SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Cape Town - A statistical summary and analysis of socio-economic trends for local areas and the 01 economic region (Part 1)

by

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PREFACE.

This paper is a summary of the findings and tabulations of a project we undertook to analyse socio-economic patterns and trends in the Cape Town Metropolitan area.

The data we present has been obtained from the 1980 Population Census. Our wider study has as one of its aims the inclusion of socio-economic data which cannot be derived from the Population Census. This would allow for a more comprehensive profile of each local area in the Peninsula and Kuilsriver to be presented.

We have included a 30% sample of local area tabulations, and a selection of socio-economic indicators for the Peninsula.

Throughout the paper, 'black' refers to the sum of 'coloureds', 'Indians', and 'Africans'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

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PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

Our study flows from a perception of the need to understand social reality, in order to change it. The problem however is that reality does not confront us in a clear and neutral manner.

Firstly, it has been projected as increasingly complex and specialised - beyond the reach of most people. Secondly, it has been transmitted through ideology. The end result is the fragmented and only partially substantiated picture we form of events and processes within our society.

One may argue that the way out of this can only be through the use of a scientific theory. Such a theory must be based on the acceptance of a methodology which approaches the world/reality free from preconceived idealist notions - and searches for causes in the operation of society itself. Such a methodology recognizes also the constant dynamic and change in society; that is, the inter-relationships, linkages and qualitative development of the social forces in a given society.

Theory however, to be a useful guide to understanding social reality, must transcend its inherent abstract elements: theory needs to be fed with and shaped by empirical data drawn from a given society. Put simply, theory needs to be based on facts, and in turn explain facts.

The point arises: which facts? - what does one feed into one’s theory?
Two theorists a century ago argued:

"The premises from which we begin ... are the real individuals, their activity and the material conditions under which they live, both those which they find already existing and those produced by their activity. These premises
can thus be verified in a purely empirical way...
The first fact to be established is the physical organisation of these individuals and their consequent relation to the rest of nature...
Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organisation. By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life.

The way in which men produce their means of subsistence depends first of all on the nature of the actual means they find in existence and have to reproduce. This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production.¹

The facts and information which describe the 'material conditions' of a society thus form our point of departure. Capitalist society spawns a vast information industry - one that is not arbitrary, but an industry specialised and shaped by very specific needs: the needs of business, government, etc. Almost as a by-product the media on occasion (with no real consistency) provides information to the working man. One important task is to tap the information industry, and make its products widely accessible. In the long run one needs to redefine the method (and obviously aim) of research,
to suit the very different purpose which research has for the worker and 'ordinary person' on the one hand, and the dominant group and its allies on the other hand.

One official source presently used is the Population Census conducted by the State's Department of Statistics every ten years. It was last conducted in 1980, and it is claimed, enumerated all citizens of South Africa on the date of the census (excluding people in Transkei, Bophutatswana and Venda). For our purposes, we have identified the Western Cape as our area of study, and have extracted information for this region from the census data.

The study tried to rework and present data at three levels: the local level (through the State's definition of 'local areas', and suburbs), the level of economic region (the Western Cape consists of two economic regions: O1 and O2) and the intermediate level (i.e. Magisterial District, of which the O1 region consists of five and the O2 region of 1).

Information was extracted according to the following indicators: population (sex and race), age patterns, economic participation (economic sector and occupation group, income), sociological patterns such as educational level of the workforce, of the general population; housing tenure, density and types.

We had hoped to utilise information from other sources for the following indicators:

health (facilities and indicators), crime patterns, transport networks, library and community facilities.

The problem was that, since information from the census could not in all instances be compared with information gained through other sources, this part of our study has been delayed.
General pressure of time has also prevented all the census data from being standardized and reworked especially at the economic region and magisterial level and for historical trends (i.e. 1980 compared with the previous census years). Most of this necessary information has been left out.

For the purposes of this conference, we selected a 30% sample of all the local areas covered. This information in the form of area tabulations will be presented further in this paper.

We hope to prepare the 100% sample, as well as information per magisterial district, some historical trends, non-census data and a fuller analysis of the actual data as a forthcoming Saldru Working Paper. Here we present 'preliminary findings and tentative comments'.
METROPOLITAN CAPE TOWN: A BRIEF BACKGROUND OUTLINE

This study focuses on two economic regions. Economic region 01 consists of the magisterial districts of Cape Town, Wynberg, Simonstown, Goodwood and Bellville. This area is commonly known as the Peninsula. Economic region 02 consists of the magisterial district of Kuilsriver. The two economic regions together have been referred to as the Cape Town Metropolitan Transport Area.

The 01 and 02 economic regions differ significantly in the racial composition of their population, compared to the average for the country as a whole. To understand why this is so, one needs to outline the processes which shaped the background of this area.

This region was the first part of present day South Africa colonised by the Dutch on their trade route to Asia. The first reputed inhabitants of the Cape were the Khoi people. The historian R.H. Elphick's conservative estimate is that 100 000 Khoi were scattered in various parts of the Cape and surrounding districts.

Because of their subsistence economy and the consequent lack of necessity and inclination to slave for the Dutch, the Khoi were 'unsuitable' as a steady labour force. Van Riebeek branded them as:

"botte plompe ende luys stinkende natie ... gansch niet te vertrouwen maar een brutale hoop sonder conscientie levende"

Slave labour was thus imported or taken off passing ships. These labourers came from as far afield as Angola, Guinea, Mozambique, Madagascar and Asian countries (East Indies and Malaysia). At some stages in history the number of slaves exceeded that of the white settlers.
With the growing ascendancy of capitalist relations of production over pre-capitalist labour mechanisms throughout the British Empire, the slave trade was abolished in 1807. This contributed to what sections of white settlers regarded as a labour shortage. By 1809, the Cape Colony under British administration introduced measures to incorporate the Khoi by force into the Cape economy. A type of pass law was introduced as the Caledon Code, to compel the Khoi to be employed by white farmers. Other laws allowed for indentured slavery of children of Khoi-slave marriages.

The birth-pangs of the new production relations had been overcome sufficiently by 1828 for the removal of pass restrictions to be effected (known as Ordinance 50), and for the abolition of slavery itself in 1834. The process of proletarianisation, i.e. "... the historic process of divorcing the producer from the means of production, the transformation of peasant to worker" was already taking place, first with the Khoi and later with the rest of the indigenous people of South Africa. The Glen Grey Act of 1894 aimed at the Transkei area was a foremost coercive method of proletarianisation. The words of its architect, mining magnate Cecil John Rhodes, plainly set forth the intention that had already permeated decades of policy on labour matters. The Act, said Rhodes,

"removed natives from that life of sloth and laziness, teaching them the dignity of labour, and made them contribute to the prosperity of the state, and made them give some return for our wise and good government."

Miscegination among Khoi, African and Asian slaves and freed slaves, whites and indigenous africans (by 1865 the census recorded 674 indigenous africans in Cape Town, most of whom came from the Eastern Cape), produced the black population of Cape Town. Through political processes a
a separation was effected in this group towards the end of the 19th century between "coloured" and African: the thin line of division was used to define and mobilise people on an 'ethnic' basis.

The discovery of diamonds and gold in the interior shaped the pace and form of industrialisation. Cape Town became an important harbour city and, for a time, the metropolis from which the restructuring of the interior took place. The needs of intensive mining resulted in the rapid growth of the infrastructure and secondary industry, especially between the two world wars.

The composition of the labour force and the differentiated entry into positions within the economy was welded into the early pattern of economic development.

Informal and indirect colour bars can be traced back to the diamond mines as early as 1872. The introduction of the 1926 'Colour Bars' Act and later amendments to the Industrial Conciliation Acts (1956 and 1959) entrenched job reservation in skilled occupations and protected the white skilled worker. Although the needs and pressures of an expanding economy at times forced the relaxation of some of these provisions, they have nonetheless shaped the occupational patterns of the labour force up to the present.

In the previous century, the dominant group had conceded certain rights (economic and political) to small, privileged sections of blacks, in particular to elements of 'coloureds'. Whatever the motives, the objective result was to pursue a policy that divided the black population and facilitated the continued dominance of the ruling group. It was hoped that the Khoi-Xhosa military alliance at the end of the 18th century was not to find contemporary expression as political alliances in the city. This does show the extent to which social reality is not merely the result of the structures and processes imposed by the ruling class of a society. In a very definite sense, reality is shaped by the conflict and struggle between social forces: it becomes the product of this
conflict although not always in the ways the social forces intended.

The legal and political processes of segregation became more systematic after 1948 with a realignment of class forces and strategies within the ruling class and between it and its allies. It has been said that the central feature of apartheid is the control and regulation of labour in the interest of capital, "enabling all capitalists to intensify the exploitation of African workers and so raise the general rate of profit."9

Whatever one's views are on this, it is undoubtedly the pass law system which has been one of the most visible features of apartheid. It has drawn the most intense resistance by black people and was the main issue in the campaign that led to the massacre at Sharpeville in 1960. Various forms and types of pass systems were in operation during the 19th century, in many cases informally. The basis of influx control was laid with the introduction of the 1913 Land Act (and amendments) which 'reserved' only about 7% (later 13%) of the land for Africans. Over a period of time large numbers of Africans were shifted from settled communities in 'white' South Africa to the 'reserves'.

After 1948, restriction on African employment in the Western Cape took place. By 1955, Eiselen, Secretary of Native Affairs stated the intentions and magnitude of what became known as the 'coloured labour preference policy', for part of the Cape Province. "Briefly and concisely put, our native policy regarding the Western Province aims at ultimate elimination of Natives from this region," Eiselen remarked. In the following twelve years, the area which this policy encompassed was increased twice; firstly in 1963 and secondly in 1967.

The results of the policy were to halt the entry of africans to the Cape and in fact over a period to reverse the migration patterns and depopulate the Cape of africans. The results
have been summarised statistically as follows:

**CONTRACT AND TOTAL REGISTERED WORKFORCE IN PENINSULA**

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<td>19 443</td>
<td>18 710</td>
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<td>64 423</td>
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<td>51 355</td>
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The effect of this policy is highlighted in two ways. Firstly there has been a reduction in the number of african contract workers (47 000 in 1960 to 18 000 by 1979). It is assumed that the contract figure did not change much in 1980 or 1981. Secondly there has been a reduction in registered africans in the Peninsula (not only that a 16 000 decrease is noted between 1975 and 1981, but also allowing for a natural increase in population of working age, the decrease is higher than these figures suggest.

