

Occupational Sex Segregation in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Marginalized by Race and/or Place

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ABSTRACT

In South Africa, institutionalized *apartheid* exacerbated inequities in labor force outcomes between the various races and sexes, regionally. However, empirical knowledge of the *interplay* between these systems of social oppression in determining occupational segregation remains somewhat scant. Using the 2001 Census, I will analyze occupational sex segregation across various racial groups in South Africa. I will build on previous research to study ways in which macro-level factors interact with micro-level characteristics in order to answer the following questions: “does the context *beyond* the individual matter?” I will first examine the relationship between individual human capital, household characteristics, and contextual factors (local labor markets, demographic composition, and culture) in predicting occupational sex segregation? And more specifically, do these multilevel factors interact differently for Africans, Coloureds, Indian/Asians, and Whites? That is, to what extents do the individual and contextual factors experienced by these four racial groups differentially affect their occupational placement?

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Introduction

In South Africa, institutionalized segregationist and *apartheid* policies through most part of the 20th century have exacerbated inequities in labor force outcomes, not just between the various races (Africans, Whites, Coloureds, and Asian-Indians), but also between the sexes as well as regionally (Crankshaw, 1994). Moreover, racial inequalities found in most other societies are particularly magnified in South Africa where the marginalized group constitutes a majority of the population. Although Africans comprise 79.0% of the population (in 2001), Whites (\ 9.6%) maintain control of the economy while other racial groups (8.9% Coloureds and 2.5% Asians) continue to be more privileged than Africans in almost all facets of life (Mickelson, Nkomo, and Smith, 2001).¹ Thus, the country's similarity to other countries of the developing world *and* its uniquely checkered history of coerced population movement, geographic segregation, and social control makes it an interesting case study for studying occupational segregation.

Using detailed occupational data from the 2001 Census, I will describe and analyze occupational segregation in South Africa, with particular emphasis on the interplay of gender and race. I will build on previous research to formulate hypotheses regarding ways in which macro-level factors interact with micro-level characteristics in order to answer the following questions: “does the context *beyond* the individual matter?” I will first examine the relationship between individual human capital, household characteristics, and contextual factors (local labor markets, demographic composition, and culture) in predicting the likelihood of occupational sex segregation? And more specifically, do these multilevel factors interact differently for Africans, Coloureds, Indian/Asians, and Whites? That is, to what extents do the individual and contextual factors experienced by these four racial groups differentially affect their occupational placement? Thus, by using models that incorporate multiple levels of data, this study will attempt to add to the ongoing debate by the importance of context in a country as unique as South Africa.

¹ Because sex segregation is extreme and colors the life chances and life experiences of so many men and women, the contemporary occupational structure in South Africa can be characterized as “hypersegregated” (Massey and Denton 1993).

Rationale for Study

Occupational sex segregation is one of the most important determinants of male-female wage differentials, with “female” occupations being low paid compared to “male” occupations. To my knowledge, no study has systematically evaluated a multi-level (or even micro-level) analysis of occupational segregation across various race-sex groups in a nationally representative sample in South Africa. In fact, if gender segregation of occupations is widely believed to be a primary basis of gender stratification in employment, one would expect extensive attention to the *social conditions* that generate the process. This paper is motivated by the observation that although occupational segregation by race *or* sex has been adequately studied, both theoretically and empirically, knowledge about the processes or determinants *generating* segregation by sex and gender is limited (Reskin and Padavic, 1999; Kaufman, 2002; Charles and Grusky, 2005).

An increasing number of studies have highlighted racial differences within a gender (minorities being more disadvantaged than whites) or gender differences within a race (women being more disadvantaged than men).² However, few studies analyze race by sex groupings, and so, little is known about the *interplay* between these two systems of social oppression (gender *and* race rather than gender *or* race) in determining employment outcomes (Browne and Misra, 2003; Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman, 2001; Browne, Hewitt, Tigges, 2001). This is particularly surprising given the striking difference in levels of racial segregation within sexes, but comparable levels of sex segregation within races (King, 1992; Reskin and Padavic, 1999; Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993). Moreover, although a large literature discusses the nature of unemployment in South Africa or the consequence of segregation for earnings, few seek to explain the disproportionate representation of race-sex groups across finely defined labor market positions. Thus, the underlying issue of concern here is more than just that an individual is employed; the *type* of occupation is also critical. It is these gaps in research that my paper will attempt to fill.

