

Box 229A

Unwind 14, 14, 8

~~309.1(68712)~~
~~309.1(68712)~~
~~309.1(68712)~~
~~309.1(68712)~~

University of Cape Town

Department of Social Science



309.1 (68712)
326: 339.46 (68712)
326: 91 (68712)

119
40B

SERIES OF REPORTS AND STUDIES

ISSUED BY THE

SOCIAL SURVEY OF CAPE TOWN

POVERTY AMONG
COLOURED HOMES

Price 9 d.

No. SS 4

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

REPORTS AND STUDIES

ISSUED BY

THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF CAPE TOWN

EDITED BY

EDWARD BATSON

PROFESSOR OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF CAPE TOWN IS CONDUCTED BY
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND FINANCED BY A
GENEROUS GRANT TO THE UNIVERSITY FROM THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION

THE FOLLOWING REPORTS WILL BE PUBLISHED IN MAY 1941:

- SS 1 THE GROWTH OF THE POPULATION OF GREATER CAPE TOWN [9D]
- SS 2 THE ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF GREATER CAPE
TOWN [1S]
- 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
TOWN [9D]

EACH REPORT WILL CONSIST OF FROM TEN TO THIRTY CYCLOSTYLED FOOLSCAP PAGES
OF TABLES AND EXPLANATORY TEXT. ALL REPORTS IN THE SERIES ARE OF A
PRELIMINARY NATURE AND SUBJECT TO FINAL AUDIT.

1941

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY
AMONG COLOURED HOUSEHOLDS
IN CAPE TOWN

THE SOCIAL SURVEY OF CAPE TOWN

REPORT No. S S 4

During 1938-1939, the Social Survey of Cape Town conducted a sociological 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 hold; and these limits are sufficiently narrow for the purposes in view.

Eight hundred and thirty-four Coloured private households [Note 1] were enumerated in this sample, and the statistics in the present Report are all calculated from the data respecting the 834 households. If we multiply the number 834 by the appropriate "sampling factor", we arrive at the number 25,000. This number is the most probable estimate that our data enable us to make of the total number of Coloured private 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 research are usually accepted as establishing reasonable certainty for experimental purposes, we can say that the total number of Coloured households in Cape Town lay between 23,600 and 26,400, i.e. within 5.6 per cent of 25,000. If we wish to be especially cautious and increase our odds to 100 to 1, we need only increase our range to 6.8 per cent. and may safely conclude that the true figure lies between 23,300 and 26,700. The odds are 400 to 1 against the true figure being as low as 23,000 or as high as 27,000.

Selecting the degree of statistical risk which we are prepared to run, we may draw from our data, with a known range of accuracy, conclusions respecting the whole population of the private Coloured households in 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" [P] are those drawn direct from the sample. They represent the best single estimates that the data permit.

[Note 1] For definition of Coloured Ethnic Group, see Report SS 2.

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

Of the 834 private Coloured households in the Municipality, 53 per cent. were found to have incomes below the Poverty Datum Line [Note 2], and 47 per cent. therefore to have incomes on or above the Poverty Datum Line.

The method of calculating the Poverty Datum Line is explained fully in Report No. SS 3. Here it will suffice to explain that the Poverty Datum Line is drawn for each household at that level of income which would permit the payment of the rent of the dwelling actually occupied by the household and would leave an amount just sufficient for the purchase of the food, clothing, and cleaning, heating, and lighting materials, which are essential for health and decency. The Poverty Datum Line does not represent a "human" or "civilized" standard of living, but only a purely "physical" standard of health and decency. [Note 3].