This policy has shaped not only the size of the african population in the Peninsula, but also the composition (extreme sexual imbalance) and the patterns of economic activity (low participation in the Manufacturing sector - particularly the textile sub-sector, high proportion of domestic workers and very few skilled workers and professionals). The 1980 census figures are meaningless if the above issues are not borne in mind.

Restrictions in the movement of people in search of jobs and places to settle were mainly aimed at africans - but similar restrictions on indians locked them into the Natal economy.
They were discouraged from settling in the Cape and prevented from settling in the OFS. Only those who could overcome these problems - generally those with access to money, education or other leverage - settled in the Peninsula. This explains the disproportionate number of financially privileged Indians found here.

Segregation has not been limited to the production process. In all other spheres of life the pattern of a segregated labour force extended into segregated residential areas, separate amenities, etc. Local areas tend to be 'racially cohesive'. The roots of residential apartheid preceded the Group Areas Act of 1950. Already at the turn of the century, as two recent studies show, segregation was introduced in Cape Town. The rationale used included the fear of crime or diseases of which blacks in general - whether Africans shifted from Papendorp (Woodstock) to Ndabeni or Coloureds in the slums of District Six - were reputed to be the cause.

The Group Areas Act was the systematic and brutal successor of previous attempts at segregation. Nationwide, by 1981, it had shifted 118,525 coloured and Indian families (about 600,000 people). It was particularly vicious and extensive in the Cape and its legacy is enshrined in the vast, sprawling council townships all over the Cape Flats: testimony to a massive piece of social engineering clothed in the soft words of reform and upliftment.

The Native Urban Areas Act of the 1920's formed the basis for the removal of Africans from mixed residential areas and their resettlement in locations. The locations were seen as tools to assist with the task of influx control and in their design (size and lay-out) they reinforced these intentions.

Segregated education has had its aims clearly stated by Verwoerd in a speech to the Senate, 7 June 1954, in which
he said: "Natives will be taught from early childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them ... what is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics which it cannot use in practice?... There is no place for him above the level of certain forms of labour."

But segregated education (especially segregated schools) have been the norm since the turn of the century, since the importance of education increased with the industrialisation of South Africa. The School Board Act of 1905 limited attendance at State schools in the Cape to whites. "Apartheid" policy was merely to follow through the segregation of the administration of education.

Government policy conformed to the pattern of education within capitalist societies - preparing different social groups for differing positions in the occupational structure in order to reproduce the basic relations of production. It has been said that:

"Different levels of education feed workers into different levels within the occupational structure and, correspondingly, tend towards an internal organisation comparable to levels in the hierarchical division of labour."13

The structure, content and financing of segregated education reflects and reinforces its purposes. For instance, state per capita expenditure on education in 1981 was as follows:

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<td>indian</td>
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<td>coloured</td>
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The patterns of occupational privilege and inequality which we will see in the tabulations later in this paper are not incidental. These static patterns reflect and are continually reproduced by the many and varied processes of privilege and inequality vital to racial capitalism.
The Peninsula has undergone many changes since the 1980 census was held. It is difficult to assess the extent to which the ongoing processes in our society have reversed the trends which we noted on the basis of 1980 data. There are three particular processes which should be noted.

The first such process is the demographic shifts within Peninsula boundaries. Since 1980 the population of Mitchell's Plain and Belhar has increased greatly. This may have altered the composition of some of the older areas in the Peninsula, since state policy has been to attract particular types of 'coloureds' to Mitchell's Plain (those whom the State feels no longer have the need - because of upward social mobility and increased incomes - to rent state dwellings, but can afford to buy their homes in Mitchell's Plain). Belhar has had to absorb former shack-dwellers from the Elsies River-Ravensmead area in addition to the normal demand for state housing from people with low incomes.

The second process is the state's new housing policy, more particularly the planned sales of existing rented housing stock to its occupants. Housing tenure patterns would be greatly altered if the campaign which the state has mounted proves to be successful. It does seem at present that the proportion of home ownership dwellings would increase because of this policy.

The third process is the tightening of influx control. The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Person's Bill outlined the intentions of the state regarding the african population. Although a high degree of resistance has seen it shelved for the time being, new legislation can be expected on this issue.
THE STUDY

We obtained printouts of a number of socio-economic indicators on a local area, magisterial district and economic region level. Our task was to collage all indicators for a given local area, to reveal the patterns and linkages as they express themselves in people's daily existence.

A. The Indicators: Each indicator is described at the local area level.

1) POPULATION:
*Total population per local area; population as a percentage of the total population of the 01 or 02 economic region.
*Number of males and females; each as a % of the total.
*Number of economically active (EA); this as a % of the area's population.
*Number of male and female EA, this as a % of the area's EA.
*Number of not economically active (NEA); this as a % of area's population.
*Number of male and female NEA, this as a % of the area's NEA.

2) RACE:
*Number of whites, coloureds, indians and africans per area; each as a % of the area's population.

3) AGE PROFILE:
*Number of people per age cohorts 1-4, 5-14, 15-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64 and 65+
*each as a % of the area's population.

4) EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS
(a) Industrial Sectors
*Number of workers in five selected industrial sectors (Textiles, Construction, Commerce (only Wholesale and Retail sub-sector), Transport and Public Administration)
*each industrial sector's workforce in local areas as a % of the economic region totals for that sector (e.g. Local Area's Textile Workers ÷ 01 TOTAL Textile Workers x 100)
*Each industrial sector's workforce as a % of area's EA
*Total number of males and females per the five selected industrial sectors for area.
*Same information as above for 3 next most important sectors for local area (i.e. sectors other than five selected above).

(b) Occupation Groups
*Number of workers per nine occupation groups (Professional and Technical, Teachers, Managerial and related, Clerical and related, Sales, Service, Farm and related, Production and related, not classified).
*each occupation group as a % of the area's E.A.
*each occupation group as a % of the economic region totals for that occupation group.
*Number of males and females per occupation group for the area.

v) PERSONAL INCOME
*Average personal income in the area.
*white personal income in the area.
*coloured personal income in the area.
*Indian personal income in the area.
*african personal income in the area.
*Average economic region personal income.
*Economic region personal income of 'race' with majority of population of area.

VI) EDUCATION
*Total number of people within one of nine levels of education (unknown, none, less than Std 4, Std 4 and 5, Std 6 and 7, Std 8, Std 9 and 10, Diploma, Degree.)
*each as a % of total population.
*Total number of EA within one of nine levels of education.
*each as a % of EA.
VII) HOUSING

(a) Tenure
*No. of houses per different ownership tenure (rented: state owned, employer owned and private owned; homeownership: paid off, still paying; other: free or farm dwelling). *each category as a % of total number of dwellings in the area.

(b) Type of Dwelling
*Number of inhabitants per type of dwelling (house, semi, flat, hotel, old age home, hostel and other). *each type as a % of total number of people housed in the area.

(c) Density per Dwelling
*Number of persons per habitable room.

NOTES ON INDICATORS, AND DEFINITIONS USED

Population
A single category 'economically active' was not supplied: we arrived at it by subtracting the area's given NEA, obtained from the Occupational category print-outs, from the area's population. Therefore: POPULATION - NEA = EA.

Race
The reasons for using the above race categorisation and others are as follows:
The structures and processes in apartheid society impose certain categories on researchers - primarily because social reality is ultimately defined by segregated structures and practices and the struggles against them. We have chosen to work with two criteria in mind:

a) the official state categorizations (white, coloured, indian and african)
b) the categorization employed by increasing numbers of people struggling for a democratic South Africa (black, white)

Black in this context defines that group suffering under national oppression: those by the logic of apartheid ideology excluded from the political decision-making processes in South Africa. White would refer to the converse.
Both sets of categories on their own and taken together have limitations. The basic limitation is that by employing these criteria, more essential divisions in our society are often obscured. This problem arises from such criteria based not on various social groups' basic relationship, i.e. to their positions within the production process, but on their access to political processes.

While the contrast, for example between white and black educational levels may be high, it is magnified if presented in terms of other categories, e.g. the education of managers as against that of agricultural workers.

There is a degree of overlap however, between criteria defined politically and those defined economically, an overlap that is not incidental to, but on the contrary an essential form that the development of capitalism has taken in South Africa. Therefore the information here presented may be of use to those trying to penetrate beyond the surface of our society, to uncover the hidden processes which make this stratified society function in the way that it does.

Their usage does not in any sense imply acceptance of race categories as reflective of inherent biological differences, nor that the sociological patterns imposed by the processes and structures of racial capitalism have an eternal validity. Fundamental changes to the structures of this society - and to who holds state power - will allow for these patterns to be erased and for new patterns more in harmony with the principles of the ruling group of that future society to be promoted.

Age

We constructed the age cohorts from data supplied in the print-outs. We tried to capture (a) the pre-school population (1-4), (b) children and juveniles (5-14), (c) the 'youth sector' (15-24), (d) the adult population of working age in 10-year cohorts (25-64) and the retired sector (65+). One
could motivate for different cohort construction, especially within the 1-24 age groups, but the above suited our specific purposes.

**Industrial Sectors**

We had a twofold aim: (1) to find out how each area ranked in relation to the most important industrial sectors in the Cape and (2) to uncover the particular patterns of each area.

The five standard sectors serve the first purpose and we have allowed flexibility for the three most important employers of an area's labour force in addition to the five standard sectors.

