

A Socio-Geographic Survey of Salisbury, Rhodesia

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INTRODUCTION

Salisbury was founded in 1890. In anticipation of its growth and a bold attempt to create an orderly town, a relatively extensive cadastral plan was drawn up and surveyed between 1890 and 1894, and some 8150 ha were reserved as Townlands and provided a controlled zone between the township and surrounding farmlands. Since then Salisbury has been the scene of rapid growth, especially in the post-war period. By mid-1972 its population was 467 000 and included more than two fifths of the non-African population of Rhodesia and some five per cent of the Africans. Salisbury's spatial growth is even more striking than that of its population, and it has an extraordinarily low density of development which gives rise to many of its particular characteristics and problems. Peri-urban development preceded complete infilling of the original layout and in the post-war years building proceeded most rapidly in areas of farmland peripheral to municipal land. This led, amongst other things, to the creation of eight autonomous dormitory townships for Europeans, in addition to several African townships which, for different reasons, also were established in outer areas. In order to bring some unity to this sprawling conglomeration, Greater Salisbury was created on 1 July 1972, with an area of 550 km². Rapid growth continues, and building plans passed in Salisbury for 1970/1 and 1971/2 were valued at Rh\$41 000 000 and Rh\$55 000 000 respectively and on each occasion constituted more than half the total building output in Rhodesia. Even so, building lags behind needs. For exam-

ple, it is conservatively estimated that 16 000 'housing units' are immediately required for married Africans who are legally entitled, through their employment, to live in Salisbury. Thus, like most primate cities, Salisbury continues to face urgent problems of growth and must consider whether the patterns set in the past, recent though it may be, are appropriate for the present and future.

Throughout its short history, Salisbury has had to work out a relationship between a technologically advanced immigrant community and a primitive indigenous population, both anxious for advancement and each acutely aware of their differences. From the beginning, evident differences and pre-conceived separatist notions formed a basis for decisions and actions. Common aspirations were largely ignored and later suppressed by the creation of new legal differences which confirmed and hardened the line between Black and White that might otherwise have been eroded by contact and time. Thus Salisbury is a deeply divided city and has been built as such by Europeans and European authorities. This division is so marked that few generalisations, if any, are possible about the city as a whole, for what is characteristic of European areas does not hold good for African areas and vice versa. The former generally reflect the privileged positions and high incomes that most Europeans are able to command while the latter are products of poverty and paternalism. It is this deep division and concomitant working relationship between the two principal groups of townfolk more than anything else that sets Salisbury apart from the 'western city' of Europe or America.

This paper, which is based largely on 1969 census data and personal observation of the local scene, provides an outline social survey of Salisbury. It briefly examines some aspects of the growth, composition and distribution of population within the city as a whole and in its several distinctive parts. It analyses the close relationships between the fabric and the society of the urban regions; the various townscapes reflect the differing circumstances of human groups and, paradoxically, the different built-environments greatly affect the way of life and thought of their particular inhabitants. And it shows how spatial aspects of development underlie numerous problems now facing the city and suggests how these may be alleviated.

THE NON-AFRICAN POPULATION

Aspects of Growth and Composition

The growth of the non-African population is summarized in Tables I and II which show that it has increased five-fold in the post-war period. Growth outside the municipal boundary began to assume significant proportions during the Second World War, and by 1969 the municipality accommodated only half of the total population, a fact which underlined the need for a Greater Salisbury authority. The growth of the several principal suburbs has not been evenly distributed through time and this may be attributed to several factors including the availability of water supplies, dis-

tance from the city centre and industrial areas, and the date at which each suburb attained 'take-off point' in terms of infrastructure and services. During the early post-war years Waterfalls and Hatfield, both lying to the south of the city, and Greendale, to the east, joined Highlands as sizeable suburbs with populations in excess of 2000 by 1951. Under government sponsorship, Mabelreign mushroomed a little later to become the largest single suburb by 1956 but otherwise most growth occurred in well established suburbs, especially in the southern sector. By 1961 more distant areas, notably in the north, were growing most rapidly and the prestigious districts of Mount Pleasant, Marlborough, and Borrowdale joined the ranks of the major suburbs. Since then most growth has been in the northern and north-eastern suburbs which added over 5000 to their non-African population between 1961 and 1969 compared with an increase of only 1300 in the southern sector.

Table I

SALISBURY'S	NON-AFRICAN 1904 TO 1972	POPULATION
1904—1 725	1931—10 481	1951—45 953
1911—3 479	1936—12 869	1956—65 750
1921—5 654	1941—19 753	1961—94 548
1926—7 324	1946—23 107	1969—105 955
	1972—117 000*	

* Estimate by the Central Statistical Office; all other figures are from census returns.

Table II

NON-AFRICAN POPULATION 1941-69 BY URBAN AREAS*

	1941	1946	1951	1956	1961	1968
Total Urban Area	19 753	23 107	45 953	65 750	94 548	105 955
Municipality	17 028	17 415	32 645	38 156	50 225	53 514
% in Municipality	86.5	75.5	71.5	58.0	53.0	50.5
<i>Principal 'Suburbs'</i>						
Lochinvar (S)	—	716	709	1 715	1 874	1 808
Waterfalls (S)	827	716	2 294	3 439	5 501	6 724
Hatfield (S)	—	127	2 462	4 237	6 248	6 391
Greendale (E)	148	641	2 088	3 453	5 974	6 872
Highlands (N.E.)	1 236	1 992	3 121	4 205	7 483	8 621
Borrowdale (N.E.)	—	105	237	986	2 098	2 837
Mt. Pleasant (N)	117	181	349	651	3 669	6 408
Marlborough (N)	—	—	714	1 901	3 267	3 697
Mabelreign (N.W.)	—	—	485	4 498	7 005	6 829
Other areas	397	914	851	2 449	1 204	2 254

*See Figs. 2 and 3 for the location of the Suburbs.

More than 90 per cent of the non-African population of Salisbury is comprised of persons of European birth or descent and all but a small minority of these are from English-speaking countries. Two-thirds of them were born in southern Africa, including 41 per cent in Rhodesia and 18,5 per cent in South Africa, while British-born persons comprise 25,5 per cent. The next largest overseas group, the Portuguese, comprise only two per cent of the non-African population but together with the Italian and Greek communities they constitute a significant minority which, unlike the handful of persons from northern and central Europe, exhibits a tendency towards geographical clustering (Table III and Fig. 2).