² As a result, one would correctly expect minority women, especially African women, to be severely underprivileged in the labor market compared to other social groups.

Data and variables

Data

I use the 10% unit level sample of the 2001 South African Population Census, collected by the Central Statistical Organization, Pretoria, South Africa. It is a nationally representative sample of 4,819,778 respondents residing in 846,479 households across 9 provinces. Standard information pertaining to age, sex, relationship with household head, marital status, education, employment status, migration status, number of children ever born to women aged 12-50, and other demographic events are asked of all members in the household. The sample is restricted to those between ages 20-54 in order to capture, at the lower end, those who may have completed their basic secondary schooling, and in general, those in their prime working years.

The South African Census is useful for studying occupational segregation because of the wide geographic coverage across the nine South African provinces as well as the larger sample size for small occupational groups. Additionally, it has detailed occupational coding (3-, 2-, and 1-digit coding), which makes it particularly useful for computing measures of segregation that tend to be sensitive to greater levels of disaggregation. In the 2001 Census, third occupational level in the hierarchical system has information for 137 sub groupings.

The uniqueness of the paper lies in the fact that the main dependent variable combines information about the *vertical* (female-dominated occupation, gender-integrated occupation, and male-dominated occupation)³ as well as *horizontal* dimensions of segregation (manual or blue-collar and non-manual or white collar). It is coded as follows:

- Blue-collar female-dominated occupation (16.42 percent)
- Blue-collar gender-integrated occupation (17.85 percent)

³ Anker (1998) provides an appropriate, definition of gender-integrated and dominated occupations that is calculated in relation to the average percentage female in the (non-agricultural) labor force. An occupation is defined as *gender-integrated* where the percentage of females in the occupation is between 0.5 - 1.5 times the percentage of females in the non-agricultural labor force. A *female dominated* occupation has more than 1.5 times the mean percentage of females in the non-agricultural labor force while a *male dominated* occupation will have less than 0.5 times of the same.

- Blue-collar male-dominated occupation (19.81 percent)
- White-collar female-dominated occupation (15.12 percent)
- White-collar gender-integrated occupation (23.16 percent)
- White-collar male-dominated occupation (7.63 percent)

I will use the 6-category variable for the descriptive analyses and the 4-category variable (with the male-dominated and gender-integrated occupations combined) for the multivariate analyses for ease of interpretation. Finally, because of the discrete nature of the variable, I will use multinomial regressions for the multi-level analysis.

The key independent variables are *gender* (Females = 1 and Males = 0), and three dummy variables for *race* (Africans, Coloureds, and Asians, with Whites as the reference category). Variables measuring labor ‘supply’ include human capital are *years of education*. The continuous variable measures *years of education* ranges from 0 (no schooling) to 19 (doctoral degree). One should note that this variable only reflects quantity of education and thus, can be a poor indicator of the real level of education especially for Africans who suffered low quality schooling during apartheid (Seidman, 2000). Three variables: (1) *presence of children under age 5* (2) *marital status* (3) *number of unemployed adults above age 15* proxy family structure and childcare responsibilities. The presence of economically not active individuals in the household who are above age 15 is include to act as a proxy for childcare facilities that may affect employment opportunities of women with children (especially African women). Marital status has three categories: 1) Married (including a small number of polygamous unions) and cohabiting (but not married), 2) Single (or never married), and 3) Widowed/separated/divorced. The reference group is “Single.” *Age* and a quadratic term for age will be introduced as other controls.

Labor “demand” factors include (1) *level of economic development* (Semyonov and Shenav, 1988) constructed through household possession as well as facilities or amenities available/acquired by the household and (2) *percent of service industry*. One would expect individuals residing in economically well-developed areas to be employed in more white collar gender-integrated or male-dominated

occupations, with the contrary effect for percent service industries. Other contextual variables include (3) *percent of black Africans* as a proxy for “homeland status,” (4) *level of out-migration* from the area, and (5) *gender egalitarianism* (or gender essentialist) attitudes.

