

A SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY FOR THE STATE

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Read at the Fourth Session of the Social Survey Conference,
Cape Town, 19th February, 1942

Although various departments of State engage in forms of social welfare work (e.g., the Department of Labour has settlements, and the Department of Native Affairs administers pensions for blind Natives and subsidises various social welfare efforts from funds at its disposal), the main responsibility for a national social welfare policy and for directing and helping the main social welfare efforts of the country rests upon the Department of Social Welfare. In its Report for 1937-9, page 8, the following definition is given of the functions of the Department :

- (i) rehabilitation of socially or poorly adjusted individual or family ;
- (ii) study and treatment of the conditions which may produce or contribute to social adjustment ;
- (iii) co-ordination of the State's efforts, through its various departments, aiming at social rehabilitation.

To this should be added another category, viz., guidance of and assistance to public organizations which concern themselves with one or more aspects of social welfare.

It is to this Department, therefore, that suggestions for a State Policy for Social Welfare should be addressed.

FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY IN RELATION TO SOCIAL WELFARE.

I will assume that the findings of the Survey in respect of the extent and causes of poverty and malnutrition are not challenged, and that, as labour, health, housing, and education policies are dealt with elsewhere, I may confine my attention to other aspects of social welfare dealt with in the various survey reports.

Child Welfare.

Reports S.W. 104 (page 7) and S.W. 105 (Tables 3 and 7) show that there is a close association between malnutrition found in the children examined and their ages.

It is to be noted that in the Coloured households representing District 6 and Woodstock, 9 per cent. were those of widows with children. Also the percentage of deaths among children in relation to live births in these Coloured households was 23.

Largeness of Family.

The Survey has shown that there is a high degree of malnutrition associated with largeness of family (S.W. 104). That is to say, there is no correspondence between family income and the size of the family.

Old Age and Others Unable to Earn.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any data on the incidence of the aged and otherwise dependent persons in the households examined.

Food Prices.

Under Act 18/1940 duties up to 35 per cent. *ad valorem* are levied in about a hundred classes of foodstuffs including wheat, dried milk, margarine, cheese, sugar, fruit, and vegetables. Professor Batson in *Race Relations* (2nd Qr., 1940) takes a minimum dietary of the British Medical Association Committee on Nutrition (1933) and estimates that if the items were freely permitted at the British prices (i.e., 5s. per man-unit per week, including bread) the additional amount imposed by the tariff would be found to be 1s. 8d. per man-unit per week.

The Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission estimates that in 1939-40 the price-assistance measures in agriculture cost the consumers about £7 million.¹

Other Prices.

In the same article Professor Batson draws attention to the following items in the tariff: ready-made clothing 15 to 25 per cent., second-hand clothing 25 per cent., socks and stockings 15 per cent., boots and shoes 30 per cent. Household necessities, e.g., heating and lighting and cleaning, are also included in the tariff, as well as building materials of various kinds. The Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission estimates that the protection of manufacturing industry cost the community about £10 million in 1939-40.²

Significance of the Facts.

The Survey has shown us what a burden of poverty Cape Town is carrying. I have no doubt wider surveys would reveal very much the same situation throughout the Union. Professor Batson says that "there are strong deductive grounds for accepting the hypothesis that urban Coloured poverty reduced social welfare generally throughout the Union generally through its effects on (1) the labour resources of the Union, (2) the extent of the Union's internal market, (3) public and private expenditure upon social services, and (4) social contentment and security."³

¹ Third Interim Report, par. 89.

² *Ibid.*, par. 103.

³ *Race Relations*, 1st Qr. 1942.

It is also clear that the Government and the European people as a whole have not yet awakened to the fact that while poverty may not be shared ethnically, the evils arising out of poverty spill over ethnic barriers.

The Prime Minister has reminded us that the population of the Union is *not* 2 millions, but 10 millions. If we keep that plain fact in mind we shall begin to realize that poverty, whatever its colour, is a common burden, even if we do not each carry his own share of it.

Our first task then is to survey our social and economic condition as a *whole*. The Cape Town Survey has lifted up the curtain in certain corners. We need to have completed the enquiries in Cape Town as indicated on page 5 of the Interim Report of the Social Survey. We also need sample enquiries throughout the country.

Our second task is to consider what social welfare measures are available to deal with this problem of poverty.

Social Services Available.

In recent years, social services provided by the State and non-State agencies have grown considerably in number and been developed in extent. The Department of Social Welfare has calculated that the central Government budgeted in 1938-9 for £10,000,000 on social services. Since then Poor Relief has been taken over from the Provinces (except in Natal).

These services, however, are not in all cases available to non-Europeans. Professor Batson gives the following examples of what he calls "Ethnic Discrimination":

Old Age Pensions. Europeans and Coloureds only—on different scales.