Of the Portuguese 77,1 per cent live in four areas which accommodate only 30,9 per cent of the total European population; those of Italian birth and, to a lesser extent, those born in Greece, are also over-represented in these areas. Each of these areas offers relatively cheap accommodation mostly in old houses, and all of them are close to the main work-places in the city centre and industrial estates. None of them, however, assumes ghetto characteristics, and people from countries of southern Europe comprise only one-fifth of all Europeans in the central areas of the city and in Lochinvar-Southerton; elsewhere they comprise considerably less than one-tenth.

Table III

GEOGRAPHICAL CLUSTERS OF MINORITY GROUPS OF EUROPEANS — 1969

<i>Area</i>	<i>% of all Europeans</i>	<i>% of Portuguese</i>	<i>% of Italians</i>	<i>% of Greeks</i>	<i>Portuguese, Italians and Greeks as % of all Europeans</i>
City centre	3,2	22,0	6,3	9,9	22,0
Avenues	11,7	19,9	15,2	31,8	8,0
East-Central Salisbury	12,3	15,2	23,8	11,0	5,7
Lochinvar-Southerton	3,7	20,0	13,5	2,7	18,0
	30,9	77,1	58,8	55,4	—

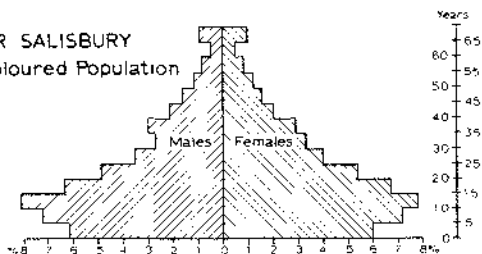
To what extent these clusters can be attributed to the common origins or culture of the people concerned or to socio-economic characteristics they have in common is not readily determined. However, it seems likely that the latter group of factors is the more important and its influence is in general accordance with similar widely recognised factors affecting the location of low-income, immigrant minorities.

The more significant minorities of non-Africans are the Coloured population which numbered 5136 in 1969 (4,8 per cent of all non-Africans) and the Asians (4055 — 3,8 per cent). Most of the former were born in Rhodesia (91,5 per cent) as were most of the Asians (67,0 per cent though a sizeable proportion of them came from India (22,0 per cent). Until very recently no legislation prevented Asians

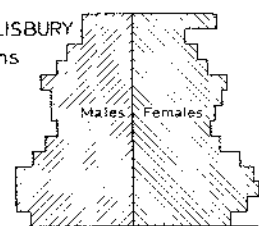
and Coloureds taking up residence in any part of the 'European Areas' of Salisbury and, in fact, in 1969 a few were enumerated in every suburb; for example, there were 15 in Highlands, 25 in Mount Pleasant and 82 in Mabelreign. Nevertheless a combination of economic, social, and cultural ties and pressures has led to the concentration of Asians and Coloureds into four localities (Fig. 2) The largest group (39 per cent of the total) is in Arcadia to the south of the city beyond the railway and Makabusi river. In the early post-war period this suburb provided modest accommodation for new white immigrants but more recently has been developed as a township more or less exclusively for Coloured townfolk. A second larger cluster (29 per cent) is in the central part of the city, peripheral to the main commercial area, where many Asians and Coloureds

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION 1969

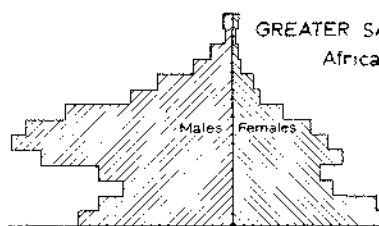
GREATER SALISBURY
Asian and Coloured Population



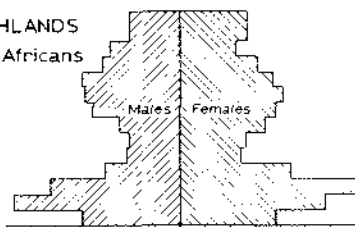
GREATER SALISBURY
Europeans



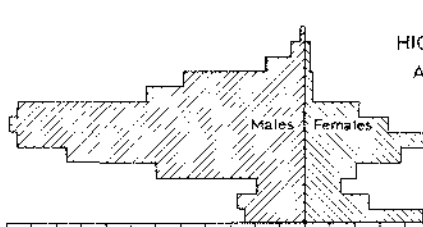
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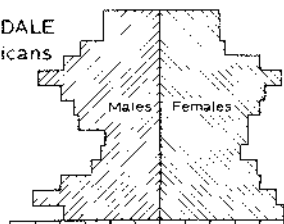
HIGHLANDS
Non-Africans



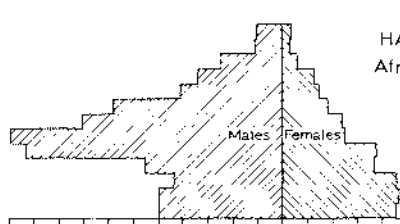
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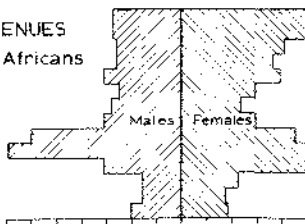
BORROWDALE
Non-Africans



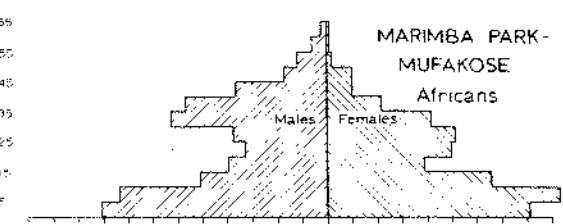
HARARI
Africans



AVENUES
Non-Africans



MARIMBA PARK-
MUFAKOSE
Africans



occupy aged houses and flats above commercial premises. A third sizeable group (12 per cent), mainly of Coloured persons, lives in Ardbennie which is part of Waterfalls lying immediately south of Harari African township and near the industrial areas. In contrast to these three, Ridgeview is comprised of high-class houses and accommodates most of the wealthier section of the Asian population. In this case, the clustering and relative isolation cannot be attributed so much to socio-economic factors as to internal and external political pressures on the one hand and the highly developed community consciousness of the Asians on the other.

