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CITY OF JOHANNESBURG
Non-European and Native Affairs Department



A Study of African
Income and Expenditure
in 987 Families in Johannesburg

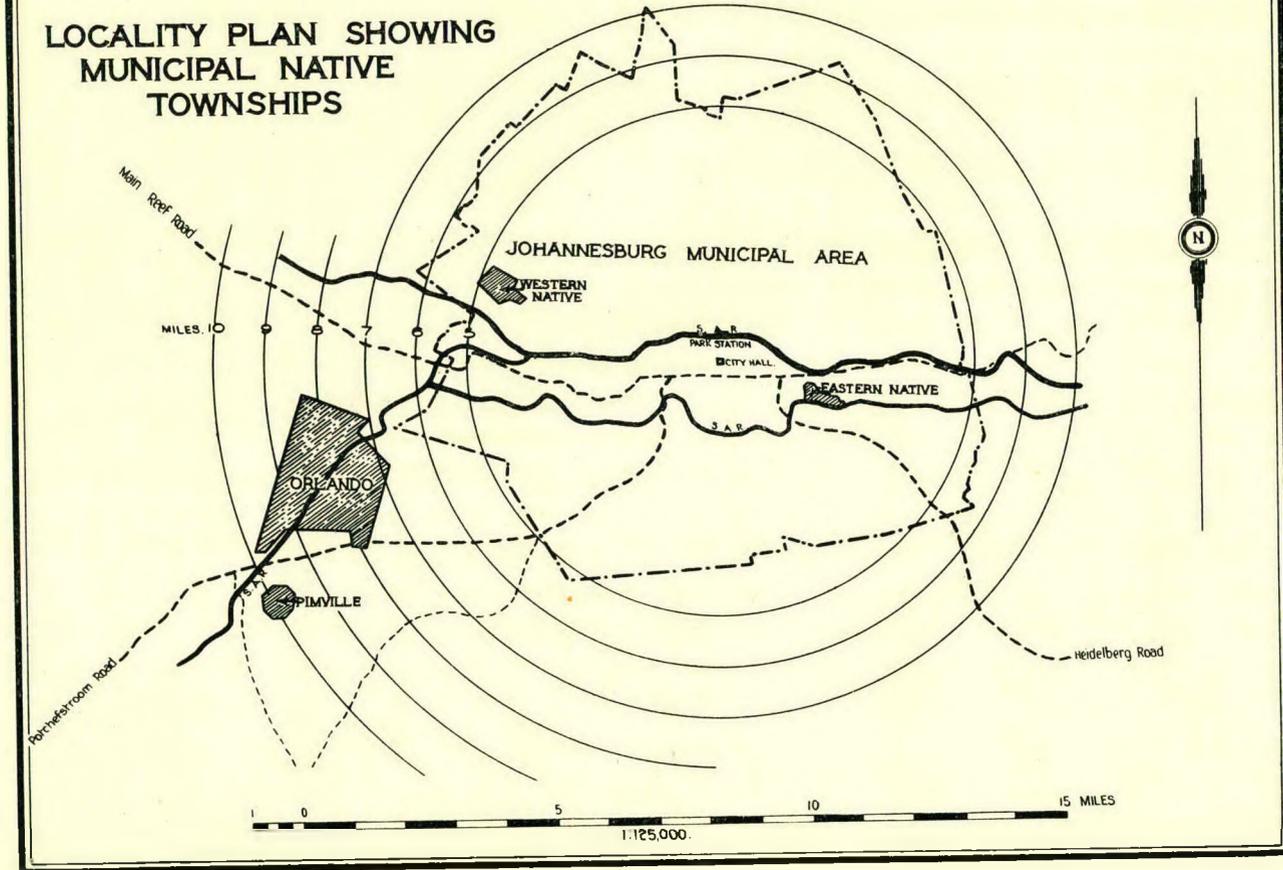
by
MIRIAM JANISCH, M.A.

JANUARY—NOVEMBER, 1940

DECEMBER, 1941



LOCALITY PLAN SHOWING MUNICIPAL NATIVE TOWNSHIPS



"We must go further and, in our schemes of post-war reconstruction, must include measures which will ensure to the native people the realisation of the freedom from want, which is one of the cardinal points of the Atlantic Charter.

"You may be sure that, as Minister of Native Affairs, I shall exercise all the influence and power that I can command to see that our hopes and aspirations for a better world, when victory is won, will be extended and will include the economic security of the native people."

—The Minister of Native Affairs, Col. the Hon. Deneys Reitz, speaking at the opening of the Native Representative Council in Pretoria, November, 1941.

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"We shall have to face the fact that the native must be given an outlet for skilled work, with freedom to earn as much as he has made himself capable of earning. He lacks much in efficiency at present, but with the necessary incentive must improve. This, in my opinion, is the soundest solution to the economic problem. His earning capacity should only be limited by his efficiency and not by the colour of his skin. I believe if we accept this principle—and I do not see how we can escape it—the prosperity of the country as a whole will be assured."

—Graham Ballenden, Manager, Non-European and Native Affairs Department, Johannesburg, in Evidence given before the Committee of Enquiry into the Conditions of Living of the Urban African, October, 1941.

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Dr. A. J. Norval, Acting Chairman of the Board of Trade and Industries, in a public statement in September, 1941, stated that our immediate object should be to raise the standard of living of the non-European. "It was a fallacy," he said, "to contend that low wages necessarily mean low costs of production. By depriving the native of fair remuneration for his work we are not only doing him an injustice, but are actually retarding the national development.

"Before South Africa is able to progress industrially, it is essential that the natives' consumption of industrial products shall be increased. This can be done only by raising his standard of living. Payment of higher wages is not enough. Even more important is the reorganisation and proper development of native agriculture. Until it has been placed on a sound economic footing, there can be no real industrial future before the country."

—Extract from the "Natal Mercury," 16th September, 1941.

PREFACE.

This survey, made by the Social Research Officer of this Department, indicates, in cold figures and supporting facts, one of the contributory causes of the steady physical decline, through the inroads of disease and malnutrition, of a large proportion of the African population of the Union.

There are many factors which have a bearing on the tragic deterioration of a fine people, on whose shoulders rests, so largely, the prosperity of South Africa.

The regulation of migration, which affects both rural and urban areas, is inextricably bound up with the economics of the problem. A satisfactory solution of this common difficulty would do much to reconcile the conflicting interests of town and country. To improve the economic condition of the Africans would be a substantial contribution to this end. Commissions have in part pointed the way, and others will continue to do so. Are we prepared to accept their recommendations and act on them, or are they to be shelved because of immediate monetary obligations or likely party political repercussions?

Field-Marshal Smuts, in a recent challenging address at Cape Town, referred to our relationship to the African population as one of trusteeship, carrying with it all the obligations that that high office implies. Are we acting as honourable trustees, if, knowing the facts, we neglect to take the most urgent and effective steps to put matters right?

G. BALLENDEN,

Manager, Non-European and Native Affairs Department.

His Majesty's Buildings,
Eloff Street,
Johannesburg,
February, 1942.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Many people have helped in the making of this study, and my particular thanks are due to the following:—

Professor H. S. Frankel, Head of the Department of Economics of the University of the Witwatersrand, helped in the initial mapping of the work, while Messrs. P. H. Guenalt and R. J. Randall, of his Department, Dr. J. S. Reedman, of the Department of Commerce, and Mr. Advocate Julius Lewin, of the Department of Bantu Studies, contributed their advice at later stages of the work.

Dr. F. W. Fox, of the South African Institute for Medical Research, not only wrote the valuable section on diet, which forms Appendix I, but at all times gave unstintingly of his experienced knowledge.

The tabulation of statistics relating to a thousand families necessitated the use of the Hollerith machines of the City Treasury, and the personal interest of members of that staff was invaluable.

Lastly, the compilation of the study as a whole was made possible by the generous co-operation of my own colleagues in the Administrative and Welfare Sections of this Department.

M.J.

**SURVEY OF AFRICAN INCOME AND EXPENDITURE
IN 987 FAMILIES.**

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
(1) EFFECT OF THE RESERVES ON THE URBAN POSITION	1
(2) OBJECT OF THE SURVEY	2
(3) THE FOUR JOHANNESBURG AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS: PIMVILLE, WESTERN, EASTERN, ORLANDO	3
(4) METHOD OF COLLECTION OF EVIDENCE	4
(5) TABLE INDICATING INCOME AND EXPENDITURE	6, 7
(6) ANALYSIS OF INCOME	7
(a) Facts revealed by the figures	7
(b) Women contributing to the income	7
(c) Occupations of men contributing to the income	8
(d) Children contributing to the income	8
(e) Attitude of children to work	8
(f) Contribution to income by sub-tenants	9
(g) Unrevealed income	9
(i) Savings	9
(ii) Illicit brewing	9
(iii) Fah-Fee running	10
(iv) Entertainments	10
(v) Cash lobola	10
(vi) Income contributed by public services	10
(vii) Sporadic contributions by children	10
(h) Minimum wages	11
(i) Wages as revealed by the Governor-General's War Fund (Bantu Section) Investigations	11
(7) ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE	12
(a) Food (Also Appendix I, page 28)	12
(b) Rent	13
(c) Transport	14
(d) Fuel and Light	16
(e) Clothes	17
(f) School Fees	17
(g) Church Fees	17
(h) Other Expenses	17
(i) Taxes	17
(ii) Burial Society and Life Insurance Fees	18
(iii) Tobacco	18
(iv) Entertainments	18
(i) Debts:	
(i) Hire-purchase	18
(ii) Credit	18
(j) Support of the Aged	19

CONTENTS—(continued).

	PAGE
(8) THE EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION ON URBAN INCOME ...	20
(a) Child Immigrants	21
(b) Women Immigrants	22
(c) Men Immigrants	23
(d) Experiments in the Training of Urban Juvenile Labour	23
(9) SUMMARY	24
(10) CONCLUSION	26
APPENDIX I:	
Diet in Urban Locations as indicated by the Survey ...	28
APPENDIX II:	
Suggested Minimum Diet for a Family of Five	38
APPENDIX III:	
Sample Schedule showing Expenditure on Food in relation to revealed Income and Man Value	43
APPENDIX IV:	
Questionnaire used in the Survey	47
APPENDIX V:	
Table of Occupations	48
APPENDIX VI:	
Table showing 182 Families of Five, indicating Age Dis- tribution, Total Income in Ascending Order, Total Expenditure and Expenditure on Food	51
APPENDIX VII:	
Comparative Table of Population	57

A Survey of African Income and Expenditure in 987 Families in Johannesburg.

By

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EFFECT OF THE RESERVES ON THE URBAN POSITION.

INTRODUCTION.—This study of the budgets of a thousand African families in the richest city of the Union of South Africa is an example of the age-old practice of putting the cart before the horse, for which history has provided equal justification and warning. The horse, in this particular case, is an undergrazed beast, reared in the Reserves, and increasingly incapable of pulling the daily more heavily loaded cart of the urban African population.

THE ROOT PROBLEM.—The Native Economic Commission of 1932, dealing with State policy to give more stability to the various classes of urban labour, and to reduce as far as possible its casual nature, said: "The chief way in which this can be done is the development of Reserves. . . . This will have the effect of stemming the flow of labour to the towns and of reducing the town labour problem to manageable proportions. As soon as the number engaged in urban occupations declines, it will become both possible and profitable to train them in methods of greater efficiency, and this will inevitably be followed by higher wages. Once a class of more efficient urban natives has been created, the towns will lose a great deal of their attraction for the labourers from the Reserves, a certain number of whom will always go out to look for work, in the same way as peasants have to do all over Europe." (Paragraph 558.)

"A permanent cure for an economic evil must not run counter to economic forces, but must utilise economic forces to achieve its purpose. The permanent cure for the urban wage problem must be looked for in the Reserves. By cutting off the flow of casual labour, which now drifts to the towns, it must create conditions for efficiency and consequent high wages in towns. By development of the wealth-producing capacity of the Reserves, they should absorb the surplus natives who now make a Tom Tiddler's ground of the towns at the cost of efficiency, to the detriment of their brethren who want to make the towns their homes, and at the risk of creating a large slum population." (Paragraph 560.)

“ In order to encompass this, it is essential that no time shall be lost, both in developing the Reserves, and in reducing the present pressure on land by making available more areas for native occupation. While present conditions last, the flow to the towns will continue, the pressure on the urbanised native will increase, and the problem of native wages in towns will become worse. State policy should be directed to reducing this pressure, in the interest of the welfare of a class of natives who have made considerable progress in civilisation, and with whose aspirations for conditions in which better living is possible, one cannot but have the fullest sympathy.” (Paragraph 561.)

That report was published ten years ago.

The policy of purchasing additional land for native occupation has progressed. Up to 31st August, 1941, the Native Trust had bought 1,491,739 morgen of “ released ” land, at a cost of £4,777,573, i.e. at an average price of £3 4s. per morgen. The Crown land vested in the Trust, and the purchases made by it, total 2,989,385 morgen, out of the 7,250,000 allowed by the Act. But the development of the Reserves and Native Trust Lands has not been on sufficiently wide and intensive a scale to make any visible difference to the urban economic position.*

Most of the recommendations of the Native Economic Report still remain to be put into force, and almost all the evidence contained in this survey is a reiteration of points raised in the document, or embodied in the later recommendations of the Farm Labour Commission.

OBJECT OF THE SURVEY.

The present survey is an attempt to provide, on a sufficiently comprehensive scale, evidence of African income and expenditure in Johannesburg, as a basis on which suggestions for improving conditions may be made. As a prelude to post-war reconstruction, it seems obvious that the responsibility of South Africa for seventy-five per cent. of the population must be determined. On the welfare of the Africans hangs the ultimate well-being of the European minority.

It is hoped that the figures and comments contained in this report will present the facts to public and private employers of labour, who are sympathetic, but frequently are not aware of existing conditions.

Difficulties in Collection of Evidence.—There are two ever-present difficulties facing the investigator of social conditions, and these apply particularly in the case of Africans, who are always uncertain of the motives behind any European enquiry. The first difficulty is the reluctance, and often the inability, of the person questioned to divulge true information, and the second is the reticence of the investigator to intrude too far upon the privacy of the individual human being. The desire for privacy is no less a reality to the African than to the European. The end of all social investigation should be richer living, and the evidence of African conditions which

* Senator J. D. Rheinallt Jones, “ Race Relations,” Vol. VIII, No. 3; and Edith B. Jones, “ Interpretation of Trusteeship,” 1941.

is now being built up, is justified only when it is directed towards providing greater freedom of expression, and less fear of repression, in the mind of the African.

This study is confined, with the exception of thirty-two cases, to reports from tenants of three of the four municipal townships which come under the jurisdiction of the Non-European and Native Affairs Department of the City of Johannesburg.

THE FOUR JOHANNESBURG AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS.

1. **Pimville** is the oldest of the townships, and lies ten miles to the south-west of the city. This township consists of twelve hundred privately owned dwellings erected on stands for which a municipal rental of 10s. per month is paid. Only thirteen houses are municipally owned. Pimville began almost as an uncontrolled location in 1904, when, as the result of a fear of plague in the town, the African people were given stands beyond its borders, with permission to erect their own dwellings, and to keep cattle. To-day, a heterogeneous collection of closely packed wood, iron and brick buildings, constructed about small yards where humans and animals share the restricted space, is a graphic commentary on the unwisdom of allowing sub-economic groups to develop their residential quarters without supervision.