State-aided Butter, etc. Milk—Europeans, some Coloured, some Asiatic; butter—Europeans, Coloured (in 3 Provinces only) and Asiatics (Transvaal only).

Invalidity Grants. Europeans only.

Work Colonies. Europeans and Coloured.

Unemployment Relief. Europeans, some relief to Coloured.

Settlements. Europeans only.

In all cases, the non-Europeans must be poorer to obtain relief and the relief when given is lower.

Non-Government Agencies.

In his Annual Report for 1937-9, the Secretary for Social Welfare points out that, in 1938, of the 400 organizations investigated 75 per cent. restricted themselves to European wants. The Cape Town Social Survey, however, showed that of the households examined 6 per cent. of the European households were poor and 53 per cent. of the Coloured. Professor Batson remarks:⁴

⁴ *Race Relations*, 1st Qr., 1942.

"If this survey did indeed 'provide a fairly comprehensive view of the voluntary efforts of societies concerning themselves directly with social work', we must conclude that barely one-fifth of the voluntary social services of the Union are available to four-fifths of the population, and to that four-fifths which admittedly bears the burden of much more than four-fifths of the country's poverty."

And the Secretary for Social Welfare says :

"It is evident that work among (non-European) groups is not generally popular amongst voluntary workers. The non-Europeans themselves have little ability, leisure or funds to deal with their problems themselves and a large field would remain almost untouched were it not for the efforts of the churches and missions which do as much as their staffs and funds will allow. In considering the basis of co-operation as between State and private initiative, therefore, the non-European problem will have to receive greater official consideration and more direct help if adequate provision is made for this group."⁵

Correlation of Agencies and Policies.

It is clear, therefore, that a great deal remains to be done to ensure that all existing social welfare measures cover the whole field and that the problem of poverty as a whole is being dealt with.

Thus, the problem of the family income must involve consideration of the wage policy and of the possibilities of such social services as family allowances and cheap housing to ensure that every family has the minimum income for decent, healthy living.

We need, too, to relate our agricultural policy with the food needs of the people so that food prices shall bear some more definite relation to the ability of the people of our own country to buy the food. Moreover, we must develop the food habits of the people. To do this it may be necessary to *subsidise the food of the people*, as suggested by the Marketing Council.

There is thus an urgent need for the correlation of our national policies in different directions.

In this connection I shall quote from a recent pamphlet *The Union's Burden of Poverty* :⁶

"Thus, the departments of Agriculture, Labour, Social Welfare, Health and Native Affairs, if not other departments of State, such as Commerce and Industries, are inextricably bound up with the various phases of our economic and social problems. Policies and activities are inter-related and cannot be safely embarked upon without adequate consideration of their effect upon each other and upon the country. But departmental heads, powerful as their influence is upon

⁵ Report of Social Welfare Department for 1937-39

⁶ *The Union's Burden of Poverty* by Senator J. D. Rheinallt Jones and Professor R. F. Alfred Hoernlé, pp. 29-30, Johannesburg : S.A. Institute of Race Relations "New Africa Pamphlet" No. 1.

legislation and in administration, are themselves too often the victims, not only of their own power, but also of the attitudes which they have helped to create in their Minister, in Parliament, and among the public. The dead hand of 'existing policy' lies heavily upon all, and, so often, the more it changes the more it is the same. So departmental heads are not free, and they certainly have not the time under present war conditions to step aside and to view the creations from outside. They have neither the time to think, nor to plan, nor to co-operate. And yet it is vitally important that the Government should be helped to understand what is happening to the country and in which direction state policy should be set. Are there not men in the country who could be used to do this? Could there not be secured a combination of competent men—taken from Parliament, Commerce, Industry (including Agriculture and Mining) and from the Universities—to serve as a committee on economic and social policy, to advise the Cabinet, and to recommend what changes should be made in policy and what legislative and administrative changes should be introduced to place the country upon a new and more hopeful course. There is need for immediate action by the Government to overcome the difficulties of the poor of all races. War-time prices will inevitably continue to rise, and this will intensify the tension now existing among the poor of all races. They believe that they are the victims of exploitation of employers, and by shopkeepers, wholesale and retail. It is urgently necessary to let them have practical proof of the Government's determination to protect them."

How to Pay for the Social Services.

Most of all we must find means of paying for the higher wages and the extended social services. According to Frankel and Neumark our national income in 1934-5 was about £40 per head of the total Union population. The Poverty Datum Line in Cape Town in respect of a man, his wife and three children is about £36 a year (according to Prof. Batson⁷) and this is very close to the physiological minimum. We have only a very narrow margin to work on in order to pay from our national income.