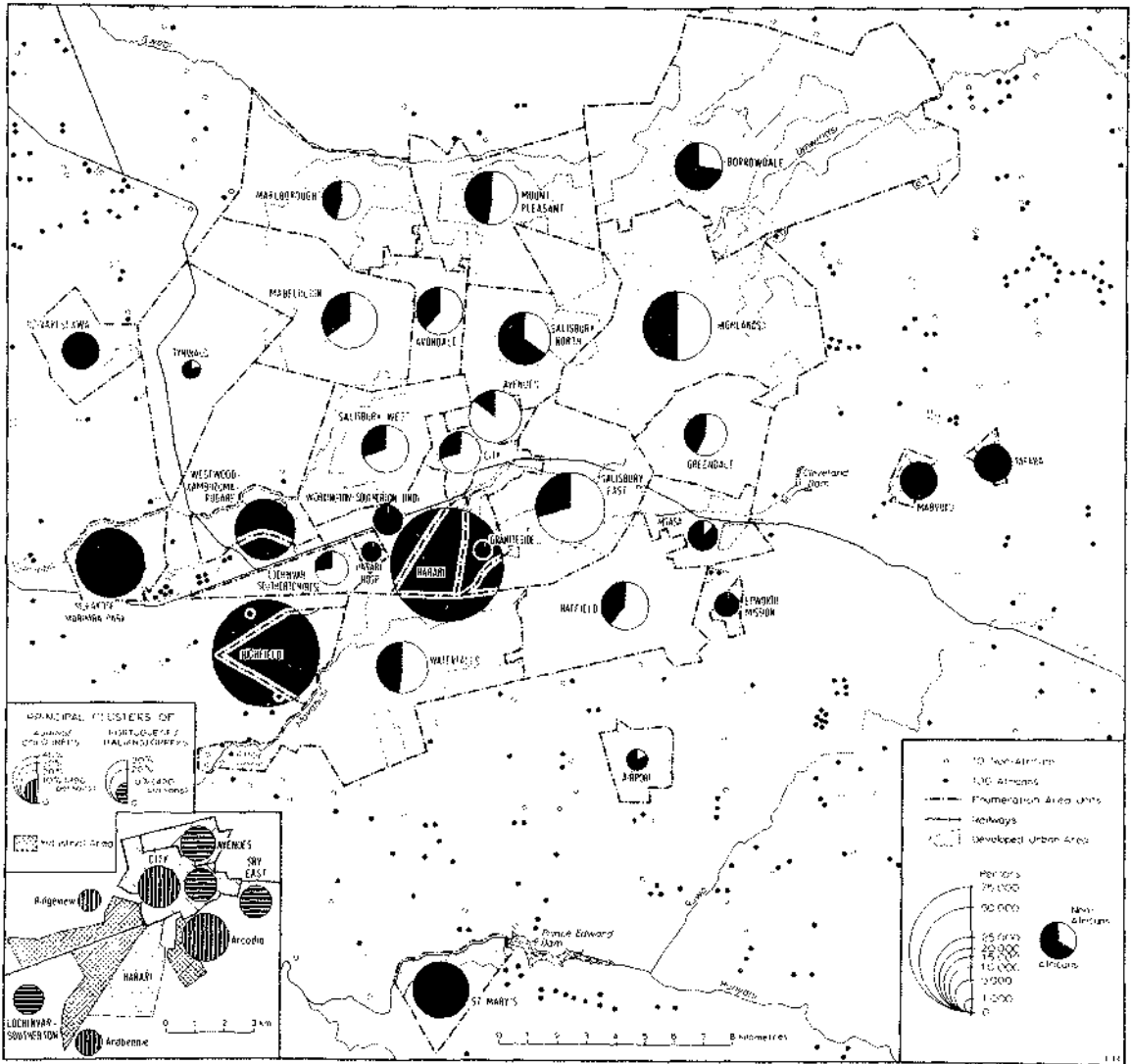
One of the more influential factors affecting the way of life of the townfolk and the face of the town is the purchasing power of the people, and spatial differences in this parameter are written large into the townscape. The most marked contrast within Salisbury is, of course, that between the African and non-African townfolk, the latter as a whole being affluent while the former are mostly poor, but there are marked differences within the non-African areas. Census data show that in 1969 28 000 non-African males and 17 120 females were in full-time paid employment. The latter figure constitutes 43 per cent of all females over 15 years of age and reflects a very high level of women at work in Salisbury's non-African society. The affluence of many European households is dependent upon there being more than one worker in the family, and both mode of life and standard of living are much affected by the high rate of employment amongst women. The average annual earnings of non-African employees in Salisbury in 1969 was approximately Rh\$2960, giving an overall annual income per capita of Rh\$1280. This figure does not include the earnings of self-employed persons, some of whom constitute the richest group of households, nor does it take into account personal incomes from property and investments of all kinds; it is therefore a conservative indicator of income per capita.

Regional variations in earned income per capita are not only a function of different wages and salaries but also differences in the size and composition of households which are reflected in varying age-sex structures. Within the non-African population the most marked differences in age and sex composition are

those between the Asians and Coloureds and the Europeans (Fig. 1). Children (42.8 per cent) are particularly numerous amongst the Asian and Coloured communities, a fact which reflects a relatively large size of family and also a potential for an increase in the rate of population growth. European society has a relatively small number of children (27.2 per cent) and, for a 'young country', a relatively large number of elderly, retired persons. The most striking feature of its composition, however, is that persons aged between 40 and 54 outnumber those aged 25 to 39 giving an unhealthy imbalance to its age structure because of a relative lack of young adults. Spatial differences in age-sex structures and household size do occur within the city's European areas and the dearth of young adults is most noticeable in 'expensive' northern suburbs such as Highlands and Borrowdale (Fig. 1) where the mean household size is only 3.28 and 3.16 persons respectively. The larger households in which children are more prominent occur in the southern suburbs such as Waterfalls (mean household size — 3.88 persons) and Hatfield (3.50) and in the City centre (3.53). The most striking departure from average, however, occurs in 'the Avenues' adjacent to the city centre where a relatively wide variety of dwellings, including a large number of high-rise flats and many small, old houses, attract many young and elderly people (Fig. 1). Consequently children constitute only 11 per cent of the total population of the Avenues and the mean size of household is only 2.56 persons; and it will be clear that these facts have a pronounced effect upon per capita incomes.

The 1969 census data showed that the lowest level of annual earned income per capita amongst non-Africans was in Arcadia, the township for Coloured persons, where there was only Rh\$469 per head. Four other areas had less than Rh\$1000 per person in 1969; Graniteside — Rh\$636; City centre — Rh\$768; Lochinvar-Southerton — Rh\$812; and Waterfalls — Rh\$893. The first-named is an industrial estate with only a handful of non-African residents, and all four areas occur in the southern part of the urban region, three of them being south of the railway and adjacent to industrial areas and African townships (Fig. 2). Also it will be recalled that significant clusters of Asians and Coloureds and of minority groups of Europeans are to be found

GREATER SALISBURY POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1969



in these areas. The next group of areas with per capita incomes of rather more than Rh\$1000 consists of the Msasa and Workington-Southerton industrial areas, Hatfield and the eastern and northern parts of the former Salisbury municipality. Farther from the city centre lie the somewhat richer areas of Greendale, Salisbury West and Mabelreign with incomes of over Rh\$12000 per head; and the more distant northern suburbs are the most prosperous areas with more than Rh\$1300 per person and rising to Rh\$1434 in Mount Pleasant and Rh\$1591 in Borrowdale. One area does not fit into the general pattern, namely the Avenues where 1969 income per capita was Rh\$1468. Clearly this part of the inner area, unlike the City centre (Rh\$768), is not dominated by poor folk though some of its small, older premises do house low-income families. The new, multi-storey blocks of flats which are increasingly common in this area of blight and transition, are mostly occupied by relatively well-to-do households of limited size; and property re-development in the area does little or nothing to rehouse the poor of the central areas but provides mainly for an inflow of young and elderly persons of some substance.

