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SERIES OF REPORTS AND STUDIES

ISSUED BY THE

SOCIAL SURVEY  
OF CAPE TOWN

EUROPEAN  
HOUSEHOLDS

Pricels-d.

No. SS 5



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

REPORTS AND STUDIES

ISSUED BY

THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF CAPE TOWN

EDITED BY

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- SS 1 THE GROWTH OF THE POPULATION OF GREATER CAPE TOWN [9D]
- SS 2 THE ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF GREATER CAPE  
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- SS 3 THE SURVEY POVERTY DATUM LINE [1S]
- SS 4 THE DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY AMONG COLOURED HOUSEHOLDS IN  
CAPE TOWN [9D]
- SS 5 THE DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS IN CAPE TOWN [1S]
- SS 6 THE OCCUPATIONAL CLASS OF EUROPEAN MALE VOTERS IN CAPE  
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OF TABLES AND EXPLANATORY TEXT. ALL REPORTS IN THE SERIES ARE OF A  
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1941



THE DISTRIBUTION OF  
EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS  
IN CAPE TOWN

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THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF CAPE TOWN

REPORT NO. SS 5

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The Municipality of Cape Town is divided into fifteen Wards\*. These Wards may be grouped as follows:-

**WESTERN AREA** (Wards 1, 4, and 5): Sea Point, Camps Bay, Tamboers Kloof, Oranjezicht; = the districts encircling Lion's Head.

**CENTRAL AREA** (Wards 2, 3, 6, and 7): Mouille Point, the Docks, Signal Hill, the City, "District Six", Vredehoek; = the seaward part of old Cape Town.

**EASTERN AREA** (Wards 8, 9, and 11): Woodstock, Salt River, Observatory, Maitland; = the districts around the estuary of the Salt River.

**SOUTHERN AREA** (Wards 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15): Mowbray, Rondebosch, Langa, Athlone, Claremont, Wynberg, Diep River, Retreat, Muizenberg, Kalk Bay; = the "Southern Suburbs". §

As well as geographical compactness, each of these four Areas has a sociological unity and social characteristics which distinguish it clearly from the remaining three. It is true that parts of each Area are necessarily marginal, and may even appear to belong more properly to other Areas: Vredehoek and the northern part of Mowbray are clear examples. But in so far as we are bound by the limits of the present Wards, it does not appear that any alternative grouping could be devised which would be more realistic than the above: Ward 6 as a whole is more closely allied to Ward 7 than to Ward 5; Mowbray is rather "Southern" than "Eastern" in general character. And it is likely that the weight of the marginal districts is not great enough to invalidate any comparisons that will be made between Areas. It should nevertheless be stressed that statements about Areas as units will not necessarily describe every section of such Areas. +

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\* Appendix A

§ Map appended to Report.

+ A circle a mile in diameter with centre on the Esplanade due North of the Castle passes within 100 yards of all points of the following circuit: The Alfred Dock, Boundary Road, Signal Hill Battery, the length of Military Road to a point above Orphan Street, Carisbrooke Street, Rheede Street, the Hiddingh Hall, Mill Street, Upper Mill Street, De Waal Drive, Cauvin Street, College Street, Trafalgar Park, Gympie Street, Woodstock Station. The rough crescent in-



During 1938-1939, the Social Survey of Cape Town conducted an investigation of a "random" sample of all the private households in the Municipality, i.e. of all the homes in the ordinary sense of the term, but omitting hotels, boarding houses, and institutions of all kinds. A fuller description of the methods and objects of this investigation is given in Report No. SS 9 of the present Series. Here it will suffice to state that the sampling method had the disadvantage of yielding only approximate statistics of Cape Town as a whole; but that it had the advantage of costing only a few hundred pounds while a complete sociological census, even if it had been practicable, would have cost tens of thousands of pounds. The disadvantage is in fact not serious since the statistical "randomicity" of the sample enables us to state with a high degree of accuracy the limits within which our approximations are true; and these limits are sufficiently narrow for the purposes in view.

One thousand and seventeen European private households were enumerated in the sample, and the statistics in the present Report are all based upon this sample. If we multiply the number 1017 by the appropriate "sampling factor", we arrive at the number 30,500. This number is the most probable estimate that our data enable us to make of the total number of European households in the Municipality at the time of the investigation, but it may not be taken as precise. We are able, however, to state the range within which it is reliable. If we are content to base our estimate upon statistical odds of 20 to 1, odds which in biological and social investigation are usually accepted as establishing reasonable certainty for experimental purposes, we can say that the total number of European households in Cape Town lay within 4.5 per cent of 30,500, i.e. that it lay between 29,100 and 31,900. If we wish to be especially cautious and increase our odds to 100 to 1, we need only increase our range to 5.7 per cent. and may safely conclude that the true figure lies between 28,800 and 32,200. The odds are ten thousand to one against the true figure being as low as 28,000 or as high as 33,000.

Selecting the degree of statistical risk which we are prepared to run, and remembering that all human enumerations and computations, even including the Government Census, are subject to error, so that it would be a false refinement to handle any mundane quantities meticulously, we may draw from our data, with a known range of accuracy, conclusions respecting the whole population of Cape Town. This is done in the tables in this Report, in which the following conventions have been adopted:-

- (a) the statistics recorded as "probable" are those drawn direct from the sample. They represent the best single estimates that the data permit.

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cluded by this circuit and the shoreline could hardly be improved upon as a delimitation of Central Cape Town.