The proportions in the sample represent with considerable fidelity the distribution of all private Coloured households in Cape Town at the time of the investigation, as appears in Table 4.1

TABLE 4.1

PROPORTION OF COLOURED HOUSEHOLDS BELOW THE POVERTY DATUM LINE

	P	LL	CL
PERCENTAGE	53	49-57	48-58
THOUSANDS	13.2	12.0-14.4	11.8-14.6

We are thus not justified in saying that a majority of the Coloured households in Cape Town were below the Poverty Datum Line, although this is highly probable. It is virtually certain, however, that at least forty-eight per cent. of these households were below the Line, and it is equally possible that as many as 58 per cent. were below the Line. We are in any case justified in asserting that of every ten Coloured households in Cape Town, five to six were below the Poverty Datum Line.

[Note 2] The corresponding proportion for European households will be reported in Report No. SS 10. Preliminary calculations suggest that the figure lies in the neighbourhood of six per cent.

[Note 3] With the allowance for rent is included an allowance for the necessary transport of wage-earners, and certain other allowances in certain cases, for which see Report SS 3.

For the purposes of the Social Survey, the fifteen Wards into which Cape Town is administratively divided have been grouped as follows:-

WESTERN AREA

WARDS 1,4 AND 5

SEA POINT, CAMPS BAY, TAMBOERS KLOOF, ORANJEZICHT;
= THE DISTRICTS EN CIRCLING 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 would be more realistic than the above. In any case, the weight of the marginal districts is not great enough to invalidate any comparisons that we shall make between the Areas.

* A more detailed description of these Areas, together with a sketch map, is contained in Report No. SS 5.

Seven per cent. of the Coloured households in the sample were found in the Western Area, 33 per cent. in the Central Area, 23 per cent. in the Eastern, and 38 per cent. in the Southern. These proportions indicate that the distribution of all the Coloured households in the Municipality at the time of the investigation was as follows:-

TABLE 4.2

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF COLOURED HOUSEHOLDS

AREA	% IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA			RANK ORDER LL
	P	LL	CL	P	LL	CL	
Western	7	5- 9	4-10	1.7	1.2- 2.2	1.1-2.3	IV
Central	33	30-36	29-37	8.2	7.2-9.2	7.0-9.4	II
Eastern	23	20-26	19-27	5.7	4.9- 6,5	4.7-6.7	III
Southern	38	35-41	34-42	9.4	8.4-10.4	8.2-10.6	I
Munic.	100	100	100	25.0	23.6-26.4	23.3-26.7	

It is of interest to compare this table with Table 5.1 in Report S.S. 5. The Southern Area contains two-fifths of the Coloured households and also two-fifths of the European households; the Eastern Area similarly contains one-fifth of each, and thus the Western and Central Areas together contain two-fifths of each. But most of the European households in the Western+Central Areas are in the Western Area, and most of the Coloured households in the Western+Central Areas are in the Central Area. Thus, in respect to the distribution of private European households and Coloured households, the Southern and Eastern Areas are, as units, "representative" areas, while the Western and Central Areas are, as units, "segregated" areas.

Of those Coloured households in the sample that were found to be below the Poverty Datum Line, eight per cent. were in the Western Area, 33 per cent. in the Central Area, 19 per cent. in the Eastern Area, and 40 per cent. in the Southern Area; and of those found on or above the Poverty Datum Line, 6 per cent. were in the Western Area, 33 per cent. in the Central Area, 26 per cent. in the Eastern Area, and 35 per cent. in the Southern Area. These proportions permit the following calculations of the distribution of Coloured households throughout the Municipality:

TABLE 4.3

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF COLOURED HOUSEHOLDS
BELOW THE POVERTY DATUM LINE

AREA	% IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA			RANK ORDER LL
	P	LL	CL	P	LL	CL	
Western	8	5-11	4-12	1.0	0.6-1.4	0.5-1.5	IV
Central	33	28-38	27-39	4.4	3.7-5.1	3.5-5.3	II
Eastern	19	15-23	13-25	2.5	1.9-3.1	1.8-3.2	III
Southern	40	35-45	33-47	5.2	4.4-6.0	4.2-6.2	I
Munic.	100	100	100	13.1	11.9-14.3	11.6-14.6	