Aspects of Distribution and Density

The characteristics of the non-African population examined above, with a few notable exceptions, are not dissimilar in general terms from widely recurrent features of many 'western towns' but the low density of development and consequent widespread distribution of population in Salisbury are more unusual (Fig. 2 and 3). The large extent and open nature of the built-up area of the city as a whole is indicated in Table IV which shows the developed urban land as a percentage of all land on successive concentric circles centred on the main post office. Only 3 km from the city centre one-third of the land is not under urban uses, while the 4-km and 5-km circles largely run through the outer parts of the original Townlands and both have very low levels of development. In the inner suburbs development occurs over some two-thirds of the land but at the 8-km circle it covers only a slightly more than half and thereafter falls rapidly to 12 per cent at the 12-km circle. Open spaces within a city are to be highly prized and their real value should be appreciated by developing

Table IV

DEVELOPED URBAN LAND AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL LAND

<i>Distance from city centre (km)</i>	<i>% of circle on developed land</i>	<i>Distance from city centre (km)</i>	<i>% of circle on developed land</i>
1	96	10	37
2	78	11	15
3	66	12	12
4	59	13	7
5	39	14	6
6	66	15	7
7	66	16	6
8	51	17	8
9	44	18	4

and using them as amenities. However, even if generous provision is made for amenities as a first priority (and parts of Salisbury already are fairly well equipped in that respect), it is evident that within the present urban region there will remain numerous areas, both large and small, that could be developed for urban uses. And it would seem in the best interests of the city as a whole to fill in such spaces before permitting further outward growth of a general nature.

Turning to the density of occupation within the developed European areas of the city, Fig. 3 shows that only in the Avenues and parts of the central area where multi-storey blocks of flats and old houses on small plots predominate to densities exceed 50 persons/ha; the inner ring of suburbs mostly have between 10 and 30 persons/ha while the greater part of the European residential areas have less than 10 persons/ha. These figures include the Africans resident in these areas who, on average, comprise nearly half of the total population but occupy a very small part of the total space. These very low densities can only be understood in terms of early per-urban development which occurred piecemeal by sub-division of large agricultural holdings into smallholdings and extensive residential lots during times when cheap land and labour permitted and even encouraged substantial properties in areas beyond municipal control and rates. Planning legislation was minimal but did include a significant rule prohibiting building on plots of less than an acre in areas not served by water-borne sewage disposal. This remained in force until very recently and affected the greater part of the Salisbury urban region. Consequently

Salisbury's suburbs have mostly been laid out on the basis of one acre or more per house, and a way of life and thought has been created which maintain that anything less will undermine decent living standards. In 1969 no less than 75.2 per cent of the European population lived in detached houses, and flats accommodated only 13.2 per cent (Table V).

The very low densities of population are generally accompanied by spacious living conditions for Europeans if not for their servants. Fig. 4 illustrates 100 ha of Mount Pleasant which includes a shopping centre and an embryonic 'civic centre'; had a different locality been selected it might have included a school with its playing fields or a sports club with tennis courts, bowling greens, and licensed clubhouse. Within the area shown no private pro-

Table V

EUROPEAN ACCOMMODATION IN
SALISBURY 1969

Type of dwelling	No.	Occupants	
		No.	%
(a) <i>Private dwellings</i>			
Detached houses	20 337	72 615	75.2
Semi-detached houses	551	1 823	1.9
Flats with kitchens	6 563	12 555	13.0
Flats without kitchens	221	257	0.2
	27 672	87 250	90.8
(b) <i>Other dwellings</i>			
Dwellings and business premises combined	—	115	0.1
Temporary dwellings	—	249	0.2
Boarding houses, lodging houses and hotels	—	2 915	3.0
Institutions and other collective dwellings	—	6 235	6.4

perty is less than 0.4 ha, and the whole embraces only 157 detached houses and 12 flats in two blocks together with 85 swimming pools and 23 tennis courts. The houses mostly have ample garage space for one or two cars and rather less floorspace for the accommodation of up to four servants. The spacious grounds are tastefully developed and, except in times of drought, are well watered. The affluence evident on such private property, however,

generally contrasts markedly with the poverty of the public sector within the suburbs and invites transfer of investment from one to the other. Roads often are narrow, uneven and unlit while facilities for pedestrians are appalling, especially at night. Developed public open spaces are few and far between; water-borne sewage disposal is the exception rather than the rule, and water supplies leave much to be desired in many areas.

Nowadays the cost of living in most of Salisbury's European suburbs is high and increasing rapidly. Houses and grounds are expensive to purchase and maintain. Furthermore, because of the very low densities of population, large 'catchment areas' are required to justify the provision of even basic services and amenities and therefore much travelling is involved in every-day life. Few children are within walking distance of their schools; and even casual purchases of bread or milk and the posting of a letter usually call for car travel. Commuting to workplaces in the city centre or industrial areas also involves lengthy journeys. And, of course, the low density of development militates against the provision of a public transport system. Consequently life without a motor vehicle is extraordinarily difficult and many families have a genuine and costly need, imposed upon them by their built-environment, for two cars. The general use of cars may greatly reduce time spent in travelling but it adds significantly to household expenditure from which there is no escape except, to a very limited extent, in southern and south-eastern suburbs where rudimentary bus services do operate. In short, Salisbury's suburbs generally are expensive places to live in and they provide no place for the poor. Most young people and most new immigrants are relatively poor and if they try to live up to the inflated standards of the suburbs they must find it very difficult if not impossible to make ends meet. Alternative possibilities, however, are very limited. Only in the central and generally less desirable and less acceptable areas are small, old houses at all numerous while small, new flats, which are increasingly common in the Avenues, are mostly expensive. Salisbury is urgently in need of more high-density schemes, more relatively low-cost housing, and a wider variety of houstypes that would provide more satisfactorily for the wide range of households that make up society. Meanwhile present

circumstances in the European areas generally fail to attract and keep many young adults of relatively limited means; they make it necessary for many women to work; and they require large and continually increasing incomes for the maintenance of established standards.

