SOUTHERN AFRICA LABOUR AND DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH UNIT

ATLANTIS, A UTOPIAN NIGHTMARE?

by

Moosa Ebrahim, Brendon Roberts,
Alistair Ruiters and Roderick
Solomons

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MAPS: 1. Location of Atlantis relative to the Cape Town Metropolitan Area (iii)
2. New Central City and Surrounding Minor Cities (iv)
MAP 1

LOCATION OF ATLANTIS RELATIVE TO THE CAPE TOWN METROPOLITAN AREA

MAP 2

ATLANTIS
NEW CENTRAL CITY AND SURROUNDING MINOR CITIES

THE CONTEXT: A POTTED HISTORY TO MAY 1986

On a political level, the social engineering involved in the plan has elements of fantasy. In Greek writings, Atlantis was a continent sunk by an earthquake. THE NEW ATLANTIS of Lord Bacon described a Utopian island somewhere in the Atlantic.

Obviously government planners are backing Lord Bacon's dream - but at this late stage and considering the mood of the coloured people, can Utopian dreams still be pursued with impunity?  

FINANCIAL MAIL, 21:11:80

The Financial Mail's pithy comment perceptively characterises the main players in the Atlantis saga.

On the one hand are the officials, the promoters of the master plan or 'the dream merchants', if you like, who to this very moment, doggedly persist in pursuing a plan conceived during the hey-day of a policy which, officially anyway, has been declared dead. On the other hand, in the popular corner, are the detractors, who have consistently warned against the consequences of the plan and shown that 'the dream' has indeed become 'a nightmare' for many.

Effectively the story begins in 1967, the year in which the Physical Development Act defined the context within which the future Atlantis, then simply referred to as Mamre, would be developed. 1, 2, 3 and 4

The historical sketch which follows is more or less chronological, with very little comment for little is needed. To a great degree the words and deeds of the participants speak for themselves.

The 1967 Act divided the country into a number of growth zones, each containing growth points. The, as yet unnamed, Atlantis area was to be the major growth point within the Cape West Coast growth zone.

The creation of such a growth point 'near Mamre' was announced by the State in 1970.

* Most of the official planning history was obtained from references 1 to 4.
A hint of what was to come was given in the White Paper on decentralisation based on the Riekert Committee Report in June 1971. It declared that it would be 'desirable to promote development, based on coloured labour, in decentralised areas in order to discourage migration to the Cape Peninsula'.

And, in 1972, the area was duly proclaimed for 'coloured' for occupation and development. In 1973 the Divisional Council of the Cape (Divco) was appointed as the agent to develop the Mamre growth point. Divco immediately set up the Mamre Development Committee which later became known as the Dassenberg Development Committee and, in June 1975 the name was changed to Atlantis Development Committee. It consisted of Divisional councillors and representatives of state and provincial departments. In 1978 it was expanded to include two 'coloured' members.

Early in 1974 the committee appointed a consortium of consultants and planners to design the project.

The first contract for services in the initial 70-hectare industrial area was awarded and the first residential suburb was initiated later that year.

During the same year Divco established the West Coast Planning Committee. Early in 1975 it produced a report entitled 'West Coast 1975-1985' detailing a local authority policy for the control of development in the region. State intentions were clarified in 1975 with the publication of the National Physical Development Plan which divided the country, excluding the homelands and metropolitan areas, into 38 regions.

Of particular interest for the West Coast region was the fact that Saldanha was proposed as a metropole which would be linked to Cape Town, via Atlantis, along 'a development axis'.

Mr. Piet Burger, who holds the position to this day, was appointed project director in April 1975, and was charged with co-ordinating activities and development at Atlantis.
The planning consortium produced the first guide plan, Structure Plan No. 1.

The plan envisaged a city consisting of six interlinked towns, housing half a million people, which was to be completed in 35 years.  

The first, and presently only town under construction, was to consist of six villages, each made up of about 2 000 homes.

Two major industrial areas totalling about 2 000 hectares would provide jobs for 170 000 to 200 000 workers. This would include the creation of four infrastructural jobs for every three industrial jobs created.

To attract industrialists to Atlantis an incentives package was developed. This has, subsequently, undergone changes and presently includes a 40% rail rebate and employment incentives of up to 80% of the total wage bill (limited by a maximum of R70 per workers per month), a 125% tax-deductible training grant, 40% rent and interest subsidies for 10 years, relocation allowances of up to R500 000 plus 20% for unquantifiable costs, a 40% housing subsidy for key personnel and a 4% price preference policy.

The plan included a 'capital town' which would include a central business district. Two of the towns would be coastal. The southern-most point of the city would be 45 kms. from Cape Town and the northern tip would be 50 kms. from Saldanha. The planned annual home-building rate would escalate from 600 in 1975 to 2 472 in 1980, reaching 31 500 units per year by the year 2000. Had this schedule been met, 10 937 homes -- 287 of them privately built -- would have been completed by the end of 1980. However, only 3 777 state-built dwellings had been completed by the end of 1980.

Among the official reasons offered for the establishment of Atlantis were:
- It was part of the State's overall development strategy of 'decentralisation of congested areas'.

- While Mitchell's Plain would only cater for about 40 000 families, there was a housing backlog of 60 000 homes for 'coloureds' in the Cape Peninsula area. 'An alternative site had consequently to be found to house the balance of the community and, of course, the increases of the population.'

- "The revival of the Western Cape economy and the creation of new job opportunities as well as social upliftment of the community in a totally preplanned new city with all its new potentialities and challenges for the people.'

- It was also hoped 'to build a new city ... with an attractive setting and full facilities at a cost which the community and the country can afford.'

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They said in their advert that there were great advantages to living here. I'm out of work. I don't see the advantages ... They didn't keep their promise.

FORMER WEST COAST VILLAGER, 34.

The responses to the official reasons have been strong and varied. These are examined in detail later but briefly they are:

Firstly, when developments at Atlantis were viewed in combination with
- the simultaneous development of Cape Town's giant, dormitory suburb, Mitchell's Plain and
- in the light of the 1967 Coloured Labour Preference Area Policy west of the Eiselen line, then still in effect
- it was no surprise that the words 'influx control' and 'homeland' formed the basis of some salvoes fired by the project's detractors in response to the 'decentralisation of congested areas' argument.

It was simply part of the Grand Apartheid scheme, they suggested.

* These quotations are not intended to interrupt the flow of the text but to complement it. They are extracts from interviews with residents during May 1986 unless otherwise stated. The numeral refers to the speaker's age.
Secondly, projecting Atlantis as the cure-all for the Peninsula's chronic housing crisis was not strictly honest, some would claim. In 1981, for instance the project's planners suggested in a report that over and above Atlantis further extensive developments will be required to provide an additional 190,000 houses by the year 2000 to accommodate the 'coloured' population of the Peninsula. Also, despite the fact that it was clearly stated at the time that, after the completion of Mitchell's Plain, 'no further land is available in the Peninsula for further extended housing schemes,' in 1984 it was revealed that at least 2610 ha. of space was available for 'coloured' urban development in the Peninsula at the time Atlantis was being planned. This was in the Scottsdenne area, the area west of the Kuils River - Macassar axis (the site of the proposed Blue Downs development) and Simon van der Stel Rifle Range.

The real question, however, was: if one ignored the Group Areas Act, was there in fact a shortage of residential space in the Cape Peninsula? Under the Group Areas Act, the 'majority coloured group' had been allocated 27% of the land in the Western Cape while whites were granted 72%. And, by implication, if one ignored apartheid, there was an abundance of plots available for residential purposes.

Thirdly, the necessity for diverting industry from the metropolitan areas of the Western Cape was thoroughly challenged. Far from heralding 'a revival in the Western Cape economy,' it was argued, Atlantis could do it serious harm.

Finally this report hopes, in part, to answer the question of whether development has been 'at a cost which the community and the country can afford!. In addition, the whole concept of decentralisation received a setback in the mid-1970s when the fossil fuel crisis suddenly elevated transport costs to a major component in commodity prices. The wisdom of increasing the distance between the point of production and major markets was questioned. This coupled with the exhorbitant costs of bringing the infrastructure to, and establishing it in, barren areas far from existing metropoles plus the ever-spiralling building costs led planners internationally to think again.
Even before the official opening of the industrial area, Atlantis was embroiled in its first controversy.

Early in 1976, funds for the development of Mitchell's Plain were drastically cut. However, the budget for Atlantis remained intact. The Cape Times suggested the reason lay in the fact that: 'The Atlantis project is seen by many as an ideological development while Mitchell's Plain is being built to meet a desperate need'. Stellenbosch University sociologist Professor S.P. Cilliers agreed: 'If there is to be a cutback on funds in the Ol economic region (Cape Town metropolitan area) rather than Atlantis ... it will be an exploitation of the situation for purely ideological purposes'.

In October 1976 there was a report that 60 applications by industrialists to establish themselves at Atlantis had been approved by the state and construction of buildings valued at R2.5 million would be started before the end of the year. And, it seems that, initially anyway, the residents were enthusiastic.

In January 1977, one of the pioneer residents, Mrs. George Spandiel told a Cape Times reporter: 'We were away for three weeks over Christmas and I couldn't wait to get back ... People here are nice and friendly. Living is quiet and peaceful'.

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Our block of flats is called "Neptune's Castle". The name sounds exciting but there are no kings living here.

HOUSEHOLD HEAD UNEMPLOYED FOR A YEAR, 34.

At the official opening of the industrial complex days later, then Minister of Economic Affairs Mr. Chris Heunis announced proudly that opportunities for 'coloured' entrepreneurs were virtually unlimited and there were no obstacles to the establishment of industries by 'coloured' people at Atlantis. He emphasised that it had been established to 'draw surplus (coloured) labour away from (white) Cape Town'. But Mr. Heunis and former Planning and Environment Minister Mr. J.J. Loots, who predicted that Atlantis would be 'one of the greatest success stories of the Western Cape', were soon taken to task.
Professor Wolfgang Thomas of the University of the Western Cape was pessimistic about the project's chances. 'I see a one-race city in South Africa as an impossibility and a very unhealthy prospect', he said.24 Professor Cilliers was more direct. Cape Town, he said, was not sufficiently developed for an active decentralisation programme. Instead of pouring money into Atlantis, he suggested using the funds to develop the existing economic infrastructure in the Western Cape.24

The University of Cape Town's Professor Dave Dewar predicted: 'If one takes the optimistic view, around 100 000 of the poorest people in the Cape will be travelling 90 kms to and from Atlantis city daily in pursuit of work. The cost of this to the worker in both time and money, to the businessman through labour disturbance and subsidised transport and to social stability will be incalculable'.24

But despite the criticism from some quarters optimism remained boundless. Project director Piet Burger told The Argus that: 'Our target for 1978 is to have 20 000 people housed at Atlantis and the majority working there'.25 He stated that 70% of households were already employed there in the 30 enterprises operating early in 1978. 'The ratio of houses sold to letting is about 60 per cent to 40 per cent', he added.25

The Divco 1977/78 annual report gave some hints about the nature of industrial settlement. It listed about 1 000 of the 1 918 'coloured' workers as occupying 'newly-created jobs'.26 Meanwhile, the state established a guide plan committee for Atlantis and the surrounding areas. The result of its work, the Official Guide Plan, was eventually published in 1982 and closely resembled Structure Plan No. 1.

An early indication that things were not progressing according to the original schedule came in a Divco document early in 1979. It said that while 'the pace of industrial development and the general economic climate necessarily influence the general pace of development', 15 000 units had still to be built between 1979 and 1982.1 However, the original plan would have called for only about 10 000 units to have been built in the period if the schedule to the end of 1978 had been met.7
By mid-1979 Atlantis' image as a 'dream city' took a severe knock when *Die Burger* published a comprehensive three-part report on the problems being experienced by residents. 'Atlantis, the dream city for coloureds ... is giving residents problems related to high rents, travel costs and high electricity and water accounts', it said. Low wages and the fact that goods in local shops cost about 25% more than the equivalent in Cape Town, had added to their woes.27

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*My take-home pay is about R360 a month and my expenses (rent, electricity, water and hire purchase) come to about R300 a month. The rest (R60) is for food, clothing, transport and everything else.*

**SINGLE MOTHER OF FOUR TEENAGED PUPILS, 45.**

The Divco 1978/79 annual report mentioned an unexpected development: 'At this point in time all dwelling units could not be occupied due to a lack of demand for housing in Atlantis'. It also expressed concern about the fact 'that the running of the residential area of Atlantis especially is accumulating a deficit'.26B

However, the good news was that the state had approved the establishment of the Atlantis Diesel Engine Company at a cost of about R200 million. It was felt that if nothing else would do the trick, the launching of ADE would 'definitely establish Atlantis as a successful growth point'.26B

It appeared that ADE's magic was urgently required because Divco itself revealed the serious problems residents were experiencing in July 1979.29

Based on a sample survey of the records of 402 families in rental accommodation in Atlantis, it concluded: 'It seems clear that the problems of tenants in Atlantis revolve around three broad areas:

1) There is not enough employment opportunity at Atlantis which means that the bulk of the workforce are commuters.

2) Coupled with this is the fact that incomes are low, so having to commute to work presents a strain on the population's resources.

3) Rentals are high: most families are unable to cope given their economic circumstances and the locational disadvantages of Atlantis vis-a-vis work.'29
In Atlantis your roof (rent) comes before food. You have to be stingy with your pennies here.

Former Squatter, 26

Paradise, it seemed, had been lost.

But, just a year later, things were looking brighter again according to the 1979/1980 Divco Annual Report. The upswing in the economy, salary increases for many workers, and the expectation that ADE would be coming on stream by June 1981 had resulted in 'an increased tempo' in industrial settlement and 'an acceleration in the housing programme'. And to help dispel the dark clouds, Mr. Piet Burger announced that, as from October 1980, rents would be reduced.

In the same year the state published its draft guide plan for Atlantis and its environs which proposed a population for the area of 650,000 by the year 2020. It also published 'A Spatial Development Strategy for the Western Cape' which 'confirmed the position of Atlantis as the focal point on the West Coast growth axis. Recommendations included restricting industrial growth in the Cape Metropolitan Area, encouraging industrial growth at Atlantis, and providing housing in line with job opportunities to prevent Atlantis from becoming merely a dormitory town for Cape Town'.

This meant that no further 'coloured residential areas' would be established in the metropolitan area and that growth would be stimulated 'as strongly as possible' through the use of 'industrial concessions, which must be granted with the greatest circumspection to other towns in the Western Cape'. Professor Dave Dewar's response was blunt. Atlantis was 'one of the most expensive social disasters ever created in this country', he told the Financial Mail.

In the now classic 'comment' on the strategy Professor Dewar and Ms. Vanessa Watson suggest that the stagnation and congestion in the Western Cape had more to do with the structure of the city than its size, and, by implication, the basis of the state's regional development strategy was flawed. They warned that Atlantis would attract people from the lower income bracket who would be hard-pressed to support or generate significant
infra-structural growth.  

All we do here is work to pay off (HP) debts, electricity and rent.

FORMER WORCESTER RESIDENT, 25

If Atlantis was to succeed, they said, it would need to attract 'propulsive industries' which would provide employment and lead to semi-autonomous growth for the region. However, they predicted pessimistically, the indiscriminate application of the incentives package would not allow Atlantis to draw the right kind of industries. It would, instead, attract 'lame ducks', like branch plants, which would be capital intensive, sensitive to recession and stimulate little additional growth.

Finally, Atlantis was in a no-win situation. It was too far from Cape Town to contribute to the metropolitan economy and too close to establish autonomous development. Transport costs and shopping in the city would result in 'leakage' from Atlantis to the metropolitan economy, they predicted. And, as if to substantiate their claim, in a 'warts and all' radio programme in September 1980, it was reported that the Atlantis shop and butchery prices were almost double the metropolitan prices and that it cost a family of five R20 to make the round trip to Cape Town by bus on a Saturday to do their shopping.

Atlantis is alright but it's too expensive.

FREQUENT STATEMENT

The immediate implications for the 8 861 families on the Divco housing waiting list in 1981 was bleak. The City Council was having nothing to do with them and Atlantis was not open to them until the needs of local workers who wished to live there had been catered for. Their only immediate hope lay in 478 homes under construction in Ocean View near Simonstown and 273 being built in Belhar near Bellville.

In a talk to the Divco Housing Committee at the time, Professor Dewar said that the state was, in fact, using housing to bring about economic relocation. Early in 1981, Stellenbosch University's Bureau of Economic
Research deputy director Mr. A.J.M. de Vries added his voice to the swelling chorus of critics. "There is still a great deal of undeveloped industrial land available besides that in Atlantis", he told the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut in Parow. "If development in this area is encouraged at the expense of other areas, it would be detrimental to the whole Western Cape should entrepreneurs be discouraged altogether from coming here," he warned. 17

In a report later than year the Bureau suggested that the decision to build Atlantis instead of developing available industrial land in the Western Cape was 'a mistake'. It said that when work started on Atlantis, in 1974, in the Cape Town municipal area alone there were 1 000ha. of undeveloped industrial land, and there was more in other local authority areas. 35

Then, too, hardly had the ADE plant started operations when it was slammed by then General Motors of South Africa M.D. Lou Wilking who claimed the ADE programme would fuel inflation, add many thousands of rands to the cost of a truck and, in the end, fall short of its objectives. 36 To add insult to injury, ADE's chief executive, Mr. O. van G. Scholtz criticised the state for failing to provide the basic infrastructure to draw workers to Atlantis. He added that some were daunted by the prospect of 'coming to the bush'. 37

Then on May 18, 1981, the residents entered the fray when a Residents' Association, the Atlantis Civic Affairs Association, was formed. 38 Residents said they were no longer prepared to 'foot the bill for apartheid' and demanded the same rebates which industrialists received. 39 The residents took their complaints to the Department of Community Development and Divco and at a meeting of the three bodies were given the assurance that growth in the area would be accelerated. Mr. Andrew van Aswegen, the chairman of the association expressed the hope that the meeting would 'not be another bitter lesson of a history of empty promises'. 40

Meanwhile, Divco had commissioned its consultants to recommend a site for the second town to be developed. A report recommending the 'capital town' as the second phase was approved early in 1981. By September a Master Plan for Town II was produced. 14 Work on the second phase, 'the main capital' was to start 'soon' and when it was built it would make Atlantis 'one of the most beautiful cities in the world,' Mr. Piet Burger said. 41
In addition to providing a plan for a second town, the Master Plan offered a revised structure plan (Structure Plan No. 2) which, 'while still embodying a city of six town, allows for more linear alignment'.

The Divco 1980/81 annual report described the year as 'disappointing' and said less than 30% of funds needed for the following year had been made available. However, it was happy to announce the first public election which was held to elect an eight-member Atlantis Management Committee on September 2, 1981.

In March 1982, a Metropolitan Transport Area Board report suggested that a rail passenger service to Atlantis be implemented by 1985. In April it was announced that the Atlantis Management Committee would be granted observer status in Divco meetings but that an independent local authority for Atlantis was still not economically viable.

Towards the close of the year Mr. Piet Burger told Die Burger what Atlantis meant to those involved in the development. 'The upliftment of the lower classes to a good middle class and higher gives us the greatest satisfaction,' he said. And progress was being made: 'Crime is on the decline, developments worth thousands of rand are under construction and gardens are being developed. About 60 per cent of the residents already have their own TV sets'.

On the planning front, commitment to Atlantis as a deconcentration point was confirmed in the Regional Development Strategy announced at the Good Hope Conference in November 1982. The strategy divided South Africa into eight development regions and succeeded the National Physical Development Plan of 1975. The Atlantis New Town Transportation Study was published a month later and dealt with the road network, the routing of a rail network, the introduction of a light rail passenger transport system and the location of industry. It recommended more, and less concentrated, industrial areas.