I will conduct the statistical analysis in three sections: (1) a descriptive analysis of the data, followed by (2) a bivariate analysis of the key dependent and independent variables incorporated in the study. Part (3) will include (multivariate) multinomial regressions with occupational segregation as the dependent variable. The analysis will be carried out separately for the different racial groups.

Descriptive Analyses

The last three rows of Table 1 present the ID coefficients by gender for the eight major non-agricultural occupational categories included in the study. Irrespective of race or region, a considerable degree of occupational segregation by sex exists in South Africa: 33.28 percent (using 1-digit classification), 42.94 percent (2-digit), and 50.41 percent (3-digit). Thus, 50.41 percent of men or women would have to switch occupations in order for all occupations to reflect the percent female share in the overall labor force.⁴ However, this high level of inequality seems even more striking once we account for the fact that significant segregation exists at the job or establishment level and that the 136 occupations detailed by the Census *subsume* a collection of jobs (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993).⁵

Because this study analyzes sex *and* race segregation rather than just sex segregation, separate gender indices have been calculated within each racial group and vice versa. Table 2 indicates that levels of occupational sex segregation vary across racial groups, being highest among Africans (47.9 percent), followed by Whites (41.1 percent), then Coloureds (36.5 percent), with Asian-Indians having the lowest coefficient (31.3 percent). Because of the legacy of *apartheid* in South Africa and African women’s forced absence from labor force participation, Africans are more segregated than any other racial group

⁴ The index of dissimilarity for gender differences in *sectoral* distribution is 40.03 percent, indicating that substantial segregation exists at the industrial level, although it is less pronounced than segregation at the occupational or job level.

⁵ The South African Census distinguishes 136 detailed occupations, but does not collect job-level data.

(in the US, Whites tend to more gender segregated than any other racial or ethnic group). In column 2, race-gender coefficients—with white men as the comparison group—increase in an expected manner: lowest among White and highest among African women. In fact, African women are more concentrated in “women’s jobs” than women of other races, so that the greatest levels of occupational differentiation by sex-race are between African women and white men (a striking 66.2 percent at the 2-digit level).

Unusual patterns emerge when gender and race coefficients are compared. Indices of racial dissimilarity for Africans and Coloureds with whites of same gender (column 3 and 4, Table 1) are higher than within-race gender segregation indices (column 1), again reflecting the *apartheid* tenets of occupational “separate-ness.” However, this pattern is not observed among Asian-Indians. More specifically, African and Coloured women are far more segregated from white women than from men of their own race—which is again contrary to patterns observed in the United States where sex segregation is higher than race segregation. For example, 47.9 percent (or 36.5 percent) of employed African (or Coloured) men or women would have to switch occupations with each other in order for all occupations to reflect the percent African (or Coloured) in the labor force; on the other hand, the ID for African and White women is 57.2 percent. A similar pattern is observed for Coloured and African men with respect to White men. Interestingly, with the exception of African men, the racial ID is slightly higher among men (column 4) than among women (column 3), which could be ascribed to men’s less privileged position relative to White men rather than non-White women’s more privileged position in general. Finally, segregation coefficients for Indian-Asian women and men (i.e. from Whites of same gender) are much lower than that for gender.

From Index to Occupations

Table 1 reconfirms the basic pattern observed so far: male and female workers (of various races) are differentially distributed across the eight major non-agricultural occupational groups, with women clustered in a narrower range of occupations than men. 56 percent of all female workers, compared to

approximately 28.8 percent of men, are employed in two groups: Clerical and Elementary; for example, women held 3 out of 5 clerical jobs.⁶ Reflecting a pattern found in several other countries (Anker, 1998), women (14.5 percent) are also more highly represented in Technical and associate professional occupations than men (8.5 percent). Moreover, the percent female share of these three major categories: Associate Professionals (56.6 percent), Elementary (57.5 percent) and Clerks (64.7 percent), is significantly higher than the female share of the labor force (42.3 percent), indicating the extent to which these broad groups are feminized.