Intensive development, however, is necessary not only to cater for the needs of Europeans with modest incomes. Low density development also makes very heavy demands on all distribution, transportation, and reticulation systems. Nor are problems in the public sphere limited to the suburbs themselves; many traffic problems of the city centre arise directly from the heavy dependence upon personal transport while, as noted above, the development of a satisfactory public transport system is difficult given the present pattern of housing. Future solutions to traffic problems will become increasingly expensive, and the same is true of future water supplies and sewage disposal schemes and of all public services. If the municipality is to keep pace with urban growth and make good the gross deficiencies existing in the public sector in present suburbs it will have to make heavier demands on private purses. The first steps in this direction are being taken, and Salisbury property and car owners should expect to be made increasingly aware of their obligations towards development of public facilities which are extremely expensive in low density areas.

Finally, it should be noted that while the European population finds itself increasingly involved in financial struggles to maintain its current mode of life and standard of living and to improve facilities within the European areas, there are limited prospects for a voluntary and substantial shift in the distribution of income and wealth in favour of the African population which, as will be seen, has a totally different and much less privileged way of life within the same city.

THE AFRICAN POPULATION

Aspects of Growth and Composition

The African population was first enumerated in 1962 when it stood at 213 810 and by the second census in 1969 it had increased to 280 090. These figures represent 69 and 73 per cent respectively of the total population of Salisbury, and official estimates for mid-1972 show that the latter proportion has been maintained. The distribution of the growth of African population amongst the several major parts of the urban region is summarised in Table VI. There has been very limited growth within the European areas and current policy is to effect reduction there. Harari is the oldest township and its population has changed little in recent years, new building being matched by clearance

Table VI
SALISBURY'S AFRICAN POPULATION 1962 TO 1969

	1962		1969	
	Number	%	Number	%
(a) 'European Areas'				
Municipality	32 170	14.9	32 160	11.5
Outer suburbs	40 610	18.8	45 749	16.3
(b) 'African Areas'				
Harari	58 250	27.0	57 950	20.6
Highfield	41 950	19.4	52 560	18.9
Other principal townships	24 430	11.3	71 170	25.4
Other Areas	18 400	8.6	20 501	7.3
Total Salisbury Urban Region*	215 810	100.0	280 090	100.0

*Estimated African population as at 30 June 1972: 350 000 (Central Statistical Office, October 1972). It should be noted that doubts have been cast on the validity of census returns for urban areas, it being suggested that they understate the true position, especially in the larger townships.

of older structures. Highfield, the other long-established township, expanded considerably but its proportion of the total African population fell slightly. Most growth, in fact, has been accommodated in relatively new townships such as Mufakose (20 620 in 1969), Kambuzuma (9 510), Tafara (6 030), and St. Mary's (13 160), the last mentioned having developed on mission land from 'unauthorised' squatter-type housing into a recognized township with an orderly site-and-service organization.

Africans are drawn into the urban milieu as labour migrants and although the rate of circulation has slowed down considerably and there are many residents of long-standing, very few Africans have a permanent stake in Salisbury or any legal right to live there except as employees or, exceptionally, as approved self-employed workers in the city. Rhodesia has for long employed immigrant African workers and aliens continue to be a significant element in the country's population. Salisbury is no exception in this respect and in 1969 46 390 or 17 per cent of the African townsfolk were foreign-born. Analysis of the composition of this contingent gives the following percentage figures:

<i>Country of Birth</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Malawi	49,1	12,3	61,4
Mozambique	24,4	4,2	28,6
Zambia	4,0	2,0	6,0
Elsewhere	1,6	2,4	4,0
	79,1	20,9	100,0

It will be noted that Malawian Africans are particularly numerous; and that the aliens as a whole are predominantly male — more so than the total African population of Salisbury of which males constitute 64,0 per cent. The origin of Rhodesian Africans resident in Salisbury is not well documented, but 1969 data show that 81,0 per cent of all Africans in Salisbury area Shona-speaking while only 1,5 per cent speak Ndebele and related languages; 17,5 per cent speak 'other languages' and this proportion closely reflects that of foreign-born Africans. These figures suggest that immigration from Matabeleland is very limited indeed, and Salisbury provides less of a melting-pot for Rhodesia's major tribal groups than an international meeting ground.

The distribution of Africans of alien origins exhibits one feature of note; they are most numerous in the European areas where they constitute 27,5 per cent of all Africans, a fact which reflects their high level of employment in domestic service. As a consequence they are proportionally less numerous in the African townships where they vary from 9,2 per cent in Highfield to 14,8 per cent in Rugare and Kambuzuma.

The selective effects of labour migration greatly affect the age and sex composition of the African population which differs from that of the other racial groups both in its general nature and in the much greater spatial differences that it exhibits (Fig. 1). Taken as a whole, it has a marked imbalance between the sexes, males over 15 years of age (47,9 per cent) being more than twice as numerous as females (19,9 per cent). It also includes few elderly persons, those over 50 comprising only 4,0 per cent of the total (cf. 20,5 per cent of the European population). Children constitute nearly one-third of the total population, which is a sizeable proportion in view of the imbalance between the sexes. The causes of the age-sex structure are manifold and a full explanation would require a detailed investigation of the sociological and economic background to African urbanization. However, mention may be made of a few of the principal factors. These include the inability of many African workers on their present incomes to support their full families in town; secondly, many Africans are unable or reluctant to give up their economic and social holdings in rural areas which are secured by the presence there of members of their household; thirdly, there is an acute shortage in Salisbury of accommodation suitable for family life; and, finally, government policy restricts African residence in European areas to domestic employees only.

Spatial differences in age and sex composition may be attributed largely to regional differences in one or more of these factors. Thus the most extreme distortion of the age-sex pyramid occurs amongst Africans living in the European areas such as Highlands (Fig. 1) where, in addition to the occurrence of all the above factors in acute form, a significant proportion of male employees come from beyond Rhodesia's borders. The population of the larger and older African townships, and of Harari

in particular, is very similar to the general structure outlined above, but that of newer townships reflects the greater provision of houses suitable for families. And the greatest contrast is offered by the populations of Marimba Park, Mufakose, Rugare and Westwood which not only enjoy better than average accommodation but also higher incomes. In these areas there is a much better balance between the sexes and children are particularly numerous (Fig. 1).