The Divco 1981/82 annual report, once again, complained about the lack of state funding: 'Once again the development of this enormous project has been slower than desirable because of lack of funds.' However, it found some joy in the fact that a 285-home scheme had been undertaken by
Escom and that the United Building Society had submitted plans for 58 homes.\textsuperscript{26E}

But, on the whole, it characterised the year as 'perhaps one of the most difficult so far'.\textsuperscript{26E}

This was underscored when the first major retrenchment took place at the end of 1982. ADE, the largest local employer, laid off 250 workers and Tedelex, another major employer, dismissed more than 15 workers. This prompted Mr. Colin McCarthy, then Secretary of the Atlantis Industrial Group, to warn that: 'The people who suffer are the school-leavers who are coming onto the labour market'.\textsuperscript{44}

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*I stood outside (Factory X) for two weeks solid. I stood there all day. It's the same story every day. "No work!". We feel despondent. When we set out early in the morning we know the boards saying "NO VACANCIES" will be waiting for us.*

UNEMPLOYED MOTHER OF TWO, 34.

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And 1983 did not start well either. In January the Surplus People's Project, which had conducted a 99-household survey in Atlantis, concluded: 'Although the people may be a different colour and not subject to Bantustan independence, it seems broadly the same plan as the rest of South Africa: relocate to control, keep the wage bill down, separate the races and keep infrastructure just high enough to prevent community organisation'.\textsuperscript{12}

Some relief was provided by the announcement in February that residents would have their electricity supply subsidised.\textsuperscript{45} But the gloom returned in May when it was reported that 648 Atlantis families had been evicted or had simply deserted their homes in 1981. It was also disclosed that 64\% of the council's irrecoverable rent for 1981, amounting to more than R138 000, had been lost in Atlantis.\textsuperscript{46}

'The now-familiar theme, 'The Department of Community Development do not see their way clear to provide funds for any housing except for employees at Atlantis Industria', is repeated in the Divco 1982/83 annual report.\textsuperscript{26F}
I gave up a job paying R48 a week in Cape Town for a job paying R17 a week in Atlantis (in 1978) so that I could qualify for a house here. I paid R36 a month in rent and then still had to pay for electricity and water. But I didn't mind. We were desperate for a house. After three months I found a better-paid job but it didn't help. I was still evicted.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER, 45

While the report recorded proudly that 4 883 dwellings had been completed by the end of June 1983, another council report estimated at that time that '5 094 dwellings need to be constructed to eliminate the waiting list'. It was also noted that another 19 dwellings had been repossessed between July 1982 and June 1983. It was against this background that the state's 'sale of the century', the initiative to rid itself of most of its housing stock, was announced in May 1983.

But despite the setbacks, the dream had not been discarded. This became apparent when Atlantis project engineer Mr. A.S. Murray told the South African Institute of Civil Engineers in October 1983 that: 'Atlantis, the biggest new town in the Southern Hemisphere ... is expected to be a metropolis of 500 000 inhabitants within 45 years.'

1984 was the year in which the bottom appeared to fall out of the labour market. By the end of the year the South African Labour Bulletin recorded that the following large-scale retrenchments had taken place in Atlantis: ADE - 765, AMC Classic - 150, Langeveld Furniture - 225 and Tedelex - 200.

Even management spokesman Mr. Colin McCarthy appeared to acknowledge that there had been substance to Professor Dewar and Ms. Watson's predictions. He commented: "The situation here in Atlantis underlies the fragility of decentralisation projects. The future of Atlantis is closely tied to the fortunes of its factories. Many industries in Atlantis are extensions of factories in other areas, and are the first to be hit when firms cut back." Curiously, the 1983/84 Divco annual report described the period up to June 1984 as a time of growth 'almost beyond expectations'. It added that despite the poor 'national and international economic situation, industry in Atlantis has in the past 12 months grown by about 25% over the total
for the 10 years'. It also records the fact that 35 new industrialists had located at Atlantis during the year under review. 26G

On the planning front the publication of the Cape Metro Area Draft Guide Plan published during 1984 heralded a major change in housing policy. 15 It moved in the direction of opening more areas within the metropolitan area for 'coloured' housing 4 but still endorsed Atlantis as 'the absolute hub' of development along the West Coast. 36G At the end of the year the planning consortium produced another draft proposed structure plan. 4

In a paper on housing published the same year Professor Dewar commented: 'The location of housing is naturally controlled for ideological reasons and housing is used as a powerful political weapon ... In the case of the coloured population this can be interpreted as a form of influx control (e.g. the creation of Atlantis and Mitchell's Plain). 49

Joblessness soon took its toll. Some fell behind with rent payments and, early in 1985, hundreds of families received eviction notices. 50

FACING EVICTION THE NEXT WEEK FOR RENT ARREARS OF ABOUT R200, A WOMAN, 33, AND HER SON, 16, THE FAMILY'S BREADWINNERS, WERE TOLD THAT THEY WOULD BE RETRENCHED. SHE HAD NO IDEA WHAT TO DO. SOME λE EXPLAINED WHY SHE COULDN'T PREVENT THE EVICTION.

Last week, a man at work was evicted. He asked the boss for a loan but was refused. He said he couldn't help people stay in their homes when they were about to be laid off. We don't have anyone else to ask for a loan ...

Residents responded by demonstrating at the Divco housing offices but were dispersed by riot police. 51 After the demonstration the then Divco secretary, Mr. W.R. Viviers gave residents the assurance that there would be no mass evictions and that each case would be dealt with 'individually on merit'. But the Atlantis Residents Association, as the body was now known, insisted that they be dealt with as 'a group'. 51

At the end of March, the long-awaited railway line was opened 'but it will carry only goods traffic for the foreseeable future', The Argus reported. 52
On the labour front, a Divco survey showed that 1,179 workers had been re­
trenched between August 1984 and February 18, 1985. Then, in April, a
major clothing company, Laurence Fashions, closed leaving another 240, mainly
women, jobless. The Atlantis Residents Association's Mr. Noel Williams
spelled out the consequences at the time: 'The situation in the community
is really bad and getting worse all the time. More and more people are
cooking outside on fires because their electricity has been cut off, some
children are really starving'.

Here in Atlantis you learn to eat sand (om sand to kou).
BUILDING WORKER, 50

The Atlantis Management Committee appealed to the state to declare a mona-
torium on the 'interest and redemption payments' of the unemployed and
recommended legislation which would force new Atlantis industrialists to
employ residents. Another Divco survey early in July 1985 revealed
that 763 jobs had been lost since November 1984. However, the 1984/85
Divco annual report continued to describe progress at Atlantis as 'encour-
aging' but did not concede that 'the momentum does appear to be slackening'.

Some idea of the extent to which reality had tempered the original dream
was given in revised population projections developed by the project planners
in July 1985. At that stage they estimated that there would be 88,000
people living in about 15,000 homes in Atlantis by the end of 1990. However, in September 1981, they had estimated that, by 1990, there would
be 136,300 people living in 28,400 houses. The original plan had
visualised 191,500 people living in 36,831 homes by the end of 1990.
In effect, the original home-building plan had been slashed by nearly 60%.

By July 1985 residents reported that evictions for non-payment of rents
had become a 'daily' occurrence. But neighbours and the ARA were helping
evicted families to reopen their doors and carry their belongings back
into their homes.
I once heard (an official) at the rent office tell someone: "Even if you have to steal the money, I want the full amount." They won't accept anything less than the full arrears once you've been evicted.

Mr. Noel Williams estimated that 2 000 families were facing eviction at the time.

Some indication that financial problems were common among the employed as well was given when residents claimed that the evictions were in contravention of a six-month state moratorium on rent defaulters. It was only scheduled to expire in September, 1985. Divco secretary Mr. Viviers retorted that the moratorium only applied to those directly affected by the recession, like the retrenched and those working on short-time, and insisted that household heads being evicted were, in fact, fully employed.

At the end of July 1985 it was reported that, at the last due date for water accounts, there had been 269 'problem accounts'. Of these, the supply to 213 homes had been disconnected; 42 were still disconnected but the council planned to supply a trickle of water to these families.

A 200-family door-to-door survey investigating residents' problems undertaken by the Atlantis Residents Association in August 1985 revealed that 'about half had no income because breadwinners were unemployed' according to Mr. Noel Williams.

And, temporarily at least, the gripes were not confined to the residents. Industrialists complained bitterly that state subsidy payments were being delayed for up to six months 'placing them in an uncomfortable financial situation' it was reported. As a result at least one company was forced to close and workers were temporarily laid off. As from the beginning of October 1985, with the sanction of the state, Divco changed its Atlantis housing policy. Previously, officially anyway, only those
employed in Atlantis had been eligible for housing there. Now all those on the Divoo housing waiting list — 26,000 families at the end of 1985 — had become eligible. The council began circularising applicants in batches of 500 a week in 1986 and of the first 500 circularised, 96 or 19% had indicated interest in settling in Atlantis.

However, the industrial deconcentration policy remained intact. By November 1985 the crisis had reached grave proportions. New Divoo secretary, Mr. C.H. Mocke 'confirmed that notices have been sent out to 1,638 residents for rent arrears totalling R43,468.18 and 428 repossession notices involving R567,502.12'.

My repayments are R178 a month. I am R1,000 in arrears.
My rates arrears is over R700.

UNEMPLOYED HOUSEHOLD HEAD, 37

In addition 238 residents have been put on the "trickle system" for non-payment of a total of R48,405.93 in arrear water accounts', The Argus reported.

Residents asked for an immediate meeting with the Divisional Council and planned to ask the state to write off the estimated R300 million it cost to build the town. At the meeting, residents' representatives walked out of the meeting when Management Committee members present refused to leave. The Atlantis Residents' Association sought another meeting without Atlantis Management Committee but Divoo refused to exclude the Management Committee and hopes of talks faded.

At a meeting to decide the issue of the Management Committee's presence, immediate past chairman of the council Mr. Gideon Basson said: 'I have grown up with coloured people and I know them. I'm sure people as hard-pressed as the people of Atlantis won't mind us discussing their problems with the Management Committee. Desperate people aren't going to ask if someone is a member of the Management Committee or the Atlantis Residents' Association', the Cape Times reported.

The Atlantis Residents' Association responded by calling for the Management Committee to resign. This was endorsed by a public meeting of 1,200.
At a special Divco meeting early in December, it was finally officially conceded that 'the economic recession has tended to affect Atlantis more severely than the other (Divco) housing estates'.69 This was evident because the arrear rentals had remained more or less static for other Divco estates over the year, but 'arrears in Atlantis on the other hand have escalated by approximately 30%'.69

Shortly before Christmas Duros Furniture reduced its staff by half, retrenching 30. Days later, the Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Representatives, Mr. Chris April, announced a R5 million emergency aid fund for the unemployed in the Western Cape. A special office manned by three social workers was set up in Atlantis to handle applications for temporary aid.70

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I receive a pension of R117 a month. The rent is R51,50. The electricity arrears has reached R119. The (latest) water account is R49 (excluding arrears). There are six of us in this house. How do you think we afford to eat?

DISABLED FATHER, 46

In January 1986 the Cape Times reported that: 'Allegations of fraud or abuse by certain firms at Atlantis, in a "racket" involving government grants and concessions under the decentralisation policy are under investigation at top government level'.71

In February another firm, Fiesta Footwear, closed leaving 56 jobless. A contributory factor to the firm's demise, it was claimed, was the suspension since June 1985 by the Decentralisation Board of incentive grants payable to the firm. It was one of 28 Atlantis enterprises 'under investigation'.72

However, Mr. Piet Burger was still waxing lyrical about the advantages of Atlantis in an interview in March, 1986. He listed the fact that Atlantis was built on 'an unlimited fresh water underground lake', the fact that it was established in barren country which provided the opportunity 'to plan an ideal community' and, the cherry on top, the fact that Atlantis included a 30 km. stretch of coastline. 'For the first time anywhere in South Africa, coloured people will be able to have the waves lapping up on their doorsteps', he said.6
He also confirmed that the basic 500 000 - people, 6-town plan was still the target by '2015 to 2020'.

To what extent, if we free our minds of political preconceptions, is a general policy of decentralisation of industry really a top priority in South Africa?

HARRY OPPENHEIMER, THE STAR, 27/6/83

Shortly before our survey was undertaken, hunger was still a major problem. ADE director Mr. Frikkie Erasmus and local M.P. Mr. Abe Williams handed out R5 000's worth of food parcels donated by ADE.

At the end of April 1986 a local doctor warned that many houses in an older part of Atlantis were 'mildewy health hazards and that many occupants have chronic lung ailments'.
AIMS, REASONS, METHOD AND LIMITATIONS

AIMS: The aim of the Saldru community profile studies is to provide representative, accurate and sufficiently-refined data which can be used effectively:

a) in secondary specialised research,
b) for launching community projects and campaigns and
c) hopefully, to inspire those in a position to do so, to effect immediate remedial action.

REASONS: Why Atlantis?

After even a cursory perusal of the history, it should be clear that, under current state regional development policies, the short-term economic future of the Western Cape revolves around developments at Atlantis and, consequently, it elected itself as an immediate subject for investigation.

Secondly, a dearth of the type of wide-ranging and current data, contained in this report, existed early in 1986. This problem is not new. A report by the Divco Town Planning Section in 1982 made the following recommendation: 'The lack of reliable population and employment figures on which estimates of future planning may be based has indicated the necessity of the regular collection of accurate statistics for Atlantis ... This would ... enable a check to be kept on discrepancies between different sources of the same material.'

Four years later, the same problem was still evident. Witness the Divisional Council document entitled 'Know More About Atlantis' published in January 1986 and aimed primarily at the potential industrialist. Firstly, it estimated the population to be 50 000. However, the Divco Data Bank estimated the population at the end of the previous month to be about 37 350. Secondly, it said Atlantis was developing at the rate of 100/150 families a month. However, official figures indicate that on average, since its inception, it had grown by about 50 families a month and over the past year the rate had dropped to below 40.
Thirdly, it says that '16 000 new job opportunities have been created', yet a Divco employment survey in the same month records the 'coloured' employed at Atlantis as 11 808. The official figure for white employment in the area was given as 2 164. African employment, other than in construction, was 2. It appears that 2 026 of the 'new' job opportunities had 'disappeared' somewhere along the line. Finally, the same document also speaks about a 38% growth rate being maintained but does not specify how this was measured. If it was in terms of new enterprises, then the picture had definitely changed by the following month when the project engineer reported that, to date, 123 plans had been received for new industries since the project's inception and that 'it is quite apparent that interest in establishing at Atlantis has fallen off significantly in the past year. At present (17/2/86) only two new factories are under construction - without doubt the lowest activity in the past 5 years'.

The need for a single source of reliable information on Atlantis had become a necessity. It is within this context that one of the writers objected to the interpretation given to Divco statistics indicating an increase in job opportunities at Atlantis in September 1986.

An impression is given to the uninformed that the simple creation of jobs is the solution to Atlantis' problems. This is simply not true. It is not only the unemployed who are experiencing problems. In defence of this argument we have no finer witness to call than former Divco secretary Mr. Viviers. He pointed out in mid-1985 that those families being evicted from their homes at the time all had 'heads of household who were employed or received an income'.

METHOD: In March 1986, we were informed by Atlantis project director Mr. Piet Burger that, at the end of February 1986, there were 6 410 dwellings occupied in Atlantis - 5 957 of these were state built and 453 were privately built by ADE, Escom, the United Building Society and individuals.

We were assured by the University of Cape Town's applied mathematicians that a 10% sample, if stratified, would yield representative data.
We felt — and subsequent interviews proved us correct — that those households which had moved in during March and April, the two months preceding our survey, would not have had sufficient acclimatisation time to express accurately opinions on the area. Some in this category had not yet received their first rent, repayment, rates, electricity or water accounts and could not accurately reflect their current expenditure patterns. Our target, therefore, was 10% of the 6,410 homes occupied at the end of February 1986.

To achieve a stratified sample, we simply chose 11 different starting points randomly and thenceforth knocked on every tenth door in Atlantis.

In 13 of the 20 cases in which an interview was refused, we interviewed the immediate neighbours.

Where a dwelling was not occupied at the time, we did not include it in our count of 10.

In this way we interviewed 570 households in state-built homes and 50 in privately-built dwellings.

We visited 108 flats and maisonettes, 222 semi-detached and 290 detached dwellings.

Altogether 633 occupied dwellings were visited. Six completed questionnaires were mislaid. In another seven cases we were refused interviews and no substitutes were selected.

The shortfall between the 633 homes visited and our target of 641 was accounted for, in part, by the 35 unoccupied homes we encountered at various times during May 1986. This would have added 3 to 4 respondents to our 10% sample.

This left us with a sample of 620 households or effectively 9.67% of the 6,410 homes targeted.
Generally, we encountered a very low refusal rate - 3.2%. However, the 7 cases in which we chose not to select substitutes were all confined to the two apparently more affluent enclaves containing a total of about 80 homes. These were the ADE scheme and the section being built by private individuals. Here, we encountered 7 refusals out of 8 targeted homes. Instead of reducing the 'randomness' of our statistics by simply finding another 7 willing respondents, we resolved simply to note that this approximate 1% of our target sample which proved unobtainable would probably have bolstered the top income brackets to some extent.

Generally, the interviewees understood who we were and what our intentions were. We took great care not to raise false expectations. However, one dear old lady proved the exception reflecting the hard times of Atlantis residents. After an interview our interviewer thanked the woman and got up to leave. She replied: 'That's okay, dear, now where's the food parcel?'.

LIMITATIONS: Any comprehensive report on Atlantis would have to include information on:

- a) the people who live there,
- b) the industrial employees,
- c) the 'outsiders' who work there, and
- d) those who lived there and have chosen to, or been forced to, leave.

Our survey dealt only with the residents while passing reference has been made to the industrialists. Little is known about the 'outsiders' who work in Atlantis. It would be difficult to obtain information on these people without the full co-operation of the industrialists. However, it is known that in February 1980, 206 whites were employed in Atlantis, in 1981 there were 631 and in 1986, officially there were 2164, but Atlantis Project Director Mr. Piet Burger estimated the figure to be closer to 2 500.

Other than in construction companies, which are not necessarily Atlantis-based in any case, two Africans were employed in Atlantis during May 1986.
The project director also estimated that between 800 and 900 'coloured' workers come to work in Atlantis from metropolitan Cape Town each day. In addition official figures for the end of 1985 show another 969 come from Mamre, Malmesbury, Pella and Darling. 6

They must throw out the Cape Town people working here! Those jobs were meant for us.

UNEMPLOYED FORMER CLOTHING WORKER, 28

Very little is known about those who have left Atlantis. However, some indication of the extent of 'departure' was obtained, by chance, from a Divco document for April 1983. The director of housing reported that 56 families had handed back, abandoned or had had letting units repossessed, while 31 families were evicted, presumably leaving Atlantis for good.

A complete set of records exists of the numbers leaving for various reasons each month. Despite requests, access to this information was not extended to us by Divco. The April 1983 figures were unearthed completely by chance and therefore cannot be seen as being representative. However, Die Burger gave another hint in a 1982 report: 'Squatters and others in need of homes were brought to Atlantis by the Divisional Council. For many the service charges, like water and electricity accounts and, in some cases, the monthly rents were too high. Many were forced to leave ...' 83

Some statistics, indicating the broad trends of settlement and departure, are included in this report.
THE WAY THROUGH THE MAZE: Our detailed 113-question survey addressed itself primarily to the heads of the 620 households we visited. However, simultaneously, through the use of a 19-variable grid, we collected selected data on all other members of the households. The only group among these singled out for special attention was the spouses of the household heads (abbreviated throughout as HHHs). Wherever possible in the analysis of our research findings which follows, the general population is broken down into these three categories i.e. HHHs, their spouses and 'others'. However, several categories cutting across these lines have also been distilled from the data.