Our printouts divided the labour force into 43 industrial subsectors. The sub-sectors were contained in nine standard sectors:

1. Agriculture, forestry and fishing
2. Mining and quarrying
3. Manufacturing (18 sub-sectors)
4. Electricity, gas and water
5. Construction
6. Commerce (3 sub-sectors)
7. Transport and communication
8. Finance (4 sub-sectors)
9. Services (13 sub-sectors)

The sectors which contain sub-sectors are:

3. **MANUFACTURING**: Food and Drink Industries
   - Textiles
   - Leather products and substitutes
   - Wood, excluding wood and cork furniture
   - Paper and paper products
   - Printing, publishing and book-binding
   - Chemical industry
   - Other chemical products
   - Rubber products
Ceramics
Basic metal industry
Metal products besides machinery and equipment
Machinery besides electrical
Electrical machinery, apparatus and devices
Motor vehicles, parts and accessories
Transport equipment, excluding motor vehicles
Professional and scientific instruments
Other manufacturing industries

6. COMMERCE: Wholesale and Retail Trade
Refreshments and accommodation
Accommodation services

8. FINANCE: Financing
Insurance
Fixed property
Business services

9. SERVICES: Public Administration
Sanitary and related services
Educational services
Research and scientific institutes
Medical, health and dental services
Welfare organizations
Business, professional and labour associations
Religious organizations
Social and related community services
Cinema and other entertainment services
Libraries, museums and other cultural services
Other entertainment and relaxation services
Personal and domestic services

Occupation groups:
With our occupational categorization we tried to quantify the
economic stratification in the Western Cape. However, the
census data were presented as an undifferentiated list of 81
occupations. These groups were themselves the conflation of different economic activities. Even so the categories were not of much use to us. We thus grouped these into nine new categories. They were:

1. Professional and Technical workers
2. Teachers
3. Managerial, Supervisory, related and other high wage earners
4. Clerical and related
5. Sales
6. Service
7. Agricultural, Animal husbandry, fishing...
8. Production and related
9. Not Classifiable

The ideal situation would be to be able to develop occupational categories which correspond to the concept 'class'. Classes have been defined as:

"large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically definite system of social production, by their relations (in most cases fixed and formulated in laws) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour and, consequently, by the dimensions and method of acquiring their share of the social wealth that they obtain."\(^{15}\)

The census data is not substantial enough, however, to be able to arrive at class definitions through the above definition. What one is aiming at is an approximation - which may be refined for comprehensive analyses at a later stage. In addition to showing basic class divisions, substantial differences within classes need to be shown: differences in their particular location, role or method of acquiring social wealth.

The three classes we distinguish between are the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and the working class. To define each
of these against census data remains extremely problematic and to some extent arbitrary.

Simkins and Hindson\(^{16}\) have developed a system of converting census-type categories into 14 occupational categories to develop the three classes above. Because of the range of problems which their typology throws up and the need for a very careful use of their system, we have omitted using it for purposes of this conference. It will be reflected in our final results but for present purposes our nine categories are as follows:

**Professional and Technical:** Consists of mainly petty-bourgeois type occupations. There are 16:

1. Physical scientists and related technicians
2. Architects, quantity surveyors, engineers
3. Aircraft and ships' officers
4. Life scientists and related technicians
5. Medical, dental and related workers
6. Statisticians, computer programmers
7. Economists
8. Accountants
9. Jurists
10. Teachers
11. Workers in religion
12. Professional, technical and related workers
13. Authors, journalists and related writers
14. Sculptors, painters, photographers
15. Composers and performing artists
16. Athletes, sportsmen and related workers

However, since a large part of the black middle class was found to consist of teachers, we wanted both to see the extent of teachers and the professional-technical category deflated by removing teachers. So we decided to exclude teachers from this category and place them separately. Readers could add these figures to find a composite figure for the 'natural' category "professional technical".
Teachers: see above. No distinctions were made between differentially qualified teachers - and qualification disparities are wide. The De Lange Commission into the Provision of Education in the Republic of South Africa found that in 1978\(^{17}\) 34.3% of all white teachers had a degree, 4.9% of all coloured teachers had a degree, and 2.3% of all African teachers had a degree.

Managerial, Supervisory and other high wage-earners: this category contains elements of the petty bourgeoisie as well as the bourgeoisie. We grouped the following occupations together:

a) all managers:
   1. Managers (except in wholesale and retail)
   2. Managers (wholesale and retail)
   3. Managers (catering and accommodation services)

b) all highly-placed bureaucrats:
   1. Legislative officials and administrators
   2. Government executive officials

c) working proprietors:
   1. Working proprietors (wholesale and retail)
   2. Working proprietors (catering and accommodation)
   3. Farmers

d) labour supervisors:
   1. Clerical supervisors
   2. Transport and communication supervisors
   3. Sales supervisors and buyers
   4. Housekeeping and related service supervisors
   5. Farm managers and supervisors
   6. Production supervisors and general foremen

'Farm managers and supervisors' could arguably have been placed in the first category (a), but since the census did not distinguish the two functions and since the scale of farming in the Cape 01 and 02 regions is not extensive most people thus classified are probably supervisory rather than managerial.
e) other high earners:
   1. technical salesmen, commercial travellers
   2. insurance, real estate salesmen, auctioneers

The last category was most problematic. These occupations could not be ranked with shop assistants as 'sales workers'. In the "dimension and method of acquiring their share of the social wealth", they are nearer to supervisory personnel and have been classified in the same category.

These five categories are presented as a whole and no differentiation was made per local area.

**Clerical and related workers:** - this contained lower petty-bourgeois type occupations and more privileged working class occupations. It consisted of:

1. stenographers, typists, punch operators
2. bookkeepers, cashiers and related workers
3. computing machine operators
4. transport conductors
5. mail distribution clerks
6. telephone and telegraph operators
7. clerical and related workers N.E.C.

**Sales workers:** - by grouping the upper limit of this category with 'managerial', the remainder are composed of a range of workers, highly paid workers and lower petty-bourgeois types of occupations. Differences of income and status are wide in this group and there is no way of drawing finer distinctions. It consisted of:

1. Salesmen and shop assistants
2. Salesworkers not elsewhere classified

**Service workers:** -

1. Cooks, waiters, bartenders and related workers
2. Building caretakers, charworkers and cleaners
3. Launderers, dry-cleaners and pressers
4. Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians
5. Protective service workers
6. Service workers not elsewhere classified
Farm workers: mainly labourers

1. Agricultural and animal husbandry workers
2. Forestry workers
3. Fishermen, hunters and related workers

Production and related workers: drawn largely from the manufacturing industry, this sector comes closest to an 'industrial proletariat'. There is still a large measure of privileged jobs hidden in some of these categories however. Although easy to detect for white workers (who tend to cluster to highly paid or privileged jobs) there is no way of gauging the magnitude of privilege for the black population. The occupations are:

1. Miners, quarrymen and well drillers
2. Metal processors
3. Wood preparation workers and paper makers
4. Chemical processors and related workers
5. Spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers
6. Tanners, fellmongers and pelt dressers
7. Food and beverage processors
8. Tobacco preparers and tobacco product makers
9. Tailors, dressmakers, sewers, upholsterers
10. Shoemakers and leather goods makers
11. Cabinetmakers and related woodworkers
12. Stonecutters and carvers
13. Blacksmiths, toolmakers and operators
14. Machinery fitters and instrument makers
15. Electrical fitters and related workers
16. Broadcasting station and cinema projectionists
17. Plumbers, welders and structural metal workers
18. Jewellery and precious metal workers
19. Glass formers, potters and related workers
20. Rubber and plastics product makers
21. Paper and paperboard product makers
22. Printers and related workers
23. Painters
24. Production and related workers N.E.C.
25. Bricklayers, carpenters and construction workers
26. Stationary engine, related equipment operator
27. Material-handling, related operators, dockers
28. Transport equipment operators
29. Labourer not elsewhere classified

Not classified: - this catch-all category was transposed as found in the census tabulations. It may include unusual occupations, or be the result of error or omission on the part of either those who conducted or coded the census questionnaires. We have no method of establishing what these occupations in fact were.

Personal income

To form a general assessment of an area, the average personal income suffices. But since in even the most affluent areas pockets of extreme poverty could be found and since one assumes that more often than not the rich-poor divide would also be a white-black divide, the idea of representing the income of each 'race' per local area emerged. Since averages can be misleading this finer breakdown of personal income would highlight differences in areas where the different income averages are either in a minority or a majority.

The economic region personal income is supplied in two forms: the average for the whole population and the average for the race group which forms the largest segment of the given local area. One could see from this whether a local area's averages are below/above the economic region's and whether the dominant race group's income is below/above their counterparts in the Ol region as a whole.

It is to be noted that many people regard information on income as sensitive and highly personal - the possibility of evasions and false information is greater for this indicator. However we will assume that these factors will weigh equally for all areas and 'races' - thus cancelling each other out and
that inflated and deflated incomes are found to the same extent. To the extent that these assumptions are not valid, the figures would need adjustment.

The census authorities define income as follows:

Income (in Rand)

1. Salary and wage earners had to show their gross income, that is, before deductions in respect of income tax, pension, insurance, medical aid schemes, etc., were made.

2. Farmers, businessmen and professional men had to show their net income, that is, gross income minus the current expenses incurred in earning the income.

3. Income includes -

   3.1 pensions, dividends, interest and other regular income and

   3.2 the estimated cash value of fringe benefits such as company car, housing subsidy and accommodation and/or rations provided by employers (an analysis of the census returns showed that many respondents omitted to include the value of fringe benefits - this applies especially to non-white service workers).

4. Income excludes -

   4.1 irregular income such as inheritance, matured insurance policies, gratuities and

   4.2 household allowances and pocket money transferred from one member of the family to another.

5. Each individual had to show the total income, as defined above, during the twelve months ended 30 April 1980, or for the period of twelve months ended 29 February 1980.

We used the mean annual income (for males and females) and divided by 12 to obtain a mean income per month.

Education

We constructed nine levels of education from the standard by standard data we had. The first five years of schooling
(Sub A to Std 3) was the first cut-off for basic literacy. Std 4 and 5 represented 'primary school education'. Since the Junior Certificate is awarded on completion of Std 8 at present, it formed the logical break. But many students stay at school specifically to obtain a J.C., so those with some secondary education but no J.C. had to be shown: viz. Std 6 and 7. Std 8 represents J.C., Std 9 and 10 are the completion of secondary school. It was unnecessary to separate them since most students who proceeded beyond J.C. tended to finish Std 10. Diploma holders were separated from those with degrees because of the vastly different access to job opportunities on the labour market.

Distinguishing post-graduate status was felt to be unnecessary since a tiny fraction of the population was affected.

Education figures for the general and working population were prepared. There were discrepancies in the data on education, which is described and explained on page 60.