To quote again from *The Union's Burden of Poverty* :

"The means to provide goods and services do not fall like manna from heaven. Social services should form part of the general pattern of organized activities in exactly the same way as the production and distribution of economic goods. But all goods and services must be paid for by the effective use of the human and material resources of the State. An idle person will be a liability; to prohibit the use of brain or muscle because of race or colour is to reduce the capacity of the State to meet the cost of goods and services supplied. Is it not possible to realize that the raising of the

⁷ *Race Relations*, Reprint No. 7.

standard of living of the masses of the population--of all races--can only be done if the national economy is on sound lines, so that the goods and services are paid for by the effective use of the human and material resources of the country? To have a great part of the population occupied at low pressure is to waste potential energy, and to make it less possible for the country to provide the goods and services which are required to raise the general level of living. It is necessary to harness capital and labour in a joint responsibility for the raising of the level of living in South Africa. It should be possible to do this in our present capitalistic society. It should be possible to do it without burdening industry or individual employers or workers beyond their ability to carry the burden. If the effort is not made soon to ensure that everyone makes his contribution to this great task, there are at hand those who will try to secure by violence such changes in the constitution and in the economic life of the country as will ensure to themselves--and perhaps to themselves alone--benefits which they feel are being wilfully withheld from them to-day."

Opsomming

'n Volkswelsynsbeleid vir die Staat

Die bevindings van die Maatskaplike Opname met betrekking tot volkswelsyn word opgesom. Die opname het die armoede-las wat Kaapstad dra aan die lig gebring.

Ons eerste taak is om maatskaplike en ekonomiese toestande dwarsdeur die Unie op te neem. Daar is behoefte aan koördinasie en uitbreiding van volkswelsyn-maatreëls ter behandeling van die probleem van armoede as geheel. Dus behoort die probleem van ontoereikende gesinsinkomste oorweging van die loonbeleid en van die maatskaplike dienste soos gesinstoelaes en goedkoop behuising mee te bring. Landboubeleid behoort hersien te word om die pryse van voedsel te verminder. Her-onderrig wat voedsel-gewoontes betref is noodsaaklik. Ons verskeie nasionale vorms van beleid behoort gekoördineer te word. Die verhoging van die lewenstandaard vereis dat die nasionale staathuishoudkunde op 'n gesonde grondslag gestel word.

THE SOCIAL SURVEY AND THE SOCIAL SERVICES

DISCUSSION AT THE FOURTH AND FIFTH SESSIONS
OF THE SOCIAL SURVEY CONFERENCE, CAPE TOWN,
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19TH, AND
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1942.

SENATOR S. J. SMITH, moving the following resolution :

- (a) That this Conference records that the evidence collated from the Cape Town Social Survey reveals conditions of human misery which no Christian country can permit to continue. Therefore the Government is strongly urged, as an immediate aim, to take statutory power to enforce a comprehensive Code of Social Security designed to insure every citizen of the State against every economic contingency of life, from birth to death.
- (b) That members of this Conference will use all the means in their power to have this resolution given effect to.
- (c) That a deputation from this Conference be appointed to convey this resolution to the Right Hon. the Prime Minister, together with a report of the proceedings of this Conference,

said :

The time allowed to each speaker at this Conference is so limited that you will forgive me if I waste none of it in sugaring the bitter pill that we have to swallow. I am deeply indebted to Ds. du Toit for the arresting indictment which he has given us of the failure of all the services that exist for the alleviation of poverty and distress. He gave us a long list of societies, associations and bodies ; he told us what their work is. They have been carrying out that work for a considerable number of years, and at the end of that considerable number of years a public-spirited body of men and women have taken a Survey of Cape Town and they have found out the measure of success of those efforts that have been made—that half of the population is living in destitution. I can think of no greater indictment of this conglomeration of charitable effort that has been made to alleviate economic distress amongst our people. When I first learned about this Conference, I sent a wire to the Council that I belong to in Durban, and I pleaded with that Council for support for this Conference, and I said : "All immediate hope for the abolition of poverty in our land is concentrated on the Social Survey Conference to be held in Cape Town on the 18th 19th and 20th February." I had that hope myself, but I would be less than honest if I did not tell you that that hope is dying in my breast. Judging by the resolutions that have been taken by this Conference and the resolutions which it is proposed that this Conference should consider, the net result of this glorious opportunity will be the creation of further boards, further commissions, further enquiries. Now I hope, Sir, that no one will take umbrage at my remarks. Many years ago the Carnegie Institute financed an enquiry into the degradation and poverty of half the Europeans of this country, and their report is to-day known as the Carnegie Report. Unless we are prepared to assert ourselves at this Conference the only results will be the same as attended that wonderful effort. Boards to investigate the cause of poverty in the urban areas, in the rural areas,

boards to investigate why people cannot get enough to eat. I submit that a third-standard schoolboy can tell you the reason why.