On the other hand, 35 percent of employed men (compared to 8.09 percent women) are engaged in manual blue-collar occupations, primarily Craft and related trades (20.28 percent) and Plant and machine operation and assembly (14.73 percent), holding 8 out of 10 such jobs in 2001.⁷ They are also more highly represented than women (7.01 and 4.01 percent respectively) in occupations associated with power, prestige, and high incomes such as Legislators and managers. The latter observation is supported by South African Labor Force Surveys and the SALDRU survey that indicate the presence of very few women—especially African and Coloured women—in senior or middle-management positions. As expected, the percent female share in these occupational groups is considerably lower than the percent female (42.31%) in the labor force: Plant and Machine Operation (13.93 percent), Crafts and Related Trades (15.78 percent), and Legislators (30.41 percent).

Table 6.3 presents data separately for the four racial groups, providing us with an opportunity to examine broad occupational differences by race and gender. Compared to Whites and Indians, the *crowding* of African and Coloured women (49.72 and 35.98 percent respectively) and men (25.03 and 30.12 percent) into low paying elementary occupations (domestic helpers, laborers, etc) as well as

⁶ As mentioned earlier, these categories compress different jobs with widely different incomes and status. Clerical occupations include jobs such as office clerks, secretaries and keyboard-operating clerks, cashiers, tellers, and client information clerks, etc., while elementary occupations include domestics, messengers, garbage collectors, street vendors, and various kinds of agricultural/fishery or mining laborers.

⁷ These broad occupations include semi-skilled and unskilled operator and laborer occupations such as typesetters and compositors; assemblers, truck, taxicab, and bus drivers; and construction helpers as well as precision production, craft, and repair jobs, which are the strongholds of skilled blue-collar workers, like automobile mechanics, data processing equipment repairers, and electricians, carpenters, and plumbers.

plant/craft occupations (for men) reinforces the fact that gender and racial discrimination strongly intersect in the South African labor market.⁸ A disproportionately large percentage of elementary workers are made up of African women.

In contrast, Whites and Asian-Indians of both sexes are significantly more likely to be employed in higher paying managerial and professional positions. In fact, it is no coincidence that Whites have remained concentrated in the occupations (and sectors) in which income and employment security are relatively favorable, and where long term employment growth is most likely. Finally, while somewhat comparable proportions of women of all races are engaged in technical and associate professional occupation, White (34.82 percent), Asian-Indian (34.45 percent), and Coloured (21.74 percent) women are overrepresented in clerical positions. These patterns reinforce an important observation in the literature: Employers have historically segregated White and Indian-Asian women into different lines of work from men of their own ethnic background and from Africans and Coloureds.

Within each racial group, patterns of occupational differences by gender show basic similarities. Women are disproportionately present in clerical and technical and associate professional and sales jobs. At the same time, they are underrepresented in blue-collar occupations related to plant operation and crafts as well as managerial positions. Overall, as indicated earlier, gender differences in occupations within race groups seem to be slightly smaller than occupational differences by race.

Ten Top Occupations by Gender and Race

One way to look at the difference between occupational employment patterns of women and men is to analyze the extent to which women and men are concentrated in occupations that employ predominantly one sex or gender-mixed. As discussed earlier, occupations with more in which more than 65 percent of the workers are females as considered female-dominated and those with less than 22 percent

⁸ In elementary jobs, men of color are more likely to work in public spaces than private home (unlike women of color).

females as male-dominated; the total civilian labor force is 42.31 percent female.⁹ By this standard, around 57 percent of all women work in occupations that are more than 65 percent female and approximately 45 percent of men work in male-dominated occupations. Conversely, only 5.62 percent of women work in male occupations, comprising e.g. only 20 percent of all directors and chief executive officers or 9.11 percent of all architects and engineers, while 12.29 percent of men work in female occupations. This leaves less than half of men (43.58 percent) and women (37.66 percent) working in mixed or integrated occupations. As Table 6.5 demonstrates, among the most heavily female occupations in 2001 were domestics, clerks, cashiers, and primary school teachers, while the overwhelmingly male occupations were motor vehicle drivers, protective services, and miners. Predominantly mixed occupations include agricultural/fishery, mine, and manufacturing laborers as well as sale shop-keepers.