Housing tenure

We regarded the basic differences of housing tenure to be between rented homes, those the occupants owned and those which fell in neither category. Rented houses were further separated into 'state owned' (mainly council dwellings), employer owned and privately owned. There were instances of employer (state) owned homes - we grouped this with employer owned, since the basic relationship between the occupant and the state is not one of tenant and landlord but worker and employer. The house is normally a non-monetary benefit of the job.

The census distinguished between furnished and unfurnished rented accommodation. The overall importance of the furnished accommodation was negligible so it was grouped together with unfurnished accommodation to give three categories of rented dwellings.
Homeownership houses were of two sorts: those paid off in full (and in a truer sense 'owned' by the occupant) and those being paid off (effectively still indebted to finance houses, the state or others).

'Other' types consisted of a surprisingly high number of 'free-dwellings' owned either by the state, employers or private people.

A category of 'farm dwellings' was contained in the census results, but none thus classified were noted in our 30% sample.

Dwelling types

The census made provision for seven types of accommodation. These were: 'house', 'semi-detached house', 'flat', 'hotel/boarding house', 'old age home', 'hostel' and 'other'. A notable absence is 'squatter shacks'. The local areas where such dwellings predominated (eg Crossroads) had no housing data.

Density

Our entry simply reflected the number of people per habitable room. 'Habitable room' has not been defined, but it is assumed to refer to rooms other than the kitchen, bathrooms, etc, i.e. rooms that could be used for sleeping purposes. This entry could have been enhanced by information which measured the density of the area, i.e. number of persons per square metre. Such information was not available.

B. THE AREAS

Local areas

Our local areas stretched between 1 and 325. Of these, ten areas did not fall under either of the two relevant economic regions (01 and 02). Other areas (a total of 81) were eliminated either because they were not listed at all (four areas), or because information was not available, or their population
was too small. To qualify for our study, an area had to have a minimum of 400 people, i.e. a sample of 20 (5%). This left us with 234 areas which we completed. For this conference we selected a 30% sample of areas, with the following criteria shaping our choice:

a) size of population - we preferred larger areas over smaller ones, but tried where possible to include a few examples of areas with relatively small populations.
b) race groups - an attempt was made to include areas where each group was in the majority.
c) regional location - areas were chosen from the city centre and surrounding areas, Cape Flats, Southern Suburbs, Northern Suburbs and Kuilsriver.
d) Socio-economic position - we used the results of an unpublished study by Saldru staff which allotted each area a 'poverty score', the lowest (no poverty) being 0 and the highest (intense poverty) being 17. Different indicators such as educational level of population, income, employment patterns, etc, each contributed to a composite poverty score. We included areas from the spectrum of scores: lowest, middle and highest. The scores were regrouped into four categories: 0 (99 areas), 1-4 (59 areas), 5-9 (26 areas), 10-17 (42 areas). Eight areas were not ranked.

Our focus was on poverty, so we selected most of the poorest areas: 33 areas. But since in a very important sense the word poverty obscures the real problem, which is inequality, we had to reveal and highlight the contrasts between rich and poor. So we selected 18 areas which registered no poverty; the other 24 areas were chosen equally from the 1-4 and 5-9 poverty index. In all, we are presenting data on 75 areas.

e) Discretion - we allowed our judgement to decide which areas to include when the objective choice was difficult.

Local areas differ in geographic and demographic size and make-up. They are the creations of the census administrators and sometimes bear little relation to the boundaries of suburbs. At times the boundaries overlap neatly and a
local area = a suburb. Often more than one local area constitutes a suburb. Grassy Park is a good example; it is made up of local areas Grassy Park, Lotus River and Montagu's Gift Estate.

Local areas themselves consist of differing numbers of enumerator sub-districts (ESO). The ESO was the basic census unit used in 1980 and a cluster of ESOs would form a local area. We have not, however, used information at the ESO level in this study.

We decided to use the official names supplied by the census authorities for local areas. Where the location of an area is not clear from the name we have included the suburb of which it forms part. We have stated when a local area is located in the Kuilsriver region.

Figures are shown on a de facto basis, i.e. the place where people were enumerated.
TRENDS WITHIN THE 01 ECONOMIC REGION

What follows is a summary of the most important trends in the census figures for the 01 economic region (Peninsula). Tables of data for some of the indicators summarised here are to be found elsewhere in this paper.

POPULATION

The population of the Peninsula was 1 458 620 in 1980. The population of South Africa excluding the three 'independent homelands' was 24 885 960. With the Bureau for Economic Research (BENSO) estimates for Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, the consolidated population was 28 848 470. The 01 total forms 5.9% of the first figure and 5.1% of the real total (second figure).

The Peninsula population in 1970 was 1 107 763 and therefore there was a 32% increase by 1980. The country's population was 21 794 328 in 1970 also increasing by 32% by 1980 (calculated on the consolidated population figure). Population growth rates were thus identical to the country as a whole, but assuming a net gain in migration for a major industrial centre, natural growth rates may have been lower than the national average.

The race ratios for the Peninsula in 1980 were:
white 482 240 (33%)
black 976 380 (67%) of which:
coloured 776 340 (53%)
indian 16 680 (1%)
african 183 360 (13%)

The race ratios for the country (excluding three 'independent homelands', where racial compositions are not available) were:
white 4 528 100 (18%)
black 20 357 860 (82%), of which:
coloured 2 612 780 (11%)
indian 821 320 (3%)
african 16 923 760 (68%)
The effects of influx laws and other social processes are reflected in the low % of Africans and Indians in the Cape — well below national averages. Coloureds were 'over-represented', reflecting their concentration in the Peninsula. There were more whites in relation to the population of the Peninsula than in relation to national averages. But while whites were over-represented by 1.8 times more, coloureds were by 4.8 times more. Africans displayed the widest divergence from national trends; they were 'under-represented' by 5.2 times less and Indians by 3 times less.

The race ratios in 1970 for the Peninsula were:
white 381 775 (35%)
black 725 988 (66%), of which:
coloured 606 075 (55%)
Indian 11 086 (1%)
African 108 827 (10%)

Whilst coloureds and whites have decreased in relative proportion to the population, Africans have increased. This has occurred during a decade when influx control has been particularly harshly applied.

The sex ratios for the Peninsula were (1980):
male 738 220 (51%), female 720 400 (49%),
while the national sex ratios were:
male 12 659 180 (51%), female 12 226 780 (49%)

While the Peninsula and national proportions are the same, a closer examination of figures reveals some differences. At the national level, for all population groups the sex ratio hovers around 49 - 51%. In the Peninsula the same holds true except for Africans. The sex ratio was 61% male to 39% female; this reflects the pattern of statutory selective entry into the Peninsula. Compared with 1970 however, the ratios changed. In 1970, African males equalled 66% and females 34% of the African population in the Peninsula.
All statistics from this point onwards refer to the Peninsula only. The participation rates in the economy need to be qualified with the understanding of the factors which shape these rates: the age profile (size of potential labour force), job opportunities, etc.

**PARTICIPATION RATES (EA AND NEA)**

The number of economically active were as follows:

- **White**: 210 560 (34% EA)
- **Black**: 401 920 (66% of EA), of which: coloured 304 020 (50% of EA), Indian 5 660 (1% of EA) and African 92 240 (15% of EA).

While 42% of the population were economically actively engaged at the time of the census, 44% of whites, 41% of blacks, (39% of coloureds, 34% of indians and 50% of africans) were economically active. Coloureds and indians had lower participation rates, while africans were significantly higher than the general average, underscoring the Stallardian doctrine of africans being allowed to be in urban areas only to be engaged in economic activity. Males, who formed 51% of the Peninsula's population, constituted the bulk of the economically active (63.5% of EA). Females constituted 36.5% of EA.

We accept of course that these figures refer to participation in professions and industries where labour is directly remunerated. Housewives performing domestic tasks are part of an important sector classified as 'not economically active'.

The sex-race ratios of economic participation show the following trends: while 31% of females were economically active (223 460), Indian females' participation rate was well below the general average. Only 21% of Indian females were EA. In contrast, 32% of white females, 31% of coloured females, 31% of African females and a collective total of 31% of black females were EA.

Because of their large number, coloured females form the bulk of the female economically active figure. The figures and proportions for female EA were: white 7920 (35%), black 145540 (65%), coloured 121980 (55%), Indian 1740 (1%), African 21820 (10%).
While 53% of males were economically active (389 020),
coloured and indian males' rates were well below, the average
and africans above average. Only 48% and 47% of coloured
and indian males respectively were EA. In contrast, 63%
of african males and 56% of white males were EA.

In general a higher proportion of males were EA than females.
The figures and proportions for EA males, taken as a % of
EA males per race, were: white 132 640 (34%),
black 256 380 (66%) of which: coloured 182 040 (47%),
indian 3 920 (1%) and african 70 420 (18%).

Economically active males formed 27% of the Peninsula's
population and females 15% of the population.

The figures for the not economically active (NEA) were
(with % each constitute of the NEA):
white 271 680 (32%)
black 574 460 (68%), of which: coloured 472 320 (56%),
indian 11 020 (1%), and african 91 120 (11%).

While 58% of the total population were NEA, 56% of whites
(44% of white males and 68% of white females), 59% of
blacks (49% of black males and 69% of black females), 61%
of coloureds (52% of coloured males and 69% of coloured
females), 66% of indians (53% of indian males and 79% of
indian females) and 50% of africans (37% of african males
and 69% of african females) were NEA. These trends are
the same, except in the opposite direction to those noted
for economically active. They reflect and quantify the
groups' relationship to the labour market i.e. participa-
tion and non-participation.

AGE

Age patterns may be summarised as follows:

0-14:
Thirty percent of the Peninsula population was under 15.
The widest divergences were in the coloured and white groups. While only 24% of whites were under 15, as much as 36% of coloureds fell into this age group. Indians were also above the average with 33% and africans below with 28%.

Whites formed 25% of the age cohort and blacks 75%. Coloureds formed 62%, indians 1% and africans 11%. Thus a particularly high proportion of coloureds were below 15.

15-24:

Twenty-one percent of the Peninsula population were contained in this category. The earlier trend continues with a high portion of coloureds and indians represented (respectively 24% and 25%) and less whites and africans (respectively 18% and 19%). The black total in this age cohort was 23%.

