms, and a little under a sixth were in urban areas.

The size of the population, together with its sex and age structure, gives a first index of labour resources, but it is necessary to discover what proportion of the population of working age is actually employed. A study of work participation reveals that, while Natal utilizes 99 per cent of her potential male workers (taken to be those aged 15-64 years), she uses less than one-fifth of her women of working age. The implications of this are that Natal can only increase work output at a rate faster than population growth in two ways. One is to employ a larger percentage of women (especially

Natives and Indians) and older people of 65 or more; the other is to use the existing labour force more effectively.

Of a total Natal labour force of over three-quarters of a million in 1951, almost three-fifths were Native peasants or farm workers and Native service workers. This fact alone shows that the transfer of workers from less to more productive forms of activity has still a long way to go in Natal. If these Natives are removed, the remainder - one third Europeans, two-fifths Natives, and one quarter Indians and Coloureds - were engaged in manufacturing and construction, commerce, services, transport, and mining, in that order of importance. Among the noticeable characteristics of the employment structure of Natal are the importance of government employment to Europeans, the lack of opportunities for Indians, and the unskilled nature of the occupations carried out by the bulk of the Natives.

Turning to the manufacturing industries of Greater Durban, we find that the total number of persons employed in 1954 was over 92,000, of which over half were Natives, about a quarter Europeans, and a quarter Indians and Coloureds. The chief industries (so far as employment is concerned) in 1954 were clothing and textiles, building and construction, chemicals, engineering, and food. The most important industries for Europeans were chemicals, construction, and engineering, while the largest single employer of Natives was the construction industry. Two-fifths of Indian and over a half of Coloured workers were employed in the clothing and textile industry.

Total employment in Durban's industries increased by over three and a half times between 1925 and 1954, and doubled in the last twelve years of this period. Three classes of industry to increase at rates considerably faster than the average were the clothing and textiles, transport, and paper and printing industries, while food, furniture, and the public industries increased more slowly than the average. The growth in employment has resulted in a gradual change in racial composition, with Natives and Coloureds increasing in proportion, Europeans decreasing, and Indians remaining in about the same relative position.

If the future labour requirements of industry are based on the growth of employment in the past, a number of projections may be made according to the interpretation of past trends. An estimate which, on the evidence of the past might appear conservative, puts the labour requirements of Durban's industries at 112,000 in 1960 and 156,000 in 1965. This is an increase of a third between 1954 and 1960 and a further two-fifths between 1960 and 1965.

Since 1935, however, industrial employment in Greater Durban has been increasing over four times faster than the total Natal population, and it should be clear that the growth of employment will eventually have to fall more into line with population growth (although no limit is necessarily imposed on the growth of output). Thus the possibility exists that Natal's labour resources might one day prove a limiting factor to industrial expansion.

No matter how great a nation's labour resources, however, economic progress (as measured, for example, by <u>per capita</u> output or income) can only be achieved ultimately through increased productivity. From this point of view, productivity might be regarded as a more important subject for study and research than labour resources.

A study of the efficient utilization of labour resources does, it is true, logically follow the progression of thought of this report. But such a consideration of productivity is strictly speaking outside the terms of reference of this survey and would require, to do it justice, far more space than could be given to it in a survey of this nature.