Racial patterns of distribution in sex-typed or mixed occupations in South Africa reflect those in the United States. White (particularly men; 38.78 percent women) are least likely to be in female-dominated occupations than Africans (64.60 percent women) and most likely to be in gender-integrated occupations (57.64 percent total). African men, on the other hand, are more likely to be in male-dominated occupations because of their employment in highly masculinized blue-collar occupations and industries (e.g. mining, construction, and protective services).

In a way, this is evident in Table 6 which lists the top ten occupations for each race and gender group.¹⁰ Although African and Coloured women are disproportionately employed as domestic helpers (highly feminized) and agricultural, manufacturing, or mining laborers (gender-integrated), they do have significant work opportunities in other highly feminized low-status white-collar sales, clerical, and associate occupations. In fact, a significant number of African women are teaching associates (primary and n.e.c.) and nurses/midwives, which might vary regionally (i.e. higher on ex-“homelands”). On the

⁹ Unlike other definitions, Anker’s definition of gender-integrated and dominated occupations incorporates percent female share in the labor force (1998).

¹⁰ These results reflect a 1993 study which reported that in three metropolitan cities, most African women who were employed were on a casual or temporary basis, white women were concentrated in administrative and clerical positions, black men were concentrated in unskilled, manual labor, and white men occupied the executive positions (Mckenna, 1993).

other hand, Asian-Indian and White women are more privileged than the others because three high status white collar (gender-integrated) managerial or professional and no elementary occupations are among their top ten positions. Thus, in general, occupational segregation varies inversely by social class (proxied through white and blue collar occupations). On a different note, secretary or key-board operating clerks (as well as numerical and client information clerks) is one of the top three (top five for Coloured women) occupations among non-African women, indicating a (“behind-the-scene”) pattern of racial segregation within the “pink collar” category.

An important generalization here is the striking pattern of under-representation of African and Coloured males and African females—and over-representation of White and Asian-Indian men and women—in white collar occupations. In fact, an overwhelming majority of African men and women are employed in blue-collar occupations. Thus, groups that were especially oppressed during *apartheid*, i.e. Africans and Coloureds, still tend to work in less desirable occupations than Whites and Indians do. Indeed, the occupations with the greatest concentrations of men and women of color are the ones paying the lowest average earnings of all occupations.

Multivariate Analyses— **UNDER CONSTRUCTION**



Conclusion

After the dismantling of *apartheid* and the ushering in of a new African majority government, African women (and men) migrated from their allotted “homelands” to urban centers with the hope of employment and better jobs. However, employment discrimination has kept them out of the good jobs,

and they, along with Coloureds, tend to be crowded in a comparatively small number of low status occupations. African women—like their counterparts in the United States—continue to remain on the “bottom of the earnings and occupation hierarchy, and have not benefited to the degree that white women have from the recent decrease in the gender wage gap” (King, 1995: 26). Their work history illustrates the combined effects—or double burden—of institutionalized racial and gender discrimination in the workplace.

Although employers are likely to consider workers’ sex when assigning them to jobs, their race is probably more likely to impinge on workers’ occupational allocation. Despite post-*apartheid* progress, lack of fair and open access to the labor market hinders progress toward the redaction of racial and gender disparities in economic status. Although women, irrespective of race, account for approximately 43% of the measured employed labor force, they are relatively under-represented in some occupations. They remain concentrated in labor market “segments” or a restricted range of occupations where incomes, opportunities, and working conditions are relatively unfavorable. Additionally, the racial gap in economic well-being persists, particularly among Africans and specifically among African women, who continue to experience significant marginalization from and within the labor market, whether this is measured by labor force participation, unemployment, earnings, or occupational distribution. Although policy-makers argue that not *all* disadvantage should be attributed to discrimination of any kind, the disadvantages and discrimination faced by women and Africans are severe by international standards (Standing, Sender, and Weeks, 1999)

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 Table 1 Percent Distribution And Percent Female Share Of Employed Individuals Ages 20-54 Years By Major Occupational Group, South Africa, 2001