TABLE 4.4

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF COLOURED HOUSEHOLDS
ON OR ABOVE THE POVERTY DATUM LINE

AREA	% IN EACH AREA			THOUSANDS IN EACH AREA			RANK ORDER LL
	P	LL	CL	P	LL	CL	
Western	6	3-9	3-9	0.7	0.4-1.0	0.3-1.1	IV
Central	33	28-38	27-39	3.9	3.2-4.6	3.0-4.8	II OR I
Eastern	26	21-31	20-32	3.1	2.5-3.7	2.3-3.9	III
Southern	35	30-40	29-41	4.2	3.5-4.9	3.3-5.1	I OR II
Munic.	100	100	100	11.9	10.8-13.0	10.5-13.3	

It thus appears that poverty, as measured by the Survey Poverty Datum Line, is distributed fairly evenly among Coloured households as between the four Areas, except that there is a strong presumption, not amounting however to certainty, that there is less than the average amount of poverty among Coloured households in the Eastern Area.

Working from the Poverty Datum Line, we may classify all households according to the following arbitrary standards:

CLASS	RATIO OF AVAILABLE INCOME TO P D L [NOTE 4]
"Destitution"	negative
"Acute poverty"	positive, but less than 50%
"need"	at least 50% but less than 100%
"Inadequacy"	at least 100% but less than 200%
"Adequacy"	at least 200%

Of the households in the Sample, three per cent. were found to be "destitute", 17 per cent. were found in "acute poverty", 33 per cent. in "need", 32 per cent. had "inadequate" incomes, and 15 per cent. "adequate" incomes. (The reader is warned at this stage to attach no other significance to these descriptive labels than that indicated in the schedule above.) From these proportions, the following conclusions may be drawn with regard to the socio-economic stratification of all the private Coloured households in the Municipality at the time of the investigation:

TABLE 4.5

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISTRIBUTION OF COLOURED HOUSEHOLDS

CLASS	% IN EACH CLASS			THOUSANDS IN EACH CLASS		
	P	LL	CL	P	LL	CL
"destitution"	3	1- 5	1- 5	0.7	0.4-1.0	0.3-1.1
"acute poverty"	17	15-19	14-20	4.3	3.6-5.0	3.4-5.2
"need"	33	30-36	29-37	8.2	7.2-9.2	7.0-9.4
"inadequacy"	32	29-35	28-36	8.1	7.1-9.1	6.9-9.3
"adequacy"	15	13-17	12-18	3.8	3.1-4.5	2.9-4.7
all classes	100	100	100	25.0	23.6-26.4	23.3-26.7

[Note 4] The available income is that remaining after the payment of rent and wage-earners' transport. The PDL (Poverty Datum Line) income is that necessary for the purchase of the minimum essentials for health and decency [see Report SS 3]. The stratification in the schedule above owes inspiration to the Bristol Survey.

Thus, only some four thousand of the 25,000 Coloured households enjoy an "adequate" income in the sense defined above, while some 5,000 exist on an income not even sufficient for the purchase of half the minimum essentials for health and decency.

The following table shows the percentage distribution in the sample of the households of each socio-economic class among the four Areas.

TABLE 4.6

AREA	DESTITN	AC. POV.	NEED	INADEQ.	ADEQ.	ALL CLASSES
Western	5	12	6	5	8	7
Central	37	34	32	36	26	33
Eastern	27	22	17	24	31	23
Southern	31	33	44	35	35	38
Munic.	100	100	100	100	100	100

Thus, in the sample, five per cent. of the destitute households were found in the Western Area, which had seven per cent. of all the households; 35 per cent. of the households with "adequate" incomes were found in the Southern Area, which had 38 per cent. of all the households; and so forth.