- A constant theme is the examination of the position of women.
- Differences between the employed and unemployed are probed in detail while mini-profiles of those who are not economically active and pensioners are developed.
- We also look at how those employed in Atlantis and those employed elsewhere differ.
- Finally, brief profiles of preschoolers, pupils and students (at tertiary institutions) are presented.

Our general approach has been to examine how the population of Atlantis (during May 1986) shaped up in terms of certain selected variables or a combination of these variables.

GENDER: The influence of gender is explored extensively in combination with other variables. The male: female ratio in the sample population is 1:1.08. Most startling, perhaps, is the fact that 1 in 5 HHHs (20.2%) is a woman.
We don't have any debts but if I stop working and we have to rely on my husband's income, we will be in debt in no time.

EMPLOYED MOTHER OF FOUR, 41

AGE: Not unexpectedly in a new town development, more than half the population (53.7%) is under the age of 21 with 3 in 10 (30.0%) being 10 years old or younger.

The SPP found 39% of the total population to be under 15 years of age while 40.4% of our sample fell into the same category. In similar vein, 88.1% of the population is not older than 40 years. Even more striking is the fact that 45.1% of adults are between 21 and 30 years of age. In addition 3 in 4 adults (74.2%) are under the age of 41. A significant proportion of adults, 3 in 10 (31.0%) are not involved in the direct control of households i.e. they are not HHHS or their spouses. Of this category 72.3% are no older than 30.

The most obvious explanation, that most are the adult offspring of HHHS is unlikely to account fully for this group bearing in mind the relative youth of the adult population -- 7 in 10 HHHS and spouses (69.8%) are no older than 40.

AGE AND GENDER: As would be expected from the male:female ratio for the general population, females dominate every age band except the 0 to 10 group in which the ratio is 1:0.96.

In the over 50 group, the gap develops into a veritable chasm. There are 83 males to 126 females giving a ratio of 1:1.5. The fact that 3 in 5 over 50s (60.2%) are women is only partly attributable to the fact that women live longer than men and that older men are unlikely to seek or find employment easily in Atlantis.
Female HHHS also tend to be older than their male counterparts. This can be seen by the fact that while females account for 20,2% of all HHHS, in the 21 to 40 age band they only constitute 14,1%, while in the over 40 group they make up 31,2% of the total.

The dependency ratio is 72,7 i.e. for every 100 potentially economically active people (those between the ages of 15 and 64) there are 72,7 not economically active (under the age of 15 and over the age of 64). This compares with a ratio of 22,8 for Bishopscourt and 104,7 for Valhalla Park.

**MARITAL STATUS:** Noteworthy, perhaps, are the facts that 63,3% of the population have never been married - the SPP survey found 65% fitted into this category - that only 1 in 20 (5,0%) of the 'others' are married and that 4 in 5 (80,0%) of HHHS are married or living together.

**MARITAL STATUS AND GENDER:** Like so much else in life, with the introduction of the sex variable to the equation, this seemingly dull record springs to life. Whereas, not unexpectedly, 96,6% of male HHHS have spouses (legal or common-law wives), only 15,2% of female HHHS are married or living together. This leaves a staggering 106 out of 125 female HHHS surveyed (84,8%) to cope on their own. Only 3,5% of male HHHS are in a similar position. 35,8% of the 'partnerless' female HHHS are widows, 24,5% are divorced, 17,9% are separated from their husbands and 21,8% are single.

Very often, married female HHHS explained that the reason their homes were registered in their names and not their husbands' was that they had been separated at some stage.
Here in Atlantis, wives are forced to work if you want to get by.

EX-RURAL RESIDENT, 33

The 'additional females' reflected in the 1:1.08 sample male:female ratio are largely the remaining 'survivors' of marriages: the widows, divorcees and women whose husbands have left.

The fact that the male:female ratio is a highly acceptable 1:1.02 when one excludes the widowed, divorced and separated of both sexes, reinforces the point.

A glance at table 6 will show that while the male:female ratios for the 'married/living together' group and the 'never married' group are acceptable - 1:1.01 and 1:1.03 respectively - the male:female ratio in the 'widowed, divorced, separated' group is 1:4.46. Clearly when marriages break up in Atlantis men don't stay around.

When my husband was still alive, I used to work and I earned R300 a month. Now I receive a widow's pension of R317 a month. My repayments on my house are R202 a month (63.7% of her income).

UNEMPLOYED WIDOWED MOTHER, 33

RESIDENTIAL STATUS: All except 2.4% of the population return home from their primary activities every day.

Once you move to Atlantis, it seems, you tend to stay close to home.

Spouses, 96.0% of whom are women, are committed stay-homers.
When I work the 3-to-11 p.m. shift (in Kuilsriver), I have to sleep away from home. I can't come home because there is no public transport at that time. INDUSTRIAL WORKER, 43

EDUCATION: Those who have not yet entered the labour market, the preschoolers, pupils and students, make up 46,2% of the population. Within this group preschoolers constituted 38,2%, pupils made up 61,4% and tertiary students accounted for the remaining 0,4%.

Preschoolers This is the only group in which males are in the majority, the male:female ratio being 1:0,94.

School Pupils: While the overall pupil male:female ratio in our 10% sample is a highly acceptable 1:1,02, the figures tend to be slightly erratic. This is probably explained by the fact that the community did not develop organically and is a mere 11 years old.

The dramatic drop in school attendance levels between St. 5 and Std. 6 is probably partly due to the relative youth of the parent population but cannot be completely explained in these terms. This is the stage when children leave school to enter the employment market as the modal levels of education, Std. 5 and St. 6, in the 'adult' population
clearly indicate (see Table 10).

The 81.8% decline in pupil numbers between Sub. A (127 pupils) and Std. 10 (23 pupils) will cause concern among those interested in the development of the community.

**Pupil Education and Residential Status:** A small proportion (3.7%) of all pupils do not live at home permanently. This is partly because of the lack of English medium classes at schools which was a source of complaint of some parents in Atlantis. In 1984 reports had it that English-speaking residents of Atlantis were concerned that their children were having Afrikaans forced on them as a medium of instruction at schools. After the Std. 8, 9 and 10 English medium classes were closed at the Atlantis senior secondary school, some parents chose to find alternative schools in Cape Town rather than accept dual-medium classes for their children.

In some cases, parents, mainly those where the HHH was unemployed, said they had sent their children to relatives outside Atlantis until their financial situation improved.

**'Adults':** The term 'adults' is used loosely here to describe those who do not attend formal educational institutions on a full-time basis. They make up just more than half (53.6%) of the population.

**'Adult' Education and Gender:** Quite startlingly, 7.4% of all 'adults' have had no formal schooling. Women dominate this group (61.9%). Nearly 1 in 10 female HHHs (9.6%) had not been to school.

Among those who had some schooling, women tended to dominate the Std. 4 and Std. 5 bands while males dominated all bands above Std. 6. Only 1 in 10 'adults' (10.1%) has had some education beyond Std. 8. The gender difference in this category is particularly noticeable with 12.4% of males and only 1.6% of females having gone beyond Std. 8.
'Adult' Education and Age:
Conventional wisdom and a minimal knowledge of local history would lead one to expect that as age increases, education level drops dramatically.

While only 1.2% of all those between the ages of 21 and 30 have had no formal education, 1 in 3 of the over 60s (33.3%) is illiterate.

Similarly, while more than half of the 21 to 30s (54.2%) had some education beyond Std. 6, only 1 in 30 of the over 60s (3.3%) had some secondary education.

'Adult Education, Age and Gender:
When these three variables are viewed in combination, the greater difference among HHNs is most exaggerated.

In the 31 to 40 age band - the modal category for both sexes - only 3 in 10 males (29.2%) has a Std 5 education or less while 6 in 10 females (60.0%) fall into this category.

Similarly, none of the 31 to 40 year old female HHNs in the sample population had any education beyond Std. 8 while 11.8% of the male

![Adult Education Levels by Gender Table]

![Adult Education Levels by Age Table]
HHHs in this age band had passed either Std. 9 or Std. 10. The implications for household income and welfare must be clear.

Male HHHs (most of whom have spouses who are additional potential income-earners) are better placed to compete and earn more in the already male-biased workplace.

Poorly-educated female HHHs, on the other hand, are less likely to get jobs and will probably earn less. To add to their woes, 84.8% have no spouses (additional potential income-earners) to help boost household income.

**POST-SCHOOL TRAINING**

*Students:* Another cause for concern is that full-time students at tertiary level institutions constitute only 0.2% of the total population or 0.8% of the 11 to 20 age group. Our sample population consisted of 1 female (a matriculant) and 6 males (5 matriculants and 1 who had passed Std. 8). Four were at university, 2 at teacher training colleges and 1 at a technical college. All were in their second year of study except for 1 first-year student. Three return home daily, 3 at weekends, and one only during vacations.

*Adults:* Only 9.0% of the 'adult' population had any formal post-school training. In more than one third of the cases (35.9%) this had consisted of no more than a few months' on-the-job training. As a group HHHs performed best with 17.6% having had some training.

Unfortunately, due to a technical problem, no information was collected on the post-school institutions attended by HHHs but this data was obtained for the 33 spouses and 25 other 'adults' who received post-school training. Of these, 5 had attended university, 16 had graduated from teacher training colleges, 10 had attended technical colleges or technikons, 10 had received formal on-the-job training and the remainder had attended miscellaneous other institutions.
Not surprisingly, 42.4% of spouses who had received post-school training had attended teacher training colleges.

The Atlantis Technical Institute which trains apprentices and offers some evening adult education classes has been operating since May 1982. It's a joint venture between the state and local industrialists and can accommodate 120. It is the only tertiary level educational institution in Atlantis. There is also a Technical High School and an industrial school.

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**Source:** Divisional Council February 1986 [77]

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**HISTORY:** Some statistics do exist for employment levels over the years before 1983 -- for 1979, 1980, and 1981 -- but comprehensive official figures only exist for the period from September 1983. These show that employment peaked in November 1984 and showed a steady decline to January 1986. The project engineer's comments, once again, illustrate the effective way in which statistics, taken out of context, can be used.

Although the overall drop in the workforce was 1% in the period under review (July 1985 to January 1986), female employment increased by 8% and male employment decreased by 10%.

'These statistics I consider significant, and give the lie to impressions that Atlantis is a "ghost town". I recommend they receive wide publicity,' he commented.
We will take up the engineer's offer and return to these statistics later in this section.

EMPLOYMENT IN MAY 1986: Some clarification and refinement of some of the categories used in Table 14 is necessary before any analysis can be made.

Firstly, we did not expect to find HHHs who had never been employed. These, invariably, were women who had been forced into the role through the death or departure of their husbands. Those in this category who were now seeking employment for the first time were classified as unemployed.

The 3 spouses and 10 others classified as 'first-time work-seekers' are those who have never been employed but are actively seeking work for the first time. They should be seen as part of the greater unemployed group.

Secondly, the 'not seeking work' group are largely those who have elected or been forced by circumstances not to be economically active and do not see themselves as being unemployed. Some of these are former workers in the process of applying for disability pensions.

Thirdly, among the unemployed there is a small group who are no longer actively seeking work because of the discouraging response they have received to their past efforts. This group is analysed in more detail in later sections. However, they still perceive themselves as being unemployed and would start working immediately given the opportunity.

Finally, although 96.4% of the employed were working in full-time jobs and 3.6% were working in part-time jobs, fewer than 1 in 100 (0.8%) of the full-
time workers mentioned that they were on short-time and fewer than 1 in 200 (0.4%) were self-employed. However, this probably does not reflect the extent of short-time employment as this was only raised as one possible response to the more general question of employment and not as a separate issue. Generally respondents were only classified as being on short-time if they specifically mentioned the fact. In addition, two pensioners mentioned that they were also employed under the Department of Manpower's employment creation scheme. One claimed that the younger men in this scheme tended to take days off to seek employment elsewhere because of the low 'wage' offered by the scheme - about R27 a week.

For the remainder of the analysis, all workers (both full- and part-time) are referred to as 'the employed'.

EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES: A pointer to future researchers is the fact that only during our survey did we become aware of a far more important distinction between full-time workers made by some employers. This was the category of 'temporary worker' -- a distinction which has far-reaching consequences for the understanding of employment conditions and feelings of job security of workers. Many mentioned quite casually that they had been working for periods way in excess of the normal 3-month probationary period and were still regarded as 'temporary'.

More importantly, people in this category do not seem to be extended the normal rights of probationers and appear to be hired on much the same terms as casual workers. One woman said that only when workers were retrenched at their workplace (during May 1986), was her son, who had been working there for 2 years, placed on the permanent staff with all the appropriate benefits. She was one of those retrenched. Another couple, doing exactly the same type of work at the same factory, highlighted the situation. 'We were both unemployed. Then I got a job,' the woman explained. 'Five months ago I got my husband a job at the same place. Last week (early May 1986) they called me into the office and put me on the books'. She now earns more than her husband who is still 'temporary'. 
The bosses think they can do what they want with you because work is scarce. I am too scared to take off when I'm sick in case they sack me.

CLOTHING WORKER, 42

If this practice is found to be widespread, the implications are disturbing. Workers on the 'permanent' staff will consider themselves 'doubly blessed'. Firstly they would have made it through the factory gates and would now be employed. Secondly, they will have been granted the security of permanent tenure, such that it is. Such workers will be unlikely to want to be seen to antagonise bosses by joining 'progressive unions' geared toward fighting for significant improvements in pay and working conditions. Clearly, where the 'permanency' of full-time employment is this fragile, workers are far more likely to be compliant.

In May 1984, the Cape Herald reported that an Atlantis resident had been refused a job by ADE because there was an agreement between firms which prevented the movement of workers from one firm to another. ADE's personnel manager, Mr. J. Swart, admitted that the workers were told of an agreement and that it was put in writing to one of them. 'But the official responsible made a big mistake because no such agreement exists', the Cape Herald quoted Mr. Swart as saying.

At our factory, 'casuals' work up to 12 hours a day under terrible conditions. The wind used to blow on our backs as we sweated at night.

But we could not complain because we got called 'slimmetjies' (Smart Alecs).

When someone did complain, we were all called to the canteen and the whole section was laid off.

We are at the mercy of the bosses. When we completed big orders because the company was behind schedule, there was no bonus.

SEASONALLY EMPLOYED WORKER, 40

MAJOR TRENDS: Generally, the 'adult' or, more accurately, the potentially economically active population can be usefully divided into two broad groups:

a) The presently economically active i.e. those who hold full- or part-time jobs. They make up 30,9% of the total population and 57,6% of the potentially economically active or 'adult' population, and
b) Those who are presently not economically active i.e. the unemployed, first-time work-seekers, the pensioners and those who are not seeking work. They form 22.7% of the total population and 42.4% of the potentially economically active or 'adult' population.

Naturally, depending on the availability of employment opportunities and the inclination, circumstances and needs of individuals, considerable movement between the groups is possible for all except the permanently disabled.

Even without further refinement, certain key indicators of the economic well-being of the community can be determined from these figures.

- The unemployment rate is a disturbingly high 27.2% which indicates that 1 in 4 of those wishing to be employed is out of work. While there are theoretical and ideological differences over how this figure should be computed, we have used the following formula:

\[
\frac{\text{THE UNEMPLOYED + FIRST-TIME WORK-SEEKERS}}{\text{THE UNEMPLOYED + FIRST-TIME WORK-SEEKERS + THE FULL- AND PART-TIME EMPLOYED}} = \frac{402}{1476} = 27.2\%
\]

Preschoolers, pupils, full-time students, pensioners and those not seeking work have been excluded.

- More than one third of all 'adults' (35.4%) have no regular form of personal income i.e. are not wage-earners, pensioners or recipients of welfare payments.

- Not unexpectedly, fewer HHHs (12.6%) are unemployed than are spouses (15.9%) or the 755-strong group of 'other adults' (32.5%). This is basically because HHHs tend to be income-earners (i.e. employed) before they become HHHs. By and large, HHHs have to prove that they are capable of paying rent, repayment, rates, water and electricity bills (i.e. have a regular income usually from employment) before they are granted homes. In this light, the actual unemployment rate among 'other adults' -- 37.0% -- is probably a more accurate picture of the state of the employment market in Atlantis than is given by the overall unemployment rate (27.2%) or the unemployment rate among HHHs (14.5%).

- Not unexpectedly, either, was the fact that spouses, mainly women, constituted 78.0% of all those not seeking work. Nearly 4 in 10 spouses (39.7%), however, are working and an additional 15.9% are
looking for work. The gravitation of women to the workplace in Atlantis appears to be determined as much by necessity as by changing stereotypes. Many women who were not actively seeking work said they would have been working if they had had 'better qualifications' or had not had long absences from the employment market.

EMPLOYMENT AND GENDER: Women get a raw deal when it comes to jobs. While the male unemployment rate is 21.9%, the equivalent for females is 33.6%. This situation exists even though there are fewer females competing for jobs despite their preponderence in the potentially economically active population. 86.1% of the 'not seeking work and pensioners' group are women. Female HHHS are no better off. Although they form 20.2% of all HHHSs, they make up only 11.1% of the employed, 28.2% of the unemployed and 62.7% of those not economically active.

I've tried so many times to get a job in a factory but it seems that only the pretty girls (mooi poppe) and the friends and family of the personnel officers get jobs.

It seems the only way to get a job is if the people working at a factory recommend you.

UNEMPLOYED CLOTHING WORKER, 28
EMPLOYMENT AND AGE: Unemployment is devastating among those under the age of 21. The youth unemployment rate is a disastrous 46.7%, showing little regard for gender. The older generation, those over the age of 50, also have a rough time with 1 in 3 of those seeking work (32.9%) not finding it. Only in the 31 to 50 age band does unemployment drop to below 20%.

Most of the HHHSs who fall into the 'not seeking work' and pensioners group (87.8%) are over the age of 40. Six in 10 of these (59.7%) are women.

EMPLOYMENT AND RESIDENTIAL STATUS: Very few employed 'adults' (3.3% of HHHSs and 2.0% of other 'adults') do not live at home permanently. Significantly 2.0% of the unemployed only return home on weekends after spending the week in search of work outside of Atlantis.

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION: Work prospects and education levels are clearly linked with those with a Std. 5 or lower school-leaving certificate paying the price in Atlantis. Employment prospects improve with post-school training. The unemployment rate among those who have some is 12.4%.

Unless you have experience and training, the only way to get work at (a major employer) is through Mr. X, a foreman at the plant.

He is an elder in his church (a Christian denomination with a large following in Atlantis) and he has only been recruiting members of his congregation.
The bottom line is clear. If you're a woman, under 21 years of age, or over 50, with a Std. 5 school-leaving certificate or less, you are the person standing at the back of the job queue in Atlantis.

THOSE NOT SEEKING WORK: Excluding pensioners, this group constitutes 13.8\% of the adult population. Those not seeking work are mainly 'housewives' — 'homemakers and childminders'. The greater majority (86.1\%) are women and in the general population (excluding HHHs) 92.2\% are married. Among the few HHHs in this category, the picture changes somewhat. Very often there was no spouse. However, women forced through circumstances to take on the responsibility of being HHHs often acted as 'homemaker and childminder' for adult working children. When asked, 73.1\% of HHHs in this category said they chose not to seek work because they looked after their homes and/or children and grandchildren. The rest gave a variety of reasons, mainly caring for the ill, disabled or aged.