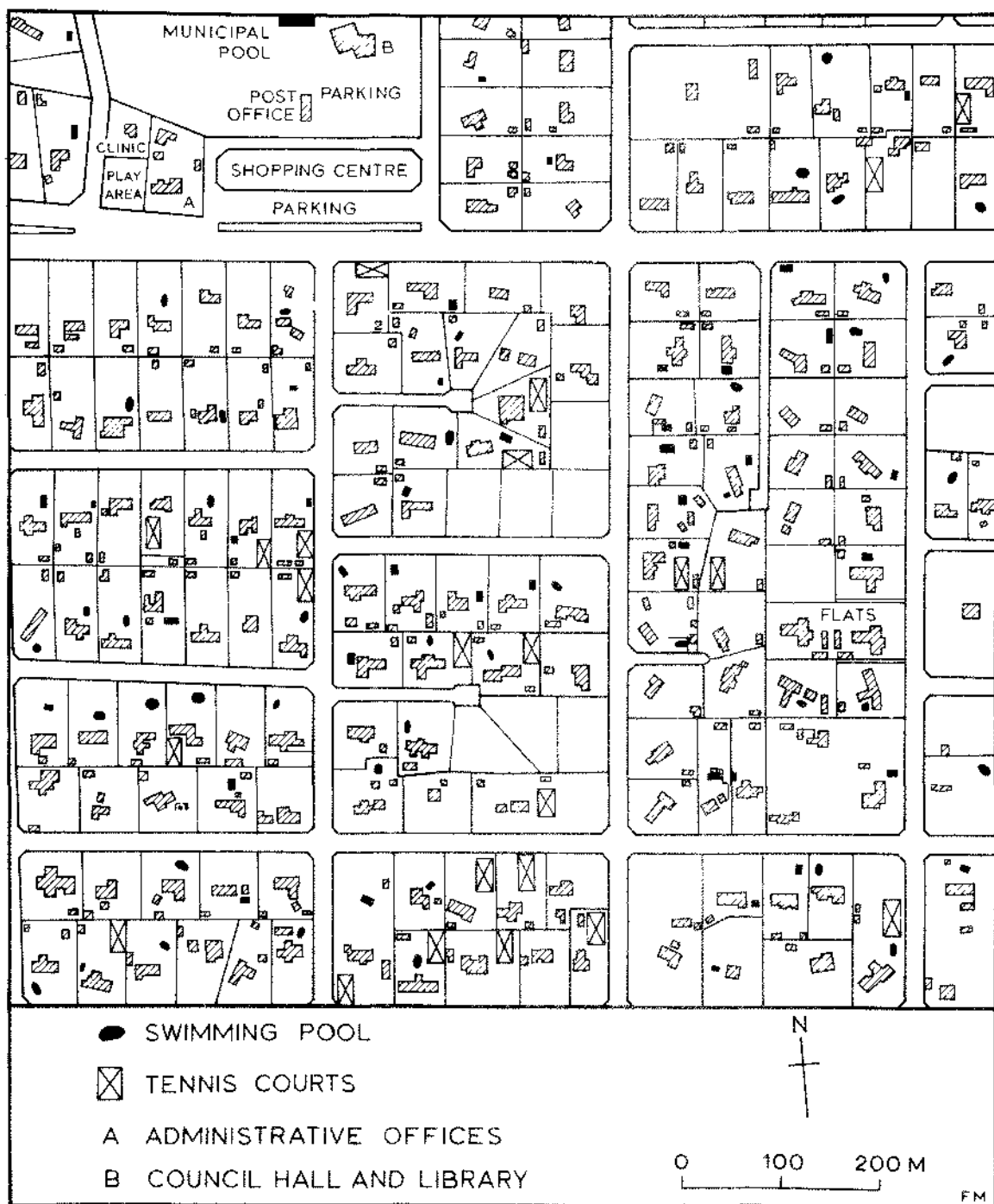
As African men are admitted to Salisbury only as labour migrants, a very high level of employment is to be expected amongst them, and 1969 data show 115 540 males to be gainfully employed (including 2190 in self-employment). This figure represents 86 per cent of all males over the age of 15. Job-opportunities for African women, however, are relatively scarce and only 10 000 or 18 per cent of those aged 15 or more were able to find paid employment (cf. 17 000 or 43 per cent of the non-African women). Nevertheless, because of the marked differences in age-sex structures, the overall ratio of breadwinners to local dependants amongst Salisbury's Africans is very similar to that amongst the non-Africans, the relevant figures being 1:1.2 and 1:1.3 respectively. African annual earnings, however, are much lower than those of non-Africans and in 1969 averaged some Rh\$400 giving an overall income per capita of only Rh\$180 which is no more than 14 per cent of the average figure for non-Africans. The average does, of course, mask considerable variations in earnings. In particular it is somewhat depressed by the large number of domestic servants whose average annual earnings (Rh\$244) were very low; if they were separated the average for all other Salisbury workers would be approximately Rh\$450. However, if more detailed data were available it would only reveal a handful of relatively prosperous Africans and, as a corollary, a considerably larger number of desperately poor households.

Aspects of Distribution and Density

The determination of African wage-rates is a legacy from days when paternalism was more important than pay, and prevailing rates in most cases are still inadequate to meet the real costs of amenities and services, including housing, that are provided by the government,

municipality, and employers. The distribution and density of African population in Salisbury therefore are largely determined by official planning policies and legislation, the only major exception being St. Mary's Township where initiative originally lay with the African town-folk and the Roman Catholic Mission station on whose land the township was established. A similar but much smaller African settlement is to be found on land owned by the Methodist Church at Epworth. Fig. 2 summarises the 1969 distribution of Africans within Greater Salisbury and highlights, first, the significant number of Africans resident within the European areas and, secondly, the occurrence of discrete African townships in the southern half of the region where they form a partial ring along the periphery of the built-up area.

Some 28 per cent of the African population lived within the European areas where they constituted some 42 per cent of the total population. The greater part of these Africans are employed locally as domestic servants or are dependants of such employees, though it is now illegal to house the latter on private property in European residential areas, even though they be members of the employee's immediate family. The occurrence of Africans in such large numbers in the suburbs rather than the African townships is a consequence of several factors which fall into two groups. First, there is a widespread and long established practice to employ domestic servants from early morning to late evening, albeit with broken hours, and at weekends. Further, the earnings of domestic servants are lower than those of any other industrial group except agricultural workers and averaged only Rh\$20 per month in 1969. These circumstances, together with the entirely inadequate public transport facilities between African and European areas, persuade both European employers and African employees to favour the established practice of accommodating domestic servants at their place of work. The weight of such factors diminishes with distance from an African township but is never eliminated. Furthermore the acute shortage of houses in most African townships largely precludes the transfer of domestic workers out of the European areas where servants' quarters generally are available (Fig. 4). The second group of factors affecting the occurrence of Africans in European areas consists of the differing needs for servants and differing



abilities to employ them. The ability to employ servants is largely a function of household income, and in general terms it is likely to increase together with the need for workers. The larger the plot and house, and the more numerous the amenities such as swimming pools, tennis courts, and stables, the greater is the need for African workers. There are marked spatial differences in such circumstances, and these are reflected in the different ratios between Europeans and Africans from one area to another (Fig. 2). Thus, for example, in the Avenues where small houses and flats predominate Africans comprise only 14 per cent of the total population, and nowhere in the central and inner areas of the city do they exceed one-third. In contrast, in the wealthy northern suburbs of Mount Pleasant and Highlands they constitute 47 and 50 per cent respectively while in Borrowdale, where quasi-rural pursuits are relatively common, they comprise 72 per cent of the total population.