The ambition of the Pimville standholder is to build so many rooms that he can live, by letting to sub-tenants, on rents which he himself determines. Because of these exceptional conditions, Pimville was not included in the present survey.

2. **Western Native Township**, three miles from the centre of the city, lying at the foot of Sophiatown, contains two thousand one hundred and ninety-one houses. It was commenced in 1918 and is a vast improvement on Pimville. The cottages, which are municipally owned, are built on separate stands. In addition, there are thirty-two single rooms available. The township is popular because of its accessibility to the city, but surrounded, as it is, by areas which have grown into predominantly non-European slums, it is in the centre of the most undesirable environmental elements.

3. **Eastern Native Township**, adjacent to George Goch station, two and one-quarter miles from the centre of the city, is the smallest and most easily administered of the locations. Containing six hundred municipal houses, it was begun in 1925, with rather larger stands, and cottages somewhat improved on the Western Native Township plan. The area is surrounded by mine land and the tenants travel to town on foot, by train, 'bus or bicycle.

ORLANDO, the largest and most recent township, was begun in 1933. Situated on a beautiful sloping site, ten miles to the south of the centre of the city, it covers the best part of three thousand acres, and will ultimately contain from ten thousand to fourteen thousand houses and accommodate about eighty thousand people.

4. **Orlando**.—There are six thousand houses in Orlando East, while Orlando West, at the time of writing, December, 1941, contains seven hundred and fifty houses of the new section. The stands are seventy feet by fifty feet and the houses are bigger and better built

than in Western and Eastern Native Townships. The area is served by an excellent electric train service, which brings workers to the centre of the city in twenty-five minutes. The absence of the distractions of town, and the healthiness of the situation, make it popular with people who are anxious to bring up their children in the best surroundings.

The houses in Eastern and Western Townships and Orlando East, contain two and three rooms. In Orlando West, only three- and four-roomed houses are being built, so that no cottage will have less than two bedrooms. Water is laid on to the stand of each house, instead of in the streets, as in the older settlements, and in the four-roomed cottages there are shower rooms. Rentals for all municipal houses are as follows: Two-roomed, 4s. per week; three-roomed, 5s. per week; four-roomed, 6s. 6d. per week. The rental includes free medical, dental and sanitary services, and free water.

The survey therefore represents that group of the African population of the city, who live in better conditions, as far as housing and other amenities are concerned, than those who do not under the jurisdiction of the Municipality.

METHOD OF COLLECTION OF EVIDENCE.

The three townships with which the study is concerned, house approximately nine thousand families. During 1940, a very large number of these householders were questioned in connection with their income and expenditure. In every case in which any doubt was raised with regard to the evidence supplied, it was rejected. Nine hundred and eighty-seven returns were accepted and form the material of this survey. They reflect sixteen per cent. of the total population of the locations and twelve and a half per cent. of the families housed.

The proportion of returns from each township corresponded as far as possible to the size of the population. Fifty per cent. of the questionnaires were answered by Orlando tenants, who form two-thirds of the population of the three townships.

People questioned came from all the tribal groups represented in Johannesburg, and from every level of African economic status.

A questionnaire embracing all the information required, was compiled (see Appendix IV) and this was used by three assessors:—

- (a) An ex-Native Commissioner of Johannesburg, with long experience of hearing and assessing evidence, both in urban and rural areas;
- (b) the Social Research Officer of the Non-European and Native Affairs Department, who had been in daily contact with the people for three years; and
- (c) an African Interpreter Clerk, resident in Orlando and intimately conversant with the life of the townships.

The Native Commissioner and the African Clerk were present at every interview. The Research Officer visited each centre on different days and at different hours, to estimate the relationship between evidence given in the various centres at different times of the year. This method reduced variation of assessing to a minimum, and the

material submitted was, therefore, recorded as uniformly as possible. Evidence was taken from January to November, 1940, before the considerable rise in cost of living occasioned by the war had become very evident.

The difficulty of approaching informants was overcome by using the rent receipt offices of each township, and questioning people who came in to make rent payments or to excuse themselves for partial or total non-payment.

The ex-Native Commissioner, the Research Officer and the Interpreter Clerk were well known, at least by sight, to the majority of the visitors, and were regarded as friendly officials who had the right to open a conversation on rent payments.

Seventy-five per cent. of the evidence was supplied by rent defaulters, sixty-six per cent. of whom were in arrears for only one month, thirty-four per cent. for more.

Thirty-two returns were collected by a Welfare Officer from people not resident in the townships, in order to cross check the evidence by location residents.

The Superintendents of the three townships concerned estimated that the percentage of persons in arrears with their rentals during 1940 was as follows: Orlando, eighty-three per cent.; Eastern Native Township, forty per cent.; Western Native Township, forty-eight per cent.

The evidence accepted from these people and those up to date with their payments therefore seemed to be reasonably proportionate.

The evidence from the twenty-five per cent. who were up to date with their rent payments was gathered by chance. For instance, a woman friend accompanying a rent defaulter would join in the conversation, and presently would reveal her own economic position with great goodwill. A friend of the Research Officer or of the Interpreter Clerk would appear and enter into conversation without reluctance. An occasional man, although the majority of the informants were women, would become involved in the general discussion. Those conversations reflected every facet of location life. There was much good-humoured banter, some wise philosophy, and a generally quite unself-conscious courage.

The following records are typical:—

(a) " My husband pays £4 per month in rent for his shop, and £6 per annum for his licence. As we have five children, all at school, he could not pay until February, and then the licence cost him £6 10s. We have to spend every shilling when we see it. We cannot save. The rent for the shop and this house leave us nothing. My husband paid the rent yesterday when Mrs. H. (the employer) paid me. I do washing for two days a week because it means more money, but you know my health is bad and I cannot do more."

(b) In a family of Xosas, the husband was temporarily out of work, as the building contract, on which he had been engaged for several months, had been completed. The family lived in a three-roomed cottage with eight of their ten children. The two eldest girls were married—one was working, but neither contributed to the house-

hold. The eldest boy, aged twenty years, was looking for work. Four girls, aged sixteen, fourteen, ten and eight years, were at school in Orlando. Three boys, aged nine, six and four years, were at home.

“ While my husband’s work has stopped, I am trying to pay the rent. I can’t live if I can’t pay. I have twelve washings and go to town three times a week.”

This household was visited. The mother looked exhausted, but the house was clean, and a successful vegetable garden had been planted on the stand. Transport for the mother was paid from a private Welfare Fund run by the Department for two weeks, until work was found for the husband and the eldest son in the Works Branch of the Department.

METHOD OF RECORDING EVIDENCE.

The bulk of the actual recording of the facts was done by the member of the triumvirate, who was not asking questions.

Conversations took place in English, Zulu, Sesuto and occasionally Afrikaans.

The questionnaire was soon known by heart and a repetitive technique of questioning was developed very early in the proceedings, although the initial approach to each individual was different. When the informant had left the office, the details recorded were immediately compared and entered on an official form.

The help of the Interpreter Clerk was invaluable, as he was quick to detect discrepancies in information. Small details, such as the variation in church dues of different denominations, were known, and proved to be correct in subsequent cross-checking. Again, the ex-Native Commissioner and the Research Officer were conversant with the family histories in a certain number of cases. In others, the evidence was verified by subsequent friendly visits to the homes.

Wages were checked either by reference to Determinations and Wage Acts, or by reference to employers.

The following table indicates briefly the findings made in regard to income and expenditure:—

Survey of Income and Expenditure in 987 Families from January to November, 1940 (representing 16 per cent. of the population of the locations and 12½ per cent. of the families resident therein).

Average household income in 987 families (husband, wife, children and sub-tenant contribute to this) ...	£5 6 8
Average expenditure per month in 987 families ...	5 11 0

Analysis of Contributions to Income:

Husbands	77 per cent.
Wives	13.5 "
Children	7.5 "
Sub-tenants	1.7 "

Handwritten calculations in the bottom right corner, including a vertical sum: 1.7 + 7.5 + 13.5 = 22.7, and other scribbles.

Analysis of Expenditure:

Food	...	...	...	...	...	49.2	per cent.
*Rent	...	...	...	...	...	18.4	„
Fuel and Light	...	...	...	...	...	13.1	„
Transport	...	...	...	...	...	6.0	„
Clothes	...	...	...	...	...	5.3	„
Church Fees	...	...	...	...	...	.8	„
School Fees	...	...	...	...	...	.6	„
Other Expenses (including taxes, insurance and pleasure)	...	...	...	...	...	6.2	„

ANALYSIS OF INCOME.

(a) **Facts Revealed by the Figures.**—The figures revealed the following facts:—

(1) The average number of children per household was three. As a result, these investigations can be compared fairly easily with other independent surveys in which the hypothetical family of five, husband, wife and three children, has been used as a basis.

(2) The income was a family one, contributed to by husband, wife, children and sub-tenants. Husbands contributed seventy-seven per cent. of the total income, wives thirteen per cent., children eight per cent., and sub-tenants two per cent.

(3) Expenditure generally exceeded income. This is entirely possible in the economics of the extended Bantu family living under conditions of unnatural necessity. The deficit has to be made up by illicit means or debt.

(4) Forty-five per cent. of the women went out to work, leaving their children at home. This percentage excluded those women who make a living by unadmitted means.

(5) The income was spent as follows: Food, fifty per cent.; rent and transport, twenty-five per cent.; fuel and light, thirteen per cent.; clothes, five per cent.; school and church fees, two per cent.; other expenses, six per cent. (including taxes, insurance, hire-purchase payments and pleasure).

The average income was £5 6s. 8d., the median income £5. The average expenditure was £5 11s., incomes ranged from 10s. to £20 per month, the most frequent income being £5. The average income for a man was £4 2s. per month.

(b) **Women Contributing to Income.**—Women's wages were more difficult to assess, as part-time work of varying duration was frequently undertaken. Washerwomen and charwomen went out from one to four days a week; flat maids generally worked every day; other domestic servants returned home only on Sundays. Wages varied according to the amount of work performed and the suburb in which

* Rental was lowered by 13 per cent. in July, 1940, in the middle of the investigation. Rent includes medical and dental care, water, sanitary services and rubbish removal.

the women were engaged. Higher wages were paid in the northern than in the southern areas. Occupations reflected the thorough permeation of Johannesburg life by African labour.

(c) **Occupations of Men Contributing to Income** (see Appendix V).—Nine hundred and seventy-four men were accounted for as wage-earners in nine hundred and fifty-six households. (The remaining thirty-one householders were widows.) Seventy-three per cent. were employed by Europeans, twelve per cent. in African industry either on their own account or as assistants, and fifteen per cent. were unemployed.

The sample taken was, of course, entirely fortuitous, but it will be noted that practically seventy-three per cent. of those employed by Europeans were employed in industrial concerns, excluding mining. Thirty-four households admitted that the chief wage-earner was working on the mines. These were exceptional cases, as normally mine labourers may not bring their families into municipal locations. Ninety municipal and thirty-five Government and Public Works employees were included in the list of those in European employ, as well as fifteen domestic servants and six chauffeurs.

Of the twelve per cent. employed in African industries or trades, the largest number were hawkers or pedlars, for the increasing demands of the town African are opening additional markets to the potential vendor. Ready-made suits, marewu, bangles, watches, photographs, medicines, second-hand cars, cakes and other cooked foods, all are in demand in their infinite variety.

Some of the carpenters who worked on their own account, however, made goods principally for sale to Europeans.

The group employed in work for Africans included seven teachers and six ministers.

Fifteen per cent. of those questioned were unemployed. This figure, of course, would vary, as would the employment figures, from week to week, but the general averages of approximately seventy per cent. in European employment, half of the remainder in African employment, and the rest temporarily unemployed is, in the experience of the Department, a true reflection of the general labour position.

The variations in the wages paid to unskilled workers was considerable (see Appendix V). In the survey made by this Department on "The African in Industry" in 1939, it was recorded "that in practically every industry semi-skilled capacity can be attained," but in very few cases was financial credit given for increased ability.

(d) **Children Contributing to Income**.—Of the children of tenants, twenty-six per cent. were at work. The amounts earned ranged from half a crown to £7 per month, and, as in the case of women, the earnings were dependent upon the type of work performed and its intermittent or continuous nature.

(e) **Attitude of Children to Work**.—There was considerable reluctance on the part of male children about eighteen years of age to accept work, as they were afraid that the bearing of passes would render them liable to taxation. But this fear was only one of a series of reasons for the "won't work" attitude which is developing amongst

a large proportion of the older children of the township families. Frequently the girls, and occasionally the boys, are kept from school as guardians of the younger ones while their mothers are at work. School accommodation is still inadequate, although this position has improved, and the lack of parental control, contributed to by the economic position, makes it difficult for parents to insist that their growing offspring shall attend classes regularly. In addition, older children, who, for various reasons, start to attend school late, are sometimes sensitive about their membership of junior classes where they are cramped into tiny desks with the babies of the establishments. Far too many children between the ages of fifteen and eighteen years, who might be contributing to the family income, are wandering about the townships, serving no useful purpose. By the time they reach the age of eighteen, when work is suggested to them, the children have lost the habit of industry, if they ever possessed it, and are not prepared to take up regular occupation.

Playing in dance bands or performing at evening concerts are two popular, sporadic, but profitable pastimes for the young men and women about town. Almost invariably, membership of such a group spoils the individual, by exaggerating his sense of his own importance and introducing him to undesirable companions and practices. He is incapable of working by day, after a night of activities, which ends at dawn, and his sense of responsibility for his family breaks down. Parents frequently complain that the help which they might legitimately expect from their children, and which is so important a part of the tribal code, is no longer available.

(f) **Contribution to Income by Sub-Tenants.**—With regard to sub-tenants, these may or may not be relatives. The utmost reluctance is shown by the African people to indicate what contributions are made by those whom they feel have a legitimate claim on their homes. It is certain, however, that in cash and in kind the amounts exceeded those indicated in the returns.

(g) **Unrevealed Income.**—In addition to the incomes as stated, the following possible sources of unrevealed income must be taken into account:—

(i) *Savings.*—The evidence collected as to savings, as well as that in reference to debts, cannot be quoted with any degree of confidence, as the people were naturally unwilling to divulge the extent either of their assets or of their liabilities. It is certain, however, that a proportion of the people had savings accounts in the Post Office or with Building Societies, while a large number possessed cattle in the country.

(ii) *Illicit Brewing.*—It has already been indicated that a considerable sum of money is made by illicit brewing. Apart from individual effort, this is often organised on a large scale. A group of women, whose wearing of a distinctive uniform suggests that they belong to some church society, meet in rotation at the houses of various members. Tea and buns are served in the front room, and the meeting has the appearance of being a church gathering, but in the yard illicit concoctions are being brewed and sold. The entire proceeds of the party go to the hostess for the day.

A visit to the Courts any Monday morning will satisfy the investigator of the amount of ready cash a convicted brewer has in her possession.

Fines, however large, are always paid on the spot. In Eastern Native Township, the fines collected for brewing vary from £200 per month during May, June and July, to £400 during summer months. The monthly domestic rentals are £500.

(iii) *Fah-Fee Running*.—Fah-Fee, a Chinese gambling game, is a lucrative and quick method of earning additions to an income. As strict a watch as possible is kept at entrances into locations, but as the Chinese promoters use African touts, it is difficult to check the extent of the evil.

(iv) *Entertainments*.—At any period when a considerable lump sum of money is required, it is customary for a family to organise a dinner party, dance, or some other form of entertainment. "Guests" are invited, and pay an entrance fee, the reason for which is stated explicitly and without embarrassment: "We are raising fees to send our son to college," or "We are making money for the train fare to take my people to the country."