GHOST TOWN?: We are now in a better position to judge the engineer's comment on the statistics contained in Table 13.

While there was a 1\% drop in the workforce between July 1985 and January 1986, the drop between November 1984, when employment was at its peak, and January 1986 is 980 or 7.7\%. If one takes the increase in the population over the same period into account the shortfall is even greater. The extent of the increase in the working population can be calculated in the following way: According to official sources there was an increase in the number of dwellings occupied of 876 — 471 state-built and 405 privately built — over the November 1984 to January 1986 period. At an average of 5.6 per household, the population increase over the period would have been 4,905. Using the proportions derived from our sample, about 42.5\% of these people or 2,085 would want to work.

Ignoring for a moment those who were unemployed in November 1984, the 1984 school-leavers, the 1985 school-leavers and all those who are employed outside of Atlantis, job opportunities in Atlantis should have increased from 12,788 to 14,873 simply to accommodate the increase in the population through residential settlement. In this light, speculative and limited as it is, the shortfall in jobs required was at least 20.6\%! And talk
of 'a 1% drop' over the preceding six months simply did not tell the full story in February 1986.

**INCOME:** We distinguished between major and minor sources of income.

**Major Sources:** Most HHHs (74.2%) received wages, 8.9% received pensions, 2.3% received income from other sources (mainly UIF benefits) while 14.7% had no major source of income at all. Only 9.0% of unemployed HHHs were receiving UIF benefits while 85.8% had no major source of income at all.

In the rest of the population (including spouses) detailed income information was only recorded for the employed and pensioners. Among pensioners, more than half (52.3%) received old age pensions, 34.6% received disability grants, 9.2% received widow's pensions and the remainder received military or work-related retirement benefits (3.9%).

Only 3.2% of those at full-time educational institutions (pupils and students) reported some independent source of income. These were from maintenance grants, disability grants, bursaries and child-support payments.

**Minor Sources:** This was a tricky question. For HHHs to admit another source of income would, in some instances, also mean admitting to 'running a business from their homes' -- in illegal activity.

Despite this problem, 6.1% said they had 'other sources of income'. Of these 5.3% said they earned a regular income from knitting and sewing, 7.9% did general repair work, 10.5% owned house-shops or shebeens and 73.7% received support from former spouses or children no longer living in the home. Of those receiving income from minor sources, 47.4% received less than R100 a month, 31.6% received between R101 and R200, 15.8% received between R201 and R300 while only 5.3% received more than R300 a month from minor sources.

Significantly, half (50.0%) of those deriving income from minor sources had no other source of income at all. This would seem to indicate pressure rather than preference.

The SPP survey found that 14.1% of households engaged in some kind of 'informal economic activity' during 1981.
TOTAL INCOME: Before proceeding with the analysis, we have listed some pointers explaining the concept of 'total income'.
- Total income combines an individual's income from major and minor sources.
- In collecting data on individual income a serious attempt was made to uncover every possible source of income. However, time did not allow us to explore minor sources of income in any depth for individuals other than HHHS.
- In all cases an attempt was made to obtain gross monthly income figures.
- Those falling into the 'income not known' category were listed as such because HHHS or their spouses - our sources of information - were either not aware of the individual's income or, in a few cases, were unwilling to disclose incomes.
- The curious-looking brackets up to R800 were devised to correspond with Divoo's rent/repayment determination brackets. Those above R800 were merely for convenience.
- Total incomes differ very little from incomes from major sources as so few had minor sources. However, taking incomes from minor sources into account did reduce the number of HHNs with no source of income from 14,7% to 11,6% and pushed a few into higher earnings brackets.
- Table 18 ignored the pupils and students with incomes. For the record most (84,4%) had incomes of less than R150 a month. The remainder received less than R350 a month.
- The percentages of those in the upper income brackets would probably have been boosted slightly if we had not been refused interviews with HHNs in 3 ADE and 4 privately-built homes targeted for inclusion in the sample.

INCOME ANALYSIS: A large number of 'adults', 1 in 3 (33,3%), has no income at all. More than half (51,1%) of those with incomes receive less than R351 a month and only 5,8% receive more than R800 a month. Of those with an income, 13,7% derived them from sources other than wages. Almost all of these (98,2%) received less than R350 a month. All of this put together means that 2 in 3 'adults' (67,4%) have no income or receive less than R351 a month.

My bills come to R120 this month (rent R52, electricity R40 and water R28). My income is R117 (from a pension). I try to get gardening work to pay for food, transport and my HP debt.

PENSIONER, 72

INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT: Wages are low. At least 6 in 10 wage-earners (59,4%) earn less than R451 a month while at least 85,6% earn no more than R800 a month.

INCOME AND GENDER: A quick glance at Table 18 will reveal that the sorry, sexist saga continues. Two in 3 women wage-earners (65,9%) receive no more than R350 in their pay packets while only 28,0% of males fall into this category.

INCOME AND AGE: Once again the under 21s and over 50s are on the receiving end. While consistently about 42,3% of all wage earners in the three age bands from 21 to 50 receive less than R351 a month, 78,7% of the under 21s and 57,1% of the 51 to 60s fall into this category.
**INCOME AND EDUCATION:** The effect of educational level on income was illustrated dramatically in the group of wage-earners receiving no more than R350 a month. Only 17.3% of matriculants fell into this group, while half of those with a Std. 6 education (49.8%) and 85.0% of those with a Std. 1 school-leaving certificate shared their fate.

Similarly, none of the income-earners with post-school training earned less than R150 a month and only 16.3% earned less than R350 a month.

**THE UNEMPLOYED:** While 43.6% of current wage-earners received no more than R350 a month, 53.2% of unemployed HHUs reported that the last income they received did not exceed this amount. However, this figure should be taken with more than a pinch of salt as more than a quarter (25.6%) of unemployed HHUs have been out of work for more than a year.

**EMPLOYMENT SECTOR:** Not unexpectedly, more than half of the workers (at least 57.0%) in Atlantis, a dormitory town attached to an industrial area, are employed in the manufacturing sector. More than 6 in 10 spouses (at least 60.9%) and other 'adults' (at least 65.8%) are dependent on this sector for employment.

A Divoo survey in 1979 found that 'the secondary sector (industry) is the main employer of Atlantis tenants - 64% of the total'.

The only other sectors to employ a significant number of Atlantis workers are the public (state and para-statal sector) - included in this group are teachers, policemen, nurses and Escom workers -- commerce, the service sector, i.e. those undertakings which primarily sell a
service and not commodities, and construction.

HHHs generally tended to be less reliant on the manufacturing sector and show a better spread among sectors than do other groups.

In 1980, manufacturing provided employment for 37% of all 'coloured' workers in Greater Cape Town. A document produced by the project's planners in 1981 commented: 'The figure could be higher for Atlantis provided it takes on a more pronounced industrial character'. However it added soberly: 'In view of the limited potential for industrial development in the Western Cape, and considering the investment requirements for industry, it is, however, not expected to vary dramatically within the foreseeable future'. This implied, it continued, 'that full employment at Atlantis would depend considerably on the creation of employment in industries other than manufacturing - especially in commerce and catering, construction, general government and household services'.

EMPLOYMENT SECTOR AND GENDER: The construction, local authority and informal sectors are strongly dominated by male workers who account for 93.3% of the workforce in these sectors. While female workers tend to be clustered in four sectors -- manufacturing (70.5%), domestic service (7.5%), commerce 6.3% and the public sector (7.3%) -- males show a far more balanced spread among sectors.

EMPLOYMENT SECTOR AND EDUCATION: The public, service and commercial sectors tend to employ workers with a Std. 6 education or better while those with no more than a Std. 5 education are more likely to be employed in domestic service, agriculture and by local authorities.

EMPLOYMENT SECTOR AND INCOME: If it's the big money you are after in Atlantis, the sectors to go for are construction and the public sector. Avoid domestic service, agriculture and, possibly, manufacturing.
This assessment is based on the proportion of workers in each sector who earn R350 or less. Only 18,2% of those whose incomes were known earned less than R351 in construction. Only 22,4% of workers in the public sector fell into this category.

At the opposite end of the scale, all the domestic workers (100,0%) and 3 in 4 agricultural workers (75,0%) received R350 a month or less.

Commerce (41,5%), the service sector (44,8%) and local authorities (46,9%) occupy the middle ground.

Nearly 2 in 3 workers in the manufacturing sector (65,3%), by far the biggest employer, find R350 or less in their monthly pay packets. The low rates of pay in the manufacturing sector in the Western Cape and in Atlantis in particular, therefore, must accept a sizeable proportion of the blame for the current state of affairs in Atlantis. A 1979 Divco survey showed that HHHs working in Atlantis earned on average 16,7% less than their peers working elsewhere. Adding gender to the equation, sees women on the losing side yet again. In the manufacturing sector only 20,7% of male HHHs earned R350 or less a month, while 59,4% of female HHHs fell into this category.

Similarly, in the next biggest employer, the public sector, only 17,1% of the males, but 42,8% of the female HHHs, earned R350 or less a month.

PRESENT AND PRE-ATLANTIS EMPLOYMENT SECTORS: Many workers not only changed their jobs when they moved to Atlantis but changed sectors as well. Excluding agricultural and mining sectors in which there are few or no jobs in or near Atlantis, more than 4 in 10 (42,8%) of the employed HHHs now work in a different sector to the one in which they found employment before coming to Atlantis.

The biggest migration was, naturally, to the manufacturing sector. While 1 in 3 employed HHHs (33,3%) worked in manufacturing before coming to Atlantis, nearly half (47,3%) work in manufacturing now. The only other sector to attract more workers now is the public sector. Former mining
and agricultural workers now work in the manufacturing, commercial, local authority, public service and domestic sectors. None remain in their original sectors despite the fact that some Atlantis workers still work on farms.

**THE UNEMPLOYED:** Using current HHH employment sector distribution as a point of reference, proportionately more of the unemployed HHHs were cast adrift from the manufacturing, construction, agricultural and service sectors than other sectors.

**EMPLOYMENT LEVEL:** Although this information was dilligently collected there was considerable debate about the cut-off-points between some of the categories. In this light the differences in performance of some of the categories in relation to other variables should be regarded with some circumspection.

Basically, teachers and nurses were classified as professionals to distinguish them from other skilled workers (the few policemen were also included in this group for want of a suitable category).

Supervisors and gangers were classified as line management. Semi-skilled workers were separated from labourers by the fact that they operated some machine (drivers and sewing machinists, for example).

The skilled group, by and large, are artisans, titular artisans and apprentices. They are distinguished from semi-skilled workers by the fact that they had done some widely recognised post-school training course.
By far the greater majority of workers whose skill level was known (78.4%) were semi-skilled workers and labourers. The SPP survey found that at least 69% of HHs were employed at these levels in 1981.\textsuperscript{12}

The skewing in the skills hierarchy is related to the fact that at least 15.5% of workers in the Atlantis industrial area are white\textsuperscript{5, 77} and they are clearly not employed at the bottom levels of the employment pyramid.

HHs are generally employed at higher skill levels than the other groups; 23.5% of employed HHs are skilled or higher in the employment hierarchy while only 17.8% of employed spouses and other 'adults' fall into these categories.

**EMPLOYMENT LEVEL AND GENDER:** For once, women perform slightly better. While 7% of female workers are employed as professionals (teachers and nurses), only 2.9% of males are in this category. Women continue to hold their own at skill levels above semi-skilled.

**EMPLOYMENT LEVEL AND EDUCATION:** Using the proportion of those at each skill level possessing a Junior Certificate or better as an indicator of the relationship between skill level and education, it was no surprise to discover that most professionals (89.3%), 7 in 10 clerks (70%), slightly fewer skilled workers (65.4%) and more than half management and line management workers (53.2%) had at least passed Std. 8.

The real surprise was that 1 in 4 semi-skilled workers (24.8%) and 1 in 10 labourers (10.7%) were at least JC holders.

In fact, the modal level for Atlantis matriculant workers is the semi-skilled group. Nearly 1 in 3 employed Atlantis matriculants (32.6%) is a semi-skilled worker. An even more telling indicator of the scarcity of work in the Western Cape is that 1 in 20 employed Atlantis matriculants (4.5%) is presently engaged as a labourer. All those with no formal schooling held a semi-skilled job at best. While only 19.3% of all workers are presently employed at levels above semi-skilled, 62.8% of those who have had some post-school training hold skilled, supervisory, clerical or professional jobs.
EMPLOYMENT LEVEL AND INCOME: While the common sense relationship between these two variables generally held true, with only 11,7% of those at levels above semi-skilled earning R350 or less a month, and 70,9% of labourers falling into this category, the semi-skilled workers, once again, did not perform as expected. While 91,5% of semi-skilled workers earned R800 or less a month, only 37,4% earned R350 or less a month.

Even more pronounced than the difference between the semi-skilled and labourers was the gender difference. While only 19,4% of semi-skilled male working HHHs earned less than R351 a month, 69,8% of female HHHs fell into this wage bracket.

EMPLOYMENT LEVEL AND SECTOR: By definition, virtually 3 in 4 of the professionals (76,1%) work in the public sector. Most of the skilled workers are employed in the manufacturing, construction and public sectors. Labourers are spread proportionately over all sectors. However, while 57,0% of all workers are employed in manufacturing, 2 in 3 semi-skilled workers (66,6%) are concentrated in this sector.

THE UNEMPLOYED: The semi-skilled and labourers bear the brunt of retrenchment it seems. While 76,3% of HHHs are currently employed at these levels, 88,2% of the unemployed were semi-skilled workers and labourers.

EMPLOYMENT LOCATION: Despite being limited by large numbers whose workplace was not known (7,3%) we can state with absolute certainty that 44,4% of employed HHHs were working outside of Atlantis and that at least 3 in 10 of all employed residents (29,5%) work outside of Atlantis.

The difference between HHHs and other workers is probably explained by the fact that HHHs do not necessarily leave their jobs outside Atlantis when they move.
In May 1980 a Divco survey found that 22.6% of employed HH&Hs worked in Atlantis. A year later the SPP found 24% of HH&Hs working in Atlantis.

The current proportion of the potential labour force (both employed and work seekers) employed in Atlantis (at most 51.2%) falls short of the ideal visualised by the planners in a 1981 report. They deduced that 'approximately 61% of the Atlantis labour force may be expected to be employed in Atlantis by 2020'.

Of those HH&Hs currently working outside of Atlantis, 25.5% work in the Cape Town municipal area, a similar proportion (25.9%) in Milnerton, 24.1% in Melkbos and at the Koeberg Power plant, 22.5% work elsewhere in the Western Cape and 2.0% work outside of the Western Cape. The 1980 Divco survey indicated that 60.3% of employed HH&Hs working outside of Atlantis found work in the City Council area.

EMPLOYMENT LOCATION AND GENDER: The majority of those who go in search of work outside Atlantis (75.9%) are males while they only constitute just over half (52.6%) of the Atlantis residents working locally. This means that 8 in 10 employed female Atlantis residents (80.8%) work locally while only 6 in 10 employed male residents (59.7%) work in their home town.

EMPLOYMENT LOCATION AND AGE: More older workers are employed outside of the area. Only 15.3% working youth work outside of Atlantis. In the modal age band among the employed, the 21 to 30 group, 27.4% work outside. However, among workers over the age of 30, about 4 in 10 (39.9%) work elsewhere.

EMPLOYMENT LOCATION AND EDUCATION: As education levels increase, a greater proportion of workers tend to work in Atlantis. While 35.5% of those with a Std. 5 education or less work elsewhere, only 1 in 4 who've passed Std. 9 or matric (25.0%) work outside of Atlantis. Significantly, more than half the workers (53.5%) who have had some post-school training work outside.

EMPLOYMENT LOCATION AND INCOME: Using the proportion of workers who earn R350 or less a month as a standard once again, it appears that those working in Atlantis earn less than those employed elsewhere. Nearly half of the Atlantis workers (47.1%) fall into this category while only 1 in 3
outside workers (33.4%) earn less than R351 a month.

Among HHHSs, however, there was no significant difference between those working in Atlantis (24.7%) and those employed elsewhere (23.4%). A 1979 Divco survey showed HHHSs working elsewhere earned 20% more than those employed in Atlantis.29

The gap closed more markedly when an income of R650 or less a month was used as a standard. Eight in 10 of Atlantis-based workers (79.5%) fall into this category while 74.0% of those working elsewhere earn less than R651 a month. The pattern for HHHSs, once again was similar, this time virtually to the decimal point (Atlantis-based workers - 71.5%; those working elsewhere - 71.6%).

EMPLOYMENT LOCATION AND SECTOR: Atlantis is a one-sector town. The extreme vulnerability of the residents to down-turns in the economy was highlighted by the huge difference in the proportions of local and outside workers employed in manufacturing. More than three-quarters of Atlantis-based workers (76.8%) are employed in manufacturing while only 1 in 5 of those working elsewhere (20.5%) depend on this sector for employment.

What this means for the community as a whole is that nearly half of all employed Atlantis residents (46.2%) are dependent on jobs in manufacturing in Atlantis. Not surprisingly then, while 71.4% of unemployed HHHSs who had previously worked in Atlantis had been working in manufacturing, only 1 in 3 unemployed HHHSs who had previously worked outside of Atlantis (33.3%) had been employed in the manufacturing sector.

EMPLOYMENT LOCATION AND LEVEL: Marginally more of those working outside of Atlantis (81.3%) are semi-skilled and labourers than those working in Atlantis (75.5%). This is somewhat surprising bearing in mind that outside workers tend to earn slightly more.

THE UNEMPLOYED: A slightly higher proportion of the unemployed HHHSs (63.6%) had previously worked in Atlantis than is the case among presently employed HHHSs (55.5%).
TRANSPORT TO WORK: In our pre-survey research and discussions with residents, transport to work and school within Atlantis was rarely mentioned as a problem. Most children, for example, are within easy walking distance of their schools. Half of those employed within Atlantis walk to work (51.0%), 27.0% use the internal bus service, 15.4% use their own cars or get lifts, 4.9% are transported to work by their employers and the rest cycle or use taxis. Even during the survey, the means, time or cost of getting to work within Atlantis was rarely cause for complaint.

However, Atlantis’s isolation from most other major centres of employment and the resultant time and money spent in getting to work for those employed outside of Atlantis is a major cause for complaint. The rest of the analysis, therefore, focuses solely on these workers.
Means: The most popular way to travel to work is the bus service with 62.1% dependent on this means of transport. (Those who use a combination of means have been included in this figure as they all initially use buses to get out of Atlantis).

Most of those depending on employer's vehicles work at Koeberg nuclear power station.

About 1 in 10 (9.8%) use private vehicles to get to work.

Time: About 1 in 4 (24.3%) spend less than an hour travelling to and from work, mainly in Milnerton, Melkbos or Koeberg. However, conversely, nearly half (44.8%) of all those working outside of Atlantis spend more than 2 hours getting to and from work daily. The serious in-roads this makes on private time and the major inconvenience are a considerable source of discontent.

Cost: Those paying nothing to travel to work (7.9%) were, invariably, those who received free transport from their employers. Very few dependent on this means (17.0%) paid more than R20 a month. Six in 10 of those using buses (60.0%) pay between R50 and R60 a month for clipcards. Very few bus commuters (10.4%) pay more.