The inhabited part of Ward 3 lies wholly, and that of Wards 2 and 7 almost wholly, within this crescent. Ward 4 and Ward 6 lie partly within the crescent and partly without; but whereas the major part of the built-up section of Ward 4 lies without the crescent, the major part of the built-up section of Ward 6 lies within. The allocation of these Wards to the Western and Central Areas respectively is a very imperfect approximation to the almost circular (contour-line) sociological boundary, but is the nearest approximation possible.



- (b) the "likely limits" define the range corresponding to statistical odds of 20 to 1, which are adequate for many practical purposes.
- (c) the "cautious limits" recorded in some of the tables correspond to odds of 100 to 1, and may be taken as establishing virtual certainty.

Of the 1017 European private households in the sample, 29 per cent. were found in the Western Area, 7 per cent. in the Central Area, 22 per cent. in the Eastern Area, and 42 per cent. in the Southern Area. These proportions indicate with considerable fidelity the distribution of all European private households at the time of the investigation, as appears in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1  
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS

AREA	PERCENTAGE IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA			RANK ORDER
	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS*	CAUTIOUS LIMITS*	CAUTIOUS LIMITS+
Western	29	26-32	25-33	8.7	7.7- 9.7	7.5- 9.9	2
Central	7	5- 9	5- 9	2.2	1.7- 2.7	1.5- 2.9	4
Eastern	22	19-25	18-26	6.8	5.9- 7.7	5.7- 7.9	3
Southern	42	39-45	38-46	12.7	11.6-13.8	11.3-14.1	1
Municipality	100	100	100	30.5	29.1-31.9	28.8-32.2	-

\* The range in the estimates of the absolute quantities is somewhat greater than in the percentages, since the total to be distributed is itself not known with complete precision.

+ It may be noted that the "cautious limits" for the Western and Eastern Areas overlap; but this does not prevent us from stating that, on a basis of odds of 100 to 1, the number of households in the Western Area is definitely greater than the number in the Eastern Area. For if it is 100 to 1 that the Eastern figure does not fall outside the range 18 - 26 per cent., it is 200 to 1 that it is no higher than 26; and if it is 200 to 1 against the Eastern figure being higher than 26 and 200 to 1 against the Western figure being lower than 25, it is 40,000 to 1 against both of these improbable conditions existing at the same time. It may be calculated that the odds against the Western figure being as low as the Eastern figure are of the order of 2,000 to 1, i.e. they fall far outside the range of the cautious limits and the event must be considered an impossibility.

Among the simplest conclusions which may be drawn from Table 5.1 are:-

- (i) With respect to number of European private households, the four Areas fall into the following order: Southern (highest), Western, Eastern, Central.
- (ii) Of every ten European households in Cape Town, three are



in the Western Area, less than one in the Central Area, two in the Eastern Area, and four in the Southern Area.

(iii) There are about thirty thousand European households in Cape Town.

It is not possible to draw from the sample conclusions as to the distribution of households among Wards which would have the same degree of accuracy as our conclusions respecting distribution among Areas. A much larger sample than that actually taken would be required to achieve such a result, and the investigation was not planned with so expensive an object in view. The data do nevertheless yield certain information concerning this distribution which, although subject to wide margins of error, may still be useful for certain purposes. This information is summarised in Table 5.2

TABLE 5.2  
DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS AMONG WARDS §

WARD	PERCENTAGE IN EACH WARD			THOUSANDS IN EACH WARD		
	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS
1	14	11-17	11-17	4.3	3.6-5.0	3.4-5.2
2	1	0- 2	0- 2	0.4	0.1-0.7	0.1-0.7
3	*	*	*	*	*	*
4	6	4- 8	4- 8	2.0	1.5-2.5	1.4-2.6
5	8	6-10	5-11	2.5	1.9-3.1	1.8-3.2
6	5	3- 7	3- 7	1.6	1.1-2.1	1.0-2.2
7	*	*	*	*	*	*
8	6	4- 8	4- 8	2.0	1.5-2.5	1.4-2.6
9	8	6-10	5-11	2.6	2.0-3.2	1.9-3.3
10	9	7-11	6-12	2.7	2.1-3.3	2.0-3.4
11	7	5- 9	5- 9	2.3	1.8-2.8	1.6-3.0
12	7	5- 9	5- 9	2.1	1.6-2.6	1.5-2.7
13	12	10-14	9-15	3.6	3.0-4.2	2.9-4.3
14	5	3-7	3-7	1.4	1.0-1.8	0.8-2.0
15	10	8-12	7-13	3.0	2.3-3.7	2.2-3.8
MUNICIPALITY	100	100	100	30.5	29.1-31.9	28.8-32.2

\* NEGLIGIBLE

§ Consult Appendix B.



The 1017 European households in the sample were classified as either (i) Manual Workers' Households, or (ii) Business and Professional Households. Since a full description of this classification is given in Report No. 6 of this series, it will suffice here to state that the classification was based on the nature of the occupation of the Head of the Household, or the chief earner where the Head was not gainfully occupied. Of the sampled households, 411 were classed as Manual Workers' Households. Multiplying this number by the sampling factor, we deduce that the total number of Manual Workers' Households in the whole Municipality at the time of the investigation was: PN 12,300; LL 11,200 - 13,400; CL 10,900 - 13,700; and therefore that the total number of Business and Professional Households was: PN 18,100; LL 17,000 - 19,200; CL 16,700 - 19,500.