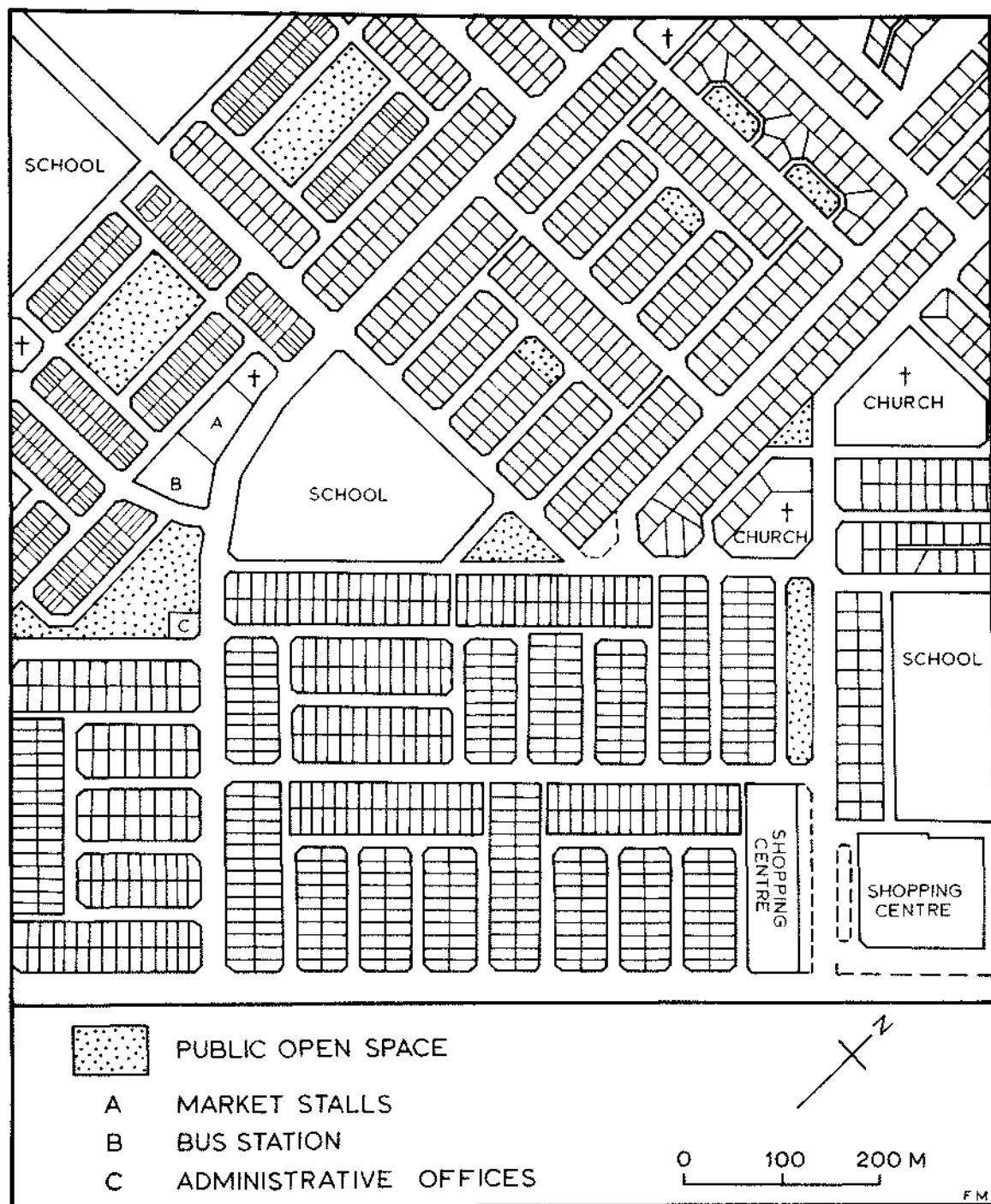
The 28 per cent of the African population living in the European areas are conveniently situated in respect of their workplace but they are ill placed in respect of commercial, social, and recreational facilities for Africans which are singularly lacking in the European suburbs. Salisbury, in fact, for long has failed to meet or even consider the reasonable basic needs of this sizeable section of its society which finds itself dispersed throughout a culturally alien environment. Recently there has been more concern about aspects of this situation which culminated in legislation restricting residence of Africans in European areas to registered employees only; the families of such employees may be housed in African townships where facilities are available. This legislation does not meet the real issues, social and political, and insofar as it militates against normal family life it is undesirable and immoral.

The African townships have been developed exclusively to serve the needs of their inhabitants and are relatively well equipped with facilities of all kinds, but they are mostly placed at some considerable distance from the major workplaces and from the services and amenities of the city centre (Fig. 2). The principal townships (Harari, Highfield, Westwood — Kambuzuma — Rugare and Mukafose-Marimba Park) accommodate 53.4 per cent of Salisbury's African population (39 per cent of

the total population) in the south-western sector of the urban region along the railway line and in company with the major industrial areas, the latter being generally the nearer to the city centre. Their location is relatively favourable, though Highfield is some 9 km and Mufakose 13 km from the city centre. However, recent expansion of African housing in this sector, at Glen Norah, lies beyond Highfield; and the newer townships in general are more remote. Dzivarisekwa is 13 km from the city centre and is far removed from any industrial area; even as a place of residence for domestic servants working in the north-western suburbs it imposes a journey of some 8 km or more. Mabvuku, Tafara, and St. Mary's, being 14, 17, and 18 km respectively from the city centre, are in even less favourable locations. Such space-relationship greatly affect the lives of the African townfolk. Each township or cluster of townships becomes a semi-autonomous appendage to the city rather than an integral part of the whole. And the expense and hardship of long journeys to work and to centrally located facilities and functions bear heavily upon the low-income African workers and their families and, indirectly, add to the financial liabilities of those who employ them and of the city's population as a whole.