(v) *Cash Lobola*.—The age-old and protective custom of lobola has, under the stress of town conditions, begun to degenerate into a money-making concern. Cattle paid to the family of the bride in the country ensure compensatory strength to her group for the removal of one productive member of the clan. Conversely, their continued retention depends upon the treatment meted out to the girl in the kraal of her husband. Two extended family groups are concerned in the preservation of the marriage. To-day, money takes the place of cattle in many urban marriage settlements. £50 is a common sum for parents to demand from a young man earning a little over £4 a month. The lobola payments make it impossible for him to build up the necessary equipment for his home. Frequently the demand for a high cash lobola is responsible for illicit unions amongst the urban Africans. Even when cash lobola is paid, in these cases to the parents, not the group, the money is soon spent and with it the sense of obligation and protection disappears. "Money has no calves," say the town Africans.

(vi) *Income Contributed by Public Services*.—The assistance rendered by public authorities and private institutions must be regarded as a contribution to income.

In addition to the medical and dental services previously referred to, women are trained in the municipal clubs to sew, knit and cook, and, apart from the benefits which their families reap, these acquired crafts may be turned to monetary advantage.

Government grants, i.e. pensions of 10s. per month to certified blind persons, and mothers' grants for children, have been included in admitted income. Rations issued on the authority of the Native Commissioner have not been listed.

(vii) *Sporadic Contributions by Children*.—Intermittent golf caddying, the carrying of baskets and parcels at the market or at the station, and the guarding of motor cars may bring in pennies. More

often than not, these excursions are independent, and the proceeds the children keep for themselves. The parents are often not even aware of the activities of their offspring during their absence from their homes. " Singing " on street corners is a lucrative business, and, in some cases, is definitely undertaken at the instigation of the parents. Although many of the practices resorted to are prohibited by law, they are still persisted in, despite restrictions.

(h) **Minimum Wages.**—Various surveys which have been made in recent years (see page) all bear out the evidence obtained that an African family of five needs at least £6 10s. per month for normal conditions of living.

In 1927, the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Africans prepared the first recorded budget for a native family of five. This covered rent, food, fuel, transport, school and church fees, taxes and burial society fees. No allowance, however, was made for clothing or furniture, and the minimum income on which a family could subsist was estimated at £6 1s. 2d. to £6 11s. 8d. It will be remembered that Major H. S. Cooke, then Director of Native Labour, in the report of the Native Economic Commission, stated that a minimum of £6 per month was essential to the well-being of a native family of four resident in Johannesburg.

The average wage of £5 6s. 8d. per month, and the median wage of £5, revealed by this study, indicate incomes on which the majority of the people must suffer semi-starvation or debt. Alternatively they must resort to illicit means of livelihood, or the mother must leave home to seek work. It is, therefore, obvious that the minimum wage for the principal worker in an African urban household should be in the neighbourhood of £6 10s. if bare necessities for decent and healthy living are to be provided, and if the mother is to be responsible for the daily care of her own children.

(i) **Wages as Revealed by the Governor-General's War Fund (Bantu Section) Investigations.**—Major H. S. Cooke, as Chairman of the Bantu Soldiers' Sub-Committee of the Governor-General's National War Fund, has made the following comments on the pre-enlistment wages of native soldiers:—

" A reflex of the economic condition of the natives in the larger urban centres of the Union would be found in the records of the Bantu Soldiers' Sub-Committee of the Governor-General's National War Fund, which considers the question of affording assistance to the dependants of native soldiers whose standard of life has been adversely affected by the soldier's enlistment. From the end of February up to the 30th September, 1941, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one cases were on record. Of these one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight had been decided. Grants had been made in the relatively small number of three hundred and eighty-four instances. Thus, in one thousand one hundred and fourteen cases, it was not considered that circumstances warranted assistance from the fund. In the vast majority of cases rejected, it was found that the dependants, *who reside almost exclusively in the large urban centres*, by receiving a military allotment of £2 5s. per month, were appreciably better off

than they were before the soldier's enlistment. The fund could obviously not attempt, except to a very small extent, to take cognisance of the number of those in poverty, and the result is a sad commentary on the average wage rates of the soldiers before they joined up."

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE.

Expenditure on the bare necessities of living, food, rent, transport, fuel, light and clothes, amounts to more than ninety per cent. of the income. This bears out the evidence of the smaller survey made by this Department in 1938, and that of studies by others carried out in Johannesburg and Pretoria during the last few years.

(a) **Food.**—Half the income is spent on food. The analysis of its value, together with a commentary on probable unrevealed sources of food supply, are contained in Appendix I by Dr. F. W. Fox. In Appendix II is submitted a minimum diet for four weeks compiled by the Housecraft Organiser of the Department, Miss B. E. Smith. For a family of five this would cost £4 8s. Miss Smith's recommendations are based on her intimate daily contact with the women in her housecraft classes. Foods available to them, and those which are most popular, have been taken into account.

It will be noted that the average admitted expenditure on food per family per month was £2 14s. 8d. in 1940. When expenditure is made in small amounts on small quantities, it is difficult to assess exactly how much is spent, and the glorious vagueness of the average African in regard to money matters, enhances this difficulty.

There is no consistent relation between the size of the family, the wage earned and the amount of food consumed.

Appendix II shows how difficult it is to plan even a moderately satisfactory diet for a family of five at a cost of less than £4 per month.

Miss Smith's suggested menus were prepared independently of the evidence collected for the study.

It will be noted (see Appendix III) that families of five in the higher income groups, that is, from £10 to £20, tend to spend about £4 on foodstuffs.

According to the household income, a certain amount of money is set apart for food. Incursions of visitors or the vicissitudes of unemployment simply mean that the amount of food consumed per person is lessened. It must be borne in mind that the population of the household as given does not necessarily reflect the constant number of persons under each roof each night. Some of the adult members of the family may come home only on two or three nights a week. Their absence increases the amount of food available per head. There is no margin for buying reserve supplies. While bad feeding is evident to the members of the Public Health Department staff who run the clinics, the impression created on the mind of the average casual visitor to the townships is, that, on the whole, people look well fed and happy. This may be due to the fact that so much starch is absorbed in mealie meal, which is the staple article of diet. The resistance of the people, however, is low, as any onset of illness proves. In the majority of cases, children and adults are

trained to go for long periods on small amounts of food. Teachers are unanimous in their opinion that a large proportion of the children attending the schools come to their classes without being fed, unless a handful of cold, stiff mealie meal may be dignified by the name of a breakfast. Another snack may be taken at lunch time. The only real meal of the day is at night, when both parents are at home.

The present war bread is an excellent food, but even at its reduced price, is expensive for Africans. Only fifty-four per cent. of the householders questioned admitted the purchase of bread. The high cost of this essential food is a great hardship to the poorer sections of the community, whatever their race.

The people of the townships show an increasing pride in their gardens and some saving is made during the summer months when vegetables are grown, mealies and potatoes with considerable success, cabbages, tomatoes, beans and onions in small quantities. [There is generally a flower garden in front of each house, unless the people are Basutos, in which case they may produce most interesting modelling of a mixture of cement and soil. The figures are painted in bright colours. Additions and ornamentation of the houses are made with the consent of the Department and lead to healthy and neighbourly rivalry in house pride.]

An interesting experiment to provide good, cheap vegetables and fruit in a manner which will benefit both the people in the townships and African producers, has been initiated by means of co-operation between the Government Native Affairs Department and this Department. Since June, 1941, weekly consignments of fruit and sometimes vegetables have been sold on the Orlando market, and more recently at a second centre at Western Native Township. These have come from the Native Trust Lands and Native Local Councils in the Transvaal. The proceeds are forwarded immediately after the sales, through the Secretary for Native Affairs, to the producers. All the oranges, naartjies and sweet potatoes sent during the winter months were readily sold. There was a very small demand for lemons or limes. In the summer, when green vegetables, tomatoes and potatoes are available, the demand is likely to increase. On the whole, the quality of the produce received has been of a good standard and the markets have been popular.

The first experiment in distributing surplus produce was carried out by the Department in October, 1941, when over a million oranges, given by the Citrus Board through the Government Native Affairs Department, were distributed. One hundred thousand Africans in all the townships and native institutions of the city benefited.

(b) **Rent.**—Eighteen per cent. of the income was spent on rent in 1940. In July, 1940, in the middle of the survey, the municipal rentals were reduced by a further thirteen per cent. on the existing tariff, a total of thirty per cent. on the rent originally charged. [Rentals are not computed on the capital outlay involved, but on the amount which the average African in work should be able to pay. The average capital outlay on housing a family up to 1940 was approximately £250.] As previously indicated, medical and dental

care, free sanitary and rubbish removal services and water are included in the rent. In addition, sports facilities and social welfare help are provided. Medical care includes advice at ante-, post-natal, T.B. and V.D. clinics, together with patent foods and milk when these are ordered by the health visitors. Free nursing care, free medicine and treatment, when necessary, are also given. A nominal charge of one shilling for the first visit to a house is made to protect doctors from unnecessary calls, but this is always waived if the patient is unable to pay. Free maternity service, hospitalisation and ambulance services are provided where necessary. Dental care includes extractions and fillings. A systematic attempt to serve the schools of the townships has been made, but although the medical clinics are well supported, the response to the offer of regular dental treatment for school children has been less satisfactory.

[Despite the free medical services offered in the townships, the African has a long inherited respect for "medicine" of various sorts, and will pay considerable sums, not only to the native herbalist and "witch doctor" for medicines to cure physical ailments and spiritual evils, but he is the ready prey of the patent medicine vendor, and every small shop has its array of cheap remedies, which are largely patronised.]

Sanitary and refuse removal services are carried out tri-weekly. In Western Native Township sewerage has already been installed. All townships will eventually be serviced. Water is laid on in the streets, with one tap to approximately every eight houses, except in the western section of Orlando, where a tap is provided on every stand, and, in the case of four-roomed houses, a shower room has been built inside the house.

The rent payment position reflects the interesting fact that the greatest number of arrears occur in the months of June, July and December. During these months, tenants, who are in domestic service, often complain that their employers have gone on holiday and have not paid them. Experience shows that their statements are correct. It must be borne in mind, however, that the African, like the European, spends more at Christmas time.

It is almost impossible for the officials in charge of locations to enforce the regulations prohibiting overcrowding, owing to the serious shortage of houses. Further, as has been shown, visitors are often essential contributors to the family income, or may be relatives able to demand shelter of their kin, when unable to find it elsewhere. Although the presence of these illegal "tenants" may solve the rent problem, overcrowding is created, privacy reduced and the health of the household affected. These evils the municipal townships were designed to remove.

(c) **Transport.**—Six per cent. was spent on transport. This was a relatively small amount in an income of £5 6s. 8d., but the sum was an average for all townships, from one of which at least it is possible to walk to the city. The following table indicates the fares charged:—

Particulars of Transport Facilities Available to Natives.

Name of Township and Distance from G.P.O.	Nature of Transport and by whom operated.	Transport Charges.
*Eastern Native Township, 3½ miles	Train, S.A.R. Bus, private enterprise	5/- per month. 3d. per trip.
*Orlando, 10 miles	Train, S.A.R.	8/6 per month.
*Pimville, 12 miles	Train, S.A.R.	8/6 per month.
*Western Native Township, 4 miles	Tram, Municipality Bus, private enterprise	2d. per trip. 3d. per trip.
†Martindale, 4 miles	Tram, Municipality Bus, private enterprise	2d. per trip. 3d. per trip.
†Newclare, 4½ miles	Train, S.A.R.	6d. return. 7/6 per month.
†Sophiatown, 4 miles	Tram, Municipality Bus, private enterprise	2d. per trip. 3d. per trip.

In addition to the above, the Municipality provides trams for non-Europeans on all its network of tramways, and also non-European buses on certain bus routes.

Municipal Hostels and Distance from G.P.O.	Nature of Transport and by whom operated.	Transport Charges.
Mai-Mai, 1 mile	<i>Nil</i>	—
Wemmer Men's, ¼ mile ...	<i>Nil</i>	—
Wolhuter Men's, 1½ miles	<i>Nil</i>	—
Wolhuter Women's, 3½ miles	Train, S.A.R. Bus, private enterprise	5/- per month. 3d. per trip.

* Municipal locations.

† Privately owned property in the municipal area.

Most of the workers from Orlando and Pimville bought weekly tickets for half-a-crown because the immediate financial outlay was less. The chief wage-earner, in seventy per cent. of the households, paid ten shillings per month for transport for himself. Women who washed or charred on one or two days a week used daily tickets at sixpence return. In addition, they generally had to pay bus or tram fares from the station to their places of work. [It is not improbable, unless her employer is aware of the position, that a woman living in Orlando or Pimville, and collecting washing from a northern suburb, will have to pay 12s. a month plus the cost of soap and fuel, for a bundle of washing for which she may receive £1 per month. Frequently, twenty-five per cent. of the money earned by laundry is paid out again in transport costs, soap and fuel. In addition to the transport charges connected with work, heavy as they are, the African finds it essential to spend money on travelling to visit his relatives who are within call. Marriages and funerals involve ritual obligations, and people who have no money for food will borrow enough to make these journeys.]

The following information has been supplied by courtesy of the South African Railways and Harbours, in regard to the services for the period 1st July, 1939, to 30th June, 1940:—

*(a) Number of passenger journeys between Pimville, Orlando, Nancefield, Mlamlankunzi, Village Main and stations Cleveland to Mayfair inclusive						10,531,514
(b) Season ticket:						
Worker's weekly	...	...	...	...	...	152,190
Worker's monthly	...	...	...	...	...	52,219
Worker's quarterly	...	...	...	...	...	1,797

According to international standards, rent and transport should not amount to more than twenty per cent. of the income of a household working on an economic basis. In sub-economic groups, this percentage should be reduced as far as possible. Making allowance for the fact that medical, dental and sanitary services were included in the rent, and that in the middle of the survey rentals were reduced, African tenants of the Johannesburg City Council pay approximately twenty per cent. of their earnings for rent and transport.

[The Council's war time measure of reducing rents so that every township family shall benefit to some extent, at a period when cost of living is increasing, has been a step in the right direction. The policy of certain public-spirited employers who voluntarily pay the rent and/or transport of the members of their African staffs, is one that might easily be emulated by firms well able to carry the small extra costs involved. In the interests of the European community, no less than to satisfy the necessity for the expansion of African townships, these have been placed at some distance from the centre of the city, and the Europeans who have benefited thereby might reasonably contribute to this advantage. It is hoped that the Railway Administration will make its contribution to reducing transport charges.]

(d) **Fuel and Light.**—Fuel and light, i.e. candles, matches, paraffin, wood and coal accounted for more than thirteen per cent. of the income and were heavy items of expenditure. [As electric light is not yet provided, candles and paraffin lamps have to be used, and costs increase appreciably during the winter months. Most people go to bed as soon as possible after dark in order to save fuel. Wood and coal for stoves and fire buckets are purchased from hawkers and shopkeepers in the townships at approximately threepence per bundle of half-a-dozen pieces of wood, and two shillings to two and sixpence for two hundred lbs. of coal of a grade which costs 12s. 1d. per ton delivered at Orlando. Prices vary according to the season. In winter, that half of the population less adequately fed and clothed has to pay the greater amount for warmth. There are no seasonal changes in fuel costs to Europeans. The expenditure on fuel and light is increased by the fact that so many women do washing for a living. Coal is needed for washing and ironing and it is not unusual for the work to be finished by candle light. Almost every household, except

* Extract from the Report of the Manager of the Non-European and Native Affairs Department: 1st July, 1939, to 30th June, 1940.

the very unsophisticated, possesses a primus stove. This, like other appurtenances of civilisation, may or may not be in use. For general use, a home-made lamp, consisting of a bottle and a rag wick with a cord through the cork, is popular and cheaper than candles.]