Occupational Category	Percent Total Distribution	Men (%)	Women (%)	Female Share of Occupation
Legislators; senior officials and managers	5.71	7.01	4.01	30.41
Professionals	7.80	7.70	7.93	44.05
Technicians and associate professionals	11.11	8.51	14.52	56.59
Clerks	12.50	7.79	18.66	64.66
Service workers; shop and market sales workers	11.51	12.97	9.61	36.16
Craft and related trades workers	13.65	20.28	4.97	15.78
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	9.70	14.73	3.12	13.93
Elementary occupations	28.02	21.01	37.19	57.50
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	43.32
<i>Index of Dissimilarity (1-digit)</i>				33.28
<i>Index of Dissimilarity (2-digit)</i>				42.94
<i>Index of Dissimilarity (3-digit)</i>				50.41

Source: Author's calculations using the South African Census, 2001

Figure 3: Percent Distribution Of Employed Individuals Ages 20-54 Years Across Major Occupational Groups by Race, 2001

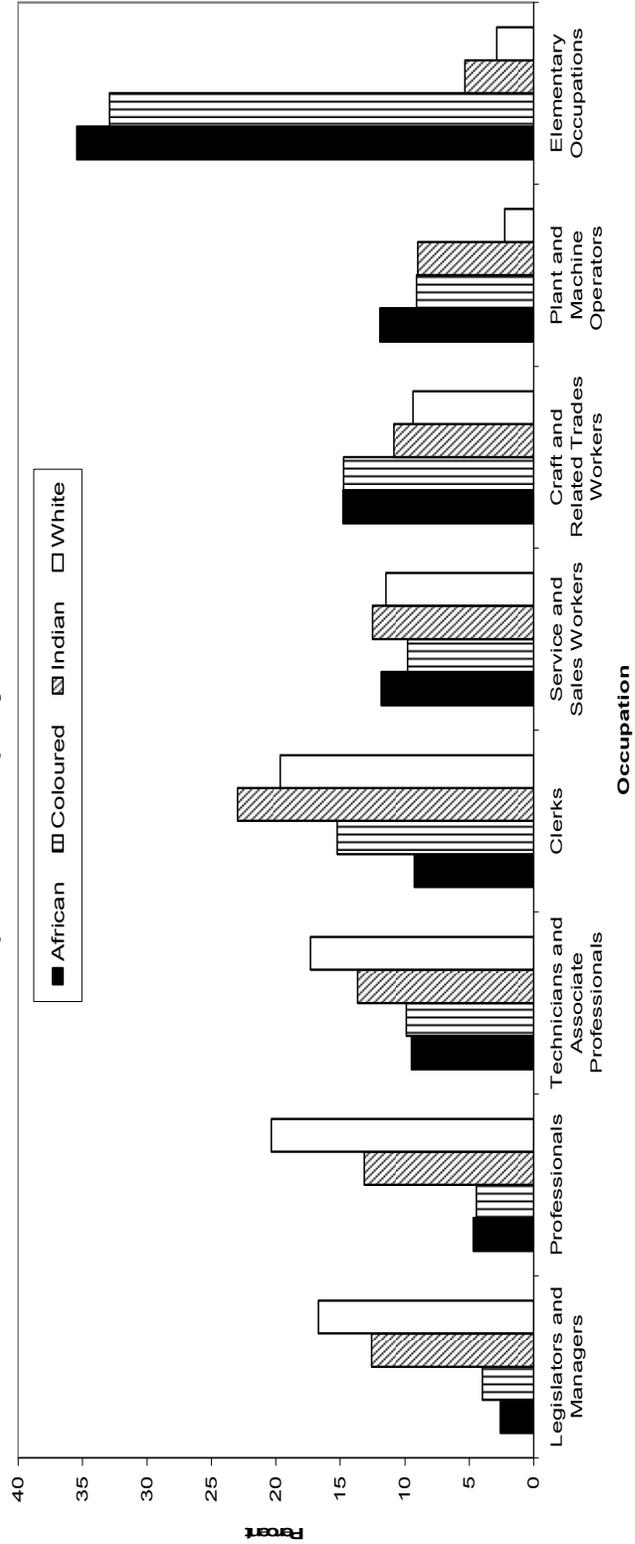


Table 3 Percent Distribution Of Employed Individuals Ages 20-54 Years Across Major Occupational Groups by Race and Sex, 2001