TABLE 5.3

## MANUAL WORKERS' AND BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS

CLASS	EACH CLASS AS PERCENTAGE			EACH CLASS IN THOUSANDS		
	PN	LL	CL	PN	LL	CL
Manual Workers'	41	38-44	37-45	12.3	11.2-13.4	10.9-13.7
Bus. and Prof.	59	56-62	55-63	18.1	17.0-19.2	16.7-19.5
All	100	100	100	30.5	29.1-31.9	28.8-32.2

The geographical distribution of the sample of Manual Workers' Households was as follows:

13 per cent. in the Western Area (which contained 29 per cent. of all European households)

9 per cent. in the Centre (which contained 7 per cent. of all European households)

44 per cent. in the Eastern Area (which contained 22 per cent. of all European households)

34 per cent. in the Southern Area (which contained 42 per cent. of all European households).

Thus the Central and Southern Areas contained approximately a "due" proportion of Manual Workers' Households, the Western Area about half the "due" proportion, and the Eastern Area about double.



TABLE 5.4  
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MANUAL WORKERS' HOUSEHOLDS

AREA	EACH AREA AS PERCENTAGE			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA			RANK ORDER
	PN	LL	CL	PN	LL	CL	
Western	13	10-16	9-17	1.6	1.1-2.1	1.0-2.2	3 LL
Central	9	7-11	6-12	1.1	0.7-1.5	0.6-1.6	4 LL
Eastern	44	39-49	38-50	5.4	4.6-6.2	4.4-6.4	1 CL
Southern	34	29-39	28-40	4.2	3.5-4.9	3.3-5.1	2 CL
Municip.	100	100	100	12.3	11.2-13.4	10.9-13.7	

TABLE 5.5  
MANUAL WORKERS' HOUSEHOLDS AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS

AREA	PERCENTAGE WITHIN EACH AREA			RANK ORDER
	PN	LL	CL	
Western	19	14-24	13-25	4
Central	50	38-62	35-65	2
Eastern	79	73-85	72-86	1
Southern	33	28-38	27-39	3
Municipality	41	38-44	37-45	

Our data do not permit us to place the Wards with certainty in rank order in respect of the number of Manual Workers' Households they contain. But they permit us to assess the number of Manual Workers' Households in each Ward within a few hundreds and the percentage distribution of such households among Wards within three or four per cent.



TABLE 5.6

## DISTRIBUTION OF MANUAL WORKERS' HOUSEHOLDS AMONG WARDS

WARD	EACH WARD AS PERCENTAGE			THOUSANDS IN EACH WARD		
	PN	LL	CL	PN	LL	CL
1	5	3- 7	2- 8	0.7	0.4-1.0	0.4-1.1
2	1	0- 2	0- 3	0.2	0 -0.3	0 -0.3
3	.	.	.	.	.	.
4	4	2- 6	1- 7	0.5	0.2-0.8	0.1-0.9
5	3	1- 5	1- 5	0.4	0.1-0.7	0.1-0.7
6	7	4-10	4-10	0.8	0.4-1.2	0.4-1.2
7	1	0- 2	0- 3	0.1	0 -0.3	0 -0.3
8	14	10-18	10-18	1.7	1.2-2.2	1.1-2.3
9	17	13-21	12-22	2.1	1.6-2.6	1.5-2.8
10	7	4-10	4 -10	0.8	0.5-1.2	0.4-1.2
11	13	9-17	9-17	1.7	1.3-2.2	1.1-2.3
12	5	3- 7	2- 8	0.7	0.4-1.0	0.3-1.0
13	10	7-13	6-14	1.3	0.9-1.7	0.8-1.8
14	3	1- 5	1- 5	0.3	0.1-0.5	0 -0.6
15	9	6-12	5-13	1.1	0.7-1.5	0.6-1.6
MUNIC.	100	100	100	12.3	11.2-13.4	10.9-13.7

WARD 3 contains a negligible proportion of European Manual Workers' Households.

Thus far we are able to draw the following conclusions respecting European Manual Workers' Households in the Municipality:-

- (i) they number some twelve thousand.
- (ii) of every ten European Households in the Municipality, four are Manual Workers' Households and six Business and Professional Households.
- (iii) with respect to absolute number of European Manual Workers', the four Areas fall into the following order: Eastern (highest), Southern (next highest), and probably Western next and Central lowest.
- (iv) of every ten European Manual Workers' Households in the Municipality, one is in the Central Area, one to two are in the Western Area, three to four are in the Southern Area, four to five are in the Eastern Area.
- (v) The Western and Southern Areas have less than the average proportion of Manual Workers' Households among their European Households, the Eastern has more than the average, and so probably has the Central.



- (vi) with respect to the proportion of Manual Workers' Households among their European households, the four Areas fall into the following order: Eastern (highest), Central, Southern, Western.
- (vii) of every ten European households in the Eastern Area, approximately eight are Manual Workers'. The corresponding approximate proportions in the other Areas are: Central five/ten, Southern three/ten, Western two/ten.
- (viii) there are more than a thousand European Manual Workers' Households in each of the Wards of the Eastern Area, and it is improbable that any of the Wards in the Western or Central Areas contains as many as a thousand.

The investigation was not planned to enable us to state with accuracy the proportion of Manual Workers' Households among European Households in each several Ward. The broad conclusions which the data do happen to permit in this regard nevertheless appear worth recording.