Whites formed 27% of the age cohort and blacks 73%. Coloureds formed 60%, indians 1% and africans 11%. Taken together with the 0-14 cohort no less than 60% of coloureds and 58% of indians were under the age of 25. Only 42% of whites and 47% of africans by comparison were below 25 years of age. In part this is the reason for the relatively lower percentage of coloureds and indians who were economically active.

25-34:

Seventeen percent of the Peninsula population were contained herein. The trend noted previously is reversed from this age cohort. Only 15% of coloureds and indians each in contrast with 17% of whites and 22% of africans were represented. The black total in this age cohort was 17%. Whites formed 34% of the age cohort, blacks 66%, coloureds 49%, indians 1% and africans 16%.
35-44:

Twelve percent of the Peninsula population were contained in this grouping. A downward trend in the proportion of each race group represented in this age cohort is noticeable. There were 13% of whites, 11% of blacks, 10% of coloureds, 12% of indians and 15% of africans represented in this cohort.

The composition of the cohort was as follows: whites 37%, blacks 63%, coloureds 46%, indians 1% and africans 16%.

45-54:

Nine percent of the Peninsula population were contained in this category. 10% of whites, 8% of blacks, 7% of coloureds, 9% of indians and 10% of africans were represented. The composition of the cohort was: 39% white, 61% black, 46% coloured, 1% indian and 14% african.

55-64:

Six percent of the Peninsula population were contained herein. The representation of each group in this cohort was: 9% of whites, 4% of blacks, 4% of coloureds, 4% of indians and 6% of africans. Whites formed a higher proportion of the older age cohorts as this example shows. The composition of the cohort was: whites 50%, blacks 50%, coloureds 37%, indians 1% and africans 12%. This is also the first age cohort with a slight majority of whites over blacks (not reflected in the rounding off of the percentage).

65+:

This cohort, representing the retired sector, contained 5% of the population. The majority were white and whites formed the highest proportion of the cohort. The representation of each group was 10% of whites, 3% of blacks, 3% of coloureds, 2% of indians and 2% of africans. The age cohort was composed of 64% white, 36% black, 31% coloured, 0.4% indian and 5% african.
EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

In this section we compare differences and similarities between industrial sectors and occupational categories.

The racial composition of the economically active population was:
whites: 34% of EA;
blacks: 66% of EA, of which coloureds constituted 50% of EA, indians 1% of EA and africans 15% of EA.

The sexual composition of the economically active population was:
males: 63.5% of EA; females: 36.5% of EA.
A 'normal' representation of race or sex per sector of industry or category of occupation would be measured against EA proportions. Since differentiated entry into the economy forms the basis of racial capitalism, the composition of industry and occupation will not reflect the proportions above. We should thus be sensitive to 'over' and 'under' representations of racial or sexual groups.
SECTOR EMPLOYMENT

The largest employer of labour was the Services sector with 159 620 (26% of EA) with Manufacturing following closely with 157 060 (25.7% of EA). Manufacturing was the largest employer of blacks in the Peninsula, with 120 080 (19.6% of EA). The third largest sector was Commerce with 97 180 (15.9% of EA). Other big sectors were Transport 44 360 (7.2% of EA), Construction 43 380 (7.1% of EA) and Finance 40 440 (6.6% of EA). Agriculture had 12 000 (2% of EA) and the smallest sectors were Electricity 5 360 (0.9% of EA) and Mining 2 560 (0.4% of EA).

The three largest sectors together employed 67.6% of the EA, showing a concentration of workers in a few key sectors of the Peninsula's economy: Services, Manufacturing and Commerce.

The Sex Ratios of the Three Largest Sectors Were:

Services - 49% male and 51% female
Manufacturing - 62% male and 37% female
Commerce - 63% male and 37% female

Apart from Services, males dominated all the other sectors with as much as 90% of Construction and 90% of Electricity workers being male.

The largest employer of male labour was Manufacturing, with 97 260 (25% of EA males), while the largest sector, Services, employed 77 800 males (20% of EA males). The smallest industry, Mining, employed the smallest number of males 2 060.

The largest employer of female labour was Services with 81 820 (36.6% of EA females), while Manufacturing employed 59 800 (26.8% of EA females).

As noted the largest employer of black labour was Manufacturing, the majority of whom were male (58% of the 120 080 blacks). However, proportionately women had a greater presence in Manufacturing. While 34.8% of EA black women were employed in Manufacturing, 27.1% of EA black males were employed in this sector. In all, blacks formed 76% of manufacturing workers.
(there was only a higher proportion of blacks in two other sectors: Agriculture with 79% and Construction with 81%).

Coloured labour preference policies are applied particularly in Manufacturing and africans thus constituted only 9% of this sector. Only in Electricity (with 7%) and Finance (with 4%) were they represented as a smaller proportion of the sector. Even in absolute terms there were only 13 380 africans in the sector employing the largest number of black workers in the Peninsula. In comparison Services had 21 540 and Commerce 15 180 african workers. Construction, where africans form 30% of the work force - the largest proportion of representation of africans per sector - employed 13 040 african workers. While only 14,5% of EA africans were employed in Manufacturing, 34,7% EA coloureds were. The 105 480 coloureds in Manufacturing represented 17,2% of the Peninsula's working population (EA).

The 1 220 indians in Manufacturing constituted 21,6% of EA indians, but Commerce employed twice as many indians, with 2 320 workers (41% of EA indians).

Although more black females were employed in Services than in Manufacturing (51 180 as against 50 580) a closer examination of this shows important differences between blacks. While more coloured females were employed in Manufacturing than Services (49 480 as 38 100) the opposite trend holds for african women (12 680 in services and 660 in Manufacturing). What this means is that 40,6% of EA coloured females were Manufacturing workers, while only 3% of EA african females were present in this sector.

The largest employer of whites was the Services sector with 65 020 whites. They constituted 41% of the sector and represent 30,9% of the EA whites. Whites constituted, however, a higher proportion of workers in the Finance sector. The 30 420 whites constituted 75% of the sector although they were only 14,4% of the EA whites. Services had a high percentage of black workers. The 94 600 blacks represented
23.5% of the EA blacks. Adding the two sectors which were the major employers of black workers together i.e. Manufacturing and Services one finds 53.4% of the blacks employed by these two. This means that one out of every two working blacks was either a Manufacturing or Service worker. This underlines the extent to which these two sectors dominate the Peninsula economy.

Coloured workers were more concentrated than African workers. The two major sectors for each group employ 58% coloureds (Manufacturing and Services) and 40% Africans (Services and Commerce).

Coloureds constituted 45% of Services and the 72 180 workers represented 23.7% of the EA coloureds. Indians were proportionately under represented in the Services sector, with the 880 indians representing 15.5% of the EA indians. Africans were over-represented in the Services sector with 21 540 africans representing 23.4% of EA africans.

The sector with the highest proportion of males, Construction, employed 8 260 whites (19% of the sector) and 3 5120 blacks (81% of the sector). Africans were well represented with 14.1% of the EA africans employed in this sector: only 7.2% of the EA coloureds and 3.9% of the EA indians in comparison were employed in Construction.

Commerce employed the highest number and proportionate concentration of indians. The 2 320 indians (41% of EA indians) constituted 2% of the sector - an 'over-representation' in relation to their presence in the economy, and reflected the patterns of Cape Indian economic activity - patterns that must be understood not in terms of the 'psychology' of a group, but as the products of the way the South African economy is structured. Blacks constituted 63% of the Commerce sector, and whites 37%, while 15.3% of EA blacks and 16.9% of EA whites were employed in this sector.
Finance, the sector with the highest proportionate concentration of whites per sector, 30 420 (75% of the sector; also contained 10 020 blacks, of which coloureds formed 20% of the sector, Indians 1% and Africans 4%. While 14.4% of the EA whites were employed in finance, 2.5% of blacks were, with the distribution being 3.9% of EA Indians; 2.8% of EA coloureds and 1.8% of EA Africans. While 51% of whites employed in this sector were male and 49% female; 70% of blacks employed in Finance were male and 30% female. Both coloureds and particularly Africans had an 'over-representation' of males. Coloured males equalled 66% of coloureds in this sector and African males 93% of Africans in this sector. Indian males constituted 54.5% of Indians employed in the sector. A closer knowledge of occupational patterns and the distribution per job category in this sector may show that whites and blacks fill different positions in this sector, hence the sexual imbalance.

The only other sector with a majority of white employees was Transport. It had 23 920 whites (54% of the sector) and 20 440 blacks (46% of the sector). The pattern of a high proportion of males (89% of the sector) was reflected for both blacks and whites. White males formed 83% of whites in this sector and black males 94% of blacks in this sector.

Agriculture had an 'over-representation' of blacks. They formed 79% of workers in this sector, although the urban character of the Peninsula relegated Agriculture to the third smallest sector. It employed only 12 000, which was 2% of the Peninsula EA. Most agricultural workers were coloured (52% of the sector) and a high proportion of Africans per sector (27% of Agriculture) was noted.

The smallest sectors were Electricity (5 360 workers) and mining (2 560). The Electricity workers were mainly male (90% of the sector), with whites forming almost half (47%) of the sector. Mining showed a similar pattern: male dominated and with a high proportion of whites per sector. Mining, which
serves as the vital catalyst of South Africa's economic development hardly features in the Peninsula economy, with 0.4% of the EA employed in this sector.

A summary of most important trends within subsectors of manufacturing and services are given below.

**Textiles** was by far the biggest subsector, employing 52,420 (33.4% of all manufacturing workers). Textiles includes the massive garment industry of the Peninsula. It was the second largest subsector of all industrial sectors employing 8.6% of the EA. (Only wholesale and retail trade employed more people with 13.9% of the EA). Although males formed only 33% of textiles (with 17,020), this subsector was the largest employer of males in manufacturing. The bulk of the textile workers were female, with 35,340 (67% of the subsector); they formed 59% of EA females in manufacturing.

Most of the workers were black (90% of Textiles) of which coloureds formed the largest group (45,760 workers, or 87% of Textiles). Africans and Indians formed a very low proportion of the subsector with 2% and less than 1% respectively. Collectively, more blacks were employed in Textiles than any other subsector of manufacturing. It is significant that the largest subsector of manufacturing also had joint lowest proportion of whites per sector (whites formed only 10% of Textile employees), although in absolute numbers it employed the highest number of whites (5,200).

Textiles emerges as the largest employer of whites, blacks, males and females in Manufacturing.