(e) **Clothes.**—The estimate of expenditure on clothes was difficult to make. Informants had to describe their general outlay for the year. A second-hand suit for the head of the household, a Sunday dress for the mother, uniforms for school children, blankets and so on, were enumerated and tabulated. The uniformity of the amounts estimated by various witnesses, suggests that the figure was reasonably correct, and this was supported by the independent evidence of town and country traders who were consulted on the amounts spent on clothes by families of different economic groups during a normal year. A trader, who for twelve years had a store on the Upper Umzinkulu, told the investigator that the average amount spent by a family per annum on clothes was £5; £4 by the uneducated, purely rural type; £6 by the educated group to whom several urban members belonged. Elder brothers and sisters, who are earning, frequently provide school clothes for the younger members of their families.

[The purchase of second-hand clothes, sometimes at excessive prices, is important. On the other hand, the increasing practice, instituted by various charitable organisations, of holding jumble sales in the communal halls of the townships, is helpful. The halls are given free of charge to approved institutions, and extremely good value may be obtained by the careful and early buyer. Washerwomen, charwomen and family servants sometimes benefit by gifts of good clothes from their employers. In a recent survey, Professor Batson of Cape Town estimated that the minimum sums upon which "persons" could be clothed in that city, assuming the utmost economy in purchase and wear and tear, was 5s. or 6s. per "family" per week. African women are becoming good buyers, and when they have the necessary cash may spend wisely at town bazaars.]

(f) **School Fees.**—School fees were a small item in 1940 and have now been abolished. The financial problem involved in sending children to day-schools is seldom one of paying fees, but of providing school books and suitable clothes.

(g) **Church Fees.**—Church fees varied according to the denomination and were paid by a large proportion of the tenants. The average amount paid was one shilling for men and sixpence for women per month in the recognised denominations, and one shilling per month for each individual in the separatist churches. An average of eighteen shillings a year in church dues, irrespective of collections, was a usual family contribution.

(b) **Other Expenses.**—

(i) **Taxes.**—1s. 8d. per month (£1 per annum) was paid for poll tax. [Dog taxes are paid when the collector appears, if warning has not been given and the animal secreted. Indirect taxation is paid by every location family. Dr. Neil MacVicar has pointed out that a location family, too poor to buy bread or other expensive foods, lives almost entirely on maize or maize products and normally will consume nine to ten bags of maize in a year in a

family of two adults and three children. Each of these bags has paid the Mealie Control Board levy of half-a-crown. This very poor family, therefore, in one year pays £1 2s. 6d. up to £1 5s. of indirect tax in support of the maize industry. Further, one 2-lb. loaf of bread a day in South Africa costs a family £9 a year, whereas in Britain the same amount of bread costs only £6.]

(ii) *Burial Society Fees.*—Half-a-crown per month was paid by almost every household, and life insurances were taken out by many. [Policies: The terms of the policies are strict and may easily lapse. The Africans, however, are so anxious to have the policies that, rather than default in the payment of their premiums, they economise on food and other essentials. Private benefit societies run by groups of women, who wear special uniforms and have a communal savings account from which they reap benefits, are becoming increasingly popular. These organisations serve the dual function of being benefit and social groups. One denomination, at least, sponsors a provident society to insure against unemployment.]

(iii) *Tobacco.*—The proportion of the income spent on cigarettes and tobacco was high.

(iv) *Entertainments.*—These made sporadic incursions into the budget. Amounts out of all proportion to the income were spent on occasional concerts, dances and communal dinners.

(v) *Beer.*—The people questioned did not patronise the municipal beer halls to any extent, but considerable traffic in drink does take place in the locations and many families have permits, issued under strict control, for European liquor.

(i) *Debts.—Hire-Purchase.*—Debts were incurred mainly in the hire-purchase of furniture. [This appears to be the only method by which a cottage, for a family earning an average wage, can be equipped. It has become part of the urban tradition to possess cheap European furniture. A dining-room suite, a double bed, and a wardrobe are almost essential outward and visible signs of an inward and urbanised culture. In addition, the possession of a sewing machine appears to be essential for any semi-urbanised woman, and is generally a means of livelihood. The hire-purchase price is at least £10. The extreme example of the abuse of hire-purchase brought to the notice of the Department, was that of the recent acquisition of a £50 refrigerator by a tenant who had no food to put into his "ice cupboard" and no electric current to run it. To obtain goods on hire-purchase, agreements must be entered into. Too often, the best terms are offered by firms of little repute who do not demand credentials from their customers. Within a short period, the furniture has to be forfeited, when the payments fall into arrears, a profitable business for the seller, but extremely costly for the customers. Certain reputable firms in the city are making a habit of demanding proof of ability to pay from their African purchasers as they do from Europeans.]

(ii) *Credit.*—Apart from hire-purchase, credit could be obtained at grocery shops for the purchase of food, and, in times of stress, these became large and difficult to settle. When the position was acute, the only way out was to borrow from relatives and friends, or to open a new account with another shopkeeper. The African is generous in

the giving of financial help, and will part with all his available cash to an immediate case of need, even if this means that he himself has to be embarrassed by his act.

[Life in urban areas demands increasingly high standards of living. A Mosutho informed the investigator that in Basutoland he made one leather skirt for his wife before her marriage, and this lasted her for all their time in the country, whereas in Johannesburg she demanded "one dress and sometimes two in a year." Children who go to school lose face if they do not wear uniform. Shoes, and in some cases stockings, are considered necessary adjuncts of the superior family. Food is more varied and costly. Furniture not made at home must be bought. Special occasions demand European trappings. A wedding involves not only a dress for the bride, but at least two change dresses, which must be donned at some time during the celebrations. The bridesmaids and flower girls demand a similar number. Bouquets are necessary. Groomsmen must have dinner jackets; and a photograph of the whole impressive cavalcade has to be taken as a necessary adornment of the new household. Cosmetics are beginning to creep into the budget of the town African girl, who cannot afford the expenditure, even if she is satisfied by the regrettable aesthetic results.]

(j) **The Support of the Aged.**—Two groups of older people made demands upon the income of their own or other families:—

- (a) Those who had grown old in service in the city and whose children had lost their tribal sense of responsibility for their elders. These old people were dependent on the compassion of neighbours and friends. [It should be noted, in this connection, that few industrial or professional Africans get pensions. A pension scheme for municipal employees in Johannesburg is being considered at the present time.]
- (b) Those who came in old age from rural areas to be supported by urban children who still maintained a sense of responsibility. As has been indicated, the family income is not elastic, so that additions to the household involve overcrowding and underfeeding.

An example of the difficulties indicated in (b) is the case of Jane, whose husband had worked as a tailor on his own account for the past ten years. They had two children, both girls, aged ten and two years, who had been sent home to their grandmother in Swaziland. As Jane and her husband could not get accommodation, they had been sharing a two-roomed cottage with another Orlando family who had two girls, aged eight and six years. Completely unannounced, Jane's mother arrived from Swaziland on the pretext that she could not get on with her rural daughter-in-law. She brought with her Jane's two daughters and her own youngest daughter and son, aged fifteen and twelve respectively.

"I did not know that she was coming. I just had a letter to fetch her at the station. This is a great trouble. We cannot get a house for ourselves, but we must keep our mother when her other children will not have her. What are we to do?" asked Jane in coming to the office for help.

Eleven people were sharing this two-roomed cottage. The two married couples shared the bedroom, while the grandmother and six children, ranging from two to fifteen years, including the boy of twelve years, slept in the kitchen.

This case illustrated not only the problem created by the care of the aged relatives, but the effect of irresponsible immigration. A sense of family obligation, so valuable a trait in Bantu life, has its definite disadvantages in poor urban households.

The care of the physically and mentally disabled, the inescapable toll of illness, the cost of transport, shoe leather, and physical energy demanded in looking for work when unemployed, the expenditure attendant upon all vicissitudes, are lurking shadows in the background of an economy which makes no provision for the unexpected arrows of outrageous fortune.

THE EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION ON URBAN INCOME.

The people dealt with in this survey belonged to that group in which the main wage-earner had been continuously employed in the city for not less than two years. This is a condition of the tenancy of a house in a municipal location. The large majority of the informants were people who had been resident in the locations for many years. Some were amongst a second or third generation of town dwellers. The chief wage-earners in each household formed the bulk of the industrial labour of the city, and, economically, this group of workers is the most hard hit. Mining employees and domestic servants are provided with free food and quarters and do not need to spend money on transport to and from work. Their families are almost invariably in the country, where they are supported by their rural income, in addition to the money they receive from the urban wage-earner.

The industrial African has to support his urban family on his town wage and, as has been pointed out, may have to provide for members of his tribe who have come up to visit him for varying periods and sometimes permanently. The casual labourer is able to accept and live on a smaller wage than that which would provide bare subsistence for the urban resident. The constant and increasing influx of natives to the towns contributes directly to the economic stress under which the permanent town families live.

It will be remembered, that in the report of the Native Farm Labour Commission in 1937-1939, reasons were advanced by farmers, Africans and members of the Committee for the increasing drift to the towns, which accounted for the shortage of farm labour. The chief attractions of the town were listed as follows:—

1. Higher cash wages.
2. Regular hours of work.
3. Better food and housing.
4. Freedom from restraint.

5. Opportunities of entertainment and participation in sport during leisure hours.
6. Educational facilities lacking on farms.
7. Better medical facilities.
8. Freedom from parental control.
9. Necessity for earning cash for taxes and increasing domestic requirements.

In the absence of regular census returns, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the extent of the influx of African families into towns. Those who are in daily administrative contact with the people know that the proportion is increasingly high, and is reflected in the perpetual illegal overcrowding of the houses in the townships. Men, women and children form distinct elements in the migratory population.

(a) **Child Immigrants.**—To-day it is as common a practice for country Africans to send their children to town for education, as it is for townspeople to send their children to the country to be brought up by their grandparents. Unfortunately, a large number of the children sent to town for educational purposes drift into other occupations.

In a survey of juvenile newspaper sellers made by Mr. K. Hopkin-Jenkins in 1939, it was determined that thirty per cent. of a total of fifty boys had come from rural areas within the preceding four years.

Fourteen per cent. of the African delinquents who passed through the Probation Office in the year ending 30th June, 1941, came from areas other than Johannesburg or Alexandra Township, which adjoins the northern municipal boundary. The following figures, extracted from the Probation Office records by courtesy of the Senior Probation Officer, are interesting:—

Table (2)—Probation Office Statistics.

Native Males and Females.

1938-1939:

		%	%
Number with addresses within Johannesburg municipal boundary, including municipal townships and excluding Alexandra Township	633	70·333	70·333
Number unspecified addresses	151	16·778	
Number Alexandra Township (northern borders of Johannesburg)	81	9	29·667
Number outside municipal area	35	3·889	
Total delinquents	900		100

1939-1940:

		%	%
Number with addresses within Johannesburg municipal boundary, including municipal townships and excluding Alexandra Township	597	82·573	82·573
Number unspecified addresses ...	—		
Number Alexandra Township (northern borders of Johannesburg)	65	8·990	17·427
Number outside municipal area ...	61	8·437	
Total delinquents	<u>723</u>		<u>100</u>

1940-1941:

		%	%
Number with addresses within Johannesburg municipal boundary, including municipal townships and excluding Alexandra Township	342	72	72
Number unspecified addresses ...	7	1·474	
Number Alexandra Township (northern borders of Johannesburg)	58	12·211	28
Number outside municipal area ...	68	14·315	
Total delinquents	<u>475</u>		<u>100</u>

[The discrepancy between three per cent. from "outside urban areas" in 1939 and fourteen per cent. in 1941 is probably accounted for in particular by the large number of unspecified addresses in 1939, viz., 16·7 per cent. compared with 1·4 per cent. in 1941.]

(b) **Women Immigrants.**—The presence of a woman in town implies the presence of a family and as African women do not carry passes, there is not the slightest actual check on their arrival. Apart from those who come legitimately to join their husbands, others arrive ostensibly to look for husbands who have not returned to their rural homes, and who have ceased to send back financial contributions. If they are not successful in tracing these men, they generally have no option but to form new attachments and begin new households.

Secondly, there is the considerable group of women, particularly Basutos, who come to the city for the sole purpose of setting up highly profitable illicit liquor brewing businesses with their attendant evils. A few deportations have been made, but neither the Basutoland nor the Union authorities have succeeded in evolving a system to stem the tide of this vitiating migration. In a similar manner, but on a smaller scale, women from Portuguese territory gravitate via the coal areas of the Transvaal to the Witwatersrand.

From 1938 to 1941 the following percentages of children passing through the Probation Office, admitted that they possessed only a mother:—

1937.	1938.	1939.	1940.	1941.
28%	26%	26%	24%	26%

These figures do not suggest a preponderance of widows amongst the parents of delinquents, but reflect in addition the families of the illicit brewers who have no legal husbands.

(c) **Men Immigrants.**—Men who come up for the specific purpose of earning cash for taxes, lobola or some other particular reason, very frequently decide to remain in the city and are gradually absorbed into the permanent population. Apart from the problem of the lower wage level created by this continual migration, some newcomers attach themselves to households, to which they may contribute, but from which they do accept material aid, thereby reducing the amount available to each individual. In the words of the Farm Labour Commission: "It is definitely not in the interests of the permanent native resident of urban areas, that the rural population should be drawn upon to provide cheap labour for towns, and these residents must be protected from unfair competition."

(d) **Experiments in the Training of Urban Juvenile Labour.**—In connection with the influx of rural labour, it is the policy of some employers to recruit from definite areas. Most of the Johannesburg golf courses, for example, recruit their caddies from particular districts, mainly because the rural boys are more amenable to discipline and it is easier to control a group coming from one tribe. Extreme difficulty is experienced in keeping up the supply and standard of caddy labour, when the clubs have to depend on unreliable local material.

A joint experiment is being initiated in December, 1941, by the Parks and Estate Department and this Department, whose Research and Welfare Branch is to be responsible for the recruiting of labour from the townships, and the hostel supervision of two hundred caddies on the two municipal golf courses. These boys will be under the care of an African house father and mother, will be clothed and given suitable diet, and will be provided with night-school and recreational facilities in addition to their wages. It is hoped that those who do not qualify to become groundsmen will, by their evening activities, be prepared for drafting into the general labour market through the Department's Employment Bureau.

The Department is giving a lead to experiments in practical education in the creation of its Vocation Farm Schools, the foundations of which were laid in January, 1941. During the year, the land has been cleared and cultivation has begun with African labour. The initial buildings have been erected of local material, the walls of pisé de terre (pressed earth) and the roofs of thatch. A sports field has been laid out. The European Principal has, under his control, an African headmaster and staff. In January, 1942, the first pupils for vocational training will be accepted. Subjects to be taught in the curriculum will include carpentry, gardening, dairying, general farm work and building.

The boys will be given breakfast and dinner on the farm, so that they will be under the influence of the school for the whole of the working day. Recreation will be provided in the afternoons. It is hoped later to extend the scheme to provide boarding facilities and to include a Domestic Science School for girls. This latter, at present, is conducted by means of classes of twenty selected girls who are taught in the communal halls of each township. They are drafted thence, on the completion of their courses, to suitable employers, through the medium of the Employment Bureau. Wages, according to the ability of the girl, are suggested to the employer by their teacher, the Housecraft Organiser.

