Disaggregation by Race
within the Rainbow Nation
By Desmond Booysen
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South Africa Apartheid past would seem to be a strong argument in favour of dropping race as a measure to disaggregate. However as race was a measure used to actively disenfranchise sections of the population, there are equally important reasons to use it for readdressing past inequality.
Prior to 1994

Based on enforced legislated race classification: Black (Bantu), White, Coloured (Mixed), Indian/Asian there was No choice and It was Based on specific characteristics
## Statistics and Racial Segregation

**Racial classifications in the Union/Republic of South Africa, 1911-1996**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>European/White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Bantu&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Mixed and Other Coloured&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>European/White</td>
<td>European/White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>European/White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Native (Bantu)</td>
<td>Asiatic</td>
<td>Mixed and Other Coloured</td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Natives</td>
<td>Asiatics</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>Europeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Natives (Bantu)</td>
<td>Asiatics</td>
<td>Mixed and Other Coloured</td>
<td>European (White)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Natives</td>
<td>Asiatics</td>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Bantu</td>
<td>Asiatics</td>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Bantu</td>
<td>Asiatics</td>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985***</td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>Coloureds</td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>African/Black</td>
<td>Indian/Asian</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Director of the Census J.B. Moffat noted “All that is required for redistribution purposes is the number of European male adults in each Province” (Moffat 1911).

* Sources: Official Census Reports and Questionnaires
  ** South Africa became a Republic in 1961.
  ** Census of the European Population only.
  *** Household census only.
Under the guidance of apartheid's first home affairs minister Eben Dönges, the Director of Census, Jan Raats, used racial classification to exclude as many South African citizens as possible, on the grounds of skin colour.

The challenge to Dönges was what to do with those who did not fit neatly into his boxes, or with those who wanted to alter their classification once it had been set down, or with the thousands of light-skinned, coloured individuals who quickly moved into white neighbourhoods and made white friends before the law was passed.

The task was left to Raats. He had to prepare a detailed system of racial classification in time for the 1951 census, the urgency for which was not simply the need for a population count, but for government departments to know to whom they ought to pay state pensions and at what rate; and, furthermore, to define the victims of apartheid's ethnic cleansing.

Source: The strange career of race classification in South Africa - Wilmot James
System of racial classification for the 1951 census

- Asiatic means a person whose parents are, or were members of a race or tribe whose national or ethnical home is Asia, and shall include a person partly of Asiatic origin living as a Asiatic family, but shall not include any Jew, Syrian or Cape Malay;
- Bantu means a person, both of whose parents are or were members of an aboriginal tribe of Africa, and shall include a person of mixed race living as a member of the ‘Bantu' community, tribe, kraal or location, but shall not include any Bushman, Griqua, Hottentot or Koranna;
- Coloured means any person who is not a white person, Asiatic, Bantu or Cape Malay as defined, and shall include Bushmen, Griqua, Hottentot or Koranna; and
- A white person means a person both of whose parents are or were members of a race whose national to ethnical home is Europe, and shall include any Jew, Syrian or other person who is in appearance obviously a white person unless and until contrary is proven.

Source: The strange career of race classification in South Africa - Wilmot James
Is that all not in the past?
The South African Constitution

Provides equal human, political and social rights to all individuals regardless of race, ethnicity or language.

All adult South African citizens have the right to vote and hold office.

Section 9.3 of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa states that the "state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly" on grounds including race, colour, ethnic or social origin, culture or language.

A subsection of the same section further states that "discrimination on one or more of the grounds listed in subsection (3) is unfair unless it is established that the discrimination is fair" and sections of the Bill of Rights and the broader Constitution also states that 'the nation' is committed to ensuring redress for past racially discriminatory policies.
The repeal of the Population Registration Act in 1991 removed any legal basis for specifying 'race'.

The Identification Act of 1997 makes no mention of race.

On the other hand, the Employment Equity Act speaks of 'designated groups' being 'black people, women and people with disabilities'. The Act defines 'black' as referring to 'Africans, coloureds and Indians'.
Relevance of disaggregation

22 Years since independence: South Africa is still very unequal society
This is clearly visible along racial lines in terms of key socio-economic markers such as
fertility, mortality, migration and ageing dynamics

Population estimates based on race necessary to deal with inequalities. Race was
previously used to segregate and disadvantage, the current use is more to integrate
and level field of play

The use of population group as a means of stratifying the population given the country's
history has been accepted as the best measure of previous socio-economic deprivation
(Dorrington, 2004).
Variations in demographics and economic development are still observable within the democratic era.

The percentage of workers in skilled occupations increased in all age and all race groups, except for black Africans aged 25-34, which decreased. There were much weaker gains in the black African group for all ages.
The social tapestry of Johannesburg
Census 2011
1 dot = 1 individual

- Black African
- Coloured
- Indian/Asian
- White

0 2 4 km

http://www.statssa.gov.za

The South Africa I know, the home I understand
Relevance of disaggregation

Political perspective: As government we are tasked with redress in all spheres of the country. To monitor that redress is occurring we have to monitor various indicators by population group.

Researcher perspective: As an analyst we find that almost always most investigations of social and economic experiences differ by population group. More specifically, fertility, mortality, migration, income, employment Ageing to name a few.

Sociologist perspective: Culture, education and social structures all play a role in the experiences of South African citizens. This can often be reflected the differing levels and trends of education, marriage, uptake of grants, experiences with disability and poverty seen by population group.
Apartheid and the racial identification which underpinned it explicitly linked race with differential access to resources and power.

If the post-apartheid order was committed to remedying this, race would have to be included in surveys and censuses, so that progress in eradicating the consequences of apartheid could be measured and monitored.

This was the reasoning that led to a 'self-identifying' question about 'race' or 'population group' in both the 1996 and 2001 population censuses, and in Statistics SA's household survey programme.
However there are challenges in continuing to ask for racial classification
From a respondent perspective:

Non-South Africans may display sense of disconnectedness to the categories and do not respond

Some groups feel marginalised

Some view the groupings with suspicion-used to disadvantage certain groups (Fairness)

Feeling that classification works against building non-racial society-Out of kilter with constitution

They may seek a finer disaggregation as current groupings do not cater for them
From an interviewer perspective: Asking the self classification question

Will often do self classification on behalf of respondent

Culture (Questioning older persons about sex and population grouping (seen as obvious))

Fear of damaging rapport with respondent

Time-saving (as these are viewed as obvious)

Sensitive matter
What initiatives are being considered
Priority issues to be addressed

Needs much finer calibration of classification tool. Investigate integration of other socio-economic phenomena (such as geography, education, income, etc) with racial classification.