I can tell you the results that have been proved by boards. You have a commission appointed to discover the cause of malnutrition and its cure. One of the causes of malnutrition is the lack of sugar in the diet of children and adults. You have a board which laboriously discovers that fact. Then, Sir, you find out that the sugar-producers are unable to sell their sugar ; and you appoint another board to restrict the production of sugar. Now you have two boards, one telling you that people lack sugar, the other that too much sugar is being produced. The next step is to appoint a third board to find out what has happened to the other two. The resolution that I move, Sir, strikes a blow at poverty, and if this Conference will be with me in striking that blow you will be making an advance which has never before been made in this country. I propose a Social Security Code, and that does not mean a *partial* social security code, and, with all deference to everyone who has laboured selflessly to make a success of this Conference, I want to say, humbly, that this resolution embraces every other resolution passed.

This is not an ideal Utopian dream, this is carrying into effect what every Christian man tries to bring about in his family. He says this : "The resources of this family shall be for all the members of this family and not for a few of the members." We are asking you to carry that ideal into our national family, so that the resources of the national family shall be for the use and benefit of the national family.

For many years I led myself into the belief that I was a Christian, until I realized that I had an individual responsibility and that Christianity did not comprise the vain repetition of the words of a prayer nor the attendance in a temple that was built with hands. I prefer to base my definition of Christianity upon what I heard Bishop Lavis say the other night : you may measure the quality of a country's religion by the manner in which it treats its little children. I, as an individual member of this nation, am responsible for poverty because poverty is unnecessary. And for years I satisfied myself with weeping over the poor ; I satisfied myself with passing resolutions and asking for boards. And then I realized my individual responsibility for the poverty of my brother and for the fact that that poverty caused him to commit every type of sin. I made up my mind not to blame the Government any longer. If this Government would not heal the poverty in this land I would try to find a Government that would. The Social Security Code, that is at present and has been for four years in operation in the British Dominion of New Zealand, is designed to meet every economic contingency of life from birth to death. It does not work out as some doubters think. "Will men work if they can get a living for nothing?" It works out this way : when a total, comprehensive social security code is on your statute book, it means first of all that little children when they are growing up will not need to be taught acquisitiveness by their parents. They will not need to fear a rainy day. They will grow up into a world we have never known.

Resolution moved.

MR. C. B. MUSSARED said that he had known Senator Smith as an able organizer and an able speaker for many years.

But he is known to some of us as the greatest sob-stuff merchant in South Africa. I do wish that he had given us something concrete to go on. I have been a bit nearer to New Zealand than Senator Smith has been. They are not quite satisfied there with the Social Security Code ; there is a split in the Cabinet. We have heard quite a lot about this Social Security Code, and I warn everybody here not be led away by it ; the unfortunates in our country *have* social security. Hitler gave social security, but are his people satisfied? Are you satisfied to have a programme mapped out for you in which you have no voice?

MR. W. BALLINGER urged the Conference not to be misled

by Mr. Mussared, but to realize that Senator Smith had not had sufficient time to develop the whole of his argument.

But he pointed out what is wrong in our society. The papers this afternoon left with me, as I am sure they did with others, the impression that we are building a fence round a rotten tree. We are establishing in our midst careers for social workers who are not concerned with taking out the roots of the rotten social order in which we live.

PROF. W. H. HUTT stated that he was prepared to vote for Senator Smith's motion.

Nobody will think that I am a sob-stuff merchant, and yet I feel that there is much in the resolution. If Senator Smith had (as I hoped he would) come to the New Zealand scheme, I think we should have been a little more enlightened. The principle is the wide extension of the insurance notion. That, in itself, is not a visionary scheme. It is a scheme which I myself would like to see considered. But so long as the national dividend of the Union is in the neighbourhood of three to four hundred millions a year, we cannot provide a secure and civilized life for our people as a whole, although we could well burden non-Europeans and give security benefits to European artisans. There is a production problem to be solved.

I think there is very little difference about ultimate objectives in this Conference. But I was very much afraid of Senator Smith's moving eloquence. His gifts are dangerous unless devoted to sound purposes. I wish that in his enthusiasm he would take more steps to discover what the disinterested experts and students think about these matters.

DR. M. JACKSON HAIGHT said that although Senator Smith had questioned the utility of Commissions, it was useless to talk of social security unless steps were first taken to discover what evils existed.

Senator Smith's resolution put, and adopted. [See Resolution 7, p. 205.]

DR. J. R. L. KINGON asked how the deputation referred to in Senator Smith's resolution would be composed.

MR. C. TE WATER suggested that a general resolution should be discussed at the final session of the Conference, to provide for deputations and other continuation work.