The discontent over time spent travelling to work erupts into anger when transport costs are mentioned. At least 47.0% pay R50 or more a month in getting to and from work. In some instances this is equivalent to a month's rent. Justifiably, these workers claim they pay a heavy penalty because they cannot find employment in Atlantis. The full extent of this is seen only when the cost of travelling to and from work is calculated as a percentage of gross income. Nearly half (45.8%) of HHs employed outside Atlantis pay more than 10% of their income on transport to and from work. One in 10 (9.8%) pays more than 20% of his/her earnings on this item.

Train Poll: The fact that the rail service to Atlantis is restricted to goods vehicles, benefitting Atlantis industrialists only, was mentioned often in pre-survey interviews.
Because subsidised third-class train fares are generally cheaper than clipcards (subsidised bus fares),\(^4^9\) we asked HHHs working outside of Atlantis if they would use an external passenger rail service if one were installed. More than half (57.5\%) said they would use the train in preference to other means of transport if it proved cheaper and was made safe.

_I'll use a rail service if it's cheaper than the bus and if it's safe._

HOUSEHOLD HEAD, 29

Many expressed reservations about the safety of travel in third-class carriages. Another 23.2\% said they would not use trains and 9.4\% said that it would not be cheaper. One in 10 (9.9\%) were undecided.

Even though a 1982 Metropolitan Transport Area Board 'advised in favour of a rail passenger service by 1985',\(^2\) the Divisional Council was informed in May 1985 'that the South African Transports Services will not provide a rail passenger service to Atlantis in the foreseeable future unless such a service is guaranteed by another agency'.\(^9^1\) It appears that even though a passenger rail service will bring great financial relief to many, it will not be built soon.

**EMPLOYMENT STABILITY:** In order to determine employment stability, three broad indicators were used. These were: the number of jobs an individual had held since moving to Atlantis, the number of times the individual had been unemployed and whether there had been any retrenchments at their present workplace.

For the first factor, we took the job held on the day the individual took occupation of a house in Atlantis as the benchmark. For the second factor, unemployment was defined as an involuntary period without work. If an
individual simply changed jobs, for whatever reason, the interval between jobs, if any, was not counted as a period of unemployment.

This information was only recorded for HHHs.

**NUMBER OF JOBS:** Some significant trends emerge when the number of jobs an individual has held is examined in relation to present employment status and employment location.

While overall, more than half of all HHHs wishing to work have held only one job (51.9%), very few unemployed HHHs (30.8%) had previously held only one job. While bearing in mind that the analysis is confined to HHHs, some conclusions can be drawn from this significant difference.

The presently unemployed appear to be not only those whom fate has treated unkindly, but appear to contain within their ranks a significant proportion of those who, as our analysis has shown, are least likely to get or hold onto employment -- the women, the very young and older workers, and the poorly educated.

There is an equally significant difference between those presently employed in Atlantis and those employed elsewhere. While only 47.6% of Atlantis-based workers have had one job, 65.2% of outside workers fit into this category. The reason probably lies in the fact that those HHHs who retain their work outside once they move to Atlantis do so because of the greater security these jobs appear to offer. They have clearly fared better than those who chose to work in Atlantis.

Proportionally more of the most unstable workers, those who have held more than three jobs since moving to Atlantis, are presently employed in Atlantis. The trend is repeated among the unemployed.

**PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT:** At least 44.0% of all HHHs who are, or wish to be, employed have experienced unemployment at least once since moving to Atlantis.
For at least 30.8% of the presently unemployed HHHS, this is not the first experience of unemployment in Atlantis. More of the HHHS presently employed outside of Atlantis (68.1%) have been spared the experience of unemployment. Only 52.8% of HHHS working in Atlantis at the moment have avoided unemployment.

Again, it would seem that many of those employed outside Atlantis have retained stable jobs.

THE THREAT OF RETRENCHMENT: More than 4 in 10 employed HHHS (41.9%) said there had been some retrenchment at their place of work in recent times. Only 7.6% felt that they were personally still under the threat of retrenchment. A greater proportion of those employed in Atlantis (48.7%) said there had been retrenchment at their workplace than those employed elsewhere (31.0%)

There was no significant difference between work locations among workers still feeling threatened by the possibility of retrenchment. Most of the retrenchment had occurred in construction and manufacturing. A greater proportion of workers in these sectors felt threatened by retrenchment than did those in other sectors.

REHIRING: During our pre-survey discussions, we became aware of allegations that some employers were retrenching workers and, after a few weeks, rehiring them at the same level but paying lower wages. We asked all HHHS if they had had a similar experience. Only 6.6% said they had ever been retrenched, recalled, and rehired. Of these 65.6% said they had been rehired in the same job category, 31.3% at a lower level and 3.1% at a higher level. Most (44.8%) were rehired at the same wage, 37.9% received lower wages and 17.3% received higher wages.
It appears there are some grounds for the allegation but that it is not happening on a large scale. Those who were rehired at lower wages constitute only 2.4% of the employed.

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP: The most remarkable single finding was not the proportions of workers who were unionised or not but the fact that 1 in 6 HHNs (16.5%) did not know if a union was operating at their present or immediate past workplace.

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP AND EMPLOYMENT: This ignorance extended to more than 1 in 4 of the unemployed HHNs (26.5%). In some cases, HHNs did not know what a union was despite extreme care to ensure that the question was understood. A more positive finding was that nearly 6 in 10 employed HHNs (59.1%) definitely have unions operating at their workplaces.

Only 42.6% of the unemployed had unions at their last place of work which probably indicates the extent to which unions can help protect jobs. A 1985 South African Labour Bulletin report was not optimistic about the influence of unions in Atlantis. "Unionisation in the area is extremely weak making workers vulnerable to management abuse. Where unions have established a presence they have been generally bureaucratic, unable to secure improved conditions of employment and totally unsympathetic to grassroots issues workers are confronted with in the area. The weakness of unions is clearly evidenced during retrenchments, where no agreements have been negotiated." 92

Overall, 41.6% of HHNs are currently members of trade unions. This is made up of the 46.4% of employed HHNs who are unionised and 12.1% of the unemployed who still retain union membership. All of these previously worked in the manufacturing or construction industries.

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP AND SECTOR: Unionisation is non-existent among those employed in the agricultural, informal and domestic service sectors. It reaches its peak among workers in the construction industry (56.3%) and its lowest level among workers in the commercial sector (24.1%). Manufacturing-
(50.5%), the public sector (48.8%) and local authority workers (47.4%) all have a marginally above average unionised rate.

Many Atlantis factories don't have unions, and the bosses treat workers the way they want to.

COMMERCIAL WORKER, 21

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP AND EMPLOYMENT LOCATION: For a change Atlantis based workers show a better profile than their colleagues employed elsewhere.

Nearly half of HHUs employed in Atlantis (48.0%) are unionised while only 44.2% of those employed elsewhere currently belong to unions. Also, while 18.4% of those who lost their jobs in Atlantis retain trade union membership, none of those who were previously employed elsewhere do.

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP AND THE FUTURE: The potential for extending unionisation can be seen in the fact that 3 in 10 (30.3%) who do not belong to a union at the moment have had some experience of unionisation in the past. Also 73.2% of workers who are aware of the existence of unions operating in their workplaces are currently signed up union members.

THE UNEMPLOYED: A comprehensive profile of the unemployed has already been developed through the analysis of the preceding employment-related variables. However, to complete the picture we asked unemployed HHUs several additional questions.

Reasons: Not unexpectedly, nearly half of the unemployed HHUs (47.5%) had been retrenched. Most of the rest had resigned (20.0%), been fired (7.5%) and lost their jobs when they relocated (2.5%) while the remainder (22.5%) gave various other reasons, mainly medical for quitting the type of work they had been doing.

Retrenchment accounted for the joblessness of a greater proportion of workers who had formerly been employed in Atlantis (55.8%) than those previously employed elsewhere (32.0%).
Duration: Most of the workless HHHS (74.4%) had been thrown out of work in the previous year. Only 2.6% had been unemployed for longer than 2 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT (HHHS ONLY)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duration in months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of unemployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 13 11 10 9 9 9 1 1 78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases, workers qualified their employment by venturing information on the length of time they had spent looking for work.

My daughter had to borrow shoes to look for work. After 8 months of walking up and down in Atlantis she had worn out her shoes but didn't find a job.

MOTHER OF SEVEN, 53

JOB-HUNTING: Work-seekers spoke movingly about the grim realities of trying to find work. The trauma of being met daily by 'NO VACANCIES' signs, and the dehumanising experience of milling around factory gates in the forlorn hope of being 'the lucky one' to be selected from the crowd in the rare event of a vacancy becoming available, have been well documented elsewhere.92, 93

Many explained that a popular method of recruitment was for employees of a firm to be asked to recommend somebody. A relative or a friend would then be brought along the next morning, interviewed and probably hired. The crowd at the gate would have had their hopes dashed for another day.

But that was not the worst of the experience. Many explained that once Atlantis residents become unemployed, irrespective of where they had worked previously, their chances of finding work outside of Atlantis are slim.

We hitch-hike to Cape Town to look for jobs. When we get there, it is too late.

UNEMPLOYED COUPLE, 37 AND 36
Much like workers employed outside of Atlantis, job-hunters are doubly-penalised if they wish to compete for work in the metropolitan area.

The return taxi fare to Cape Town is in excess of R5 a day and, unless they leave in search of work before dawn, they find themselves at the back of the crowd outside factory gates in the city. Mainly as a result of the expense involved, many do not even bother to search for work outside of Atlantis.

Atlantis is the only place where I can look for work. I can't afford the R5 a day taxi money to look for work in Cape Town. If you hitch a lift, by the time you get there, all the jobs are taken.

EX-FACTORY WORKER, UNEMPLOYED FOR 15 MONTHS, 35

Despite all these obstacles, 75.6% of unemployed HHHS said they had actively looked for work during the past month (April/May 1986). More than half the work-seekers (51.5%) said they had looked for work in Atlantis only. Most of the remainder (47.0%) said they were also looking elsewhere while 1.5% said they were only looking elsewhere.

Among the reasons given by those who had, in most cases, temporarily, stopped looking for work were illness (31.6%) a maternity break (10.5%), nursing the ill (10.5%) and most of the remainder (31.6%) gave a variety of other reasons. A few (15.8%) said they had lost heart and had given up the search but would give anything to be working again.

There was no significant relationship between the duration of unemployment and the temporary withdrawal from the hunt for jobs. Most (85.0%) of those unemployed for longer than a year were still actively hunting for work.

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS: Once again, the proportion of the unemployed HHHS who were ignorant of the existence of the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), or felt they were ineligible for benefits, or simply had not bothered to apply, was surprising. Nearly half (46.2%) fell into these categories.

The problem in this area clearly has its roots in some of the more dubious employment practices to which workers fall victim. For example, 26.9%
of the unemployed had not received UIF contributors cards from their previous employers. Secondly, the so-called 'temporary workers' apparently do not contribute to the UIF and, when their services are dispensed with, they find themselves ineligible for benefits.

Thirdly, in the construction industry, many of the houses are, apparently, built by sub-contractors. The workers are told that the major contractors only pay the sub-contractors on completion of the houses. Consequently, many work for the sub-contractors without pay for up to two months at a time. Then, it is alleged, some non-resident sub-contractors abscond without paying the workers. To add to their woes, very few, if any, sub-contractors follow standard employment practices by deducting and submitting UIF contributions. The result, very often is: no pay and no right to claim UIF benefits when they are laid off or left stranded.

I waited two months before I applied for benefits. Asking for help is not my way. I prefer to work for my money. But, in the end, I had to go.

UNEMPLOYED INDUSTRIAL WORKER, 35

Of those who had applied for benefits at some stage, 16.7% were receiving benefits, 35.4% were awaiting assessment, 33.3% had already used up all their benefits and 14.6% had been refused.

Fred Petersen described a visit to the Atlantis labour bureau during November 1984. "Over 400 workers (were) waiting for benefits. "Many came later to avoid the long queue", one retrenched worker said.

'It appeared that there were long delays before benefits were paid out, and the amounts received were not always correct.

'One worker complained that he had registered on the same day as others who had received benefits and that they were "treated in a high-handed manner, and with little appreciation of the circumstances in which they find themselves".

'Another worker who was not satisfied with his cheque, was ignored and later clerks discovered that the amount was incorrect.'

All of those who were receiving benefits during May 1986 or had received benefits said that they had waited for longer than 3 months before receiving
their first payments. This was given as a reason by some for not applying for benefits.

I did not apply for UIF because they keep your card too long and I preferred to look for a job immediately. But I didn't find a job and when I went to apply, they said it was "too late".

UNEMPLOYED HHH, 36

Some claimed that once a UIF card had been submitted for assessment, it took 'very long' before it was returned. This meant a period of months without a contributor's card which proved a disadvantage in job-hunting. Many prospective employers simply would not bother interviewing those without contributor's cards to back up their claims about their employment records, some said.
Thus far, the focus has been on the population as a whole and how it is constituted in terms of certain selected criteria. This section analyses the size and composition of, and conditions within, the household which is simply defined as all those living under a common roof.

### Household Size and Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>4</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households</td>
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<td>109</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Size and Composition:** The two largest households had 15 members each while one was made up of only a single person. The average household consisted of between 5 and 6 members (mean: 5.6). To date the figure used by Divco has been 4.9 people per household but Leslie London's 1981 survey of 354 households yielded a mean of 5.9. Almost 1 in 5 households (19.7%) was headed by a single person (widowed, divorced, separated or unmarried). The majority of these (86.1%) were women.

The household head (HHH) is that member of the household who is held responsible by Divco for the payment of rents, repayments, rates, electricity and water.

**Nuclear Family:** Within each household there is a nuclear family consisting of:
- the HHH, a spouse, if any, and children, if any, or
- the HHH, siblings and/or parents if the HHH is unmarried and has no children, or
- simply, the HHH if neither of the above permutations apply.

Fewer than 1% of nuclear families consisted only of a HHH without a spouse, children, siblings or parents. The biggest nuclear family in the sample
had 10 members. The mean nuclear family size was 4.7. A few families (6.3%) said that unmarried members had left permanently to seek or take up work elsewhere. In most of these cases (71.8%), not more than one had left home permanently for this reason but, in one case, five had left Atlantis to make their futures elsewhere.

**ADDITIONAL COMPONENT:** Besides the nuclear family, in many households there was an 'additional component' consisting of:
- other relatives i.e. cousins, very often grandchildren, and in-laws, or
- unrelated people, or
- both the above.

In cases where HHNs were married, their siblings and parents were regarded as relatives and not nuclear family members.

More than 4 in 10 nuclear families (41.9%) had other people living with them. In some cases there were as many as 9 other people in the household but, on average, those families with other people living with them had 2 extra members (mean 2.1).

Looking at the total population in terms of their relationship to HHNs, nuclear families made up 84.6% of the population, their relatives living with them constituted 12.2% while the remainder (3.2%) was made up of unrelated household members. About 1 in 3 families (32.7%) had other relatives living with them. Only 1 in 8 households (12.6%) contained other unrelated people. The maximum number was 5 and the mean in those households in which they lived was 1.5 a household.

In 1981, the SPP survey found 1 in 3 households consisting of a nuclear family and an additional component (33.3%). Almost 4 in 10 additional members (38.2%) said they had come to Atlantis primarily to seek shelter, while 8.6% said they had come primarily because they had found work in Atlantis and needed accommodation. Although that was the extent of the formal probe as to why additional people were taken in, other reasons became apparent during interviews.
Firstly, many of the nuclear families had emerged from multiple family households before moving to Atlantis or before moving into their own homes in Atlantis. In fact, in more than one instance during interviews, HHHs suggested we don't include certain individuals who were on the verge of moving into houses of their own. It seems the combination of the Group Areas Act and the housing shortage has made the multi-family household almost as prevalent as the stereotypical one-household-one-family situation.

Secondly, for many, it is either a precondition for survival or, at best, a mechanism for improving household standard of living. In some cases other people pay some contribution toward the running expenses. Also, with more contributing toward the household food budget a bigger variety of foods can be bought, and some can be bought in bulk resulting in savings.

Tomorrow (Tuesday) I'm going to get up at five in the morning to look for char work to buy food for my grandchildren. If I don't get work, I'll beg from the people in Melkbos.

The only food here at the moment is mealie meal. I buy food on a weekend. It is supposed to last the week but by Monday there is nothing left. Most times there is nothing besides mealie meal 'til the nightshift people come home with their pay on a Saturday morning.

UNEMPLOYED HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD OF FIFTEEN, 55

Thirdly, in a few cases, the 'additional relatives' were simply the grandchildren of the HHH, the offspring of single, divorced or separated nuclear family members who were living with or had returned to their parents.

Finally, in some cases, down-on-their-luck family members and friends are taken in to help them through a rough patch. Very often this results in a drop in the nuclear family's living standards. Overcrowding increases and food has to be shared among more, often incomeless, mouths.

OVERCROWDING: The greater majority live in 2-bedroomed (40,9%) and 3-bedroomed (57,4%) homes. There are a few bigger and smaller dwellings. In 7% of the homes at least one additional room (usually the lounge) is used for sleeping purposes.
Judged by this standard - the use of an additional room or rooms for sleeping purposes - 7.8% of all households are overcrowded. Judged by another standard - the fact that if nuclear families only occupied homes in Atlantis most (95.0%) would not have a bedroom occupancy rate of more than 3 people - at least 1 in 10 households (10.5%) is overcrowded.

**TENURE:** The state's public housing sales scheme and Divco's preference for applicants to buy homes is having some effect on swinging the balance toward home-ownership. However, more than half of the households (57.4%) are still living in rented accommodation, while 42.3% are home-owners and at least 0.3% are sub-letting. This tallies with Mr. Piet Burger's estimate in March 1986 that 'about 55% of the homes are on lease'.

Most of those renting accommodation lived in state-built homes though some were letting privately-built and company-built dwellings. The extent of sub-letting is probably greater but because of the illegal nature of this type of arrangement in Divco-administered homes, few HHHs were prepared to disclose the fact and those who did, only did so more or less inadvertently.

During May 1986, 62.8% of HHHs living in rented accommodation earned R350 or less a month (30.9% of those having no income at all) while only 18.7% of HHHs who owned homes earned less than R351 a month (44.9% of these having no income at all). Similarly, while most employed HHHs renting homes (87.4%) were labourers or semi-skilled, only 67.8% of those living in privately-owned homes were employed at these levels.

Finally, 3 in 4 tenants (74.4%) were paying no more than R100 a month in rent, while only 1 in 5 living in privately-owned homes (19.9%) paid less than R100 a month.

**LANGUAGE:** In Atlantis, Afrikaans is by far the most commonly spoken language - 90.6% of households are primarily Afrikaans-speaking. English is the choice of only 6.6% of households, while the remainder (2.8%) use Afrikaans, English and, in some instances, Xhosa with equal facility.
RELIGION: Very few HHIIs said their families were not affiliated to a religious group. Of those who were, 94.3% were Christian and 4.1% were Muslim.

Christian denominations with substantial followings in Atlantis are:
- The N.G. Sendingkerk (23.0%)
- The New Apostolic Church (15.2%)
- The Anglican Church (11.4%)
- The Old Apostolic Church (10.2%)
- The Roman Catholic Church (8.7%)
- The Pentecostal (Pinkster) Church (5.9%) and
- The Moravian Church (4.5%)
A brief profile of Atlantis HHs' migration patterns, employment history, housing and living conditions immediately before moving to Atlantis was constructed in order to place present conditions and the affordability of life in Atlantis within a comparative framework.

All conclusions drawn must be tempered by the fact that migration to Atlantis took place over a 10-year period from late 1975 to early 1986.