TABLE 5.7

MANUAL WORKERS' HOUSEHOLDS AS APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGE  
OF EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS IN EACH WARD

WARD	PERCENTAGE			PRACTICAL INTERPRETATION
	PN	LL	CL	
1	15	9-21	7-23	LESS THAN A QUARTER
2	+	+	+	+
3	+	+	+	+
4	28	16-40	14-42	BETWEEN AN EIGHTH AND A HALF
5	17	8-26	6-28	LESS THAN THREE-EIGHTHS
6	52	38-66	34-70	MORE THAN 1/4, LESS THAN 3/4
7	+	+	+	+
8	85	76-94	74-96	MORE THAN THREE-QUARTERS
9	80	71-89	69-91	MORE THAN FIVE-EIGHTHS
10	30	20-46	18-42	BETWEEN AN EIGHTH AND A HALF
11	73	64-82	62-84	BETWEEN FIVE- AND SEVEN-EIGHTHS
12	32	20-44	17-47	BETWEEN AN EIGHTH AND A HALF
13	35	26-44	24-46	BETWEEN A QUARTER AND A HALF
14	23	10-36	7-39	LESS THAN THREE-EIGHTHS
15	38	28-48	25-51	BETWEEN A QUARTER AND A HALF
MUN.	41	38-44	37-45	BETWEEN THREE-EIGHTHS AND A HALF

+ IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ESTIMATE THE DISTRIBUTION IN WARDS 3 AND 7 NOR TO SET OUR CAUTIOUS LIMITS FOR WARD 2 AT ANYTHING CLOSER THAN 0-76 PER CENT. HAD IT BEEN DESIRED TO MAKE AN ESTIMATE FOR THESE WARDS, SUPPLEMENTARY SAMPLES WOULD HAVE BEEN NECESSARY. BUT THE SMALLNESS OF THE TOTAL EUROPEAN POPULATIONS OF THESE WARDS MADE SUCH ESTIMATES UNNECESSARY.



In the course of the investigation, inquiry was made concerning the employment of domestic servants. In a later Report, the results of this inquiry will be analysed in a study of Domestic Service in Cape Town. In the present Report, it is useful to make a preliminary analysis of the data in relation to the socio-economic distribution of European households.

For this purpose, the following broad classification of European households will be adopted:

- Class I A: Households employing one or more domestic servants who sleep in, with or without additional domestic service.
- Class I B: Households employing no servant sleeping in, but employing at least one full-time servant sleeping out, with or without additional domestic service.
- Class II: Households employing no full-time domestic service, but employing part-time domestic service.
- Class III: Households employing no domestic service of any kind.

Classes I A and I B together constitute Class I -- households employing full-time domestic service.

Owing to difficulties in defining exactly what constitutes part-time domestic service, and to a possible tendency sometimes to represent part-time employees as full-time, the statistics for Class II may under-state the true position, and those for I B may slightly exaggerate it. For this reason, conclusions respecting Class I should be accepted with a certain extra cautiousness, and those for Class II with reserve. The margin of doubt is nevertheless not great enough to inhibit us from drawing certain general conclusions summarised at the end of this Report.

According to the evidence of the sample, Class I A amounted to 27 per cent. of all European households, Class I B to 14 per cent., Class II to 10 per cent., and Class III to 49 per cent. Multiplying by the proper sampling factors we deduce that the number of households employing full-time domestic servants was: probable number 12,300, likely limits 11,200 - 13,400, cautious limits 10,900 - 13,700; and that the number employing no domestic service was: probable number 15,000, likely limits 13,800 - 16,200, cautious limits 13,500 - 16,500.

TABLE 5.8

## EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO EMPLOYMENT OF DOMESTIC SERVANTS

CLASS	DOMESTIC SERVANTS EMPLOYED §	PERCENTAGE IN EACH CLASS			THOUSANDS IN EACH CLASS		
		PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS
I A	sleep in	27	24-30	23-31	8.1	7.2-9.0	7.0-9.2
I B	sleep out	14	11-17	11-17	4.2	3.5- 4.9	3.3- 5.1
I	full-time	41	38-44	37-45	12.3	11.2-13.4	10.9-13.7
II	part-time	10	8-12	7-13	3.2	2.5- 3.9	2.4- 4.0
III	none	49	45-53	45-53	15.0	13.8-16.2	13.5-16.5
II+III	no f.-t.	59	56-62	55-63	18.2	17.1-19.3	16.8-19.6
ALL	-	100	100	100	30.5	29.1-31.9	28.8-32.2

§ SEE DEFINITIONS ABOVE



TABLE 5.9

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS EMPLOYING NO SERVANTS

AREA	PERCENTAGE IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA			RANK ORDER
	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS
Western	21	17-25	17-25	3.1	2.5-3.7	2.3-3.9	III
Central	9	6-12	5-13	1.4	1.0-1.8	0.9-1.9	IV
Eastern	32	28-36	27-37	4.9	4.2-5.6	4.0-5.8	II §
Southern	38	33-43	32-44	5.7	4.9-6.5	4.7-6.7	I §
Municipality	100	100	100	15.0	13.8-16.2	13.5-16.5	-

§ based on "likely limits" only; probability does not extend to "cautious limits".

The above table and Table 5.8 show that there is a certain correspondence, such as we should expect, between Manual Workers' Households and servantless households. Thus we may compare the following conclusions with those on page 7:-

- (i) the servantless European households in the Municipality number some fifteen thousand.
- (ii) of every ten European households in Cape Town, five employ no servants and four employ full-time servants.
- (iii) with respect to the absolute number of servantless European households, the four Areas fall into the following order: largest absolute number Southern or Eastern, next largest Eastern or Southern, next Western, lowest Central.
- (iv) of every ten servantless European households in the Municipality, one is in the Central Area, two are in the Western, three to four are in the Eastern, three to four are in the Southern.