Experiments of this type, which will involve considerable labour and "follow up" work and possible disappointment, will have to be initiated on a considerable scale, together with a far more practical bias in the syllabus of the schools, if the children of permanently urbanised African families are to be educated towards employment in the city. However carefully this work is extended, the whole position will be undermined if youthful, untrained, casual labour from the country is continually allowed to filter into the city.

SUMMARY.

Effects of Immigration.

1. The immigration of Africans from the Reserves, particularly that of women and children, is making serious social and economic incursions on the life of the urban African population.

Income.

1. Urban income is a household one contributed to by husband, wife, children and sub-tenants. (The average number of children per household in the group studied was three, of all ages.)

The contributions were distributed as follows:—

	Per cent.
Husband	77·1
Wife	13·5
Children	7·5
Sub-tenants	1·7

2. It is essential for the wife to work in order to supplement the income, and thereby the children, who will be the next generation of permanent town dwellers, are neglected. Forty-five per cent. of the women included in the study admitted that they went out to work. The number who are forced to supplement their income by illicit means cannot be determined.

3. Expenditure generally exceeded income. The deficit had to be made up by illicit means or debt.

4. The average household income in 1940 was £5 6s. 8d., the average expenditure was £5 11s. The median and most frequent income was £5.

5. The average income for a man was £4 2s. per month.

6. Wages for unskilled work varied considerably. In practically every industry semi-skilled capacity could be obtained, but few Africans were given financial credit for increased ability.

7. Adult children contributed less to the family than the tribal code demands, but many maintained an inherited sense of responsibility for their relatives.

8. Unrevealed sources of income included illicit brewing, gambling, the organisation of entertainments, cash lobola, sporadic contributions from visitors, and the latent income provided by municipal, mission and government aid.

Expenditure.

1. Over ninety per cent. of the income was spent on the bare necessities for subsistence and was distributed as follows:—

	Per cent.
Food	49.2
Rent	18.4
Clothes	5.3
Fuel and Light	13.1
Transport	6.0
School Fees	.6
Church Fees	.8
Other Expenses (including taxation, insurance, hire-purchase payments and pleasure)	6.2

Food therefore absorbed half the income; rent and transport a quarter.

2. The expenditure on transport and fuel was out of proportion to the incomes earned.

3. The amount spent on food per family per month was £2 14s. 8d., only fifty-seven per cent. of the amount on which it is considered reasonable to live may be maintained.

4. Increased expenditure or greater privation was occasioned by the visits of relatives and friends. The care of the aged, who have no bonus or place of refuge, created a considerable financial problem.

5. Although school fees have now been abolished (1941), school books and uniforms still form a heavy item in budgeting for education.

6. Most families contributed church dues; practically all paid burial and/or life insurance fees.

7. Payments for hire-purchase of furniture were made by most families. Goods bought in this way are more costly and too often have to be forfeited, but, with the present low wage standard, hire-purchase appears to be the only method by which a home for a family earning an average wage can be furnished.

8. Africans living in municipal townships enjoy greater material benefits than those in other parts of the urban area. Notwithstanding this, they are living on or below the subsistence border line. The

average wage of £5 6s. 8d. on which the family was in debt and had not sufficient food, indicated that a minimum wage of at least £6 10s. per month is necessary in Johannesburg, if the bare necessities for decency and health are to be maintained, and the women are to superintend their own homes.

CONCLUSION.

LUSIMUS SATIS.

We have played enough. At one time the major difficulty facing those who wished to support the case of the urban African suffering under disabilities was the lack of factual evidence. The last ten years have increasingly produced the necessary material from which reasonable conclusions may be drawn.*

The danger now seems to be that a too frequent reiteration of the facts may dull the public mind to their urgency. Changes will happen in any event. It rests with those at present responsible for the Administration of South Africa to make those changes as constructive as possible.

The Prime Minister has given a lead to the seeking of a solution of the urban African problem by appointing a Committee of Enquiry into the cost of living of this group. Under the chairmanship of the Secretary for Native Affairs, the Committee consists of experts from each section of public administration concerned. It is hoped that this report, which has been an attempt to state the facts as they relate to a large number of Africans in a very large city, will supplement the findings of that Committee. Interpretation, rather than further collection of material, is the immediate need, and the devising of remedies will have to be the separate work of individual experts.

While it does not fall within the province of this study to make specific recommendations, the facts presented do suggest the need for greater co-operation between Government and local authorities with regard to the inter-action of the Reserves and the Urban Areas. In this connection the creation of State Labour Exchanges, acting as liaison institutions between town and country, might form one type of control of the ingress to the towns.

With regard to wages, increased minima are preferable to wide-spread subsidies, which may lead to pauperisation. The African is a proud man by tradition, and the unwitting encouragement of dependence, which would be coupled always with resentment, should be guarded against.

* "The Native in Industry": Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, Memorandum No. 3. Hortors Limited, Johannesburg, 1927.

"Native Life in a Johannesburg Slum Yard": Ellen Hellman, Africa, Vol. VIII, No. 1. Oxford University Press, 1935.

"Social and Economic Facts revealed in Native Family Budgets": Eileen Jensen Krige, "Race Relations," Vol. I, No. 6. Morija, Basutoland, 1934.

"The Bantu in the City": Ray E. Phillips, Lovedale, 1938.

"Native Budgets in Johannesburg": A sample investigation by the Johannesburg Political Economy Club, *South African Journal of Economics*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, June, 1940.

A greater spending capacity would create the need for more careful training in the use of money, and would inevitably be to the benefit of the European producer as well as to the advantage of the African consumer.

In the development of educational policy it is evident that increasing attention will have to be paid to practical and vocational training if African labour is to be less wastefully employed.

Experiments already under consideration in some areas are (a) the making available of good food, including fruit and vegetables, at reasonable prices, through the development of market schemes, particularly by co-operation between the Native Local Councils, Native Trust Land Areas and local authorities, (b) the provision of Old Age and Unemployment Insurances, and (c) the creation within reasonable travelling distance of the large cities of freehold areas where Africans, without any tribal ties, may purchase land and build their own properties. The present permanent urban dweller can look forward neither to a pension nor to security of habitation when his labouring days are done, and it is manifestly unfair that Africans in a position to support themselves adequately, should be reaping the benefits and suffering the restrictions of sub-economic housing schemes designed for the poorer worker.

Finally, it is essential that a census of all areas within the Union should be taken simultaneously and at regular intervals. The development of any aspect of national policy is dependent upon the availability of such vital statistics. In addition, the country might, with advantage, be zoned into areas distinct in economic conditions, in each of which a Research and Welfare Branch of the Union Department of Social Welfare would, by intimate knowledge, assess changing local conditions and the needs of the people concerned.

Should a co-ordinating council representative of all African territories be set up after the war, such work, on a national scale, would contribute to the formation of policy. The common discipline and service in which so many Africans are now sharing may well be a prelude to the sharing of the larger benefits of peace.

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DIET IN THE URBAN LOCATIONS AS INDICATED BY THE SURVEY

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The following information regarding the diet available to location residents is based on that obtained during the course of the foregoing survey.

The formidable difficulties involved in obtaining an accurate picture of the diet actually consumed by such a population group are sufficiently obvious, and it cannot be claimed that they have been altogether overcome. Thus, while it was comparatively easy to ascertain the amount of cash available for the purchase of food, the actual price paid had to some extent to be estimated, since variations occur according to the quantity of a given foodstuff bought at a given time. This aspect will be considered later.

A further and much more serious source of inaccuracy arises from the fact that quite appreciable amounts of food are commonly obtained from sources which it was not found possible to deal with in any detail. From what follows it will be seen that these extraneous and precarious supplies of food play a most important part in the nutrition of native urban residents. Indeed, it seems clear that without such additional supplies the diet would be grossly deficient in most essential constituents, not excluding calories.

Unfortunately, for obvious reasons, it is impossible to assess the effect of the food obtained in this way; to obtain all the necessary details would prove a difficult and most laborious task, even assuming that a sufficient number of residents could be found who would be willing to disclose them.

We have therefore had to content ourselves with as precise a statement as possible of the "diet as purchased" and leave to the imagination the extent to which the "diet as actually eaten" makes good the glaring deficiencies that are revealed.

1. Family budgets were collected from 987 households over a period of eleven months, i.e. from January to November, 1940.

The households included 4,784 persons, giving an average per household of 4.84. It is well known that lodgers, official and unofficial, are an important feature of location life. The number of the former in the group studied is stated to be 73. If these are ignored, it would appear that a typical family consisted of 3 persons over the age of fourteen (2 parents and 1 older child), together with 2 persons under fourteen. The actual age distribution has been given in full in the body of the report. For convenience it has been summarised in Table 1.

TABLE 1.

Number and Percentage Distribution of the Population included in the Survey according to Four Age Groups.

Age Group.	Number.	Percentage.
Children:		
0 to 11 months	138	2.9
1 to 14 years	1,703	35.6
Adults	2,891	60.4
Old People	52	1.1
	<u>4,784</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The proportion of children in the group is of obvious importance from the standpoint of diet, and hence it is of interest to note that the percentage under fourteen (38.6) is closely similar to that found for the native population as a whole at the 1936 Census (40.6). Apparently the former custom of sending young children away to the country to be looked after by relatives is rapidly declining, while the high infant mortality associated with town life is more or less counterbalanced by the number of country children sent to the towns as well as illegitimate children that have to be cared for.

2. Clearly it is of little use in a group consisting of both sexes and all ages to work out the average amount of the various foods per head. The usual practice is to express the persons in the group as "fractions of an adult male," using a standard scale of coefficients. We have adapted the scale suggested by Cathcart and Murray (1931).

In this way it was found that the 4,784 persons were equivalent to a "man value" of 3,786.

3. Knowing the average monthly expenditure on each item of food, the typical price paid for the food and its chemical composition, it was possible to estimate with some degree of precision the amount of each dietary constituent available per "man unit."

The figures obtained are summarised in Table 2, and in the succeeding table a comparison is made between the amounts of each constituent provided by the food purchased with that considered to be desirable for the promotion and maintenance of health. Such estimates are the best available to us, but must be regarded as still of a tentative nature. In order to make the comparison as practical as possible we have included two such standards; by "marginal" is meant an amount that will maintain health at any rate for a limited period; the "optimal" standard represents amounts which are presumed to be fully adequate and probably are on the generous side. Moreover, it is well to remember that neither of these standards has been arrived at from the study of natives living under South African conditions.

TABLE 2.

Table showing the amounts of various articles of diet purchased monthly per man unit, together with the approximate amount of each of the principal constituents supplied by this diet.

FOODSTUFF.	Average expenditure per man unit (pence).	Price, pence (per pound).	Amount purchased (pounds).	Calories.	Protein (grams).	Fat (grams).	Carbo-hydrates (grams).	Calcium (milligrams).	Iron (milligrams).	Phosphorus (milligrams).	Vitamin A (International units).	Vitamin B ₁ (International units).	Vitamin C (International units).
Mealie Meal, refined white	22.6	1.1	18.83	30,693	787	256	6,326	1,368	256	14,619	427	1,282	—
Bread, white bakers' ...	10.5	3.0	3.50	4,186	127	11	858	365	16	1,160	636	238	—
Rice, polished	3.0	4.0	0.75	1,186	20	1	273	34	3	324	—	85	—
Sugar, white	15.7	4.0	3.93	7,094	—	—	1,784	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jam	6.0	6.0	1.00	1,282	3	—	313	109	7	82	—	—	45
Meat	57.5	6.0	9.58	9,264	870	652	—	391	152	6,524	870	652	435
Sardines, tinned	3.0	32.0	1.50 oz.	124	9	10	—	176	2	294	?	?	—
Milk, fresh	12.6	3.0 pint	4.2 pint	1,567	79	86	119	2,863	5	2,219	477	239	12
Milk, sweetened condensed	4.0	9.0	7.0 oz.	650	16	17	109	742	1	585	199	40	2
Potatoes	9.0	3.0	3.00	1,155	27	1	255	191	18	790	136	545	136
Cabbage	6.5	5.0	1.30	169	8	1	25	266	6	171	1,770	118	295
Onions, dried	4.0	3.0	1.33	293	8	1	57	205	4	272	91	60	60
Tomatoes	4.0	6.0	1.50	158	7	2	23	75	3	177	13,620	136	123
Fruit	Nil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Salt	1.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tea	9.1	33.0	4.4 oz.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coffee	2.7	8.0	5.4 oz.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total per month	171.2			57,821	1,961	1,038	1,004	6,775	473	27,217	182,266	3,395	1,108
Total per day	5.7			1,927	65	35	334	225	16	907	607	113	37

TABLE 3.
Comparison of Diet as Purchased with " Marginal " and
" Optimal " Requirements.

	Diet as Purchased.		Requirements:		
			" Marginal."	" Optimal."	
Calories	...	1,827	...	3,000	3,500
Protein	...	65 gm.	...	50	70—160 gm.
Fat	...	34 "	...	50	120 "
Carbohydrate	...	334 "	...	570	485 "
Calcium	...	225 "	...	750	1,000 "
Iron	...	16 mg.	...	10	20 mg.
Phosphorus	...	907 "	...	1,000	1,500 "
Vitamin A	...	607 I.U.	...	2,500	5,000 I.U.
Vitamin B ₁	...	113 "	...	330	700 "
Vitamin C	...	37 mg.	...	25	75 mg.

4. A glance at Table 3 shows clearly that the diet, as purchased, falls short in most respects even when compared with the " marginal " standard. The amount of the discrepancy is particularly noticeable with respect to fat, calcium and vitamins A and B₁.

PROTEIN.—It is somewhat surprising that the amount of protein is as high as it is, seeing that this constituent is usually considered to be one of the most expensive in a diet; furthermore, since almost exactly 50 per cent. is derived from animal sources, it may be presumed that this protein is of a fully satisfactory quality. The amount of money spent on meat, and the cheap price at which it was obtainable, is in fact one of the striking features of the budget. It is, however, a well-known fact that the availability of meat in the urban locations proves a most attractive feature to the majority of natives. The quality or cut seems to be a matter of little importance. The figures also indicate the practical importance of mealie meal as a source of protein in the diet; a fact consistently overlooked by those who regard this valuable food as merely a source of starch.

FAT.—The amount of fat is extremely low and in all probability is lower than indicated by the figures, since the amount present in meat is very variable indeed and may have been estimated at too high a figure. Provided an adequate supply of fat soluble vitamins are forthcoming from the remainder of the diet, the chief value of this constituent turns on the part it plays in supplying calories, while at the same time reducing bulk. In other words the diet as it stands is far too bulky to be regarded as satisfactory.

CALCIUM.—The amount indicated is undoubtedly extremely low and compares very badly with requirements as suggested by overseas workers. On the other hand there is a good deal of evidence which suggests that under South African conditions requirements may be somewhat lower, at any rate, diets low in calcium are not uncommon and have not as yet been shown to produce the unsatisfactory results to be expected from them.

VITAMIN A.—There is a gross deficiency of vitamin A, and the amount present would be lower still were it not for the inclusion of a few tomatoes. This is a most unsatisfactory feature of the diet as it stands, yet it could easily and very inexpensively be remedied if supplies of the vitamin A concentrate now being manufactured from South African fish were made available. No doubt in practice additional supplies are also sometimes forthcoming when pumpkins are available.