PATTERNS OF MOVEMENT: While Table 28 will provide many happy hours of analysis for students of urbanisation, we have confined our comments to the broader trends. It is easy to identify the 'staging posts' used by immigrants for integration into the Metropolitan economy by highlighting those areas which show an increase between the 'born' and 'lived' columns - in other words areas in which more people lived, immediately before moving to Atlantis, than were born there.

The Divco urban areas, which include the squatter settlements and Elsies River, show this most clearly but the City Council area,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Lived</th>
<th>Worked</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Atlantis</td>
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<td>174</td>
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<tr>
<td>City Council</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>174</td>
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<td>Area and Bishop A</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>SIMONSTOWN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>JH ARCHER</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMMEDIATE</td>
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<td>RURAL AREAS</td>
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<td>BOLAND</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[C] These were young HHs, who had lived in Atlantis with their families for more than 5 years.
[B] Fish Hook was included to illustrate the patterns of movement from all Western Cape Municipalities.
[C] This figure includes some current HHs who were too young or too old (pensioners) to work, those HHs who only became Atlantis residents living at Atlantis (widowed, divorced, & separated, the disabled pensioners, and those who were not economically active in the pre-Atlantis situation.)
Milnerton, which had a fair amount of squatting, Parow and the Peninsula's rural periphery, including Kraaifontein and Kuilsriver, also provided this kind of base.

In these 'staging post' areas, housing was relatively cheap - either squatting or semi-rural - and they positioned the immigrants close enough to industrial and metropolitan workplaces to earn a living. The areas which show the reverse trend, i.e. more were born there than lived there immediately before moving to Atlantis, are the areas in which immigrants originated. These are generally the last eight locations listed in Table 28, and those areas where Group Areas Act removals artificially reduced the number of black residents. This is illustrated by the fact that while 29,4% of HHHs were born in the more distant locations (the Karoo, the eastern, northern and southern Cape, Namibia and the other provinces) only 11,0% lived in these areas immediately before moving to Atlantis.

The mobility of the population was also illustrated by the fact that only 36,8% of HHHs said they had lived in only one area (as defined in Table 28) before moving to Atlantis. Slightly more (37,6%) had lived in two areas, 14,7% had lived in three areas, 5,3% had lived in four areas and the remainder (5,6%) had lived in five or more areas before settling in Atlantis.

**Employment:** More HHHs were employed before moving to Atlantis (90,8%) than is the case at present (74,0%). Some of the present HHHs did not act as HHHs before moving to Atlantis -- mainly the presently widowed, divorced, separated -- and consequently were not forced to seek work. Some who were employed before are now unemployed or old age and disability pensioners.

a) Location: One in 20 HHHs who were employed before coming to live in Atlantis (5,0%) already worked there. While Table 28 provides the finer detail, the major trends were: of those who worked in the areas still accessible to Atlantis workers -- the Western Cape metropolitan area and the immediate rural areas -- 44,9% worked in the City Council area, 10,1% worked in Milnerton and 12,5% worked in the Northern Suburbs.

b) Income: While it would be unwise to compare income received by different
HHHs over a 10-year period, all that can be stated without fear of contradiction at this stage is that 1 in 20 present HHHs (5.6%) had no form of personal income at all before moving to Atlantis.

c) Sector: A far smaller proportion of working HHHs were employed in the manufacturing sector (35.3%) before moving to Atlantis than is the case at present (57.0%). They also displayed a far better spread across sectors then. Naturally, there are far fewer similar employment opportunities in or around Atlantis for those previously employed in agriculture and the mining and quarrying sector.

d) Level: While on the surface the skill level of jobs held by Atlantis HHHs appears to have improved marginally -- 75.8% of employed HHHs work in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs now compared to 81.5% in the pre-Atlantis situation -- the 'improvement' is largely illusory. When one looks at the actual number of HHHs working at levels above semi-skilled and labourer, things haven't changed -- 104 then and 107 now. The explanation lies in the fact that a far greater proportion of the presently unemployed and not economically active HHHs were previously employed as unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

HOUSING: The quality and cost of housing was very different in the pre-Atlantis situation.

a) Tenure: In marked contrast to the situation in Atlantis where at least 42.3% of HHHs own homes, very few (3.7%) owned homes before moving to Atlantis. More than half (56.1%) rented or sub-let (13.0%) homes before.
Many paid no rents: 8,6% squatted, 11,1% lived rent-free with their family and the remainder (7,5%) lived in accommodation which came rent-free with their jobs.

b) Ownership of land: Beside those who owned homes, the majority lived on land owned by the state and local authorities (36,1%), private landlords (28,8%) and their families (21,7%). The rest lived on land owned by farmers (5,4%), other employers (8,3%) and churches (1,0%).

c) Nature of site occupation: Much like the situation today, many families lived with other people. Only 46,0% lived on their own. Four in 10 families (40,1%) shared a house with their landlords, 10,9% lived in outside dwellings on their own, another 2% shared outside dwellings with others and 1% lived in garages.

d) Residential stability: 15,6% had lived in their immediate pre-Atlantis homes for less than a year but a similar proportion (15,8%) had lived there for longer than 20 years. Generally, a considerable proportion had been 'settled' elsewhere before moving to Atlantis. More than half (52,5%) had lived there for longer than 5 years.

e) Rents: While, once again, there is little point in comparing rents which were applicable over a period of more than 10 years, some trends are valid. Almost 1 in 4 families (24,1%) paid no direct rent immediately before moving to Atlantis and half (50,7%) paid no more than R20 a month.

LIVING CONDITIONS: While there are numerous indices of the quality of life, besides those already mentioned we selected overcrowding and the availability of electricity, inside water and inside toilets as rudimentary guides because of their pertinence in the current Atlantis situation.

a) Overcrowding: The 5,6-people-per-household situation of today takes on an air of relative comfort when compared to the large households from which many emerged. The mean household size in the pre-Atlantis situation was 7.3. Only 1 in 3 families (32,2%) came from households with fewer than 6 members and 1 in 6 (16.6%) came from households with more than 10 members. Not surprisingly, then, 61,3% of Atlantis families lived in bigger households in the past. This probably explains why few mentioned overcrowding as a problem in Atlantis.
In Darling, I also had to struggle but I knew people and I had family there. I could always turn to them for help. Now I have nobody to turn to.

UNEMPLOYED MOTHER, 55

A side effect of this obvious overcrowding is that 14.2% of families said they were not able to live together as families immediately before moving to Atlantis.

b) Basic mod. cons.: Before moving, 41.3% of all households had no electricity, 37.6% had no water inside their homes and 36.7% had no inside toilets. At least half of the households (52.4%) had electricity, inside water and toilets in their pre-Atlantis homes. However, 3 in 10 families (29.8%) had none of these. This is in stark contract to the Atlantis situation where everybody at least starts off with these facilities.

However, the point at issue is not whether basic living conditions improve with a move to Atlantis. For many there is little doubt on that score. The crux of the matter is whether HHHs can afford the facilities offered in Atlantis on the wages they earn and at the rates at which the facilities and rents have been set. This is dealt with at length in later chapters.
We asked HHHs when, why and how they came to move to Atlantis and about subsequent moves within Atlantis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Families arrived</th>
<th>Dwellings built</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>971</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979</td>
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<td>254</td>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>87</td>
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<td>1983</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>6410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures include February 1986

**Sources:** Dnco & Salcoy

**WHEN:** If all the families which moved to Atlantis had occupied their own homes immediately and had all remained within Atlantis, there would have been an approximate 1:10 relationship (1:10.34 precisely for our 9.67% sample) between the 'families arrived' and 'dwellings built' rows in table 30. Notwithstanding the fact that an approximate 10% sample will not necessarily reflect the situation perfectly, and that some normal departure (people leaving to live elsewhere) occurs in all residential areas, two broad trends are apparent.

Firstly, with the exceptions of 1977 and 1980, when the approximate 1:10 ratio is achieved, during the 1975 to 1979 period, three years show such drastic departure from the expected ratio that it is unlikely to have resulted only from sample skewing or normal departure.

Secondly, between 1981 and 1984 the trend is reversed. Only during the last period - 1985 and (the first two months of) 1986 - does the situation return to a ratio closer to the expected trend.

All that can be assumed with some degree of certainty is that many families who settled in Atlantis in the 1970s have left and many who came in the 1980s simply took their places.
If we wish to discover the extent of this from Table 30, we would have to assume that a 'perfect' 9.67% sample would have reflected about 281 families occupying the 2,906 homes built in Atlantis by the end of 1979. Our sample only reflects 190 of these families. Ignoring for the moment the normal limitations on this type of speculation, it must be assumed that about 942 of the original families \((281 - 190) \times 10.34\) which moved to Atlantis during the 1970s no longer live there or are no longer the primary occupants of homes there.

This would imply that at least 32.4% of the original 1970s settlers have upped and left. The figure could be higher because this calculation is based on the assumption that only one family came in to replace each family which left. The true extent of desertion can only be obtained from the Divoo records.

However, we did get some hint from HHHs. Nearly half (46.8%) said that at least one family had been evicted from their street while they were living there. A similar proportion (46.5%) said that at least one family formerly living in their street, had either deserted their home or left permanently. In April 1983 the Cape Herald reported that 'Many Atlantis families, unable to keep up with the cost of living in the area, are moving out at night to avoid rent bills of up to R500'\(^6\). This practice was confirmed by residents. The implication is that those families who moved there during the 1970s and who are still living there now, to a large extent, are already a select group — the survivors of the Atlantis experience. Therefore no investigation of the full story of Atlantis will be complete without the evidence of those who chose, or were forced to, leave.

**WHY:** Up until September 1985, Divoo gave preference to applicants for houses who had already found work in Atlantis. Since then housing in Atlantis has been opened up to all those on the council's waiting list.\(^6\)

So, contrary to expectations, more than half the HHHs (55.1%) said their families had moved to Atlantis primarily to obtain housing. Only 19.0% said they had come because they already had jobs, while another 11.6% said they had come to seek work in Atlantis. A few (4.0%) said they had no
choice and were the victims of Group Areas removals or the re-zoning of their former residential land. A similar proportion (3.9%) said they had been squatters who were offered alternative accommodation in Atlantis.

These figures do not reflect the full extent of those who came under threat of Group Areas Act removals or squatter relocation but reflect those who came for no other reasons. The remainder (6.4%) came for a variety of reasons such as being closer to metropolitan hospitals or to obtain better education for their children. Most of these were from rural areas. Almost all those who had been forced to move (98.0%), including former squatters, came from Milnerton, the City Council Area, the Divco urban areas and the immediate rural areas.

During the 'mini-boom' years of the early 1980s, 1980 to 1983, a greater proportion came because they had jobs, reaching a peak in 1983 when 35.3% of new arrivals came because they had already found work in Atlantis.

Despite the old policy of only supplying accommodation 'to those working in Atlantis', there seems to have been a period in the late 1970s when Divco had a large surplus of housing and little demand for houses and the policy was temporarily suspended. This would explain the large number of HHHs who have always worked outside of Atlantis. This impression is confirmed by the finding of the 1981 SPP survey: 'Most people reported Atlantis was the easiest place in Greater Cape Town to get a house'.

HOW: Two-thirds of HHHs (66.6%) said they or their spouses had made direct applications for housing at Atlantis, 6.1% had been on the Divco waiting list, a similar proportion (6.1%) had made applications supported by their employers in Atlantis and 6.7% had enlisted the aid of outside employers. About 1 in 8 (12.4%), mainly those forced to move, said they had been allocated homes there by the state or Divco.

MOVEMENT WITHIN ATLANTIS: For as many as 4 in 10 families (40.3%) the move to Atlantis was not the last residential move they had made. There is considerable movement within Atlantis: 7.1% said they had moved into larger accommodation, a similar proportion had moved in order to buy homes (7.1%), a few (6.0%) moved because they did not like the neighbourhood
(usually flats) or for health reasons - pensioners who could not manage to climb stairs in blocks of flats - and 1.6% said they had moved into smaller accommodation.

However, 18.1% of HHNs said they had moved within Atlantis in order to move into homes of their own. This means that many families use existing households as 'staging posts' for settling in Atlantis. They probably account for a sizeable proportion of the current 'additional component' of households. Some, however, are simply a reflection of the natural growth in the population -- young people who lived with their parents in Atlantis before marrying and moving into homes of their own.
Besides examining current basic household expenditure patterns and financial problems, we also investigated the economic impact of the move to Atlantis on household budgets.

ARRIVAL: For a significant proportion of households the move to Atlantis meant a major improvement in the quality of accommodation. However, for most this was attained at a heavy cost.

a) Rents/repayments: For the sake of convenience, we will refer to the payments tenants and homeowners make to council each month, rents and repayments, simply as 'rents'. In order to render all rents paid over a period of more than 10 years, in the pre-Atlantis situation and on arrival in Atlantis, comparable, we calculated each household's initial rent in Atlantis as a proportion of their immediate pre-Atlantis rents. In effect this represented the change over a period of no more than a month for each household.

We obtained both amounts for 596 of the 620 households surveyed (96.1%) and the results were astounding. Only 11.9% paid less in Atlantis than they had paid elsewhere. Another 2.3% paid exactly the same amount. Therefore, 85.8% of households paid more rent in Atlantis than they had paid just a month before moving. Of those who were paying more, the percentage increase for 28.6% could not be calculated as they were paying no rent in the pre-Atlantis situation.

There were 7.6% paying in excess of 10 times more, 11.0% were paying between 5 and 10 times more, while 21.1% saw an increase of no more than 100% in their rents.

A 1979 Divco survey expressed concern: 'Rentals in Atlantis are high — the average increase for tenants, most of whom originated in Cape Town (73%), was R23 a month'.

29
b) Income: Instead of showing a proportional increase over the same period, at most one month, 6 in 10 HHHS (60,1%) showed no improvements. This proportion was made up of 37,1% for whom the situation remained static and 23,0% who saw a decline in income. Three in 10 HHHS (30,9%) saw increases of up to 100% and 9,0% saw even larger increases.

The net effect according to Professor Dewar is that: 'Large numbers cannot afford state housing but have no alternative. These people constantly funnel funds away from priority areas such as food to pay the rent, borrow to pay the rent, re-borrow and so on'.

By May 1982 the situation had worsened. In a report to the Divco Housing Committee, the secretary said that 40% of Atlantis tenants fell into the 'R150,01 to R250,00 per month' income bracket. He added that rents for this group 'range from an equivalent of 34% of income to 74% of income'.

In the immediate pre-Atlantis situation, 86,7% of HHHS paid a quarter or less of their income towards rents and only 3,1% were paying more than half of their incomes on rent. On average, HHHS were paying less than one eighth of their incomes on rent (mean: 12,1%). One month later, only 48,0% were paying a quarter or less of their incomes toward rent and 11,7% were paying more than half of their incomes on rent. Now, on average, HHHS were paying over 30% of their incomes on this item (mean: 31,9%).

I starved to pay the rent.

DISABLED WIDOW, 60

The combined effects of the widespread increases in rents and the restricted improvements in income meant that substantially bigger proportions of families' incomes were now being used to meet rent bills. This, obviously, meant a decrease in the amount of disposable income with equally obvious implications for the standard of nutrition.
In August 1985 I moved into my first house. Two months later I lost my job. Now (May 1986) I owe R550 in rent arrears and my electricity arrears have reached R170. When I get the chance to pay the electricity arrears I will need another R50 for the reconnection fee. My HP payments are over R300 in arrears...

    I was hired as a casual three weeks ago. They're allowing me to pay off my rent arrears but it comes to half my wages...

    HOUSEHOLD HEAD, 24

MAY 1986: Closely allied to the problems of employment and low wages is the problem of the affordability of living in Atlantis. While people had obviously been struggling to survive for a long time, as Section A illustrates, the full extent of the problem became apparent after the huge retrenchments of 1984. Hundreds of tenants received eviction notices. Many workers made loans from their employers to pay the arrears. This simply transferred the debt from Divco to employers.

While the unemployed were not initially evicted, they had nobody to turn to for loans to help stay eviction. At the same time many families who had fallen seriously into arrears with water accounts had their supply disconnected or reduced to a trickle. This practice continues and before the water supply is restored, consumers have to pay a reconnection fee.

Some families who had not been able to pay electricity bills had their supply disconnected. Now, beside the arrears, they face a reconnection fee of R50 and a service fee, which continues to mount despite the fact that they are no longer consuming electricity, before the supply can be restored.

    When the electricity was disconnected a year ago, I owed less than R30. Now, the bill, including service charges has grown to R136.

    UNEMPLOYED FATHER OF THREE, 36

A problem which has received less media attention but of equal importance is the problem of hire purchase (HP). For many with little or no savings it is the only means of furnishing homes and buying clothing. It is often the last bill to be paid after rents, water, electricity, food and transport have been catered for. The penalty for not meeting payments is repossession of goods and being blacklisted as a debtor.
We asked HHHs how much they spent on rents or repayments, electricity, food and savings and, where applicable, on water, HP and rates. We also asked about any problems they were experiencing or had experienced in paying these bills.

a) Rents and repayments: This is the major and, in many cases, the biggest single item in the household budget. If you don't meet the payments you could find yourself and your family out of the street and to many, especially former rural HHHs, meeting rent bills was far more important than the quantity or variety of food in the home.

\[\text{We will do anything to keep our home (om ons dak te behou). Some days we eat bread and water but we pay our bills.}\]

\text{WOMAN PENSIONER FROM WEST COAST VILLAGE, 69}

Rent costs: 50,8\% do not pay more than R100 a month on rent and only 8,2\% pay more than R200 a month.

The problem with rents, however, seems to stem from the way in which rents are determined and the low incomes of the majority of HHHs.

According to Mr. D. Maneveldt, principal housing manager of Divco housing estates: 'Building costs have far outstripped income levels'. Mr. Maneveldt's statement was made in response to an enquiry about the case of a particular Atlantis tenant who had moved into a new maisonette in Atlantis in January 1986.

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{RENT / REPAYMENT PER MONTH} & \text{not more than R75} & \text{R76 - R100} & \text{R101 - R125} & \text{R126 - R150} & \text{R151 - R175} & \text{R176 - R200} & \text{R201 - R225} & \text{R226 - R250} & \text{OVER 250} & \text{TOTAL} \\
\hline
\text{amount (per month)} & \text{197} & \text{118} & \text{91} & \text{76} & \text{43} & \text{38} & \text{17} & \text{17} & \text{17} & \text{16} \\
\hline
\text{percentage of} & \text{81\%} & \text{31\%} & \text{14,7\%} & \text{12,3\%} & \text{6,9\%} & \text{6,1\%} & \text{2,7\%} & \text{2,7\%} & \text{2,7\%} & \text{1,0\%} \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

CASE HISTORY:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{GROSS MONTHLY INCOME} & = R400 \\
\text{NET MONTHLY INCOME} & = R360 \\
\text{RENT} & = R184 \\
\text{ELECTRICITY} & = R42 \\
\text{WATER} & = R12 \\
\text{HP BILL} & = R40 \\
\text{TRANSPORT} & = R53 \\
\text{LEFT OVER FOR FOOD, CLOTHING AND SO ON FOR A} & \ldots
\end{align*}
\]
His rent was 46,0% of his gross income. In real terms, the R184 was much more than many home-owners were paying in repayment each month.

This was not the worst case we encountered. We enquired if perhaps a mistake had not been made. He earned less than R800 a month, the maximum income to qualify for subsidised state built housing in Atlantis, so, we wondered, shouldn't his rent not exceed 25% of his income (R100)? Mr. Maneveldt explained that the 25% guideline came into account only in determining the 'interest and redemption of loan component' of rents.