A similar comparison may be made between the distribution of Business and Professional Households and the statistics for Classes IA and I which follow:-



TABLE 5.10

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS EMPLOYING SERVANTS SLEEPING IN

AREA	PERCENTAGE IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA			RANK ORDER
	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	
Western	41	35-47	33-49	3.3	2.7-3.9	2.5-4.1	II OR I
Central	5	2- 8	1- 9	0.4	0.2-0.6	0.1-0.7	IV OR III
Eastern	9	5-13	4-14	0.8	0.5-1.2	0.4-1.2	III OR IV
Southern	45	39-51	37-53	3.7	3.1-4.3	3.0-4.4	I OR II
Municipality	100	100	100	8.1	7.2-9.0	7.0-9.2	

TABLE 5.11

## GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS EMPLOYING FULL-TIME SERVANTS

AREA	PERCENTAGE IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA			RANK ORDER
	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	
Western	36	31-41	30-42	4.5	3.8-5.2	3.6-5.4	II
Central	6	3- 9	3- 9	0.7	0.4-1.0	0.4-1.1	IV
Eastern	13	9-17	9-17	1.6	1.1-2.1	1.0-2.2	III
Southern	45	41-49	40-50	5.6	4.8-6.4	4.6-6.6	I
Municipality	100	100	100	12.3	11.2-13.4	10.9-13.7	

So far we have considered the distribution of servantless and servant-employing households throughout the Municipality. It is also instructive to consider the proportions of servantless and servant-employing households within each Area. The statistics showing these proportions follow in Tables 5.12 to 5.16.



TABLE 5.12

HOUSEHOLDS OF CLASS I \* AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS

AREA	PERCENTAGE IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA		
	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS
Western	51	45-57	44-58	4.5	3.8-5.2	3.6-5.4
Central	32	21-43	10-46	0.7	0.4-1.0	0.4-1.1
Eastern	23	18-28	16-30	1.6	1.1-2.1	1.0-2.2
Southern	44	39-49	37-51	5.6	4.8-6.4	4.6-6.6
Municipality	41	38-44	37-45	12.3	11.2-13.4	10.9-13.7

TABLE 5.13

HOUSEHOLDS OF CLASS IA \* AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS

AREA	PERCENTAGE IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA		
	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS
Western	38	32-44	30-46	3.3	2.7-3.9	2.5-4.1
Central	17	8-26	4-39	0.4	0.2-0.6	0.1-0.7
Eastern	11	7-15	6-16	0.8	0.5-1.2	0.4-1.2
Southern	29	24-34	23-35	3.7	3.1-4.3	3.0-4.4
Municipality	27	24-30	23-31	8.1	7.2-9.0	7.0-9.2

TABLE 5.14

HOUSEHOLDS OF CLASS IB \* AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS

AREA	PERCENTAGE IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA		
	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS	PROB- ABLE	LIKELY LIMITS	CAUTIOUS LIMITS
Western	13	9-17	8-18	1.2	0.8-1.6	0.7-1.7
Central	15	7-23	4-26	0.3	0.1-0.5	0.1-0.5
Eastern	12	7-17	7-17	0.8	0.4-1.2	0.4-1.2
Southern	15	11-19	10-20	1.9	1.4-2.4	1.3-2.5
Municipality	14	11-17	11-17	4.2	3.5-4.9	3.3-5.1

\* See p. 9 for definition.



TABLE 5.15

## HOUSEHOLDS OF CLASS II\* AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS

AREA	PERCENTAGE IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA		
	PN	LL	CL	PN	LL	CL
Western	13	9-17	8-18	1.1	0.7-1.5	0.6-1.6
Central	7	1-13	0-15	0.2	0 -0.4	0 -0.4
Eastern	6	2-10	2-10	0.4	0.1-0.7	0 -0.6
Southern	11	8-14	7-15	1.5	1.0-2.0	0.9-2.1
Mun.	10	8-12	7-13	3.2	2.5-3.9	2.4-4.0

TABLE 5.16

## HOUSEHOLDS OF CLASS III\* AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS

AREA	PERCENTAGE IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA		
	PN	LL	CL	PN	LL	CL
Western	35	29-41	28-42	3.1	2.5-3.7	2.3-3.9
Central	61	49-73	47-75	1.4	0.9-1.9	0.8-2.0
Eastern	71	65-77	63-79	4.9	4.1-5.7	3.9-5.9
Southern	45	40-50	39-51	5.7	4.9-6.5	4.7-6.7
Mun.	49	45-53	45-53	15.0	13.8-16.2	13.5-16.5

Again comparing with the conclusions regarding the distribution of Manual Workers' Households, we may note:-

- (i) the Western and probably the Southern Areas have less than the average proportion of servantless households among their European households, the Central and Eastern have more than the average.
- (ii) of every ten European households in the Eastern Area, approximately seven are servantless. The corresponding approximate proportions in the other Areas are: Centre six/ten, Southern four to five/ten, Western three to four/ten.

\* SEE PAGE 9 FOR DEFINITION



We observe a considerable degree of correspondence between the statistics for Manual Workers' Households and for servantless households and between the statistics for Business and Professional Households and for households of Class I and Class IA. Throughout the Municipality, the proportion of servantless households is greater than the proportion of Manual Workers' Households; for every ten Manual Workers' Households there are twelve servantless, and for every ten Business and Professional Households there are but seven households employing fulltime servants. This relationship does not appear to hold within each several Ward, although the probable exceptions are few. But if we arrange the Wards in order, first according to their ratio of Manual Workers' Households and second according to their ratio of servantless households, the general agreement in the two scales is striking.