MISS V. COULDRIDGE, moving the following resolution :

That the Government be requested to make adequate provision for aged people in the Union of South Africa, irrespective of race,

said that the European old age pension of £3 10s. per month was insufficient for maintenance, and that Coloured persons received ten shillings in rural areas and thirty shillings in the towns, Indians ten shillings only, and Natives nothing at all.

Resolution moved.

Miss Couldridge's resolution put, and adopted. [See Resolution 9, p. 206.]

MISS V. COULDRIDGE read the following resolution :

That maintenance grants be paid to the mothers of all children in the Union of South Africa from birth to the age of sixteen years.

Resolution moved.

COUNCILLOR MRS. E. E. M. RUSSELL objected that the resolution would interfere with private life and would be unrelated to the realities of the present day.

We have already called upon Parliament by resolution to undertake reforms which in my opinion are far beyond the economic possibilities of the country for many years to come. This resolution can do nothing but harm to the prestige of a Conference such as this.

MISS COULDRIDGE'S *resolution put, and adopted.* [See Resolution 8, p. 205.]

Die Maatskaplike Opname en die Maatskaplike Dienste

Hoofpunte in die Bespreking op die Vierde en Vyfde Sittings van die Konferensie insake Maatskaplike Opname, Kaapstad.

Donderdag, 19 Februarie en Vrydag, 20 Februarie 1942.

SENATOR S. J. SMITH het Besluit No. 7 (*Sien bl. 210*) voorgestel. Senator Smith het verklaar dat die bevindings van die Maatskaplike Opname die ernstigste aanklag is wat mens hom kan voorstel teen die „opeenhoping van liefdadigheids pogings” wat deur Ds. du Toit beskryf is. Alle onmiddellike hoop op die uitwissing van armoede in Suid-Afrika is op die Konferensie saamgetrek maar daardie hoop is aan die verdwyn. Die Konferensie blyk bereid te wees om alleen die instelling van verdere amptelike ondersoek na kwessies aan te beveel waarop 'n skoolseun van standerd drie die antwoord kon verstrekk. Senator Smith se besluit het die toepassing van 'n omvattende maatskaplike sekerheidskode beoog wat bedoel is om die hele bevolking van die land te behandel asof dit een gesin was deur voorsiening te maak vir elke ekonomiese gebeurlikheid vanaf geboorte tot die dood. MNR. C. B. MUSSARED het die uitvoerbaarheid van Senator Smith se voorstel betwyfel en het skepties gestaan teenoor die doeltreffendheid van selfs die kode van Nu-Seeland. MNR. W. BALLINGER het by die Konferensie aangedring om in gedagte te hou dat Senator Smith nie tyd gehad het om meer as die negatiewe kant van sy argument te ontwikkel nie, en PROFESSOR W. H. HUTT het verklaar dat hy nie die skema van Senator Smith as dié van 'n dromer beskou nie, hoewel dit nie verwesenlik kon word alvorens die probleem van produksie opgelos is nie. Professor Hutt was bereid om vir die voorstel te stem hoewel hy Senator Smith se welsprekendheid nie vertrou nie. DR. M. JACKSON HAIGHT het kommissies verdedig op grond daarvan dat ewels ondersoek moet word voordat maatskaplike sekerheid verkry kon word. Senator Smith se besluit is aangeneem.

In antwoord op 'n vraag van DR. J. R. L. KINGON het MNR. C. TE WATER aan die hand gedoen dat 'n algemene besluit te gelegenertyd aangeneem behoort te word om voorsiening te maak vir afvaardigings en ander voortsettingswerk.

MEJ. V. COULDRIDGE het Besluit No. 9 (*bl. 211*) voorgestel wat aangeneem is.

MEJ. V. COULDRIDGE het Besluit No. 8 (*bl. 211*) voorgestel. RAADSLID MEJ. E. E. M. RUSSELL het beswaar gemaak deurdat die voorgestelde stap bemoeiing met die private lewe sou meebring en nie in verband sou staan met die huidige werklikheid nie. Die besluit is aangeneem.

SLUMS AND HOUSING

By MAJOR W. BRINTON,

Formerly Mayor of Cape Town and Chairman of first Slum Clearance Committee of City Council

Read at the Fifth Session of the Social Survey Conference, Cape Town, 20th February, 1942

The problem of Housing is inseparably interwoven with Poverty and all the attendant circumstances which surround poverty. Local conditions must, therefore play a great part in solving the slum conditions in each town.

Here in Cape Town, with its population half European and half non-European, the problem is greatly increased by the poverty of the latter section, and the poverty of this latter section is largely due to the low rate of wage paid to the unskilled labourer.

How to apply the remedy for overcrowding and its attendant evils of crime and disease can only be decided after an exhaustive Social Survey has been made throughout the Area concerned. So far as our local conditions are concerned, such surveys have been made by the Medical Officer of Health for Cape Town in a report following on a survey made in 1930-1933 and a subsequent survey made by Prof. E. Batson in 1938-1939 has furnished additional important and useful information.