VITAMIN B₁.—According to our figures the daily intake of this vitamin is barely one-third of the "marginal" value, yet few dieticians would accept this amount as adequate. It will be noted that the chief source is highly refined mealie meal, for which a value of 15 International Units per 100 grams has been adopted. The popularity of this type of meal is a most unfortunate feature of the urban native's diet, since it is so low in this constituent. Recent work at the Institute by Dr. L. Goldberg has shown that the unrefined meal, such as was formerly in common use in the rural areas, contains at least four times as much of this vitamin.

VITAMIN C.—In arriving at a total of 37 milligrams for vitamin C we have probably erred on the generous side, for although meat and vegetables in the quantities purchased will undoubtedly contribute appreciable amounts of this vitamin, it is doubtful how much will survive the drastic methods of cooking that are likely to be employed. A 50 per cent. destruction would not be unreasonable, and this would barely leave enough to protect from actual scurvy.

It is necessary to emphasize that the position is a good deal worse than appears on the surface. For, although by converting to an equivalent number of adult men, it is possible to overcome the varied requirements of a group consisting of people of both sexes and different ages in respect to their needs for "fuel" (or calories), the needs for many other constituents are masked, rather than adjusted. Thus the requirements for calcium and the vitamins are, as would be expected, considerably *greater* during childhood, pregnancy and lactation than for an adult male, no matter how hard he works. But as we have seen the amounts available do not even meet the needs of the "man unit."

CALORIES.—The most striking thing of all about the diet is that it fails to supply the adult male with the calories he must have if he is to carry out active work. But these needs have got to be supplied, for they express themselves in the urgent terms of appetite.

This immediately raises the question of whether the diet as it stands, i.e. the foods purchased, does in fact include all that is eaten during the course of the month, or whether there may not be other sources of food which have not been taken into account.

5. We have already referred to the great practical difficulties encountered when attempting to make a survey of this kind as precise as possible; nowhere, perhaps, are these difficulties greater than when dealing with the food consumed. That other sources of food do in fact exist was stressed by those carrying out the survey, and since it

is almost impossible to express them in quantitative terms, we can only enumerate them as follows:—

(a) All women workers—a total of 450, or about one-third of the total included in the group—probably receive one or two full meals a week, according to the number of days they are out washing or charring.

(b) Daily workers in flats, etc., probably receive the bulk of their food in this way.

(c) Domestic servants, who return to their families only at the week-ends, receive all their food from their employers.

(d) Many such servants receive parcels of scraps to take home, and in some cases it is known that these gifts are regular and generous.

(e) Occasionally, small children accompany their mothers to their work and also receive food.

(f) Where no official ration is issued employers occasionally provide a supply of mealie meal, or marewu for the use of their employees. Similarly tea, marewu and other foods are sometimes available for men working in hotels, boarding-houses, factories, etc.

(g) The exchange of food that takes place at weddings, funerals, friendly visits, etc., must also be taken into account. The amount of food obtainable in this way is stated to be “considerable,” though it must be remembered that this item cuts both ways; the group can hardly have always been the recipients.

(h) Relatives living in a house will supply an occasional bag of mealie meal, or a gift of meat, which is not recorded in the budget.

(i) All the children at nursery schools and crèches are supplied with three full meals a day, but the number included in this survey which received help in this way probably does not amount to more than 40 to 50 at the outside.

(j) Several other minor sources of food are recognised, e.g. gifts in kind to children who help in shops; boys obtain similar supplies for running errands; a certain amount is distributed at clinics to mothers and so on.

(k) Variable amounts of vegetables—sometimes quite appreciable—are obtained from home gardens.

It will be realised that it is impossible to express these extraneous sources of food quantitatively, but that they may well exert an appreciable, though erratic effect upon the diet when taken as a whole can hardly be questioned.

A pound of mealie meal alone will supply nearly two thousand calories, and it may be assumed that it is in this way that the otherwise unaccountable discrepancy between calorie intake and fundamental, inescapable requirements is met.

The bald fact remains that the diet “as purchased” is grossly deficient in many of the requirements of an adult male, still more does it fail to meet the needs of the children and the pregnant or lactating women. In other words, the health of the group is very largely dependent on a most undependable source of supply. Surely a disgraceful state of affairs.

6. It may be of some interest to compare the composition of the purchased diet with that revealed by an inquiry made in 1936 upon European families at various income levels. In Table 4 we have reproduced the results obtained for the lowest income group, i.e. up to £125 per annum. It will be noticed that the average yearly income for the group in this survey amounts almost exactly to half this sum, i.e. £64.

TABLE 4.
Constituents Consumed per Man Unit per Day by European Families in Certain Urban Areas, 1936.

(Annual Income Group—Up to £125.)			
Protein	...	...	101— 103 gm. (animal 36).
Fat	...	...	60— 68 gm.
Chate	...	...	626— 633 gm.
Calories	...	...	3,576—3,683
Calcium	...	...	494— 507 mgm.
Phosphorus	...	...	1,643—1,685 mgm.
Iron	...	...	22— 23 mgm.

No estimates of vitamin intake were made.

7. The nature of the foods selected also calls for some comment.

(a) MEALIE MEAL.—It will be seen that mealie meal forms the backbone of the diet. Unfortunately, as already mentioned, this is almost invariably a highly refined type; there is a widespread and growing dislike for the types that approximate more closely to that used in the rural areas. This single fact has a most marked effect upon the nutrition of Natives. Samp is used in small quantities only.

(b) BREAD.—Less than a pound of bread per head is bought during one week, in fact more money is spent on sugar than on bread. (The war loaf has had the effect of compelling the people to eat a much more nutritious product.)

Home-made bread is seldom used, partly because the women have to go out to work and therefore find it difficult to make, even if they know how, but mainly because yeast is unobtainable without a permit, which involves a visit to the office. Baking also means more money spent on fuel.

(c) MEAT.—This is not bought specially in cuts, but by the pound. The price at the time of the survey was 6d. per pound. This meat is generally a mixture of beef and lights, with little bone or fat.

(d) VEGETABLES.—Potatoes are fortunately a popular vegetable, but even in 1940 threepence would usually only purchase four average size specimens. Next in popularity come cabbage, tomatoes and onions. In 1940 cabbages cost 3d. "for a very small one as big as a tennis ball," 6d. for a larger one; tomatoes were 1d. each; dried onions were 1d. each. Pumpkins at 6d. each for a small one, and green mealies at 1d. each are eaten in season, but "practically every household grows its own." Sugar cane when available costs 1d. per stick. Green peas and beans are seldom eaten, even if they are available, because of the expense.

(e) MILK.—The following further particulars may be mentioned with regard to the consumption of milk.

Number of households using:			Per cent.	
Fresh milk only	... ..	545	...	55
Condensed milk	... ..	288	...	29
Fresh and condensed	... ..	99	...	10
No milk at all	... ..	53	...	5
		985	...	100

No mention is made of the consumption of sour or separated milk, which we understand is available at any rate during certain parts of the year. Condensed milk is not really as dear as is generally imagined, unless bought in the smallest size tins, and in the poor home possesses the virtue of keeping well under unfavourable circumstances. A cheap source of dried milk would prove of the greatest benefit, until a properly organised milk scheme is put into operation. In view of the popularity of tea, it is questionable whether the milk purchased reaches those who need it most, i.e. the children. On the other hand many women are stated to refuse milk on account of tribal taboos.

(f) FRUIT.—Fruit is not included in the expenditure because its purchase depends upon the occasional and unanticipated availability of cash. It is considered a luxury, not a necessity.

(g) SUGAR.—The large amount of money spent on sugar is an interesting example of the way in which taste determines what is selected, rather than nutritional value. The same amount of sugar could have been obtained from digesting mealie meal or bread at a fraction of the cost, but sweetness is as irresistible to adult Natives as it is to most children.

(h) TEA AND COFFEE.—Natives have readily adopted the tea and coffee drinking habits of Europeans, much to the detriment of their diet. It will be noticed that as much money is spent on this item, which contributes nothing to the nutritional value of the diet, as on fresh milk, which would greatly improve it. From this standpoint the money would be very much better spent on marewu or kaffir beer.

A few people purchase Bush tea at 4d. per pound, but the majority use ordinary Indian tea. Coffee is liked, but is bought by only a few householders.

(i) EGGS.—Eggs are seldom bought except for feasts, or occasionally for the baking of cakes.

(j) BUTTER.—Butter is so rarely used as to be a negligible item in the diet. Practically no families admitted purchasing it. The same applies to cheese. This probably has an important influence on the low consumption of bread and the way that white bread is preferred, since we have learnt from very poor European families that bread, particularly wholemeal bread, is less palatable than porridge if there is no "relish" to go with it. Dripping is collected by careful housewives in small tins on the special occasions when a roast is being cooked, but again the amount is practically negligible.

The main meal of the day is eaten in the evening and consists chiefly of mealie meal and stew. A pot of cold stiff mealie meal is generally available in the kitchen for snacks during the day. Most of the children subsist on this only until their parents come home. A teacher remarked "porridge thinned out with water will go a long way"; it is probable that towards the end of the month, or when money is scarce, the mealie meal porridge becomes thinner and thinner.

8. Another noticeable feature is the tendency to buy food in small quantities. We are informed that this is due (a) to lack of money, (b) lack of forethought, (c) lack of storage facilities.

With regard to the last-mentioned, it is interesting to note that even skokiaan queens in excellent financial circumstances still buy in very small quantities except for the mealie meal needed in brewing; they have not got the necessary space for storing larger amounts.

Contrary to general belief, there does not appear to be much advantage, as far as price is concerned, when the staple foodstuffs, such as mealie meal, sugar, potatoes, etc., are bought in what might be called reasonably large units; the same applies to fuel. But in the case of vegetables and fruit, and especially tea, the housewife who can afford to buy in larger quantities stands to gain quite considerably. For instance, tea is frequently bought in 1 ounce packets at 3d., i.e. 4s. per pound; when bought by the pound, less than 2s. is the charge. The very small tins of condensed milk are (naturally) much more expensive than the larger sizes in terms of food obtained.

No doubt a good deal could be done to educate the poor housewife regarding these and similar matters, thus helping her to spend her very restricted income to the best advantage. Co-operative buying of vegetables and fruit offers another line of attack; moreover, this obviates the very real difficulty arising from inadequate storage facilities.

Poverty is clearly the principal cause of the unsatisfactory nature of this diet, though other factors must also not be overlooked; thus, custom, the desire to be civilised in the less satisfactory sense of the word, ignorance about what to buy and how best to buy it, the unavailability of the protective foodstuffs, as well as the influence of advertising, are some of the contributory causes.

Even at the low level of expenditure shown by the survey there could be some real improvement in the nutritional value of the diet; thus the use of whole-meal, mealie meal and whole-meal bread would raise the intake of vitamin B₁ appreciably, much to the benefit of the consumer. With habits as they are, it would no doubt be unreasonable to expect that the money spent on tea and sugar could be diverted to more milk, but it would be a most desirable change as far as health was concerned.

The value of communal feeding schemes is also well illustrated by the fact that on the very large scale employed by the mines a much superior diet is supplied at a slightly lower cost; but probably few location residents would look with favour on such a diet, even if

it could be arranged. Nevertheless, there is scope for experiments along the lines of simple communal feeding schemes.

The tragic way in which the hard-won income is spent on foods of low or negligible nutritional value is obvious and emphasises the need for education about such matters; equally clear is the need for greatly improving the availability and reducing the cost of the protective foodstuffs, particularly milk, vegetables and fruit.

SUMMARY.

An attempt has been made to assess the nutritive value of the diet in common use by the urban native population from data supplied by an investigation on 987 households.

The diet "as purchased" discloses a gross deficiency in the amounts of most constituents, even when compared with that recommended as a "marginal" standard for an adult male. The discrepancies are even greater when allowance is made for children and pregnant or lactating women.

However, other sources of food are also made use of, and the possibility cannot be excluded that these subsidiary supplies greatly lessen the discrepancies revealed.

Even if the situation thus disclosed is viewed in its most favourable light, we are faced with the intolerable position that the health of the individuals composing this group is dependent upon these extraneous and precarious supplements.

The diet is also unsatisfactory in other ways; the foods selected are often of low nutritive value, and in some cases are more expensive than they need be owing to the high price paid when purchases are made in small quantities.

That diets of this kind are likely to give rise to a low standard of health has now been established beyond any reasonable doubt. In the case of our urban native population, however, we have the clear evidence of the hospitals that such is actually the case.

No doubt increased hospital accommodation is urgently required on many grounds, but it is suggested that money spent on preventive measures, including improved nutrition, would relieve the hospitals of some of the present pressure.

Raising wages, or alternatively decreasing the cost of living; better availability of protective foods, especially milk, vegetables and fruit; better storage facilities and education regarding the planning and selection of food, are some of the more obvious directions in which the present situation could be improved. Experiments along the lines of communal feeding are also clearly indicated.

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- Union of South Africa: Report on the inquiry into the expenditure of European families in certain urban areas, 1936. Pretoria: Government Printer, 1937.
- Union of South Africa Yearbook. 1940, 21, 1011 (Age distribution of Natives).

Appendix II.

Suggested diet for an urban African family consisting of a labourer, woman and children—aged 14, 10 and 1½ years (baby)—at a cost of £4 8s. for four weeks.

The following is a working example of a low cost diet which goes some way towards meeting essential requirements, with due regard to native custom and taste:—

Price List from which costs are estimated:

- Mealie Meal: 2s. 6d. per 25 lbs., or 10 lbs. for 1s.
- Sugar, Government: 2½d. per lb.
- Bread, wholemeal: 6d. per 2 lb. loaf.
- Dripping: 6d. per 1 lb.
- Milk: 3d. per 1 pint.
- Meat: 6d. per 1 lb.
- Rice: 3d. per 1 lb.
- Cabbage: 5d. per 1 lb.
- Potatoes: 1s. per 10 lbs.
- Tea: 2s. 3d. per 1 lb.
- Beans: 3d. per 1 lb.
- Samp: 5 lbs. for 9d., or 6 lbs. for 1s.
- Amasi: 3d. per pint.
- Mealies: 1d. each.
- Raisins: 6d. per 1 lb.
- Peanuts: 3d. per packet (about 3d. per 8 ozs.).

WEEKLY ANALYSIS.

Commodity and Quantity.	Price.	Daily Average.
	£ s. d.	
Mealie Meal: 8½ lbs.	0 0 10 *	1¼ lbs. per day.
Milk: 19 pints	0 4 9	2¾ pints per day.
Sugar: 30 ozs.	0 0 4½*	4 ozs. per day.
Tea: 3½ ozs.	0 0 5¾*	½ oz. per day.
Bread: 3 loaves	0 1 6	½ loaf* per day.
Dripping: 1¾ lbs.	0 0 10½	¼ lb. per day.
Vegetables and Fruit: 4s. 1½d.	0 4 1½	7d. per day.
Peanuts: 7d.	0 0 7	1d. per day.
Meat: 9 lbs.	0 4 6	1¼ lbs. per day.
Rice: 2 lbs.	0 0 6	Twice week.
Mahewu: 6d. at 2d.-3d. pint ...	0 0 6	Twice week.
Beans: 2 lbs.	0 0 6	Twice week.
Fish and Chips: 1s.	0 1 0	Twice week.
Mealies: 8 at 1d. each	0 0 8	Once week.
Samp: 2 lbs.	0 0 3½	Twice week.
Salt	0 0 6	---
	£1 1 11¾	
	£1 2 0 *	

* Approximately.