A 1982 Divco document expressed similar sentiments: 'It is clear therefore that if the 25% of income limit were to be strictly adhered to, then the greater majority of potential purchasers would be disqualified'.

HHHs earning up to R150 a month paid 5% of their salary (maximum R7,50 a month) towards interest and redemption of loans, Mr. Maneveldt said. Those earning between R151 and R350 a month paid 3% interest on the loan amount, those earning R351 to R450 paid 7%, those in the R451 to R650 a month income bracket paid 9% and the R651 to R800 a month income group paid 11,2%.

He added that rents were made up of seven other components:
- a contribution in lieu of rates,
- an administrative component,
- insurance,
- a contribution towards maintenance of buildings,
- a contribution to the irrecoverable rental account,
- a contribution toward community facilities and
- where applicable, a water component.

Divco, he said, only had a say in setting the rates and administrative component while the rest was determined by state guidelines. By implication then, much of the anger directed at the council over rent levels should be aimed at state bodies responsible for determining the other major components.
The problem then arises when a tenant moves into a recently-built and, therefore, much more expensive dwelling. He will pay far more on the interest and redemption of the bigger amount needed to build a dwelling in 1986 than the tenant who is renting an identical 5-year old dwelling. 'Council cannot build a sub-economic dwelling for less than R13 000 to R14 000 today', Mr. Maneveldt said, adding that with services and land, costs escalated to about R25 000.

Professor Dewar concurred in a 1984 paper: 'Rents are linked to the time of construction of the dwelling and, because of the high rate of escalation of building costs, newer dwellings ... cost a great deal more to construct and service than older units. This means that rents bear little relation to either space, standards or location: the burden of escalating building costs is passed on to the tenants'.

Mr. Maneveldt said that Divco officials faced the same problem daily in all their housing estates, not only Atlantis. On the one hand they had prospective tenants whose income increases had not matched the increases in building costs and, on the other, they had dwelling units which prospective tenants could not really afford. The only solution, he said, was to give prospective tenants homes but to get them to sign declarations stating that they understood the problem and, by implication, indemnifying the council from blame for the situation.

The tenant in question confirmed that he had signed such an undertaking. Therefore, according to Divco no mistake had been made and the tenant would have to continue to pay 46,0% of his income in rent. His only recourse would be to challenge the way in which rents for homes, built with National Housing Commission funds, are determined.

One man at the rent office said we were behind with our rent and another one said we were one month ahead. They sent us an eviction notice anyway.

PENSIONER, 65, THREATENED WITH EVICTION

In general, the situation in May 1986 had improved only marginally from the time of arrival in Atlantis. A similar proportion 48,4% were paying a quarter of their incomes or less in rent while fewer (7,2%) were paying more
than half their incomes in rent. On average HHHs were still paying over 30% of their incomes on rent (mean: 30.6%).

As usual, it is the poorest who bear the brunt. None of those paying more than half their incomes in rent earned more than R500 a month and only 1 in 8 (12.2%) earned more than R350 a month. Even pensioners, who were receiving R117 a month, were paying more than R50 a month in most cases. This represented at least 42.7% of their incomes.

Rent problems: Not surprisingly then, more than 1 in 3 HHHs (34.5%) — tenants and home-owners — were experiencing problems of this nature during May 1986. More than half (56.1%) of those paying more than half their incomes toward rent were in arrears. Also, more than half the HHHs (53.2%) said they had been in arrears at some time during their stay in Atlantis. Nearly 1 in 5 said they were currently in arrears and had also been in arrears at some stage during the past.

This is borne out by the Divco arrear rentals figures for October 1985. At that stage, out of 3,295 letting units occupied, 62.8% of tenants were in arrears. Collectively, these tenants owed Divco R156,854.28 at that stage.69

| RENT/REPAYMENT PROBLEMS | HHI | number | %/
|--------------------------|-----|--------|----
| in arrears now | 214 | 34.5  |
| were in arrears before | 234 | 37.7  |
| received eviction notice | 173 | 27.9  |
| were evicted in past | 33  | 5.3   |
| total | 32  | 100   |

People who have bought homes don't get evicted.

POPULAR BELIEF

b) Water: Residents complained about the cost of water in the light of two facts. Firstly, their water was extracted from an underground aquifer and that there was a surplus on the Divco water account. However, a 1985 Divco document claimed that the surplus on the water account was small and if account is taken of the fact of the fluctuations in rainfall
encountered in the Cape cannot be considered more than a hedge against a wet season with the consequent drop in consumption'.

Water costs: While water bills did not seem to be excessive a few, especially those living in the Escom section in Protea Park, complained about receiving quarterly bills of well over R100. One HHH showed us a bill for more than R180 for one quarter. Many said that because water bills were quarterly, they were not budgeted for and 'had to wait their turn' for a week when rent and electricity bills weren't due.

Not all households received direct water bills. Flat dwellers pay a flat fee for water which is incorporated in their rent bills. Of those who pay water bills, 8 in 10 (80.7%) pay no more than R20 a month or R60 a quarter. Only 3.3% pay more than R50 a month.

Water Problems: Despite the fact that water bills appear not to be very high, more than 1 in 5 HHHS (23.0%) is in arrears. Although the council has acted against defaulters by disconnecting or curtailing their supply in relatively few cases, for obvious health reasons, 57.1% of those whose water supply was limited to a 'trickle' in May 1986 had had a limited supply for longer than a month. One in 5 of those who had had their supply curtailed in the past (20.0) said that it had happened more than once. Nearly 3 in 10 HHHS (29.1%) said their water accounts had been in arrears at some stage, 11.7% said they were currently in arrears and had also been in arrears in the past.

The due date for my water bills falls one week before pension day so I will always be in arrears.

PENSIONER, 72

Those who did not have running water in their homes before moving to Atlantis appeared to have slightly more difficulty meeting water bills. While 37.6% of households did not have inside running water immediately before moving to Atlantis, those in this category accounted for 43.2% of
those currently in arrears, 38.2% of those who had experienced being in arrears in the past, 50.0% of those whose water was currently disconnected and 40.0% of those whose water had been disconnected in the past.

After the public outcry over the disconnection of tenants' water supply in mid-1985, the Divco Medical Officer of Health indicated that 'the disconnection of domestic water supply could cause a health hazard if water toilets became blocked'. He speculated that 'it was possible that occupants of such dwellings would resort to using any nearby bush for toilet purposes. This practice could develop into a particularly serious health hazard in urban areas'.

c) Electricity: Despite the fact that, according to Divco, 'electricity consumers are already paying approximately 10% less for their electricity than is the case anywhere else in Metropolitan Cape Town', high electricity bills ranked a close second to rents as a source of discontent. Many felt that residents, like industrialists, should receive greater subsidies on their electricity bills.

I don't use my electric stove, I use gas. Electricity is too expensive. 

MALE SINGLE PARENT, 60

Electricity costs: On average, most HHNs (63.2%) paid between R31 and R50 a month for electricity while 16.8% paid no more than R30 a month. Only 1 in 5 (20.0%) paid more than R50 a month.

Electricity problems: Nearly 1 in 5 HHNs (19.2%) said they were having difficulties paying electricity bills on time. Of those whose supply was disconnected during May 1986, 3 in 4 (75.5%) had been without electricity for longer than two months. Nearly 1 in 3 of those who had had their electricity disconnected in the past said that it had happened more than once.
Four in 10 HHHS (40.1%) have been in arrears at some stage while 13.8% were currently in arrears and had also been in arrears at some stage in the past.

Those who did not have electricity in their homes before moving to Atlantis appeared to have more difficulties paying for electricity in Atlantis.

When they came to cut my neighbour's electricity, they disconnected mine in error. I had no arrears.

FREQUENT ALLEGATION

While 41.3% of households did not have electricity before moving to Atlantis, those in this category constituted 46.2% of those currently in arrears, 49.3% of those who had had problems in the past and 60.0% of those whose electricity was currently disconnected. They also accounted for 51.6% of those whose electricity had been disconnected in the past and 56.7% of those whose electricity had been disconnected more than once.

I woke up one morning to discover that my electric bedside clock was working. I found it strange because my lights had been out for two weeks already. Then we discovered that someone had broken open all the electricity boxes outside in the street and had switched on all the neighbour- hood's supply.

Some said it was the kids and some said it was the political youth.

We didn't mind who it was because we had "free electricity" for a week until Escom discovered it.

PROTEA PARK RESIDENT, 36

d) Combination of rent, water and electricity bills: We calculated how much the three basic bills most HHHS are obliged to pay eroded their total income.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNCIL BILLS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL INCOME</th>
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<tr>
<td>% of total income</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of HHHS</td>
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This figure could only be calculated for 455 of the 620 HHHS as 51 had no incomes and, in another 108 cases, there was no water bill (flat-dwellers) while 6 more did not have complete information either.
Of those with complete information, more than 1 in 4 (27.7%) were paying more than half their incomes on these bills. One in 20 HHNs (5.5%) 'earned' less than was required to meet their water, electricity and rent repayments. These were mainly pensioners who used their latest bills to illustrate the point, in some cases.

When our debts (rent, water and electricity) are paid, there is nothing over. Our children pay for the food.

DISABILITY PENSIONER, 58

e) Hire purchase: The use of the HP system is widespread. In May 1986, 7 in 10 HHNs (69.4%) had HP bills to pay. When the private finances of other individuals in the household are investigated, it will probably be found to be far more extensively used. The system is also used more or less equally by individuals at all income levels but, as is the case with water and electricity which are consumed according to household size and not income level, HP bills naturally represent a bigger proportion of lower bracket earners' incomes.

| HP BILLS |
|-----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Amount (per month) | NIL | R1 - R50 | R51 - R100 | R101 - R150 | R151 - R200 | MORE THAN R200 | Missing | TOTAL |
| Number of HHNs paying the amount | 158 | 163 | 138 | 54 | 32 | 43 | 32 | 620 |
| Percentage of all HHNs | 25.5 | 26.3 | 22.3 | 8.7 | 5.2 | 6.9 | 5.2 | 100% |

HP costs: The significance of HP bills in compounding the problems of survival in Atlantis is seen in the fact that 1 in 5 HHNs (20.8%) have to pay monthly bills of more than R100.

HP problems: More HHNs are facing difficulties meeting HP bills than electricity or water bills. Of HHNs with HP agreements 44.7% are currently in arrears. More than half of these (57.8%) have been threatened with repossession of their goods. The tragedy for some is that they have already paid more than the cash purchase price for the goods.
and still face repossession. Many showed us proof of payments and letters of demand and asked for advice.

Although some residents are aware that they can find help at advice offices, this is clearly an area in which civic-minded groups could provide a lot more advice, education and protection.

Many of the shadier sales practices, which lead to huge HP debts, are alive and well and being perpetrated in Atlantis. The practice of certain clothing retailers, who transport customers free to shops in the metropolitan areas, allow them to buy beyond their means, then rake in the profits, is but one of the more dubious sales techniques.

Almost 2 in 3 HHs with current HP agreements (64.0%) said they had experienced problems meeting payments at some time during their stay in Atlantis.

f) Combined debts: Perhaps the best indicator of financial difficulty was obtained from four-way tables which looked at rent, electricity, water and HP arrears both in May 1986 and in the past.

<table>
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<th>COMBINED DEBTS</th>
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<tr>
<td>number of accounts in arrears 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>number of HHs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREVIOUSLY</td>
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During May 1986 more than half the HHs (53.9%) were in some kind of financial difficulty while 6 in 10 (60.0%) had been in arrears in at least one of their four major accounts in the past.

If I receive all my accounts together or even if two are due at the same time, we have to leave at least one over (to lapse into arrears).

MONTHLY PAID WORKER; 27
At least 13.1% of HHHS were experiencing serious financial problems with 3 or 4 of their major accounts in arrears during May 1986 and 17.3% were in a similar position in the past.

g) Food: Perhaps, the most frightening response we received to the question of how much HHHS spent on food each month was: 'Nothing!'. Three of the sample families had no income of any kind and said they were living off the generosity of others.

Now we eat when we get (state-sponsored) food parcels. Some nights we go to bed after a meal of porridge ... but the children don't complain.

UNEMPLOYED FATHER, 32

The most common response was: 'Whatever's left over after the bills have been paid'. More than 1 in 4 HHHS (27.3%) said budgeting for food was impossible. They simply lived on what was left after rent, electricity, water and HP bills had been paid.

Of the rest, 10.5% spend R100 or less per month on food, 3 in 10 (30.9%) spent between R101 and R200, 18.5% spent between R201 and R300, 8.9% spent between R301 and R400 and 3.9% spent more than R400 a month on food.

In order to gain a perspective of proportionally how much is spent on food each month we divided HHHS into two groups: those with incomes of R400 or less a month (51.3%) and those who earned more. Not unexpectedly, 2 in 3 of those who use the 'what's-left-over' system (67.4%) fall into 'the poorer half'. Among those who gave an estimate of food bills, the difference between the two groups was even more startling. More than 7 in 10 of the poorer group (72.0%) spend more than half their incomes on food while only 1 in 8 of the over R400 income group (12.9%) spend more than half their incomes on food.

h) Savings: We were able to bring some humour into some Atlantis residents lives by enquiring about their levels of savings. Almost without exception HHHS laughed in response.

Savings! You must be joking. There is hardly enough for food.

DISABILITY PENSIONER, 58
A 1979 Divco survey of 402 families reported: 'Of the total, only 136 families (30%) stated that they have cash assets'. By May 1986 the situation had definitely declined. There were 88.7% who said they were unable to save at all. Among those who were able to save, more than half (52.9%) were not able to save more than R50 a month.

i) Rates: An attempt was made to discover how much those HHNs who owned homes paid in rates a month but, unfortunately, midway through our survey we realised that many had not yet received bills, some had received bills for less than a year and several had no idea of how much they paid a month. So, the attempt was abandoned.
In determining the affordability of living in Atlantis thus far we have used the total income of HHNs as a benchmark. This takes into account wages, UIF benefits, pensions, informal earnings, alimony, support from non-resident family members and part-time jobs.

However not all households survive on the incomes of HHNs alone. Other members of the households also have incomes and make major contributions to household financial viability in many instances. This is recognised by Divco. In its 1979 survey report it states: 'Although the head of household's income should be used as the guide to acquiring a house, in reality family income is usually taken into account'. This would account for the number of HHNs who had never been employed. In their cases, family income was obviously taken into account.

All in all, in our sample of 620 households, 1 244 'adults' and 32 'children' had some regular income giving an average of just over two income-earners a household.

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We get salary increases once a year - 7% this year. But the cost of living and rent increases mean a 40% increase in our budgets. So how do we cover 40% with a 7% umbrella?

SKILLED WORKER, 60

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In order to assess the position of households as units we used the Minimum Living Level and Supplementary Living Level financial requirements for multiple households for Cape Peninsula 'Coloureds' for February 1986 as determined by the authoritative University of South Africa Bureau of Market Research. These figures are updated each year in February and August and were therefore applicable during May 1986. The Bureau publishes only two sets of tables for 'coloureds' - for Port Elizabeth and the Cape Peninsula. The Peninsula figures are therefore the best available to assess the position in Atlantis.

However, a sobering rider was provided by the 1979 Divco survey report. It stated that 'overall monthly family income in Atlantis is two-thirds of that in Cape Town'.

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a) Unisa definition of a household: We followed the Unisa specifications very strictly. It defines a multiple household as 'one or more families or a group of two or more persons dependent on a common or pooled income, sharing a common table and usually living in the same house.'\textsuperscript{100} A single household is defined as 'a single person who is financially independent of any family or household group.'\textsuperscript{100} Unfortunately Unisa does not compute MLL and SLL figures for 'coloured' single households and no assessment of their position could be made.

The definition continues: 'A person who rents a room in a house and eats all his meals with the household, but pays all his own other major expenses, except board and lodging, is not regarded as a member of that household, but is considered to be a household on his own. Married or unmarried working children and other working relatives living and eating with the family are not considered to be members of the household, unless they contribute their entire income to the household'. (All the emphasis is theirs).

b) Dependence: In the Unisa definition the words 'common or pooled income' and 'contribute their entire income' provide the key. We classified all 3 476 people in the sample population according to their dependence on a common household income.

HHIs and their spouses were, by definition, fully dependent on the common or pooled income and we automatically included their entire incomes (where applicable) in the household pool. All other household members with incomes who contributed their entire incomes to the household pool were regarded as being fully dependent. Those with an income who contributed only a part of that income to the household pool were classified as 'boarders' or 'lodgers'.

Boarders occupied a room in the dwelling and shared a common table with the fully dependent members of the household but catered for all their own expenses from their own incomes.

Lodgers occupied a room, and catered for all other personal expenses, including food, from their own incomes.
All household members without income were classified according to their primary relationships to the HHH, boarders and lodgers. In these terms a minor or unemployed child of a HHH was regarded as being fully dependent on the pooled income while a minor child or unemployed child or spouse of a lodger, for example, was classified as a lodger and not as being fully dependent on the household pool.

Boarders and lodgers must not be confused with relatives and other household members. While there is some coincidence, a relative, for example may be 'incomeless' and therefore fully dependent on the pooled income and a nuclear family member may have a lodger-type financial arrangement with the household head.

In terms of this definition, 3 002 (86,4%) were fully dependent on pooled household incomes, 400 (11,5%) were boarders and 68 (2,0%) were lodgers. Six (0,2%) were not classified.

When examining household members' dependence and their relationship to the HHH, an interesting trend emerges. The extent to which relatives are integrated into the household and unrelated people experiencing hard times are 'carried' by the household, is surprising. At least 6 in 10 (62,0) of relatives and 3 in 10 (30,1%) unrelated household members are fully dependent on the pooled income.

c) Minimum and supplemented living levels: Because Unisa does not provide financial requirements (MLL and SLL figures) for single 'coloured' households, no assessment could be made of the position of the greater majority of boarders and lodgers who fell into this category. There is likewise no assessment of the very few boarders and lodgers who constitute separate multiple households because our data collection was not sufficiently refined to identify these independent units within primary multiple households.

The rest of the analysis, therefore, concerns itself solely with that 86,4% of the population who, according to the Unisa definition, are members of primary multiple households. Among this group 3 in 10 (29,1%) have incomes from wages (25,8%) and pensions (3,3%). This means that 3,4 household members are dependent on each income, on average.
Table 39 reflects details of 570 of the 620 households. In 31 cases at least one household member's income was not known. Because these households could therefore not be assessed fairly, they were excluded.

In the remaining cases, the primary household as defined by Unisa, consisted only of one member, the HHH, and as there are no standards by which to assess single households, these too were excluded.

The most disturbing fact which emerged when all primary household members' incomes were pooled was that 43 out of 570 households (7.5%) had no incomes at all.

Generally, Table 39 reveals a horrendous picture. With the exception of households of size 2, as household size increases, the proportion of households living below the MLL and SLL also increases to the horrific levels reached among families of size 8 - 2 in 3 (66.7%) living below the MLL and 3 in 4 (75.0%) living below the SLL. If adjusted standards had been available for judging those households bigger than 8, the picture in that category would probably have been worse than it appears.

Judged by the standards appropriate for each household size, 165 of the 570 households assessed (28.9%) were living below the MLL and 236 households assessed (41.4%) were living below the SLL. However, Unisa does provide an 'all households' figure which is an average standard by which to judge all households irrespective of size. By these standards 162 households assessed (28.4%) are living below the MLL and 220 households assessed (38.6%) are living below the SLL.