Occupational Category (1 digit)	Legislators and Managers	Professionals	Technicians and Associate Professionals	Clerks	Service and Sales Workers	Craft and Related Trades Workers	Plant and Machine Operators	Elementary Occupations	TOTAL
TOTAL	5.71	7.80	11.11	12.50	11.51	13.65	9.70	28.02	100.00
AFRICANS									
Total	2.59	4.68	9.49	9.26	11.82	14.79	11.91	35.44	100.00
Men	3.11	4.46	6.68	7.15	13.60	21.50	18.47	25.03	100.00
Women	1.89	4.99	13.35	12.16	9.38	5.59	2.92	49.72	100.00
COLOUREDS									
Total	3.97	4.43	9.87	15.24	9.76	14.73	9.10	32.90	100.00
Men	4.78	4.40	7.71	9.39	9.68	22.21	11.71	30.12	100.00
Women	3.08	4.46	12.29	21.74	9.86	6.40	6.19	35.98	100.00
ASIAN-INDIAN									
Total	12.56	13.15	13.66	22.97	12.50	10.84	9.00	5.32	100.00
Men	15.35	12.77	12.45	15.61	13.85	14.28	10.23	5.46	100.00
Women	8.20	13.75	15.54	34.45	10.38	5.48	7.09	5.11	100.00
WHITES									
Total	16.70	20.36	17.33	19.66	11.46	9.36	2.25	2.88	100.00
Men	21.48	21.24	15.12	6.96	12.65	15.81	3.66	3.08	100.00
Women	11.00	19.31	19.97	34.82	10.04	1.66	0.55	2.64	100.00

Source: Author's calculations using the South African Census, 2001

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 Table 4 Occupational Segregation by Gender and by Race for Individuals Ages 20-54 years, 2001

Race	Gender segregation (women vs. men)		Racial segregation (from whites of same gender)	
	Within race	Versus white men	Women	Men
White	41.1	41.1	--	--
Indian-Asian	31.3	45.0	19.1	22.9
Coloureds	36.5	61.1	46.0	47.3
Africans	47.9	66.2	57.2	52.1

Source: Author's calculations using the South African Census, 2001

Table 5 Women's Share of Selected Occupations, South Africa, 2001

Occupation	% of workers who are women
<i>Female-dominated occupations</i>	
Nursing and Midwifery Professionals (223)	66.20
Pri Ed Teaching Associates (331)	68.59
Textile, Fur, Leather Machine Operators (826)	77.89
Personal Care/Related Workers (513)	78.61
Client Info Clerks (422)	83.06
Nursing/Midwifery Assoc Professionals (323)	92.13
<i>Gender-integrated occupations</i>	
General Managers (131)	28.34
Agricultural, Fishery and Related Labourers (921)	33.06
Food Processing and Related Trade (741)	42.83
Library, Mail, Related Clerks (414)	55.56
Administrative Associate Professionals (343)	60.34
Housekeeping and Restaurant Workers (512)	63.00
<i>Male-dominated occupations</i>	
Motor Vehicle Drivers and Related Workers (832)	2.94
Metal Molders, Welders, and Related Crafts (721)	4.03
Building Finishers/Related (713)	4.21
Physical Science Technologist (215)	9.67
Natural and Engineering Science Technologists (311)	12.11
Directors and Chief Executives (121)	21.69

Source: Author's calculations using the South African Census, 2001s

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 Table 6 Top 10 Occupations for Africans, Coloureds, Indian-Asians, and Whites by Sex, 2001