TABLE 5.17

RANK ORDER OF EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS  
 ACCORDING TO RATIO OF MANUAL WORKERS' HOUSEHOLDS  
 AND ACCORDING TO RATIO OF SERVANTLESS HOUSEHOLDS  
 [BASED ON PN STATISTICS\*]

WARD	PN PERCENTAGE		RANK ORDER BASED ON PERCENTAGE	
	MANUAL WORKERS'	CLASS III	MANUAL WORKERS'	CLASS III
1	15	28	12	11
2	.	.	.	.
3	.	.	.	.
4	28	47	9	7
5	17	36	11	10
6	52	63	4	4
7	.	.	.	.
8	85	79	1	1
9	80	68	2	2
10	30	39	8	9
11	73	68	3	3
12	32	27	7	12
13	35	55	6	5
14	23	43	10	8
15	38	50	5	6
MUN.	41	49		

\* SEE APPENDIX C.



The correspondence in rank order is very close: the rank correlation coefficient  $\rho$ , which takes the value 0 when there is no correlation between rank orders in two scales and the value +1 when the agreement between the two orders is perfect, takes in this case the value +0.87. But there is not a one-one correspondence between servantlessness and Manual Workers' status; that is to say, it is not true that every Manual Workers' Household is servantless and every Business and Professional Household servant-employing. A quarter of all the Manual Workers' Households in the sample employed some domestic service and a third of all the Business and Professional Households employed none. Or again, a fifth of all the Manual Workers' Households employed full-time domestic service and nearly a half of the Business and Professional Households employed no full-time domestic service. The relevant percentages are shown in Table 5.18.

TABLE 5.18

## EMPLOYMENT OF DOMESTIC SERVANTS IN EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS

OCCUPATION CLASS OF HOUSEHOLD	PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN EACH SERVANT-EMPLOYING CLASS			
	CLASS IA	CLASS IB	CLASS II	CLASS III
MANUAL WORKERS'	10	9	6	74
BUSINESS AND PROF.	38	17	13	32
ALL	27	14	10	49

Although twenty per cent. of Manual Workers' Households employ full-time servants and forty-five per cent. of Business and Professional Households do not, there is, as we should expect, a considerable correlation between occupational status and servant-keeping status on the whole. This correlation, like that of the rank order of the Wards, may be expressed by a coefficient which takes the value 1 when the correlation is perfect and 0 when there is no correlation. We have a choice of suitable coefficients. For purposes of comparison with later work, four of these are tabulated in Table 5.19. Their individual values differ since the natures and implications of the different coefficients also differ; but they all indicate a high degree of association or correlation between the two kinds of status among European households in Cape Town. That is to say, they provide prima facie evidence that both occupational group and employment of servants are satisfactory indices of socio-economic status among European households in Cape Town.



TABLE 5.19

ASSOCIATION/CORRELATION BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS  
AND EMPLOYMENT OF SERVANTS  
AMONG EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS IN CAPE TOWN

COEFFICIENT			VALUE TAKEN BY COEFFICIENT IN RELATION TO EMPLOYMENT OF	
SYMBOL	NAME	NATURE	ANY SERVANTS	FULL-TIME SERVANTS
$C_2$	coefficient of mean square contingency	note 1	0.38	0.33
$Q$	Yule's coefficient of association	note 2	0.72	0.67
$r_B$	Bernouillian coefficient of correlation	note 3	0.42	0.35
$r_t$	tetrachoric coefficient of correlation	note 4	0.61	0.54
$q$	probability of association	note 5	1-p, where p is of the order of $10^{-40}$	1-p, where p is of the order of $10^{-25}$

- 1: a measure of the association between two sets of two classes when the differences between the classes are qualitative rather than quantitative; probably the most appropriate measure for the present association.
- 2: of a similar nature to the above, but not so reliable; included in the above table for comparison with later work.
- 3: of a similar nature to Yule's coefficient, and included for a similar reason.
- 4: based on the assumption, not well supported in the above case, that the differences between the classes are a matter of degree rather than kind.
- 5: measures the probability, in the above cases almost indistinguishable from absolute certainty, that the association calculated from the sample reflects a real association in the Municipality at large and is not an accident of the sampling.



The following practical conclusions may be drawn from the above table:-

- (i) there is no doubt whatever as to the existence of a positive association between Manual Workers' Households and servantless households, and between Business and Professional Households and households employing full-time servants.
- (ii) the associations referred to are fairly marked [strongly marked if we accept the evidence of Q, but we are not prepared to do this at this stage]; but the association between occupational status and servantlessness is stronger than the association between occupational status and the employment of full-time servants.

We may finally note that, while the rank order correlation for Manual Workers' Households and servantless households among Wards was high, the corresponding rank order correlation between Areas is perfect, as also is that for Manual Workers' Households and households without full-time servants.

TABLE 5.20, which follows, summarizes the chief characteristics of each Area, as revealed in the samples. That is to say, the statistics in Table 5.20 are FN statistics, the most probable single estimates derivable from the samples, but subject to the margins indicated in the preceding tables.



TABLE 5.20

## THE DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS IN CAPE TOWN

## SUMMARY OF PN STATISTICS \*

AREA	PERCENTAGES								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
WESTERN	29	13	39	19	81	21	36	35	51
CENTRAL	7	9	6	50	50	9	6	61	32
EASTERN	22	44	8	79	21	32	13	71	23
SOUTHERN	42	34	47	33	67	38	45	45	44
MUNICIP.	100	100	100	41	49	100	100	49	41

KEY: A = SHARE OF ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS  
 B = SHARE OF ALL MANUAL WORKERS' HOUSEHOLDS  
 C = SHARE OF ALL BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL HOUSEHOLDS  
 D = RATIO OF MANUAL WORKERS' TO ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS WITHIN AREA  
 E = RATIO OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL HOUSEHOLDS TO ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS WITHIN AREA  
 F = SHARE OF ALL SERVANTLESS EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS  
 G = SHARE OF ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS WITH FULL-TIME SERVANTS  
 H = RATIO OF SERVANTLESS HOUSEHOLDS TO ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS WITHIN AREA  
 J = RATIO OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH FULL-TIME SERVANTS TO ALL EUROPEAN HOUSEHOLDS WITHIN AREA