Coloured females formed 62.3% of textile workers and coloured males 25%.

As a percentage of EA manufacturing workers the following sex-race ratios applied: 10.5% of white males and 24.7% of females; 20.4% of black males and 65.4% of females (of which 23.4% of coloured males and 66% of females; 20.5% of Indian males and 54.5% of females and 7.2% of African males and 21.2% of females were employed as textile workers). This subsector is
important both for the high proportion of coloureds included and africans excluded from textiles.

**Food and Drink** employed the second largest number of workers in Manufacturing, with 21 000, most of whom were male (74% of the subsector) and blacks (81% of the subsector). It was the largest employer of africans with 6 080 workers who form 29% of the subsector, 6.6% of the EA africans and 3,9% of manufacturing workers. Coloureds form 52% of the subsector.

**Printing** was the next biggest subsector with 1 1460 workers. Most were male (73% of the subsector) and black (60% of the subsector of which coloureds were 58% of the subsector).

The top three subsectors of Manufacturing employed 54% of the manufacturing labour force leaving less than half the workers in the sector to the 15 other subsectors.

The remaining subsectors were ranked in size of workforce, as follows (with percentage of Manufacturing in brackets): Leather (5,4%), Other chemical products (5,3%), Metal products (4,7%), Wood (4,4%), Machinery (3,7%), Motor vehicles (3,4%), Basic metal industry (3,3%), Electrical machinery (3,3%), Other (2,7%), Rubber (2,7%), Paper (2,3%), Ceramics (2,2%), Transport equipment (1,5%), Chemical industries (0,6%) and Professional and scientific instruments (0,4%).

There were only two subsectors with a greater number of women workers than men; Textile and Leather. Transport equipment (92% male) and Basic metal industries (90% male) had the highest proportion of males per subsector.

Whites form the bulk of the workforce in only two subsectors, Machinery (with 57% of the subsector) and Professional and Scientific instruments (59% of the subsector).

As can be seen from the above there was a greater number of blacks than whites in the 16 subsectors. Using the race EA proportions, whites were over-represented in eight subsectors, being Printing, Chemical industry, Other Chemical products,
Machinery, Electrical machinery, Motor vehicles, Transport equipment and Scientific and Professional equipment. They were under-represented in the remaining nine subsectors, aside from Metal products where they were represented in proportion to their presence in the economy. Blacks were over-represented in nine subsectors being: Textiles, Leather, Wood, Paper, Rubber, Ceramics, Basic metal industry, Food and other.

Coloureds were over-represented in 11 subsectors, indians in five and africans in one subsector. To these calculations must be added that whites and africans were under-represented in the Manufacturing sector as a whole while coloureds were over-represented in the same subsector.

The largest subsector of Services was Public Administration, with 49 980 (31,3% of Services workers). It was largely composed of males (83% of the subsector) and whites (53% of the subsector). Blacks formed 47% of Public Administration, of which coloureds form 41%, africans 6% and indians 0,2%. Blacks were therefore under-represented. The largest number of blacks were employed in Personal and Domestic services with 37 720 (92% of the subsector). Coloureds and africans were over-represented, with 60% and 32% of the sub-sectors respectively. African females formed a particularly large part of personal and domestic services, constituting 25,5% of the subsection.

Personal and Domestic had the lowest proportion of males per sector with males forming 17% of this subsector. This sub-sector employed 25,6% of the Service workers.

There were 28 660 classed under Medical and Related. They formed 18% of Service workers. The subsector had a majority of females (69% of the subsector) and whites (55% of the sub-sector).
The fourth largest subsector of Services was Educational, with 23,980 (15% of the Services). The composition was 44% male and 56% female; 48% whites and 52% black (of which 48% coloured, 1% Indian and 4% African). Females were over-represented as were whites. Although blacks were under-represented, this was more a reflection of the large African under-representation than the less significant coloured under-representation.

The four largest subsectors - Public Administration, Personal and Domestic, Medical and Educational - employed 90% of the workers in Services. Together they employed 88% of whites in services, 91% of blacks, of which 92% of coloureds, 88% of Africans and 84% of Indians. The rest of the subsectors of Service made up the difference.
The largest occupational category was Production and Related Workers with 222,720 workers (36.4% of EA). Most of the workers were male (79% of this category) and black (86% of this category). Coloureds particularly were over-represented with 149,300 (67% of the category) and whites under-represented with 15% of this category. Whites constituted a smaller proportion per category in only one other category, Farm workers. However the white figure is considerably deflated because of the virtual absence of white women in this category. While 23.2% of EA white males were employed in production, only 2% of EA white females were employed. The white male participation ratio in production was less than half that of coloured and african males. The white female participation ratio in this sector ironically matched that of african women — although the social processes (of which these figures are a concrete expression) are very different indeed.

Although 56.5% of EA black male workers were Production workers, this ratio is more reflective of coloured and african patterns. While 57.7% of EA coloured males and 54.7% of EA african males were employed in this category, 30.6% of EA indian males were employed here. More than a third (36.3%) of coloured EA females were employed in this capacity while less than a twentieth (4.7%) of EA african females were employed. The low figure reflects the recurring effects of coloured labour preference policies and influx laws and the effect they have in fragmenting and dividing the black working class. The irony of low female participation rates in Production work for whites and africans is that while white women voluntarily stay out of this category, african women are, through the operation of legal processes kept out of this category.

Clerical and related workers formed the second biggest category of employment with 90,220 (14.7% of EA workers)
employed. It is interesting that this category in contrast to the previous one had a concentration of females (59% of the category) and whites (60.5% of the category). The 'under-representation' of blacks (39.5% of the sector) is true for both coloureds (37% of the sector) and africans (2% of the sector). Indians were represented in proportion to their presence in the EA. White females were highly concentrated in this category, constituting 42% of the sector and representing 48.8% of EA white females. This means that about one of every two EA white females was employed as a clerical worker. In contrast this female-intensive occupation employed only 10.4% of EA black females (which was distributed as 12% of EA coloured females, 23% of EA indian females and 0.8% of african females). Thus, although the production category is male intensive it employed a much higher percentage of EA black females and a higher proportion of black females per sector than clerical. Clerical workers are on the whole paid much higher wages than Production and Service workers.

The Service category had 84 400 workers (13.8% of EA). The category had a concentration of females (57% of the sector) and blacks (82% of the sector). There was a low concentration of whites (18% of the sector and 7.1% of EA whites) and a high concentration of africans (27% of the sector and 24.6% of EA africans). Since this category contains domestic workers it is not surprising that africans were concentrated here. An exceptionally high proportion of african women in the Peninsula were contained in this category (63% of EA african females). Although in numbers there were more coloured females than african females employed in this category (31 100 compared with 13 740) the proportionate concentration of african women was higher: 25.5% of EA coloured females compared to 63% of EA african females. White and indian females were 'under-represented' in this female-concentrated category with 4.3% and 8.1% respectively of white and indian EA females employed in the Service category. The white and indian populations also had more males
each in this category than females while the reverse was true for coloureds and africans.

Whites were in the majority in two subsectors of Services being Protective service workers and Hairdressers.

The proportionately large white male presence in Services can be ascribed to the grouping of the armed forces (police and defence) in this category. They are classified under the sub-category of Protective Service workers which formed 19.6% of Services and consisted largely of males (95% of the sector). White males constituted 55% of this subsector with 9,120 white males thus classified. Since the census printouts we used did not distinguish the armed forces from the rest of the constituents of the sub-category, we are obliged to present trends at the national level within the Protective Service sub-category. For South Africa excluding Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, the armed forces constituted 74% of the Protective Service sub-category. This ratio for each 'race' was as follows:

whites (89%);
blacks (62%) of which: coloureds (78%), indians (82%) and africans (59%).

Whites constituted 68% of Hairdressers of which white females were 50% of the subsector.

Blacks formed the bulk of Cooks and related workers, Chars and related workers, Launderers and related workers and other Service workers.
Professional and Technical (if teachers are included) was the fourth largest category. Two sub-categories: Medical, Dental and related workers and Teachers constituted more than half of this category (54.6%) and the other fourteen sub-categories the remainder (45.4%). These were the two sub-categories with by far the largest black representation (78% of blacks in Professional and Technical). We were thus interested in trends within this category excluding Teachers and the nursing constituent of Medical, Dental and related workers. Since both contain large numbers of lower petty-bourgeois types compared to the relatively higher sections of the petty-bourgeoisie represented by most of the other sub-categories of Professional and Technical. See for example figures for the large number of black teachers without university degrees quoted on page 21. Since the census did not distinguish between doctors and dentists on the one hand and nurses on the other, we could not deflate this category by extracting nurses. We were able to separate teachers from Professional and Technical workers and allow the differences in the composition of the white and black sub-categories of Professional and Technical to become clearer.

The Professional and Technical category (figures exclude teachers unless otherwise stated) contained 54 320 (8.9% of EA). This category had a concentration of males (58% of the sector) and whites (76% of the sector). Within the black group, coloureds formed 21% of the sector, Indians 1% and Africans 2%. Both coloureds and Africans were heavily 'under-represented'.

While 19.9% and 18.9% respectively of EA white males and females were contained in this category only 2.1% and 5.5% of blacks were. African males were particularly 'under-represented' with only half a percent (0.5%) of EA african males being employed in a Professional and Technical capacity. Although 3.6% of EA african females were contained in this occupation group, it is interesting to note that Medical
Dental and Related formed 97% of African females were classified under Professional and Technical. Without nurses, there is hardly an African presence in this category. Similarly, although 5.7% of EA coloured females were employed in this occupation, Medical, Dental and Related formed 85% of coloured females in Professional and Technical. It is significant both for the state's oft-quoted strategy to encourage the growth and class identity of a black middle class and for opposition strategy which tries to counteract the results of this state strategy, that teachers and nurses formed the bulk of the black professional class.

There were 19,280 Teachers (3.2% of EA). Although there were more females (59% of the sector), the black:white ratio was equal, each constituting 50% of the sector. (Coloureds formed 46%, Africans 3% and Indians 1% of the sector).

Because of the larger number of EA blacks, teachers constituted a smaller proportion of EA blacks. While 4.6% of EA whites were employed as teachers, in comparison 2.4% of EA blacks were (2.9% of EA coloureds, 2.5% of EA Indians and 0.6% of EA Africans).