<i>African Women</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>African Men</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Domestic and Related Helpers (913)	37.31	Motor Vehicle Drivers and Related Workers (832)	10.66
Primary Education Teaching Assoc Profs (331)	4.84	Protective Services Workers (516)	8.35
Cashiers; Tellers and Related Clerks (421)	4.24	Agricultural; Fishery, Related Labourers (921)	6.46
Agricultural; Fishery, Related Labourers (921)	3.90	Mining and Construction Labourers (931)	6.17
Shop Salespersons and Demonstrators (521)	3.47	Domestic and Related Helpers (913)	5.43
Nursing and Midwifery Assoc Profs (323)	3.38	Miners, Shot-Firers, Stone Cutters, Carvers (711)	5.22
Clerks NEC except Cust Serv Clerks (419)	3.05	Building Frame and Related Trades Workers (712)	4.58
Housekeeping/Restaurant Workers (512)	2.94	Manufacturing Labourers (932)	3.30
Manufacturing Labourers (932)	2.75	Shop Salespersons and Demonstrators (521)	3.29
Teaching Associates NEC (339)	2.46	Building Finisher (713)	2.76
Total	68.34	Total	56.22

<i>Coloured Women</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Coloured Men</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Domestic and Related Helpers (913)	17.21	Agricultural; Fishery, Related Labourers (921)	12.99
Agricultural; Fishery, Related Labourers (921)	9.33	Mining and Construction Labourers (931)	8.14
Clerks NEC except Cust Serv Clerks (419)	6.20	Motor Vehicle Drivers and Related Workers (832)	6.10
Cashiers; Tellers and Related Clerks (421)	5.04	Protective Services Workers (516)	5.31
Secretaries, Keyboard-Operating Clerks (411)	4.58	Building Frame and Related Trades Workers (712)	5.12
Shop Salespersons and Demonstrators (521)	4.23	Manufacturing Labourers (932)	3.51
Textile, etc Machine Operators (826)	4.12	Shop Salespersons and Demonstrators (521)	3.31
Manufacturing Labourers (932)	4.12	Miners, Shot-Firers, Stone Cutters, Carvers (711)	2.91
Mining and Construction Labourers (931)	3.90	Building Finisher (713)	2.92
Nursing and Midwifery Assoc Profs (323)	3.68	Clerks NEC except Cust Serv Clerks (419)	2.70
Total	62.41	Total	53.05

Table 6 (contd.)

<i>Indian Women</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Indian Men</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Clerks NEC except Cust Serv Clerks (419)	9.84	Shop Salespersons and Demonstrators (521)	9.86
Shop Salespersons and Demonstrators (521)	7.27	General Managers (131)	7.53
Secretaries, Keyboard-Operating Clerks (411)	7.06	Motor Vehicle Drivers and Related Workers (832)	5.42
Cashiers; Tellers and Related Clerks (421)	5.86	Clerks NEC except Cust Serv Clerks (419)	5.01
Textile, etc Machine Operators (826)	5.82	Other Managers/Department Managers (123)	4.50
Business Professionals (241)	4.64	Secretaries, Keyboard-Operating Clerks (411)	3.89
Numerical Clerks (412)	4.48	Finance and Sales Associate Professionals (341)	3.64
Client Information Clerks (422)	3.60	Business Professionals (241)	3.45
Other Managers/Department Managers (123)	3.36	Machinery Mechanics and Fitters (723)	3.00
General Managers (131)	3.06	Natural and Engineering Science Technicians (311)	2.95
Total	54.99	Total	49.25

<i>White Women</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>White Men</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Clerks NEC except Cust Serv Clerks (419)	12.31	General Managers (131)	9.90
Secretaries, Keyboard-Operating Clerks (411)	10.26	Shop Salespersons and Demonstrators (521)	7.20
Business Professionals (241)	6.97	Other Managers/Department Managers (123)	6.26
Shop Salespersons and Demonstrators (521)	5.24	Business Professionals (241)	6.16
General Managers (131)	4.41	Physical Sciences Technologists (215)	4.28
Numerical Clerks (412)	4.35	Natural and Engineering Science Technicians (311)	4.10
Administrative Associate Professionals (343)	4.20	Protective Services Workers (516)	4.05
Other Managers/Department Managers (123)	4.09	Machinery Mechanics and Fitters (723)	3.81
Finance and Sales Assoc. Professionals (341)	3.71	Finance and Sales Associate Professionals (341)	3.69
Client Information Clerks (422)	3.09	Miners, Shot-Firers, Stone Cutters, Carvers (711)	2.60
Total	58.63	Total	52.05

Source: Author's calculations using the South African Census 2001