As a benchmark in order to understand the importance of the contributions
made by other fully dependent household members to the pooled income and as a guide to those who have access only to HHHS' incomes, purely as an exercise, we looked at what the situation would have been like if, theoretically, households had been solely dependent on HHHS income. In this hypothetical scenario, 41.3% would have been living below the MLL and 54.6% would have been living below the SLL based on the 'all households' standard.

d) Limitations: Having used the monthly financial requirements for multiple 'coloured' households, as defined by Unisa, as a standard, it is clear that the MLL and SLL figures it provides for Cape Peninsula 'coloureds' are grossly inadequate as standards for assessing Atlantis households. A detailed examination of the umbrella 'all households' MLL figure for February 1986, R327,93, illustrates the point.

While R162,15 has been allocated, by Unisa, for food, washing and cleaning materials, the average amount Atlantis HHHS said they spent on these items is R223,04 a month. Similarly, while R31,35 a month is allocated to cover rents and repayments, the Atlantis monthly mean is R113,68. The Unisa rent allocation for February 1986 (R31,35), when viewed in relation to what Atlantis HHHS who earned less than R150 a month were paying in 1979, would be laughable were the situation not so serious.

In 1979, HHHS in the lowest income category recognised, were paying between R29,99 and R44,03 in rent. The proposal that R31,35 is an adequate amount for 'all households' 7 years later is ridiculous. Then, while Unisa allocates R6,00 a month for water, the monthly average water bill is R14,65 according to the estimate of Atlantis HHHS. Their electricity allocation of R33,69 is closer, proportionally, to the estimated Atlantis mean of R44,03.

The component for clothing and replacement of household equipment of R55,03, on the other hand, is far from the mean HP bill (which primarily covers clothing and furniture) of R95,53.

The transport allocation of R33,30 for all the household's monthly transport requirements falls short even of the R44,99 average spent by HHHS only travelling to work outside of Atlantis. On average 1 in every 2
households has someone working outside of Atlantis and additional household transport costs have to be taken into account.

We had no basis to dispute the R6,41 a month allocation for medical and dental bills.

In summary, we arrived at an 'all households' MLL figure of R542,33 which is 65,4% higher than the Unisa MLL figure of R327,93.

Although the exercise above, simply using means, does not pretend to be scientific, interestingly, if taken seriously, our speculative Atlantis 'all households' MLL figure locates exactly half (50,0%) of all Atlantis households below the MLL.

All that can be stated with any certainty is that the situation in Atlantis is far worse than the Unisa MLL and SLL figures indicate.
We asked HHHs three questions in an attempt to determine their attitudes towards living in, and conditions in, Atlantis.

a) Would you like to live here for the rest of your life? To our amazement, only 43.8% said 'yes'. Nobody echoed the optimism of Mrs. George Spandiel quoted in Section A.2 Many in fact responded: 'What choice do we have?'. Marginally more (44.0%) said 'no'. Many of these said that if they obtained steady work elsewhere and housing was available they would be off like the proverbial shot. The remainder (12.2%) were uncertain.

b) What do you consider to be the main problems of Atlantis (if any)? Household heads were given the opportunity to list up to three problems. We received a wide variety of responses from: 'I leave my problems in the hands of The Man Above' to: 'There are just too many to mention'.

Everything is a problem here in Atlantis.

MEMBER OF HOUSEHOLD IN WHICH THREE HAD BEEN RETRENCHED, 36

Only 7.6% of HHHs said that Atlantis had no problems and that life there was like a bowl of cherries.

Top of the list was unemployment and the belief that industrialists opening factories usually bring in many of their own workers and offer only a few, or no, jobs to Atlantis residents. More than 1 in 3 HHHs (34.7%) listed this as a serious problem.

Bosses who open factories here tell us: "We bring our own workers (from outside). Atlantis people aren't trained".

UNEMPLOYED FATHER, 27

In his 1984 study, Fred Petersen encountered similar sentiments: 'They take the bread from our mouths - why are they given work while we have to beg for work in our own town?' he reported workers as asking.93
Other popular sources of discontent were:
- the high levels of rent specifically (26.5%),
- high food prices specifically (25.2%),
- the combined rent, water and electricity bills were felt to be too high (18.3%),
- the cost of living in general (17.4%), and
- high electricity bills specifically (10.5%).

The Atlantis branch of (a national supermarket chain) is too expensive. It is more expensive than its other Western Cape branches.

Minor complaints - those mentioned by fewer than 6.0% of HHHs were:
- too few and too small a variety of shops for competitive prices (5.8%),
- high transport costs (5.3%),
- inadequate facilities, especially entertainment (5.3%),
- high water bills, specifically (3.7%),
- housing problems like dampness (3.4%),
- inadequate transport services (3.2%),
- inadequate medical facilities (2.3%),
- the unsympathetic attitude of some Divco officials (2.1%),
- crime (1.1%) and
- rowdy neighbours (0.2%).

In 1981, Leslie London reported that 'almost two-thirds of residents were dissatisfied with the health service in Atlantis'.95 This has been replaced as the major focus of discontent by the problems of employment.

I'm an out-patient at Tygerberg Hospital. I've not been able to go for the last 3 years. I cannot afford the round trip fare of R5 and they won't supply transport.

PENSIONER, 65, FATHER OF THREE UNEMPLOYED SONS

c) Who do you regard as the leaders in Atlantis? While our question on savings made people laugh, this one immediately created tension. In an attempt to put people at ease, we emphasised that all responses were
guaranteed anonymity and that they were under no obligation to answer.

The UDF women help people a lot. Council evicts people and the UDFs carry the furniture back in.

FEMALE HHH, 34

Most chose the easy way out. Nearly half (49.0%) said they were unsure, 26.3% said they considered nobody to be leaders in Atlantis and 4.6% said they had 'no interest in such matters'. The 1981 SPP survey encountered a similar problem: '61% respondents thought there were no leaders or did not know why they were'. 12 One in 5 (20.1%) felt sufficiently at ease to offer a definite response.

Based on these responses, it is clear that if the Atlantis Residents' Association, the United Democratic Front and especially the Atlantis Residents' Association's chairman, Mr. Noel Williams, ran for election today, they would win a clear majority. The ARA/UDF Noel Williams 'ticket' received 51.6% of the definite 'votes'. The other political tendency, the Atlantis Management Committee former AMC chairman Mr. Abe Croutz/the Labour Party/Mr. Abe Williams, MP for the area, received 21.0% of the 'vote'. The Divco officials received the nod from 6.5%.

A wide variety of other individuals and organisations like the Call of Islam, which helps feed the unemployed, the Rotary Club, the Round Table and the Unemployed Workers' Movement were mentioned by 20.9% of HHHs.

It must be borne in mind that the 'percentage poll' in our hypothetical 'election' was only 20.1%.
SUMMARY: Our detailed 113-question survey, conducted in Atlantis during May 1986, addressed itself primarily to the heads of the 620 households we visited. We targeted 10% of the 6410 homes occupied by the end of February 1986. In effect, our sample represents 9.67% of the target population. Simultaneously, through the use of a 19-variable grid, we collected selected data on all other members of the households.

For the convenience of those who wish simply to consult certain sections of the report, yet wish to view specific findings within the broader context, we have summarised the major findings. They have not been placed in any order of priority but simply follow the order in which they occur in the report.

- One in 5 household heads (HHH) in Atlantis (20.2%) is a woman.
- More than half (53.7%) of the population is under the age of 21.
- Nearly half of the adults (45.1%) are between 21 and 30 years of age.
- Almost all male HHHs (96.6%) have spouses (legal or common-law wives). Only 15.2% of female HHHs are married or living together.
- Fewer than 1 in 100 (0.7%) of those at educational institutions on a full-time basis are at tertiary level institutions.
- There is an 81.8% decline in pupil numbers between Sub. A and Std. 10.
- Of all 'adults' (those no longer at educational institutions on a full-time basis) 7.4% have had no formal schooling. Women make up 61.9% of this group.
- Only 9.0% of adults has had any formal post-school training. In more than one-third of these cases (35.9%) it consisted of no more than a few months' on-the-job training.
- The overall unemployment rate is 27.2%. This means that more than 1 in 4 of those wishing to be employed is out of work.
- The male unemployment rate is 21.9%. The equivalent for females is 33.6%.
The youth unemployment rate is 46.7%. One in 3 of those over the age of 50 still seeking work (32.9%) is unemployed.

The unemployment rate for those with a Std. 5 education or less is 33.3%. Among those with no formal schooling the unemployment rate is 37.7%.

Nearly 4 in 10 spouses of HHHs (mainly women) are working (39.7%) and an additional 15.9% are seeking work.

More than one third of all adults (35.4%) have no form of regular personal income i.e. are not wage-earners, pensioners or recipients of welfare payments. One in 3 adults has no form of income at all.

More than half of those with incomes (51.1%) receive less than R351 a month and only 5.8% receive more than R800 a month.

This means that 2 in 3 'adults' (67.4%) have no income or receive less than R351 a month.

Two in 3 women wage-earners (65.9%) receive no more than R350 a month. Only 28.0% of male wage-earners fall into this category.

Of those under 21 years of age 78.7% earn less than R351 a month. While 57.1% of the 51 to 60 age group fall into this income bracket.

At least 44.4% of employed HHHs work outside of Atlantis. At least 29.5% of all employed residents work outside of Atlantis.

More than three-quarters of Atlantis-based workers (76.8%) are employed in manufacturing while only 1 in 5 of those working elsewhere (20.5%) depend on this sector for employment.

At least 47.0% of HHHs who work outside of Atlantis pay more than R50 a month on transport to and from work. In the case of 45.8% of HHHs transport costs to and from work amount to more than 10% of their incomes.

At least 57.5% of those working outside of Atlantis are in favour of the introduction of a passenger train service to Cape Town but the South African Transport Services will not provide such a service unless it is guaranteed by another agency.

At least 44.0% of all HHHs who are, or wish to be, employed have experienced unemployment at least once since moving to Atlantis.

Four in 10 employed HHHs (41.9%) said that there had been some retrenchment at their place of work in recent times.

One in 4 employed HHHs (26.5%) did not know if a trade union was operating at their present workplace.
Less than half (46.4%) of employed HHHs are unionised.

Nearly half of the currently unemployed (47.5%) had been retrenched; 55.8% of those previously employed in Atlantis and 32.0% of those previously employed elsewhere had become unemployed in this way.

Nearly half the unemployed (46.2%) were either ignorant of the existence of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, felt they were ineligible for benefits or had not bothered to apply.

Of the unemployed 26.9% had not received UIF contributors' cards from their previous employers when they left their employ.

The average household size is 5.6 as opposed to the figure of 4.9 used in Divisional Council estimates. The average size of households in which Atlantis families lived immediately before moving to Atlantis was 7.3.

One in 5 households (19.7%) was headed by a single person. The majority of these (86.1%) were women.

More than 4 in 10 nuclear families (41.9%) have other people living with them.

Of all households 90.6% are primarily Afrikaans-speaking.

Almost 1 in 4 families (24.1%) paid no direct rent immediately before moving to Atlantis. Half (50.7%) paid no more than R20 a month.

Three in 10 families (29.8%) had no electricity, inside water supply or inside toilets immediately before moving to Atlantis.

It appears that at least 32.4% of the original 1970s settlers have left Atlantis.

Despite the old official policy which favoured settlers who had already obtained work in Atlantis only 19.0% said they had settled in Atlantis primarily because they already had a job there.

On arrival in Atlantis, 85.8% of households paid more in rent and repayments than they had paid elsewhere just the month before.

Of HHHs 60.1% showed no improvement in income on moving to Atlantis; 37.1% showed no change and 23.0% received less.

Immediately before moving to Atlantis, 13.3% of HHHs paid more than a quarter of their incomes to meet rent bills. On arrival in Atlantis 52.0% paid more than a quarter of their incomes in rent. In May 1986 51.6% were paying more than a quarter of their incomes in rent.
Rent/repayment accounts: More than 1 in 3 HHHS (34.5%) were in arrears in May 1986. More than half (53.2%) said they had been in arrears at some stage during their stay in Atlantis.

Water accounts: More than 1 in 5 (23.0%) were in arrears during May 1986. Nearly 3 in 10 (29.1%) said they had been in arrears at some stage during their stay in Atlantis.

Electricity accounts: Nearly 1 in 5 (19.2%) were in arrears during May 1986. Four in 10 (40.1%) had been in arrears at some time during their stay in Atlantis.

All Council accounts: More than 1 in 4 (27.7%) were paying more than half their incomes to meet these accounts. One in 20 HHHS (5.5%) had insufficient income to meet council bills only i.e. their incomes were smaller than the amount needed to cover average monthly council bills.

Hire purchase accounts: 44.7% of HHHS with HP agreements were in arrears in May 1986. Almost 2 in 3 of these (64.0%) had been in arrears at some stage.

During May 1986, more than half the HHHS (53.9%) were in some kind of financial difficulty i.e. at least one of their major accounts (rent/repayments, electricity, water and HP) were in arrears. Six in 10 (60.0%) had experienced some form of financial difficulty during their stay in Atlantis.

At least 13.1% were experiencing serious financial difficulty i.e. all their major accounts were in arrears.

Seven in 10 of the poorer half of the population — those with incomes of R400 or less a month — spend more than half of their incomes on food.

Of the households assessed 7.5% had no income at all.

In May 1986, at least 28.9% of households were living below the Minimum Living Level and 41.4% were living below the Supplemented Living Level as computed by the University of South Africa's Bureau of Market Research for February 1986.

Using data on household expenditure patterns obtained during the survey, it is estimated that the 'all households' Minimum Living Level financial requirement in Atlantis is 65.4% higher than that set for 'Cape Peninsula Coloureds' by UNISA. By this standard,
half, (50.0%) of Atlantis households were living below the Minimum Living Level during May 1986.
- 44.0% of HHNs said they would NOT like to live in Atlantis for the rest of their lives, 43.8% said they would, and 12.2% were undecided.
- Unemployment generally and the belief that industrialists opening factories usually 'bring in' many of their own workers (from outside), leaving few, if any, jobs for Atlantis residents was perceived to be the main problem of the area by more than 1 in 3 HHNs (34.7%).
- Other major sources of discontent were: the high level of rents/repayments specifically mentioned by 26.5% of HHNs; high food prices specifically (25.2%); the combined council bills were too high (18.3%); the high cost of living in general (17.4%) and high electricity bills specifically (10.5%).
- In response to the question 'Who do you regard as the leaders in Atlantis?' nearly half (49.0%) said they were unsure, 26.3% said there were no leaders, 4.6% said they were not interested and 20.1% named leaders. Of those who named leaders, more than half (51.6%) said they supported the Atlantis Residents' Association, the United Democratic Front or ARA chairman Mr. Noel Williams. One in 5 named the Atlantis Management Committee, former AMC chairman Mr. Abe Croutz, the Labour Party of South Africa or Mr. Abe Williams, MP for the area. Another 6.5% named the Divisional Council or its officials and the remainder (20.9%) named a wide variety of charity and civic organisations.

CONCLUSIONS:
A. Affordability
Because of:
- the high unemployment rate (27.2%),
- the fact that 1 in 3 adults (33.3%) has no form of income at all,
- the fact that more than half (51.1%) of those residents with regular incomes receive no more than R350 a month,
- the unbalanced nature of the community's economic profile — nearly 8 in 10 of the employed (78.4%) are unskilled or semi-skilled, condemning them forever to the bottom rungs of the income ladder under the present economic dispensation,
the fact that those working outside of Atlantis (at least 29,5% of the employed) and those seeking work outside of Atlantis have to pay a heavy transport cost penalty,

- the fact that, on average, rents and repayments represented only 12,1% of HHHs incomes immediately before moving to Atlantis but now consume 31,9% of their incomes on average,

- the fact that simultaneously 37,1% of HHHs saw no improvement in income and an additional 23,0% saw a decline in incomes on moving to Atlantis,

- the fact that Atlantis is just over a decade old and most homes were built relatively recently resulting in higher rents and repayment costs than in older townships,

- the fact that the rate of increase in building costs has far outstripped the rate of increase in wages over the past decade and

- the fact that, generally, Atlantis retail outlets offer consumers a limited range of goods and relatively uncompetitive prices (which can only be overcome by shopping in the Cape Town metropolitan area and, once more, incurring a transport cost penalty),

the cost of living in Atlantis is beyond the means of the majority of households. This is evidenced by the fact that:

- between 28,4% and 50,0% of Atlantis households are living below the Minimum Living Level.

- many Atlantis HHHs who are in full-time employment are in arrears with their major accounts and are being evicted and

- at least 942 (14,7%) of the original occupant households of the 6 410 homes built in Atlantis, by the end of February 1986, have left for good.

B. Jobs

By the end of February 1986 there were 6 410 homes occupied in Atlantis. Based on the 5,6 people per household occupancy rate of the survey sample population, these homes would have housed a total population of 35 896. Of these 15 242 would have wished to work. This is based on the fact that 42,5% of the sample population were employed or seeking work.
During May 1986, at most 7,827 Atlantis residents were employed in Atlantis (757 x 10,34) (See Table 22 and sample ratio). This meant a shortfall of 7,415 jobs in Atlantis to meet the needs of all those who had settled there by the end of February 1986 and who wished to be employed.

Even if this estimate is severely modified by the expectation of the planners that only 61% of the labour force will be employed in Atlantis by the time it is fully built, it still means a shortfall of 1,471 jobs to meet the needs of those who had settled there by the end of February 1986 and who wished to be employed.

C. Housing

Atlantis is not the solution to the Cape Peninsula's so-called 'coloured housing shortage' it was suggested it would be when it was first mooted. Even if plans to house 500,000 people there by the year 2020 are realised, the Atlantis project's planners have estimated that, over and above an on-schedule Atlantis, an additional 190,000 homes would be needed to accommodate the 'coloured' population of the Peninsula by the year 2000. However, the home-building rate at Atlantis is not on schedule and the original housing target for 1990 has already been slashed by nearly 60% (59.3% precisely).

As the planned Blue Downs development proves, land for housing was available in the metropolitan Cape Town area when Atlantis was established. Also the so-called shortage was 'created' in part by the fact that under the Group Areas Act, the majority 'coloured' population was allocated only 27% of the land in the Western Cape while 'whites' were allocated 72%. If, instead of Atlantis, Blue Downs had been established in 1975 and if the Group Areas Act had been scrapped, the demand for 'coloured' housing in the Cape Peninsula would have been satisfied to a great extent.

In addition the tax payer would have been saved the tremendous costs involved in establishing infrastructure in relatively-isolated virgin territory and the burden of subsidising the decentralisation incentives package. Residents would also have had greater and easier access to metropolitan job opportunities, highly competitive commercial outlets and specialised amenities and services, resulting in great savings in the
cost of living and transport costs, and avoiding much of the human toll the Atlantis experience has exacted.

D. Regional development
The use of the decentralisation incentives package to lure industrialists to Atlantis at the expense of the rest of the Western Cape -- while land for industrial development is available in the region -- represents a serious threat to the regional economy if potential industrialists who do not wish to establish themselves at Atlantis are discouraged from settling in the Western Cape altogether.

E. Utopian nightmare?
All Atlantis' residents are classified 'coloured'. Nearly 8 in 10 of its resident labour force (78.4%) are semi-skilled at best. Nearly half (46.2%) of all workers living in Atlantis (those working there and those working elsewhere) are dependent on manufacturing jobs in Atlantis.

In combination, these facts define Atlantis as a racial creation which did not develop organically, which is unbalanced in terms of its economic composition and which consequently, is subject to extreme trauma during periods of economic crisis.

Finally, it would seem that the Grand Apartheid-inspired Utopian Dream of 1974 has spawned a nightmarish reality in 1986.
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