Aside from Indians, who constituted a tiny part of this category, women formed a bigger percentage of this sector: white males 19.9% and females 30%; black males 21.6% and females 28.5% (of which coloured males 20.3% and females 28%); African males 0.7% and females 2.3% while Indian males 0.5% and females 0.1%.

The Managerial and related category contained 60,480 (9.9% of EA). There was a larger concentration of males (79% of sector) and whites (77.5% of sector). Blacks formed 22.5% of the sector (coloureds were 19% of the sector, Indians 1% and Africans 2%). The proportional representation was: 22.3% of EA whites were employed in this capacity while 3.4% of blacks were (of which 14.5% of EA Indians, 3.8% of EA coloureds and 1.4% of EA Africans). The 14.5% Indians
equalled 820 people and the 3,8% coloureds 11 500 people. The african figures equalled 1320 people.

The highest concentration of white males per occupation were employed in the Managerial and related category, with them forming 62,9% of the category. White females constituted 14,6% of the category. Black males were highly 'under-represented' forming 16,2% of the category (of which coloured males were 13,2% of the category, indian males 1,1% and african males 2%). Black females formed 6,3% of the category (of which coloured females were 5,9%, indian females and african females both 0,2% each).

The white male concentration in this category was reflected in the representation as a proportion of EA; while 28,7% of EA white males were employed in this capacity, 11,3% of EA white females were. The black EA total employed in this capacity was made up of 3,8% EA males and 2,6% EA females (of which EA coloured males were 4,4% and females 2,9%; EA african males 1,7% and females 0,6% while EA indian males were 17,4% and females 8,1%).

The smallest occupational category was Farm and related workers with 13 000 (2,1% of EA). Most workers were male (94% of the category) and black (97% of the category) - this was the highest concentration of males and blacks per category of occupation in spite of the absence of indian males in this category. There were no african and indian females in this occupation and white females formed 0,2% of the category compared to coloured females who formed 6,3% of the category.

The Not Classifiable category had 44 880 (7,3% of EA) and was a bigger category than Farm and related, Teachers and Sales. It consisted mainly of males (63% of the category) and blacks (93% of the category).
We explained earlier the problems related to reclassifying the above occupational categories into class categories. To obtain an approximation (which should be treated as such) one could construct tentative class categories. The three categories, Professional and Technical, Teachers and Managerial and related are obviously in the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois classes. Since we are unable at present to separate these two, we shall treat them as one. Assuming that most of the Clerical occupation sub-categories refer to petty-bourgeois (white collar) occupations (see Page 22) we could add this category to bourgeoisie/petty-bourgeois.

The two categories - Production and related workers and Farm workers are in the working class (with the reservations we noted earlier). The two remaining categories - Service and Sales contain sub-categories which fall in both the working and petty-bourgeois class. Assuming that most people in these two categories fall in the working class (because of the large number of retail workers grouped under Sales and domestic workers grouped under Service), we could include these two categories in an 'extended working class'. In this way possible distortions only be reflected in the extended working class (EWC) figure.

There is no way of including 'not classifiable' in our class categories and thus it will not be reflected. Using the above reclassifications, we obtain the following results: the bourgeoisie/petty-bourgeois constituted 36,6% of the EA, with 224 300 members. Males formed 55,5% of this class and females 44,5%. Whites were 'over-represented', forming 67,9% of this class, while blacks formed 32,1% (of which coloureds formed 29,1% of the class, africans 2,1% and indians 1%). To obtain the relative 'weight' of this class within each population we need to calculate the proportion of each population which can be classified in this class. While 72,3% of EA whites were bourgeoisie/petty-bourgeois only 17,9% of EA blacks were (of which 21,5% of EA coloureds, 39,6% of EA indians and 5% of EA africans were part of this class).
Interestingly a higher proportion of EA females than EA males were classified in this class. While 32% of EA males were contained in this class, 44.6% of EA females were. There were 64% of EA white males and 86.4% of females as well as 15.5% of EA black males and 22.3% of females contained in this class. This may be due to a greater number of women who would only enter the labour market in an attractive enough occupation. However, that so many black women were employed in working class jobs shows the extent to which a great deal of poverty makes female entry into the labour market no longer a matter of choice but one of need.

The working class constituted 235,720 workers (38.5% of EA). Males formed 79.6% of this class and females 20.4%. Blacks were 'over-represented' forming 86.1% of this class (of which coloureds were 66.6% of this class, africans 18.9% and indians 0.6%) while whites formed 13.9% of this class. As previously, to obtain the relative weight of the working class within each population, we calculated the proportion within this class. While 15.6% of EA whites were contained in this category, there were 50.5% of EA blacks (of which 51.6% of EA coloureds, 26.9% of EA indians and 48.2% of EA africans were in this class). The african and coloured figures in particular are deflated because of the exclusion of figures for domestic and retail workers. The extended working class (EWC) was made up of 343,300 workers (56% of EA). Males formed 68.9% of the EWC and females 31.1%. Whites formed 16.1% of this class and blacks 83.9% (of which coloureds formed 62.6% of this class, indians 0.9% and africans 20.4%). While 26.2% of EA whites were contained in this category, 71.7% of blacks were (of which 70.7% of EA coloureds, 54.8% of EA indians and 75.8% of EA africans were contained in the EWC).

We extended the range of occupational categories contained in the EWC to reach a better approximation of the size and composition of the working class. The distortions which may appear relate mainly to the inclusion of sub-categories which should be grouped
in the petty-bourgeoisie. It is likely that a majority of white workers is employed in such sub-categories, (for example armed forces, hairdressers, etc.) Yet the results of extending the working class category are that 20% more blacks were then defined in this class compared with 10% more whites. Since the data on whites in the EWC are more suspect than those for blacks in view of the classification problems we have referred to it is likely that the figure of 71% of blacks in the EWC is more accurately a reflection of 'working class' jobs than the figure of 26% of whites in the EWC.
HOUSING

a) Housing Tenure per dwelling

There were 295,740 dwellings in the Peninsula. More than half (53%) were rented dwellings. Of the rented dwellings, state owned formed 24% of all dwellings, employer owned formed 3% and privately owned (rented) formed 25%. There were 71,580 state owned rented dwellings and 74,840 privately owned rented dwellings.

Homeownership dwellings formed 44% of all dwellings. Of these, paid off homes formed 12% of all dwellings, and homes still being paid off 32%.

Free dwellings formed 3% of all dwellings, and farm dwellings 0.4%.

There were interesting patterns in the composition of each dwelling type. Whites formed the majority in four dwelling types; and blacks in three.

The composition of the state-owned rented dwellings category was: whites (10% of category); blacks (90%) of which coloureds (74%), indians (1%) and africans (15%). Blacks were over represented in the state owned dwellings in part because of the need produced by Group Areas removals, in part because of the State's role in providing certain infrastructural services like housing to the working class (which consisted mainly of blacks).

The employer owned rented dwellings category was composed of: whites (62%); blacks (38%) of which coloureds (35%), indians (1%) and africans (2%). These figures compared with the figures for state owned rented dwellings, show the extent to which capital has accepted that the state should provide housing for 'lower income groups' (workers).

The privately owned rented dwellings category was composed of: whites (78%); blacks (22%) of which coloureds (19%), indians (1%) and africans (1%). Since africans are limited to a few locations with predominantly state owned dwellings, very few are able - should they be willing - to rent private dwellings.

The homeowner (paid off) dwellings category was composed of: whites (67%); blacks (33%) of which coloureds (31%), indians (1%) and africans
(0.3%). The legal restriction on African homeownership is reflected in the figure above. Coloureds were also 'under represented', although not to nearly the same extent as Africans. The homeownership (still paying) dwellings category was composed of: whites (62%); blacks (38%) of which coloureds (37%), indians (1%) and africans (0.4%). A higher proportion of coloureds were still paying off their homes compared with coloureds with paid off homes.

The free dwelling (other) category was composed of whites (37%); blacks (63%) of which coloureds (60%), indians (1%) and africans (2%).

The farm dwelling category was composed of whites (30%); blacks (70%) of which coloureds (50%), indians (none) and africans (20%). This was the highest concentration of africans per category.

Next we look at patterns of housing tenure per 'race' group. The distribution of tenure categories for whites were: state-owned rented (5%), employer owned rented (4%), privately owned rented (37%), homeowner paid off (16%), homeowner still paying (37%), free dwelling (2%) and farm dwelling (0.2%).

The distribution of tenure categories for blacks were: state-owned rented (47%), employer owned rented (3%), privately owned rented (12%), homeowner paid off (9%), homeowner still paying (26%), free dwelling (4%) and farm dwelling (1%).

The distribution of tenure categories for coloureds were: state-owned rented (43%), employer owned rented (3%), privately owned rented (12%), homeowner paid off (9%), homeowner still paying (29%), free dwelling (4%) and farm dwelling (0.4%).

The distribution of tenure categories for indians were: state-owned rented (26%), employer owned rented (2%), privately owned rented (26%), homeowner paid off (16%), homeowner still paying (27%), free dwelling (4%) and farm dwelling (−).

The distribution of tenure categories for africans were: state-owned rented (84%), employer owned rented (1%), privately owned rented (8%), homeowner paid off (1%), homeowner still paying (3%) free dwelling (1%) and farm dwelling (2%).

There were 158,300 dwellings occupied by whites, 137,400 by blacks of which 122,040 by coloureds, 2800 by indians and 12,600 by africans. When this is divided into the total number of people classified according to each race group, the number of people per dwelling was: total population: 4.9 people per dwelling; whites 3.1 people per dwelling; blacks: 7.1 people per dwelling of which coloureds: 6.4 people per dwelling; indians: 6 people per dwelling.
and africans: 14.6 people per dwelling.
The figure for africans is extremely high, but it is assumed that squatter-shacks were not included in these figures, since Crossroads - a large squatter area in the Peninsula - has no data for housing tenure. This qualification would be relevant for the figure for Africans and perhaps to a slight extent for coloureds.

The number of people per dwelling can be compared with the density measured per habitable room. The average for the Peninsula was 1.06 persons per habitable room. Although this figure is not given per 'race' category, the totals in black areas can be compared with those for white areas in the tabulations.