Both these surveys are a guide to the requirements to solve the problem of overcrowding in estimating what proportion of our population is living in overcrowded conditions, the number of houses required to be built in order to overtake the accumulated overcrowding conditions, and what the sections of the people living in such overcrowded conditions are able to pay in relation to their earnings.

These facts having been ascertained, the obvious remedy is first of all houses and houses and still more houses, bearing in mind that whilst one plans to erect a particular number of houses over a given period, increase of population during the intervening period and altering conditions as the years proceed, must also be taken into account.

Again having ascertained the number of houses required to overtake immediate needs in order to eliminate overcrowding, and having ascertained roughly the rentals which different sections of those living in overcrowded slum conditions can afford to pay, the next problem to solve is the type of houses to be built, the cost thereof and to what extent a minimum rental is required to be collected in order that the conditions under which the Government and Municipality are required to contribute may be met, and lastly and probably most important of all, whether houses of different

types can be built at different costs to meet the differing needs of the slum population based on differing incomes. Obviously this is a problem common to all large towns in the Union, and it is with this aspect that this paper seeks mainly to deal.

If Cape Town is singled out for example and experience in this paper it is because I am naturally more acquainted with the conditions of Cape Town, but it is maintained that what Cape Town finds necessary other large towns will find necessary in a similar way, subject to certain modifications due to local conditions.

In 1937 the City Council accepted in principle a scheme to build 12,000 houses at a cost of £6,000,000 spread over a period of 12 years, that is to say we agreed to embark upon an expenditure of £500,000 per annum. Actually we have spent very much less than the rate of £500,000 per annum since 1937, but the reason for this does not need to be given in this paper.

The actual Resolution of Council adopted on 30th November, 1937 was *inter alia* as follows :

- “1. That with a view to a comprehensive slum clearance and re-housing scheme for dwellings to be let at sub-economic rentals being carried out, a sum of £6,000,000 be expended over a period of twelve years, that is, a sum of approximately £500,000 per annum.
2. That such expenditure be met as far as possible out of money to be borrowed from the Government under the Housing Act of 1920 at the rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.
3. That unremitting efforts be made to induce the Government to contribute further sums towards the sub-economic loss to the Council of the annual expenditure referred to in paragraph (1).
4. That the City Engineer be authorized and requested to proceed with the utmost expedition in the carrying out of the programme of re-housing in respect of the schemes already decided on.”

Various reports have been furnished from time to time by the City Treasurer, the Medical Officer of Health and the City Engineer as well as a comprehensive joint report by the City Engineer and the Council's legal adviser.

In arriving at results from investigations as to cost it was pointed out that the lowest rental which could reasonably be levied was 5s. per week and the highest 10s. per week, but that if 12,000 houses were built at a cost of £500 per house with rental at a maximum of 10s. per week, the Council would lose £131,550 per annum whilst houses built progressively up to a cost of £800 each, would result progressively up to a loss of £390,100 per annum, making the burden beyond the capacity of the Council to carry.

One of the concessions wanted from the Government was to allow the cost of a scheme bringing in a surplus on rentals charged to a particular type of tenant who *could* afford to pay more than 10s. per week to be set off against losses due to rentals charged to

the poorer tenants at substantially lower rates than the sub-economic scales permitted. This concession was eventually agreed to by the Government and I quote from the joint report submitted by the City Engineer and Legal adviser on page 14 as follows :

“It is true that Public Health Circular No. 4 dated the 23rd March, 1936, is to the effect that an average rental for each class of dwelling may be agreed upon, or that varying rentals may be fixed for the same class of house according to the family income to make it possible to provide accommodation for the very poor at rentals substantially lower than the average rental.

“This concession would at first glance appear to afford a solution of the problem of the very poor in regard to actual housing, and no doubt were their numbers comparatively small a solution on these lines could be achieved.

“In the case of Cape Town, however, an examination of the income statistics showing the large percentage of households (no less than 16 per cent.) whose income does not exceed £4 per month, referred to in this paper as the very poor, makes it abundantly clear that the books cannot be balanced in this manner.”

Other useful information and tables were quoted in this report. I shall quote only one, showing the result of recommendations applied to the problem under the table on opposite page.

ANALYSIS OF TABLE

This table is based on the supply of 12,500 houses (I quote round figures) of which

- (a) 2,500 are allocated to house those known as token earners i.e. capable of paying from 1s. to 1s. 9d. per week or earn from £2 to £3 per month.
- (b) 5,000 as earning from £5 to £7 per month and able to pay 4s. 3d. to 6s. 5d. per week, and
- (c) 5,000 as earning £9 to £14 per month and able to pay 8s. 3d. to 12s. 10d. per week.