MEALS.

	£	s.	d.
Monday	0	3	1½
Tuesday	0	2	9
Wednesday	0	3	2
Thursday	0	2	11
Friday	0	3	1
Saturday	0	2	11½
Sunday	0	3	5¾
	£1	1	5¾
Salt (extra)	0	0	6
	£1	2	0*

Cost of Meals: £1 2s. 0d. per week.
 £4 8s. 0d. per month.

* Approximately.

MENU FOR ONE WEEK.

MONDAY:

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Breakfast:				
Mealie meal (1 lb. for porridge)	0	1*		
1½ pints milk	0	4½		
4 oz. sugar	0	0¾		
½ oz. tea	0	0¾		
			0	7
Lunch:				
Husband—				
Half loaf bread	0	3		
¼ lb. dripping	0	1½		
			0	4½
Family (i.e. wife and three children)—				
Vegetable soup and peanuts	0	5		
Dripping	0	1½		
			0	6½
Evening Meal:				
Liver, at 6d. per 1 lb.	1	0		
Vegetables, green	0	3		
Rice	0	3		
½ pint milk for baby	0	1½		
			1	7½
			3	1½

TUESDAY:

Breakfast: As for Monday	0	7		
			0	7

Lunch:								
Husband—							s. d.	s. d.
	Mahewu	...	...	...	...	0 3	
	Fruit/tomatoes	...	...	...	...	0 3	
						<hr/>	0 6	
Family—								
	Bread, half-loaf	...	...	...	...	0 3	
	Amasi, 1½ pints	...	...	...	...	0 4½	
						<hr/>	0 7½	
Evening Meal:								
	Beans, dried, 1 lb.	...	...	...	...	0 3	
	4 ozs. dripping	...	...	...	...	0 1½	
	Samp, 1 lb.	...	...	...	...	0 2	
	Vegetables, green and root	...	...	...	...	0 6	
						<hr/>	1 2	
							<hr/>	
							2 9	
							<hr/>	
WEDNESDAY:								
Breakfast:								
	As for Monday	...	...	...	...	0 7	
						<hr/>	0 7	
Lunch:								
Husband—								
	Fish and chips	...	...	...	...	0 6	
						<hr/>	0 6	
Family—								
	¾ lb. mealie meal	...	...	...	...	0 1*	
	Peanuts	...	...	...	...	0 3	
	1 pint milk	...	...	...	...	0 3	
						<hr/>	0 7	
Evening Meal:								
	Pluck	...	...	...	...	1 0	
	Vegetables, green	...	...	...	...	0 3	
	Potatoes	...	...	...	...	0 1½	
	½ pint milk for baby	...	...	...	...	0 1½	
						<hr/>	1 6	
							<hr/>	
							3 2	
							<hr/>	
THURSDAY:								
Breakfast: As for Monday							0 7	
						<hr/>	0 7	
Lunch:								
Husband—								
	Green mealies	...	...	...	...	0 2	
	½ pint milk	...	...	...	...	0 1½	
						<hr/>	0 3½	

* Approximately.

							s.	d.	s.	d.
Family—										
Green mealies	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6		
Fruit	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3		
$\frac{1}{2}$ pint amasi	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
									0	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Evening Meal:										
Beans, 1 lb.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3		
4 ozs. dripping	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Vegetables, green	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6		
Samp	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2		
$\frac{1}{2}$ pint milk for baby	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
									1	2
									2	11

FRIDAY:

Breakfast:										
As for Monday	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7		
									0	7
Lunch:										
Husband—										
Mahewu	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3		
Bread	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3		
									0	6
Family—										
Vegetable soup	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3		
Dripping	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Bread	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3		
									0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Evening Meal:										
Mince	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	9		
Onions	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3		
Potatoes	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3		
Milk, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint for baby	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
									1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
									3	1

SATURDAY:

Breakfast:										
As for Monday	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7		
									0	7
Lunch:										
Husband—										
Fish and chips	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6		
									0	6
Family—										
Mealie meal	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1*		
Amasi, 1 pint	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3		
									0	4

Evening Meal:							s. d.	s. d.
Stew meat	...	...	...	...	...	0 9		
Beans/peanuts	...	...	...	...	...	0 2		
Vegetables	...	...	...	...	...	0 6		
Milk, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint for baby	...	...	...	...	...	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
							<hr/>	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
								<hr/>
								2 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
								<hr/>

SUNDAY:

Breakfast:

1 lb. mealie meal	...	...	...	...	...	0 1*	
$1\frac{1}{2}$ pints milk	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
							<hr/>	0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Midday:

Meat	...	...	...	...	...	1 0	
Vegetables, green	...	...	...	...	...	0 6	
Rice	...	...	...	...	...	0 3	
							<hr/>	1 9

Evening Meal:

1 loaf bread	...	...	...	...	...	0 6	
$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. dripping	...	...	...	...	...	0 3	
$1\frac{1}{2}$ pints milk	...	...	...	...	...	0 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Tea	...	...	...	...	...	0 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	
6 ozs. sugar	...	...	...	...	...	0 1*	
							<hr/>	1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
								<hr/>
								3 5 $\frac{3}{4}$
								<hr/>

* Approximately.

B. E. SMITH,
Housecraft Organiser.

APPENDIX III.

Tables showing—

- (a) Revealed income in ascending order in relation to expenditure on food and man value (as far as possible, 10s. groups have been selected).
- (b) Expenditure on food in ascending order in relation to total income and man value (as far as possible, 5s. groups have been selected).
- (c) Man value in ascending order in relation to revealed income and expenditure on food (as far as possible, variations of ·20 in man value have been selected).

Factors for "man value" taken from "Food the Deciding Factor," by F. Wokes, Penguin Special, 1941:—

	Factor for "Man Value."
Baby: 0-1 year 	0·20
Child: 1-2 years 	0·30
2-3 years 	0·40
3-6 years 	0·50
6-8 years 	0·60
8-10 years 	0·70
10-12 years	0·80
12-14 years	0·90
Girl above 14 years	0·83
Boy above 14 years 	1·00
Woman 	0·83
Man doing moderate work	1·00
Men and women above 60 years	0·70

N.B.—These tables are included for interest only and are extracts from the total 987 cases. They illustrate the point made in the report that there is no consistent relation between the size of the family, the income earned and the amount spent on food.

Appendix IIIa.

**Total Income in Ascending Order in Relation to Expenditure
on Food and Man Value.**

(As far as possible, 10s. groups have been selected.)

Revealed Income.	Expenditure on Food.	Man Value.
£0 10 0	£2 9 10	2.13
1 0 0	1 1 1	3.66
1 10 0	1 0 5	3.66
2 0 0	1 18 4	2.86
2 10 0	1 8 9	3.63
3 0 0	2 17 3	3.66
3 10 0	1 9 10	3.56
4 0 0	1 6 3	3.23
4 10 0	2 19 7	3.56
5 0 0	4 1 2	3.66
5 10 0	2 2 8	3.66
6 0 0	2 18 0	3.53
6 10 0	3 9 6	4.23
7 0 0	3 13 9	4.13
7 10 0	2 15 0	3.83
8 0 0	3 19 7	3.43
8 10 0	2 11 9	4.43
9 0 0	3 7 3	4.53
9 10 0	5 1 0	3.13
10 0 0	4 4 4	4.36
10 10 0	2 10 9	3.86
11 0 0	5 9 6	4.96
11 10 0	3 12 3	5.26
12 0 0	5 19 7	6.20
12 10 0	4 15 2	6.29
13 0 0	3 2 11	3.53
13 10 0	3 11 9	3.29
14 0 0	4 9 9	5.86
14 6 6	4 18 3	6.05
15 0 0	3 10 6	2.83
16 0 0	4 9 3	2.83
18 11 0	1 11 3	1.83
18 17 0	4 13 5	3.22
20 0 0	4 16 0	3.66

Appendix IIb.

**Expenditure on Food in Ascending Order in Relation to
Revealed Income and Man Value.**

(As far as possible, 5s. groups have been selected.)

Expenditure on Food.		Revealed Income.		Man Value.
£0 10 11	...	£4 0 0	...	1·83
0 15 3	...	3 0 0	...	3·43
1 0 0	...	3 12 0	...	1·83
1 5 0	...	2 0 0	...	2·13
1 10 0	...	4 5 0	...	2·83
1 15 1	...	3 0 0	...	1·83
1 15 1	...	1 17 6	...	4·46
2 0 0	...	9 0 0	...	1·83
2 5 0	...	4 0 8	...	5·63
2 10 0	...	4 0 0	...	2·83
2 15 0	...	6 0 0	...	2·83
3 0 0	...	7 10 0	...	2·40
3 5 3	...	1 10 0	...	1·83
3 10 1	...	5 10 0	...	2·83
3 15 1	...	5 8 0	...	6·03
4 0 0	...	6 4 0	...	3·66
4 5 11	...	7 5 0	...	5·62
4 10 2	...	5 0 0	...	5·52
4 15 2	...	12 10 0	...	6·29
5 0 6	...	7 10 0	...	2·83
5 4 0	...	9 0 0	...	5·16
5 10 8	...	6 10 0	...	4·86
5 16 0	...	9 10 8	...	5·93
6 5 2	...	7 10 0	...	5·83
6 9 11	...	6 10 0	...	6·39
6 16 8	...	10 0 0	...	4·66
7 4 6	...	12 0 0	...	7·86
7 9 8	...	12 10 8	...	3·83
8 1 10	...	9 7 4	...	7·76
9 12 1	...	12 0 0	...	3·53

Appendix IIIc.

Man Value in Ascending Order in Relation to Revealed Income and Expenditure on Food.

(As far as possible, variations of .20 in man value have been selected.)

For factors for "man value" see page 43.

Man Value.	Revealed Income.	Expenditure on Food.
1.03	£1 0 0	£0 12 4
1.50	5 5 0	1 12 7
1.63	1 10 0	0 11 8
1.83	5 0 0	2 6 9
2.03	4 16 0	1 8 2
2.23	4 16 0	2 11 9
2.43	5 8 0	1 18 5
2.63	4 15 0	2 14 1
2.83	5 0 0	3 1 4
3.03	5 10 0	3 5 10
3.23	4 8 0	2 8 7
3.43	4 15 0	2 3 7
3.63	4 10 0	2 1 0
3.83	7 0 0	3 11 1
4.03	4 16 0	2 4 2
4.23	5 10 0	3 11 4
4.43	4 0 0	2 2 3
4.63	5 14 0	1 18 4
4.83	5 0 0	3 5 6
5.03	5 8 0	2 7 6
5.23	5 8 0	4 4 2
5.43	6 0 0	3 7 11
5.63	4 0 8	2 5 0
5.83	4 10 0	1 19 11
6.03	5 10 0	3 6 9
6.23	1 12 0	2 1 11
6.45	3 10 0	2 5 9
6.66	5 0 0	3 16 7
6.86	8 0 0	5 17 6
7.06	6 16 0	3 11 0
7.26	5 12 6	3 7 8
7.46	8 14 0	3 7 11
7.66	4 6 6	1 16 7
7.86	12 0 0	7 4 6
8.47	7 0 0	3 15 10
8.69	7 0 0	3 15 5
8.79	5 7 6	1 19 2
9.32	8 0 0	3 5 6

Appendix IV.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF
JOHANNESBURG BANTU.

1. (a) Name.
(b) Address.
2. Tribe.
3. Is your permanent home in town or in the country?
4. How many people live in your house?
5. Number and age of children.
6. (a) Husband's salary.
(b) Is any allowance made for housing or food? (Specify details.)
7. Place of employment.
8. How long have you been in your present employment?
9. What increase in salary have you had?
10. What does your wife earn?
11. How does she earn this money?
12. What other people in your house are earning?
13. How much of this money does each give to the support of your house?

Person.	Money Given.

14. How much per month do you pay for the following?

Rent.	Medicine and Doctors.
Food.	Clothes.
Fuel and Light.	Transport (daily, weekly or monthly).
School Fees.	Pleasure.
Church Fees.	Other Expenses.
15. Do you belong to any benefit society (burial, insurance, etc.)?

Society.	Monthly Contribution.

16. How much per month do you put in Savings Bank?
17. How much have you in Savings Bank?
18. Do you possess any stock or other property?
19. Are you in debt, and to what extent? What do you owe for:—

Furniture.	Clothing.
Rent.	Food.
School and Church Fees.	Other Debts.

General Remarks.

Appendix Y.

Trades and Professions of 974 Men in 956 Households

(indicating average individual income and average household expenditure).

Trade or Profession.	Total in Trade.	Average Income.	Average Expenditure.
EUROPEAN :			
Factories	149	£5 14 2	£5 12 1
Shops	133	6 2 5	5 15 8
Municipal Departments	90	3 19 4	3 19 10
Engineering Trade	64	5 3 2	5 8 1
Other European Industry	45	7 1 2	6 2 2
Building Trade	37	4 15 8	5 4 3
Motor Industry	37	5 19 0	5 10 1
Government and Public Works	35	6 4 6	5 11 7
Mining Industry	34	4 14 4	4 17 10
Wholesale Merchants	32	6 10 2	6 5 4
Contractors	16	4 10 5	4 17 10
Domestic Work	15	4 13 0	5 5 1
Laundry and Dry Cleaning	12	5 15 0	6 5 2
Clerical Work	8	7 5 3	5 10 11
Chauffeurs	6	6 14 9	5 11 10
Liquor Trade	2	5 5 0	5 13 11
Total	<u>715</u>		
AFRICAN :			
Hawkers	44	£6 15 11	£6 5 11
Tailors	15	6 12 8	6 6 1
Other African Industry — Marewu Sellers, Bangle Makers, Watchmakers, Photographers, Plumbers, Mattress Makers	15	5 11 2	5 16 9
Boot Repairers	8	5 10 11	5 10 5
Teachers	7	9 2 2	8 10 2
Evangelists and Ministers	6	7 17 3	6 3 9
Shopkeepers (own account)	6	9 7 0	9 17 1
Carpenters	3	11 16 8	6 9 2
Taxi Drivers	3	6 8 4	6 17 6
Barbers	2	7 17 6	6 16 2
Herbalists	2	6 12 6	5 18 5
Bakers	1	9 0 0	6 11 9
Total	<u>112</u>		
Unemployed	147	2 11 8	4 12 5
European Trade		715	
African Trade		112	
Unemployed		147	
Total		<u>974</u>	

Appendix VI.

Analysis of 182 Families of Five, indicating Age Distribution, Total Income in ascending order, Total Expenditure and Expenditure on Food. (N.B.—Households containing sub-tenants have been excluded from this table.)