\* SEE PAGE 17



## APPENDIX A

### THE WARD SYSTEM OF CAPE TOWN

The main lines of the present Ward system of Cape Town were drawn in Provincial Proclamation No. 218 of 1914. The fourteen Wards into which the newly "unified" Municipality was then divided were composed as follows:-

- (a) Wards 2 and 3, part of Ward 4, and Wards 5, 6, and 7, covering the area of old Cape Town;
- (b) Wards 1, 8, 9, 10, and 11, and parts of Wards 12, 13, and 14, equivalent to the old Municipalities of Green and Sea Point, Woodstock, Mowbray, Maitland, Rondebosch, Claremont, and Kalk Bay;
- (c) Certain semi-rural "Additional Areas" until 1913 not included within the boundaries of any municipality, and added in 1914 to the more urban portions of Wards 4, 12, 13, and 14. A similar Additional Area was annexed to the municipality of Wynberg.

Since 1914 three further groups of areas have been added to the Municipality and allocated to various Wards:-

- (d) The municipality of Wynberg, with its Additional Area, which became Ward 15;
- (e) Uninhabited catchment areas on Table Mountain added to Wards 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 15;
- (f) The native location Langa, added to Ward 12.

The present Ward system thus comprises:-

WARD 1 (SEA POINT WARD): the seaward slopes of Signal Hill and Lion's Head = the old municipality of GREEN AND SEA POINT.

WARDS 2 (HARBOUR WARD), 3 (WEST CENTRAL WARD), 4 (KLOOF WARD), 5 (PARK WARD), 6 (EAST CENTRAL WARD), and 7 (CASTLE WARD): six irregular sectors of the amphitheatre formed by Signal Hill, Table Mountain, and Devil's Peak, with an extension westward round Signal Hill to include Green Point Common = the old municipality of CAPE TOWN; with extensions over Kloof Nek to Camps Bay (Ward 4) and on Table Mountain and Devil's Peak.

WARDS 8 (WOODSTOCK), 9 (SALT RIVER), AND 10 (MOWBRAY), three sectors centred on Devil's Peak, together = the old municipalities of WOODSTOCK and MOWBRAY.

WARD 11 (MAITLAND), an extension of the Municipality beyond Salt River along the shores of Table Bay = the old municipality of MAITLAND.

WARDS 12 (RONDEBOSCH) and 13 (CLAREMONT), continuing from Mowbray the chain of suburbs extending southward to False Bay = the old municipalities of RONDEBOSCH and CLAREMONT with their



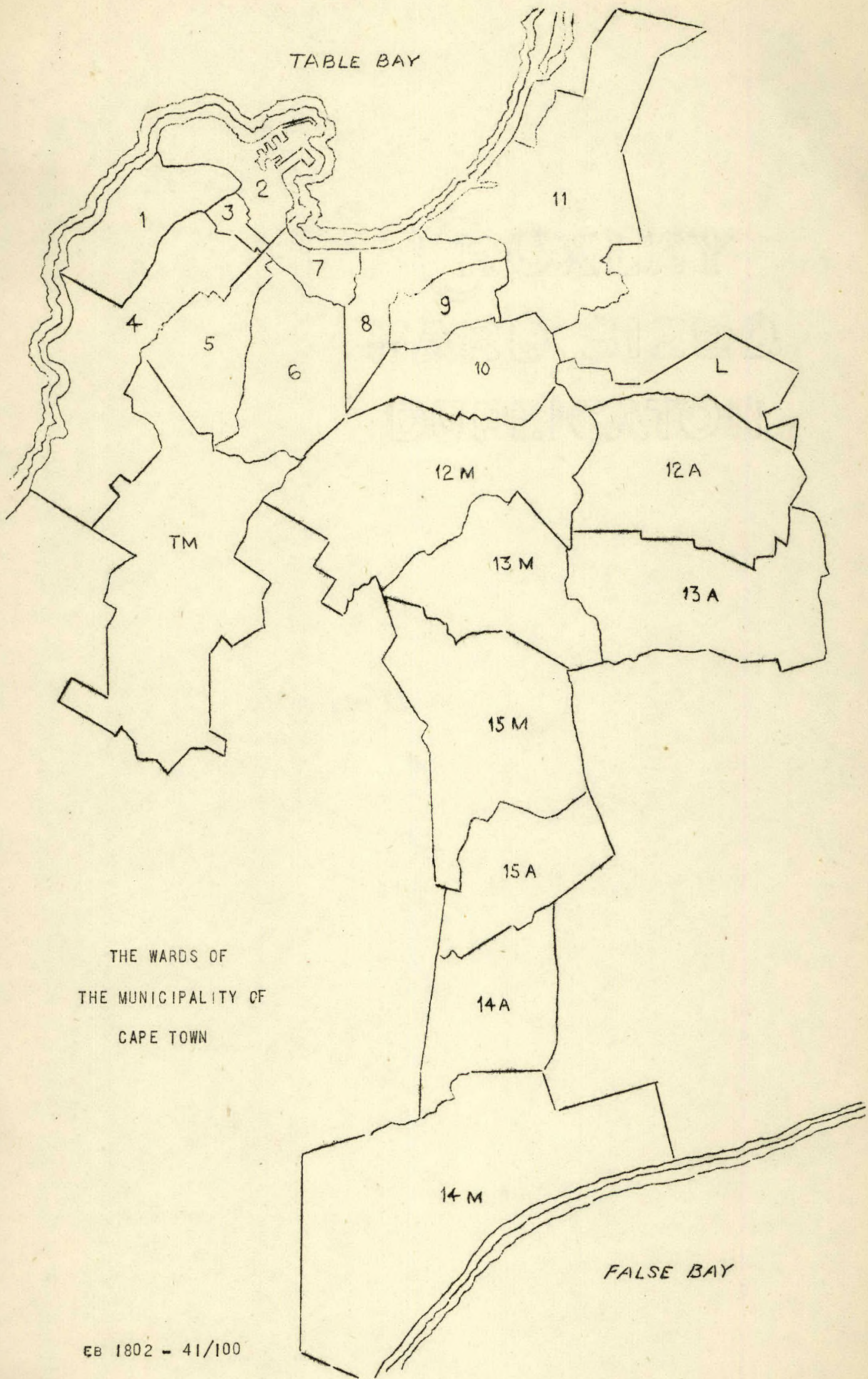
common boundary adjusted; with semi-rural Additional Areas added to each Ward and Langa Native Location added to Ward 12.