It is clear from a glance at the table that no Area had a very great excess or defect of any particular class of household, save that the Western Area had considerably more than its share of households in "acute poverty", the Central considerably less than its share of "adequate" incomes, and the Eastern considerably less than its share of households in "need" and more of "adequate" incomes. These differences are not all statistically significant, however. There is a definite probability that they exist not only in the sample but also in the whole population of the Municipality, but this probability in no case extends to our "cautious limits" and in one case only (the relative defect in "needy" families in the Eastern Area) does it extend to our "likely limits". We must therefore conclude that our data strongly suggest that the Eastern Area has less than the average proportion of families immediately below the Poverty Datum Line, but for the rest show no evidence that the socio-economic stratification of Coloured private households varies between Areas.

The data summarized in Table 4.6 may also be exhibited in a table showing the socio-economic distribution of the families in each Area. [See Table 4.7 following].

TABLE 4.7

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISTRIBUTION OF COLOURED HOUSEHOLDS WITHIN AREAS

CLASS	WESTERN	CENTRAL	EASTERN	SOUTHERN	MUNIC.
"destitution"	2	3	3	3	3
"ac. pov."	29	18	16	15	17
"need"	29	32	25	39	33
"inadeq."	24	35	35	30	32
"adequ."	16	12	21	14	15
all househ.	100	100	100	100	100

Here again, we find a probability that in the Western Area more than the average proportion of households were in "acute poverty" and that in the Eastern Area less than the average were in "need" and more than the average enjoyed "adequacy". And here again, as far as the whole population and not merely the sample is concerned, we must conclude that our data strongly suggest that more than the average proportion of the Eastern Area families have "adequate" family incomes, but that we have no definite evidence of any variation of socio-economic stratification between Areas.

As Table 4.5 might suggest, the statistics rule out the comfortable hypothesis that many of the households below the Poverty Datum Line are not very far below. Of all the households in the sample, 53 per cent. were below the Poverty Datum Line; and 47 per cent. had available incomes that did not amount to 90% of the Poverty-Datum-Line income. Only six per cent. of the households, in other words, failed to attain the P-D-L income by a margin of ten per cent. or less; (and as we have already seen, 20 per cent. of the households failed to attain the P-D-L income by a margin of no less than 50 per cent.) Further, six per cent. of all the households had a margin of less than ten per cent. above the Poverty Datum Line. In other words, had the Datum Line been drawn ten per cent. higher, the proportion of households in poverty would have been found to be 59 per cent.

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.