It is interesting to compare our class categories with tenure categories, since it has been argued that homeownership is a vital indicator of class position, and serves to promote petty-bourgeois class aspirations.

While 72.3% of EA whites were classified as bourgeois/petty-bourgeois, only 53% of homes occupied by whites were owned by occupants. While 17.9% of EA blacks were classified as bourgeois/petty bourgeois, as much as 35% of homes occupied by blacks were owned by occupants. The black figure was made up of: 21.5% of coloureds in this class and 38% in this tenure category; 39.6% of indians in this class and 43% in this tenure category; 5% of africans in this class and 4% in this tenure category.

The relationship between class (defined on the basis of occupational categories) and homeownership is neither clear nor mechanical, with divergent trends between 'race' groups, and large differences in the proportions of each population in the class category and housing tenure category. What must be acknowledged, however, is the extent to which census categories obscure or blur class relationships. It means therefore, that the comparisons which were made above remain at best highly tentative. A lot more research and thinking must take place before conclusions can be made with great confidence.
b) Population per type of dwelling

The main trends in the distribution of the population per type of dwelling is summarised as follows. There were more people living in houses than in any other type of dwelling. While 47.7% of people lived in houses and 22.5% in semi-detached houses, only 18.5% lived in flats. The proportion of each 'race' per dwelling type showed a measure of divergence. Almost twice as high a proportion of whites compared to blacks lived in houses. While 70% of whites were living in houses, only 37% of blacks were; of which 41% of coloureds, 59% of indians and 18% of africans. Proportionately, there were 3.9 times less africans than whites in this dwelling type.

A large percentage of blacks were living in semi-detached houses. Only 5% of whites were in this dwelling type, compared with 31% of blacks. Many council housing estates consist of a large number of these dwellings.

There was a large difference in the patterns within the black group for the dwelling type flats. It contained 21% of whites; 17% of blacks of which 21% of coloureds, 13% of indians and 1% of africans. While 163,740 coloureds lived in flats, only 1360 africans did.

Hotels and boarding houses contained a small portion of each 'race' group, with 1% of whites and 0.3% of blacks. Old Age Homes were occupied by 1% of whites and 0.3% of blacks, reflecting the same pattern as Hotels.

Hostels were occupied by 6% of africans and only 0.5% of coloureds. The dwelling type other contained 43% of africans, 6% of coloureds and 4% of indians (13% of blacks) and 1% of whites.

The composition of each dwelling type revealed that whites formed the majority of occupants in two significant categories. They formed 59% of Old Age Home occupants and 64% of Hotel/Boarding house occupants. The availability of Old Age Homes is increasingly becoming a measure of socio-economic status, because of the lack of public amenities in working class communities. While whites formed the bulk of Hotel occupants, as much as 14% of occupants of this category were african. This may reflect the acute shortage of housing for africans in the Peninsula, and the
'temporary' status of Africans without the necessary urban rights or permits. Most semi-detached house occupants were black (92%) of which coloureds formed the bulk (73% of the category). Most occupants of flats were black (62%) of which coloureds formed the bulk (61% of the category). While most occupants of hostels were black (74%), the bulk were African (55% of the category). Although 26% of hostel occupants were white, migrant hostels are inhabited by Africans only. The definition of what constitutes the hostels category must be so wide as to include dwellings of wide divergences of quality, size and density. The category Other is assumed to consist largely of squatter-shacks, since this was the largest dwelling type found at Crossroads. The composition of other dwellings was: white (4%); black (96%) of which coloured (35%), Indians (0.5%) and Africans (61%). It is not known what the other constituents of this dwelling type category is, although it is likely to include caravans and other unusual dwelling types.
Data was only available for the educational levels of the total population. These figures included scholars, students and children under school-going age. It is therefore difficult to establish the educational level of those who were no longer at school/university at the time of the census enumeration.

The following trends, nonetheless, may be noted:
While 8% of whites were aged 0-4, 12.5% had no education. Similarly, blacks aged 0-4 equalled 12%; but 23.3% had no education (this ratio for coloureds, Indians and Africans respectively were: aged 0-4 equalled 12%, 11% and 11% and with no education equalled 21.6%; 22.4% and 30.6%).

While the two categories are not completely comparable (since children aged 5 and 6 may not have received education yet), the figures suggest a larger percentage of blacks than whites, over school-going age who have no formal education.

The trends at the other end of the educational scale reinforce the hypothesis of educational inequality. The composition of the educational level of 'University education' (degree) was whites 92% and blacks 8%, and of 'diploma level' whites 79% and blacks 21%. Even at matric level (Std 9 and 10), whites formed 76% and blacks 24%. There was a consistent over-representation of whites at the top end of the hierarchy of educational levels.
RELIABILITY OF DATA

All our census data were derived from a 5% sample of the 1980 census. We have expanded a sample by a factor of twenty to obtain 100% figures. The population of the 01 region is 1458620 people. The validity of projecting our sample on the basis of a large sample size is statistically accurate; it does become a problem where the sample is small, e.g. figures at a local area level.

Discrepancies in the data presented problems. All of these related to data on educational levels. We were unable to have these discrepancies clarified officially.

Data on the educational levels of the total population (EA and NEA) were in some instances inconsistent with the population data. We traced the problem primarily to the exclusion of African educational levels from the data. Of our sample, 39 areas' education data were consistent, 25 of these areas because there were no Africans, and 14 with Africans included in the data. In 21 areas the data were inconsistent in that they excluded African educational levels. The data however are consistent and valid as a measure of educational levels of whites, coloureds and Indians in these areas. In one area the data were inconsistent that they excluded African and Indian figures (local area 51), but are correct for other population groups.

Data for fourteen areas were not available – and we were unable to locate and rectify this problem in time. The education data should thus be used in conjunction with population data, so as to trace the source of inconsistencies. Data on educational level of the EA did not conform to our definition of the EA. Initial queries seem to suggest that the definition of the EA as used in the context excluded the unemployed. However the discrepancies we encountered were too large to be explained by this definitional difference.
A recent study conducted in Bishop Lavis\textsuperscript{18} suggests that unemployment might be as high as 14%. Using this as a guide, more than half of our areas exceeded this 'unemployment figure', some by as much as 60%. We regard the data as seriously flawed, and with regret will omit from our tabulation the data on educational levels of the economically active.

A different type of problem relates to the way the census was conducted. There were problems of access to people, and with the accuracy of their responses. Firstly, the census was conducted during a period of great political upheaval in Cape Town (the 1980 student-worker protests, boycotts and strikes). For reasons relating to this, some households were not enumerated. Secondly, there is evidence that some households that were surveyed, identified the census as part of the activities of a state whose legitimacy they challenged and rejected. These were people who deliberately gave wrong information. Thirdly, the insecurity and threat of crime in poverty stricken areas (especially shanty-towns) may have kept some of those conducting the census out of those areas. Fourthly the general sense of helplessness towards the might of the state authority may have lead to situations in which respondents volunteered wrong information to protect themselves for example, from perceived rent increases or the stopping of welfare grants. Fifthly, the influx policy of the state has forced many africans to come 'illegally' to the Peninsula in search of jobs. Since the penalties of detection are arrest and deportation or imprisonment, it is likely that many of the 'illegal' africans may have avoided the census for fear of exposure and arrest.

Therefore, one cannot regard the details of the census in all instances as highly accurate. Because of the large size of the sample, it is likely that broad trends are correct. The information does have enough reliability to inform our attempts to understand reality. Imperfections must, however, be recognised.
Perhaps the most important conclusion one can draw from these contradictions is that, although we do and must question the nature of state statistics in terms of the above, under present conditions we have no choice but to use the statistics thus questioned. We have neither the physical resources nor the political power to mount our own population census. This underlines the extent to which research is circumscribed by the political system in which we live. It is clear that the system itself requires the sort of changes which would eliminate the source of our disbelief.

**ROUNDING OFF PROCEDURE USED FOR PERCENTAGES.**

We employed three forms of rounding off:

(a) rounding off to a whole number - this was used mainly for percentages at a local area level, e.g. % of whites per local area. It was also used where we worked with large percentages at the 01 level.

(b) rounding off to the first decimal point - this was used mainly for percentages at the 01 level, for example the % that textile workers formed of the Manufacturing sector. Rounding off however, took place from the third decimal point to ensure greater accuracy.

(c) rounding off to the second decimal point - this was used to reflect the percentages of local area figures in relation to economic region figures, for example the population of an area as a % of the 01 population. Since we obtained fractions of a percent in most cases, any further rounding off would have resulted in distortions in the data.

As a general rule 0.5% and more were taken up to the nearest whole number, and 0.4% and below were brought down to the nearest whole number. Rounding off accounts for apparent discrepancies in the totals (i.e. they need not add up to 100%).
AREA TABULATIONS: Important Notes.

The following abbreviations have been used:
01 - economic region 01 (Peninsula)
02 - economic region 02 (Kuilsriver)

Pop - population
EA - economically active population
NEA - not economically active population

Commerce - wholesale and retail trade
Public admin. - public administration
Other chem. - other chemical products
Metal prod. - metal products besides machinery and equipment
Basic metal - basic metal industries
Electric mac. - electrical machinery, apparatus and devices
Motor vehic. - motor vehicles, parts and accessories
Scient. instr. - professional and scientific instruments
Machinery - machinery besides electrical
Other manuf. - other manufacturing industries
Business ser. - business services
Domestic - personal and domestic services
Educational - educational services
Accommodation - accommodation services
Refreshments - refreshments and accommodation
Cinema - cinema and other entertainment services
Other enter. - other entertainment and relaxation services

Prof. and Tech. - professional and technical
Manag/Super - managerial and supervisory

? - unknown
Dip. - diploma
Univ. - degree (university)

Semi - semi-detached house.
In addition, full sector and category headings are not included because of limited space. Refer to the section on page 13 for a comprehensive listing.

The census administrators distinguish between areas of the same name but a different racial composition, with the use of terms such as 'coloured township', 'Indian township', etc., hence their inclusion in the area tabulations.
REFERENCES


2. Technical Management Services, 1980 Census - TMS Report No. 1, Cape Town, City Engineer's Department, p.6.


7. Ibid., p.10.


15. Lenin, quoted in Cornforth, M., Contemporary Dogmas and Revisions of Marxism, London, Lawrence and Wishart, p.221.