Category (a) is left out of consideration in sub-economic schemes as no house can be built which will accommodate them on the sub-economic scale.

Category (b) indicates that whilst capable only of paying and being called upon to pay 4s. 3d. to 6s. 5d. per week the occupants should pay 7s. 4d. to 7s. 7d. per week to meet the sub-economic curve resulting in a loss to the local authority of £26,000.

Category (c) whilst capable of paying and being called upon to pay from 8s. 3d. to 12s. 10d. per week the local authority only requires to collect from 7s. 11d. to 8s. 6d. per week to meet the sub-economic curve resulting in a profit to the local authority of £26,000.

The loss under category (b) is thus offset by the profit under category (c).

TABLE

Wages earned per month	GROUP	Rent in Shillings per Week that can be collected	Value of House from "Balanced Rent Curve".	Sub-economic Rent according to Curve 3	Loss to Council per Week	Profit to Council per Week	Number of Houses	Loss per Annum	Profit per Annum
Below	£2	1/-*	—	—	—	—	1,466	—	£
Average	£3	1/9*	Removed from Sub-economic Scheme	—	—	—	1,020	—	—
"	£5	4/3	350	7/4	3/1	—	2,313	18,542	—
"	£7	6/5	370	7/7	1/2	—	2,586	7,844	—
"	£9	8/3	400	7/11	—	4d.	2,517	—	2,181
"	£11	10/1	420	8/2	—	1/11	1,296	—	6,458
"	£14	12/10	450	8/6	—	4/4	1,606	—	18,094
"	£18	16/7	485				1,246	—	—
"	£22	20/4	510				642	—	—
"	£26	24/-	600				436	—	—
Above	£28	25/10	650				500	—	—
								£26,386	£26,733

* Token

The Sub-economic curve in the table is cut at the house costing £400 with rental assessed at 7s. 11d. per week occupied by a tenant earning £9 per month.

In arriving at these figures the authors considered it would be unwise to assume a cost per dwelling below £300 and to ensure a fair and reasonable surplus from lettings to the not so poor the maximum cost per dwelling was taken at £500.

It will be noted from the Table quoted that 2,486 houses are estimated as being required out of 12,804 sub-economic houses where the occupants could only be expected to pay a token rental of 1s. to 1s. 9d. per week, and in reference to these houses the authors remark as follows: "We wish to make it perfectly clear that notwithstanding the liberal interpretation of the requirements of the Central Housing Board in assessing the extent of the Council's real loss as distinct from a book loss, it is manifestly impossible for the Council to assume responsibility for the housing of that indigent section of the population which cannot afford to pay anything more than a token rental, *viz.*, the very poor."

In other words about 20 per cent. of the population required to be rehoused can only afford to pay a token rental estimated from 1s. to 1s. 9d. per week.

Now let us examine how this scheme can be worked out in its practical application.

For the 20 per cent. of the population to be rehoused the Government is asked to assume responsibility and in this connection the suggestion put forward is that the Government advance money at $\frac{1}{20}$ per cent. interest. For the rest the sub-economic schemes evolved by the Government in the provision of sub-economic money are expected to meet the position.

As regards this 20 per cent. of the population—the poorest of the poor—I have always advocated that the rehousing of slum dwellers should be divided into three classes or categories.

First of all those who are too poor or too far below the standard of moral condition to produce any rental at all—that for them a scheme of hostels controlled by the Board of Aid or like Institution is the best solution.

This has been put into practice in Cape Town by the erection of Tafelberg Hostel for non-Europeans where families who are in the last stages of degradation can be lodged under decent conditions and where social workers can play their part in rehabilitating these down and outs to the extent of making them citizens who can then be advanced to the

second stage—that is converted into the category of persons able to earn a wage which would enable them to pay the lowest scale of rental of say 4s. 3d. to 5s. per week (see Table quoted above). This would qualify them to enter the lowest scale of housing under the sub-economic schemes. Having reached this stage they should in the course of time pass into the

third stage, by earning higher wages, thus qualifying for entrance into any of the houses where rentals range from 8s. 3d.

to 12s. 10d. per week—see Table quoted above, and if rehabilitation extends beyond such bounds, these people could eventually enter into houses provided by private investors.

As to the first stage Tafelberg Hostel can house 30 families of the token or non-paying rental class and assuming that these families can be rehabilitated to the extent mentioned within twelve months rehabilitation can be expected to proceed at a rate of 30 families per annum. This may not be sufficient to solve the problem in relation to the number of families involved—2,500 according to the Table, but it is a beginning and with the passage of time if the scheme is a success further hostels should be erected.

Already the Board of Aid is proceeding with a similar scheme to provide for Europeans.

As to the second stage, the requirement is cheaper houses wherein the inhabitants can afford a rental of approximately 5s. per week. This involves consideration of the cost of houses both for those who can pay 5s. per week rental and those belonging to the third stage who can pay up to 12s. 10d. per week.