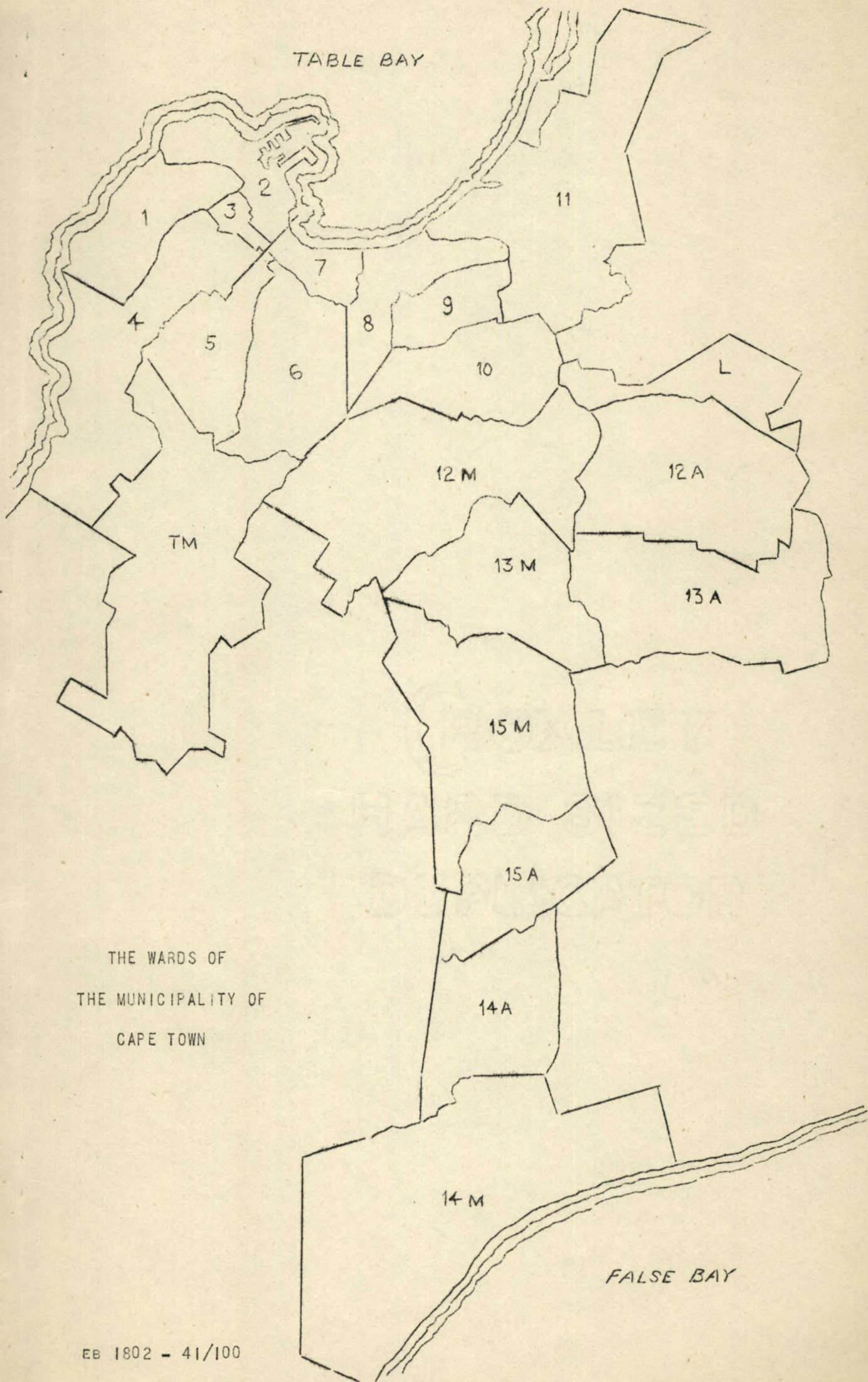
WARDS 12 (RONDEBOSCH) and 13 (CLAREMONT), continuing from Mowbray the chain of suburbs extending southward to False Bay = the old municipalities of RONDEBOSCH and CLAREMONT with their

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 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 representative than a purely random sample, and the "likely" and "cautious" limits given in the texts and tables are therefore even more likely and cautious than has been claimed.

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 of Report No. SS 5 suggest 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, if not 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 C

It is hardly possible to make individual acknowledgment to the many workers and counsellors who have provided the material for the present Report. I wish, however, to thank collectively the two thousand Cape Town householders whose friendly interest and co-operation alone made the house-to-house inquiry possible, the local and Union government officials who gave freely of their time and knowledge, and the staff of investigators and computers. In particular I wish to express the thanks of the Survey to Mr. J. Bam, of the Cape Town Valuation Records Branch, to Mr. H. Sloan, Electoral Officer, Cape Town, to Mr. J.C. Collings, of the Town Planning Department, Cape Town, and to Mr. P. James, of the same Department, for generous assistance and expert advice; to Mrs. E. Bailey, Mrs. R. Hooper, Mrs. D. Raymer, and Mrs. E. Shackleton, for their valuable services in the field and the laboratory; and to Dr. Herbert Tout, of the University of Bristol, for technical communications. We were much indebted in the early stages of the Survey to the late Mr. Goodall, of the Valuation Records Branch.

My wife, Helen, has shared and encouraged all the work of the Survey. I should not know how to express thanks for this.

Edward Batson.

Collection Number: AD1715

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974

PUBLISHER:

Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.