WARD 14 (KALK BAY), the extreme link in the southward chain, on the shores of False Bay = the old municipality of KALK BAY; with a semi-rural Additional Area to the north.

WARD 15 (WYNBERG), for fourteen years the "missing link" in the chain, to the south of Claremont, = the old municipality of WYNBERG; with a semi-rural Additional Area completing the link with Ward 14.

In the accompanying map, the Additional Areas forming part of Wards 12, 13, 14, and 15, are marked 12A, 13A, 14A, and 15A; the area containing Langa, which forms part of Ward 12, is marked L; the original municipal portions of Wards 12, 13, 14, and 15, are marked 12M, 13M, 14M, and 15M; and part of the uninhabited catchment area on Table Mountain is marked TM. The Additional Area annexed in 1914 to Ward 4 (= Camps Bay) is never distinguished for local statistical purposes from the rest of the Ward and is not separated on the map.





THE WARDS OF  
THE MUNICIPALITY OF  
CAPE TOWN



Appendix B

On Table 5.2

It is of interest to compare Table 5.2 with the percentage distribution of the European population of Cape Town in December 1938, as estimated by the City Medical Officer of Health, although we should not expect exact correspondence between the two sets of statistics, since:-

- (i) the statistics of the Medical Officer of Health cover the whole European population, whether resident in private households or not;
- (ii) the statistics of the Medical Officer of Health presuppose that the population of each Ward has continued since the 1936 Census to increase at the same rate as before;
- (iii) the average size of households may vary between Wards.

The respective percentages are as follows:

TABLE 5 B .1

DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPEAN POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLDS AMONG WARDS

WARD	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN EACH WARD		PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN EACH WARD		EXCESS SURVEY OVER MOH
	M O H	1938	SURVEY	1938-39	
1		12.4		14.1	+1.7
2		2.5		1.3	-1.2
3		0.9		0.4	-0.5
4		6.4		6.4	NIL
5		7.6		8.1	+0.5
6		4.7		5.1	+0.4
7		0.9		0.5	-0.4
8		7.9		6.5	-1.4
9		9.1		8.4	-0.7
10		9.0		8.8	-0.2
11		7.1		7.4	+0.3
12		7.6		6.7	-0.9
13		10.4		11.7	+1.3
14		3.9		4.7	+0.8
15		10.3		9.8	-0.5
Municipality		100		100	-

Despite the above reasons for disagreement, it will be seen that the agreement for most Wards is strikingly close, and comparison with Table 5.2 (p.4) shows that for every Ward save Ward 2 the figures from the Med-



ical Officer of Health lie within our "likely limits". As much disagreement as exists over the whole table might in fact be expected to arise from random sampling about once in every ten investigations.

But Ward 2 is a known special case, since its population includes that of the shipping in the Docks, which was not included in the scope of the household investigation. If we exclude Ward 2 altogether from the comparison, the remaining disagreement is no more than should be expected to arise from random sampling in four out of every five investigations.

This highly satisfactory degree of correspondence, coupled with the three influences making for discrepancy that we have mentioned above, strongly supports the belief, discussed in Report No. SS 9, that the sample was representative of the whole population of Cape Town even well within the limits calculated for random sampling.

### Appendix C

#### The Nature and Accuracy of the Sample

The Sample, which in the body of the Report has been described as random, was random within streets and estates but stratified as between streets and estates. Such a stratified sample is even more accurate than a purely random sample, and the "likely" and "cautious" limits given in the text and tables are therefore even more likely and cautious than has been claimed. Unfortunately, it is not practicable to calculate by formula how much more accurate than a purely random sample this particular stratified sample has proved to be. But such indications as that referred to in Appendix B suggest very strongly that the additional accuracy is considerable, and encourage us to work with considerable confidence from the "likely limits" in cases where, with a purely random sample, we should be inclined to prefer the "cautious limits".

In certain tables, the FN statistics alone have been used. This is legitimate for the purposes which these tables are intended to serve, but would not be universally legitimate. But the added accuracy due to the stratification of the sample naturally makes the FN figures themselves a safer guide than they would be if derived from a purely random sample.

### Appendix D

The Social Survey is indebted to many helpers, to whom grateful acknowledgments are tendered. The present Report in particular could not have been prepared without the generous assistance and expert advice of Mr. J. Bam, of the Voters' Roll and Valuation Records Branch, Municipality of Cape Town.



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