Finally, reference may be made to the effect of the location of African townships on population 'gradients' from the city centre (Fig. 3). In the N.E. sector densities decline rapidly with distance, and the gradient is only 'reversed' at the 16 and 17 km marks where it is influenced by a small part of Tafara African township. The pattern in the N.W. sector is similar but the occurrence of Dzivarisekwa township at 12-13 kms from the city centre provides a pronounced anomaly. In the southern half of the city, and especially in the S.W. sector which is the most densely peopled, there is no similar simple pattern, and the location of African townships provides a series of peaks extending to the very periphery of the region.

Turning to the intensity of land use within the African townships (Fig. 3), the highest density of population recorded in 1969 was 744 persons/ha in a very small part of Harari which consisted of old buildings and a shanty settlement that have since been obliterated. Nowhere else do densities exceed 300 persons/ha, and only five small areas had densities of



between 200 and 300 persons/ha. In the greater part of Harari, Highfield and Dzivaresekwa and in a large part of Mufakose there were between 100 and 200 persons/ha, while most other African areas had between 50 and 100. St. Mary's township, with 30 to 50 persons/ha is relatively open in character, a reflection of its spontaneous growth on mission land. Marimba Park and Westwood have even lower densities which are in keeping with their reputations as high-class African residential areas. It will be evident from these figures that, although heavily populated by Salisbury's standards the African townships are not crowded by international standards. However, the layout of the townships does not give the impression of modest population densities and at first sight space may appear to be intensively used. This is because of the regular, often geometrical distribution of small, single-storey boxlike dwellings set within individual plots with a consequent lack of sizeable open spaces for informal recreation, amenity and cultivation (Fig. 5). Such arrangements are the best that unimaginative and impecunious administrations have been able to offer; the worst, perhaps, are the massive slabs that constitute hostels for single males. The impression that the townships are heavily populated is further exaggerated by a real shortage of living space, the actual dwellings often being grossly overcrowded. The 1969 data show that some 97 per cent of Salisbury's African population lived in 65 070 private dwellings comprised of 162 130 rooms giving an average of 1.7 persons per room, this being a conservative figure because of the probable understatement of the population. Depressing though such conditions may be, it is even more depressing to realise that given the prevailing low levels of incomes such living conditions are beyond the means of most Africans and but for paternalism and subsidies there would be shanties rather than orderly townships.

CONCLUSION

The city is a concrete expression of past and present human conditions and inter-relationships, and as such it is not easily changed. In Salisbury, the physical obstacles to change are matched by entrenched views of a large majority of influential Europeans who favour retention of the prevailing way of life

and current standards almost regardless of costs. Difficulties and expenses of accommodating rapid growth, however, have created an increasing awareness of the need for change if Salisbury is to continue to grow and if it is to become a better place in which to live and work. Problems of growth, serious though they may be, are not the principal causes of concern; these are more deep-rooted and call for radical rethinking about the future from and face of Salisbury. First and foremost is the deep division based in racial discrimination and gross social and economic inequality between African and non-African townfolk. The pursuit of policies which approach apartheid is unacceptable not only because of the injustice involved but also because it is unreasonably expensive. Indeed, the second fundamental problem is the increasing inability of the city as a corporate body and of its constituent households regardless of race to meet the rising costs of the prevailing way of life that has been established in the past and is now firmly built into the urban fabric.

The excessive lateral growth, the extraordinarily low density of development, and the perverse location of many low-income groups constitute some of the more important aspects of the latter problem which can be alleviated by physical planning. In the European areas lateral growth should be checked if not stopped in favour of in-filling and subdivision of existing lots within the built-up area and within a fixed limit on land prices. Priority should be given wherever possible to high-density housing schemes which provide a variety of dwellings, mostly at low prices, and which particularly cater for young adults and aged poor. Such development would require greater involvement by the city authorities and, possibly, central government not only in terms of planning legislation but also in direct participation in development. Much-needed improvements in the public sector within the suburbs and in the city as a whole also should receive early attention, and this too would inevitably call for greater public spending. The present financial resources of the municipality are too slim for its present tasks, and well established, relatively wealthy households should be made increasingly aware, step by step, of their responsibilities to the community as a whole in local suburbs and in Greater Salisbury. In 1971/2 rates contributed only Rhs 3 498 000 or

7.9 per cent of the municipality's income, which was less than African rents (Rh\$4.6M or 10.4 per cent) and both were less than profits from sales of liquor in African townships Rh\$6.2M or 14.0 per cent. Increased rates and local taxes may well reduce the personal spending power of most non-Africans but need not lead to any real decline in the standard of living or quality of life since the municipality may be better placed to make more effective use of the funds on their behalf than the townsfolk are as individuals.

On the other hand, any substantial movement to reduce the economic gulf between African and non-African townsfolk is likely to be effective only if the more affluent sectors of society, including the relatively well-to-do Africans, are willing to give up, or are required to give up some of their income and wealth, or at least forego some of their likely increases in income, in favour of the less fortunate majority. Meanwhile, living costs per unit may be reduced by improved physical planning; as, for example, by better location of new African housing which should have priority in large open areas near the heart of the city; by more intensive use of land and a wider variety of architectural forms within the townships; and by provision of low-cost site and service schemes on which Africans may build their own houses.

Erosion of present inequalities, however, need not be considered solely in monetary terms. It is, perhaps, more important to give early recognition to the African's rights to a permanent place in urban society, with privileges and responsibilities comparable with those

of his European fellows, albeit for the time being within specified townships. Minimum wages and urban facilities should be such as will allow a man to support his wife and family, defined in western or modern terms, in town and he should be encouraged if not required to have them live with him. Increased stability and responsibility should be matched with increased participation through elected councils in the administration of urban affairs both locally within the townships and increasingly in the city as a whole. Such steps towards a more integrated and more egalitarian society should be possible within the near future and without a substantial shift in political power, which is in any case unlikely. Indeed, financial implications of such changes are likely to be as serious obstacles as the political ones, but they probably deserve higher priority than any general increase in African wage-rates which achieve only a superficial improvement of the African's position.

Finally, special attention is required for the numerous Africans living within the European areas of Salisbury. Two alternatives seem possible; the system of residential segregation could be extended so as to transfer all domestic servants to African townships or full provision could be made for domestic servants and their families within the European areas. The preference of the Africans concerned is not known; but the latter course has some real advantages. It would, for example, involve some inter-digitation of African and European communities which might assist in reducing the gulf between the races.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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KEY TO FIGURES

- Figure 1, p.74 :* Age and sex composition, 1969.
- Figure 2, p.76 :* Greater Salisbury Population Distribution, 1969.
- Figure 3, p.78 :* Greater Salisbury Population Density, 1969.
- Figure 4, p.83 :* 100 Hectares of Mount Pleasant.
- Figure 5, p.85 :* 100 Hectares of Highfields African Township.