Under 2	Age Distribution.				19 and over	Total No. Persons in Family.		Total Income.			Total Expenditure.			Expenditure on Food.		
	2-6	7-14	15-18			Adults.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	—	1	—	—	3	...	5	—	—	—	5	17	11	2	15	0
—	2	—	—	—	3	...	5	—	—	—	4	18	11	2	11	2
—	3	—	—	—	2	...	5	—	—	—	5	14	9	3	4	4
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	0	10	0	4	13	8	2	6	11
1	1	—	2	—	1	...	5	1	0	0	6	14	10	3	7	7
—	1	—	1	1	2	...	5	1	0	0	5	3	4	2	14	7
1	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	1	0	0	4	2	0	1	3	11
—	—	1	2	—	2	...	5	1	0	0	4	19	11	2	15	7
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	1	0	0	3	6	2	1	10	6
—	—	2	1	—	3	...	5	1	10	0	2	17	9	1	8	1
—	—	2	1	—	2	...	5	1	10	0	2	16	7	0	14	1
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	1	10	0	5	10	6	2	11	8
—	—	2	1	1	1	...	5	1	17	6	4	2	0	1	12	1
—	—	2	—	1	2	...	5	2	0	0	8	9	10	4	12	7
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	2	0	0	5	7	0	2	13	7
—	—	2	—	—	2	...	5	2	0	0	4	19	8	2	8	5
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	2	5	0	3	13	3	0	18	11
1	—	1	—	—	3	...	5	2	10	0	4	6	3	2	5	10
—	—	2	1	—	2	...	5	2	17	6	3	14	0	1	17	2
—	—	1	1	1	2	...	5	3	0	0	5	7	9	2	19	9
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	3	0	0	5	0	4	1	17	6
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	3	0	0	2	17	8	0	15	3

Appendix VI—Continued.

Under 2	Age Distribution.			19 and over	Adults.	Total No. Persons in Family.	Total Income.			Total Expenditure.			Expenditure on Food.			
	2-6	7-14	15-18				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
—	1	1	2	—	1	...	5	3	0	0	4	10	9	2	1	6
—	—	2	—	—	3	...	5	3	5	0	3	19	6	0	19	6
1	2	—	—	—	2	...	5	3	5	0	7	7	5	3	14	1
1	—	1	—	—	3	...	5	3	5	0	5	7	9	2	8	11
—	1	1	—	—	3	...	5	3	10	0	6	17	5	3	15	11
—	—	1	—	—	4	...	5	3	10	0	5	2	4	2	7	5
—	—	3	1	—	1	...	5	3	10	0	3	14	3	1	7	0
—	2	—	—	—	3	...	5	3	10	0	4	5	3	2	11	0
1	—	1	—	1	2	...	5	3	10	0	6	6	10	4	12	3
1	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	3	12	0	5	14	1	2	11	7
—	—	1	2	—	2	...	5	3	12	0	6	15	2	3	19	7
1	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	3	12	0	4	8	1	1	16	5
—	—	1	1	—	3	...	5	3	12	0	5	11	8	2	14	8
—	2	—	1	1	1	...	5	3	12	6	4	4	11	2	8	2
—	—	3	—	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	4	13	9	2	2	9
2	1	—	—	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	4	16	10	2	10	0
1	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	6	7	9	3	8	11
—	1	1	—	1	2	...	5	4	0	0	3	18	8	1	10	1
1	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	3	10	1	1	6	3
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	5	4	8	2	0	8
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	5	1	4	2	8	5
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	4	5	9	1	7	9
—	—	2	—	1	2	...	5	4	0	0	5	14	6	2	19	5
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	5	11	8	3	8	7
1	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	6	3	10	3	9	3

Appendix VI—Continued.

Under 2	Age Distribution.			19 and over	Adults.	Total No. Persons in Family.	Total Income.			Total Expenditure.			Expenditure on Food.			
	2-6	7-14	15-18				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
—	—	2	1	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	4	13	8	1	15	10
—	1	3	—	—	1	...	5	4	0	0	5	1	9	2	9	9
1	2	—	—	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	4	5	8	1	14	3
—	—	2	1	—	2	...	5	4	0	0	7	2	7	3	5	9
—	—	—	—	4	1	...	5	4	0	0	5	5	4	2	8	8
1	—	—	1	1	2	...	5	4	0	0	6	7	0	2	18	0
—	—	—	—	3	2	...	5	4	0	0	3	14	9	2	8	0
—	—	2	1	1	1	...	5	4	0	0	4	16	10	2	17	0
—	—	1	2	—	2	...	5	4	2	0	5	8	7	2	13	3
1	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	4	4	0	4	16	2	1	15	4
—	—	3	1	—	1	...	5	4	5	0	5	16	6	2	11	8
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	4	5	0	6	5	4	2	18	6
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	4	6	0	6	13	9	3	9	7
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	4	7	0	6	8	7	2	18	7
—	—	1	1	2	1	...	5	4	7	6	5	10	0	3	5	3
1	1	—	—	—	3	...	5	4	8	0	5	3	7	2	8	7
—	—	3	—	—	2	...	5	4	8	0	4	5	6	1	15	11
—	—	1	1	—	3	...	5	4	10	0	5	15	8	2	13	6
—	—	3	—	—	2	...	5	4	10	0	5	1	7	2	11	9
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	4	10	0	5	3	3	2	1	0
—	1	1	—	—	3	...	5	4	10	0	5	0	4	2	10	9
—	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	4	10	0	4	14	0	1	13	7
—	2	1	1	—	2	...	5	4	10	0	4	11	10	1	11	1
1	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	4	10	0	3	10	10	1	3	2
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	4	10	0	4	9	5	2	1	9

Appendix VI—Continued.

Under 2	Age Distribution.			19 and over	Adults.	Total No. Persons in Family.	Total Income.			Total Expenditure.			Expenditure on Food.		
	2-6	7-14	15-18				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	—	—	1	1	2	5	4	10	0	6	5	6	3	16	3
1	—	—	1	1	2	5	4	10	0	5	16	2	3	19	9
—	2	1	—	—	2	5	4	12	6	5	0	7	2	11	3
—	2	1	—	—	2	5	4	15	0	5	17	0	3	2	6
1	1	1	—	—	2	5	4	15	0	4	18	2	2	3	2
1	1	1	—	—	2	5	4	15	0	4	17	3	3	0	1
—	2	1	—	—	2	5	4	16	0	5	18	2	2	13	2
1	1	1	—	—	2	5	4	16	0	4	18	5	2	4	11
—	2	1	—	—	2	5	4	16	6	5	5	3	3	1	2
—	1	2	—	—	2	5	5	0	0	6	7	6	3	8	2
—	1	2	—	—	2	5	5	0	0	6	10	10	3	6	6
—	—	2	1	—	2	5	5	0	0	5	18	10	2	18	6
—	2	1	—	—	2	5	5	0	0	5	13	9	2	7	3
—	2	1	—	—	2	5	5	0	0	6	1	8	2	4	9
—	2	—	—	—	3	5	5	0	0	5	2	9	2	11	5
1	—	3	—	—	1	5	5	0	0	8	13	1	4	11	9
—	3	—	—	—	2	5	5	0	0	4	18	2	1	18	4
1	1	1	—	—	2	5	5	0	0	5	16	5	3	2	9
—	2	—	—	—	3	5	5	0	0	3	16	8	1	13	5
1	1	—	—	—	3	5	5	0	0	3	17	0	0	18	0
—	2	1	—	—	2	5	5	0	0	4	8	3	2	5	4
—	1	1	—	1	2	5	5	0	0	3	9	3	1	7	10
—	—	—	2	2	1	5	5	0	0	5	19	4	3	17	5
—	—	2	1	—	2	5	5	2	0	4	2	8	1	18	3
1	1	—	—	—	3	5	5	4	0	5	10	11	2	19	1

Appendix VI—Continued

Under 2	Age Distribution.			19 and over	Total No. Persons in Family.	Total Income.			Total Expenditure.			Expenditure on Food.				
	2-6	7-14	15-18			Adults.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1	2	—	—	—	2	...	5	5	5	0	4	16	7	2	7	6
1	1	—	1	—	2	...	5	5	6	0	6	19	4	3	12	6
—	—	2	1	—	2	...	5	5	10	0	7	4	7	3	6	11
—	—	—	2	1	2	...	5	5	10	0	5	13	6	1	18	4
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	5	10	8	6	15	1	3	8	5
1	—	2	—	—	2	...	5	5	10	8	6	16	10	3	14	7
—	—	3	—	—	2	...	5	5	10	8	4	13	9	1	14	7
1	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	5	10	8	5	8	0	2	12	0
—	—	—	2	1	2	...	5	5	10	8	4	16	3	2	5	5
—	—	2	—	—	3	...	5	5	11	0	5	7	7	2	4	8
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	5	11	4	6	11	1	3	10	6
1	2	—	—	—	2	...	5	5	12	0	7	0	0	3	12	7
—	1	1	—	—	3	...	5	5	12	0	3	15	6	0	9	1
—	—	1	1	2	1	...	5	5	12	0	6	1	10	3	2	0
—	—	2	1	—	2	...	5	5	14	0	5	14	1	3	19	2
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	5	15	0	4	16	3	1	14	3
1	—	2	—	—	2	...	5	5	15	0	6	7	8	2	11	0
—	—	2	1	—	2	...	5	5	15	0	5	6	3	2	4	7
—	1	1	—	—	3	...	5	5	15	0	4	7	3	2	10	9
—	1	1	—	—	3	...	5	5	16	0	6	8	3	2	12	8
1	1	1	—	—	2	...	5	5	16	6	5	8	5	2	9	2
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	6	0	0	4	15	0	1	18	6
—	1	—	—	2	2	...	5	6	0	0	5	3	8	2	0	3
1	1	—	—	—	2	...	5	6	0	0	3	16	1	1	0	11
1	—	—	2	—	2	...	5	6	0	0	5	13	1	2	16	9

Appendix VI—Continued.

Under 2	Age Distribution.			19 and over	Adults.	Total No. Persons in Family.	Total Income.			Total Expenditure.			Expenditure on Food.		
	2-6	7-14	15-18				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
—	1	2	—	—	2	5	6	0	0	5	8	0	2	11	6
—	—	1	1	1	2	5	6	0	0	7	2	3	3	14	1
1	1	1	—	—	2	5	6	0	0	5	12	2	2	11	7
—	1	2	—	—	2	5	6	0	0	7	8	9	4	2	3
1	2	—	—	—	2	5	6	0	0	5	7	0	2	14	0
1	1	—	—	1	2	5	6	0	0	4	5	7	1	5	10
—	1	1	1	—	2	5	6	0	0	7	1	5	3	12	5
1	1	1	—	—	2	5	6	0	0	5	8	0	2	7	0
—	—	—	—	3	2	5	6	0	0	5	5	4	2	13	7
1	1	—	—	—	3	5	6	0	0	6	0	5	4	0	1
—	—	1	—	2	2	5	6	0	0	6	3	7	4	0	11
—	1	—	—	—	4	5	6	0	6	4	7	10	1	15	10
1	1	1	—	—	2	5	6	0	8	4	11	11	2	2	4
1	—	1	1	—	2	5	6	0	8	5	9	7	2	5	1
2	1	—	—	—	2	5	6	5	0	5	0	0	1	13	3
—	—	1	1	1	2	5	6	5	0	5	1	4	2	17	6
—	2	1	—	—	2	5	6	6	0	5	16	5	2	13	3
—	—	—	—	3	2	5	6	6	0	7	9	6	4	2	9
—	—	—	2	1	2	5	6	8	0	6	8	0	2	12	7
1	—	1	—	—	3	5	6	8	0	4	16	9	2	15	10
—	1	2	—	—	2	5	6	10	0	6	3	1	3	2	7
1	1	1	—	—	2	5	6	10	0	6	9	11	2	13	11
—	—	2	—	—	3	5	6	10	0	6	16	1	3	9	10
—	1	2	—	—	2	5	6	12	0	5	9	1	2	6	0
—	2	1	—	—	2	5	6	15	0	5	12	4	1	18	5

Appendix VI—Continued.

Under 2	Age Distribution.			19 and over	Adults.	Total No. Persons in Family.	Total Income.			Total Expenditure.			Expenditure on Food.			
	2-6	7-14	15-18				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
—	1	—	—	—	4	...	5	6	15	0	7	2	10	4	18	0
—	1	1	—	1	2	...	5	7	0	0	6	3	3	3	7	3
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	7	0	0	4	13	11	1	18	1
—	1	1	1	—	2	...	5	7	0	0	5	17	3	3	13	2
—	—	1	1	1	2	...	5	7	2	8	6	8	0	4	11	5
—	—	3	—	—	2	...	5	7	8	0	8	4	7	4	8	3
—	1	1	—	2	1	...	5	7	10	0	5	6	5	3	6	1
—	1	1	1	1	1	...	5	7	10	0	5	5	10	2	14	11
—	—	3	—	—	2	...	5	7	10	0	4	13	7	2	10	3
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	7	10	8	6	2	10	2	3	3
—	—	—	2	1	2	...	5	7	15	0	6	12	9	3	0	7
—	1	1	—	—	3	...	5	8	0	0	5	11	8	2	15	6
—	—	2	1	—	2	...	5	8	0	0	6	0	8	3	11	10
—	—	1	1	—	3	...	5	8	0	0	6	9	3	3	1	1
—	—	2	—	—	3	...	5	8	0	0	8	0	5	4	1	0
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	8	0	0	7	7	7	3	19	7
—	—	—	1	2	2	...	5	8	0	0	4	17	1	2	9	9
—	—	3	—	—	2	...	5	8	0	0	5	16	0	3	4	3
—	—	3	—	—	2	...	5	8	0	8	5	6	8	2	12	11
—	—	2	1	—	2	...	5	8	2	0	5	7	10	3	0	3
—	2	—	—	1	2	...	5	8	2	6	5	14	5	2	17	3
—	—	—	—	3	2	...	5	8	5	0	8	15	6	4	16	0
—	1	—	—	2	2	...	5	8	7	0	6	3	5	3	7	11
—	1	2	—	—	2	...	5	8	10	0	5	15	7	3	1	0
—	—	1	—	—	4	...	5	8	15	0	6	7	9	4	10	11

55

Appendix VI—Continued.

Under 2	Age Distribution.				19 and over	Adults.	Total No. Persons in Family.	Total Income.			Total Expenditure.			Expenditure on Food.		
	2-6	7-14	15-18					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
—	—	2	1	—	2	...	5	9	0	0	6	12	7	3	7	3
—	—	1	1	—	3	...	5	10	0	0	7	11	11	4	4	4
—	1	1	—	—	3	...	5	10	0	0	4	17	7	0	18	0
—	—	—	2	1	2	...	5	10	0	0	4	18	3	2	2	3
—	1	1	1	—	2	...	5	10	10	0	9	0	10	2	10	9
—	—	1	—	2	2	...	5	11	5	0	6	12	1	3	11	6
—	—	1	1	1	2	...	5	11	6	0	5	18	8	3	5	5
—	1	1	—	—	3	...	5	12	10	8	13	19	11	7	15	2
—	—	—	—	3	2	...	5	12	12	6	7	1	7	4	12	9
—	2	1	—	—	2	...	5	13	0	0	6	13	6	3	2	11

Appendix VII.

Comparative Table of Population,

showing Europeans and Africans of the Union, Witwatersrand and Johannesburg in 1921, 1936, 1941. (These figures have been supplied by courtesy of the Acting Director of Census.)

Area and Race.	Census, 1921.	Census, 1936.	Census, 1941.*
Europeans:			
Union, All Areas	1,519,488	2,003,857	2,188,200
Union, Urban	847,508	1,307,386	1,500,000
Witwatersrand	231,111	402,223	498,000
Johannesburg and Suburbs	152,597	257,671	300,000
Natives (both sexes):			
Union, All Areas	4,697,813	6,596,689	7,250,700
Union, Urban	587,000	1,141,642	1,230,000
Witwatersrand	278,274	570,726	650,000
Johannesburg and Suburbs	118,138	229,122	270,000
Native Females (all ages):			
Union, All Areas	2,315,416	3,284,038	3,617,400
Union, Urban	147,293	356,874	425,000
Witwatersrand	28,806	107,286	133,000
Johannesburg and Suburbs	13,479	60,992	75,000

* Estimated.

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