The Table takes into account houses costing from £350 to £450 each and calculates that houses costing from £400 to £450 with rentals calculated respectively from 8s. 3d. to 12s. 10d. per week will produce a profit of £26,700 which can be used to set off the loss of a similar figure resulting from houses costing from £350 to £370 being let at a rental of 4s. 3d. to 6s. 5d. per week respectively.

Actually to-day the housing schemes being embarked upon by the Council are costing from £550 to £700 each and the Table thus breaks down if these figures cannot be reduced. Furthermore an enquiry as to the possibility of providing cheaper houses (say £350 to £370) elicited the opinion expressed by the City Engineer supported by the Master Builders' Association that the provisions of the specification on which tenders are received at a figure of £550 to £700 per house are reasonable in order to produce a substantial house at a reasonable cost.

Here I must leave the problem. We are living in abnormal times and it must be presumed that the cost of housing cannot be expected to remain at the present high figure when the war ends and we return to normal conditions. At present the Council's housing schemes involve a cost which require rentals to be paid at the rate of 10s. per week and the housing problem will never be solved at this rate.

In place of the cheaper houses which the Table envisaged, only one solution as a temporary measure has been advocated and that is by the M.O.H. for Cape Town. I quote from his report dated 17th November, 1941 :

“The primary need is to increase the pool of houses available for the poorer classes. Some 800 dwellings per annum are required to meet the annual growth of the non-European population (about 4,000) and it is only when the annual increase exceeds 800 dwellings that the housing shortage will be reduced. There is also another factor to be considered,

viz., the destruction of houses occupied by the poorer classes, either by demolition or by conversion to industrial or commercial use. Every dwelling so destroyed is a set-off against new construction.

"On the other hand there appears to be a steady increase in the number of houses occupied by non-Europeans, caused by their movement into houses, streets and districts hitherto occupied by Europeans . . .

"The stage has not yet been reached when the authority undertaking non-European housing can afford to sweep away existing accommodation on a large scale. I have therefore to advise for the present against the policy of area demolition such as was carried out in some of the areas acquired under the Slums Act. . . .

"In a certain street the houses have come under the control of the Housing Supervisor and decidedly favourable results have been obtained. There is now no serious overcrowding in the area, and social conditions have been greatly improved.

"Against these gains is to be set the fact that the occupants of the area have been reduced by 43 per cent. Of the 208 lettings that have disappeared, 54 are households which have been rehoused in the Council's new estates. Of the others who have gone, those who left of their own accord are twice as many as those who were evicted. . . .

"There is much to be said in favour of the rehabilitation policy of which the Street Area mentioned is an example.

"It has made it possible to deal satisfactorily with many families who, on account of poverty or social unfitness, were not suitable for transfer to the new housing estates. It is hoped that after a probationary period other families will be transferred. . . .

"I am impressed with the value of the policy adopted at the Street mentioned and am prepared to advise its extension, subject to an endeavour being made to minimize the dis-housing of tenants, which I believe is possible.

"But even though it is minimized it cannot be avoided altogether, and the extension of the policy will accentuate the need for acceleration of the programme of new building."

Again I quote from a Report of the M.O.H. dated 28th November, 1941.

"It will be remembered that in 1938, when the rents of the Bloemhof Flats were reduced, the principle of assessing rents in relation to accommodation was introduced. The weekly rents of the Council's old flats, which are smaller and less convenient than Bloemhof Flats, were lowered from 10s. for two bedrooms and 7s. 6d. for one bedroom to 7s. for two bedrooms and 5s. for one bedroom; and those tenants who could afford it were rehoused in Bloemhof at higher rents, the flats vacated by them being let to poor families from the

slums. The success of this scheme has been complete. Not only does it provide cheap accommodation for poorer families but it provides, too, an incentive to tenants to strive towards the next stage up the social ladder. The old flats are now a link between slum properties and Bloemhof Flats."

This, then, is a temporary expedient which involves to a limited extent the carrying out of the policy of slum elimination which it was the intention of the Slums Act to provide for.

War conditions have resulted in many temporary changes being necessary and the progress of housing is not the least to be affected. It is satisfactory to know that the policy of slum elimination and better housing has not been materially held up and that the financial provision of Government funds still continues but Municipalities have to cut their coat according to their cloth and war is no respecter of persons.

That the principles enumerated in this paper of dividing our slum dwellers into the three categories I have mentioned will once more arise when conditions return to normal I have no doubt whatever.

Meanwhile it seems that the policy now being followed is to work from the top towards the bottom and at the same time and in a small way from the base towards the top leaving the middle section suspended until such time as their needs can be met on a practical basis by the production of houses which can be erected at a cost of from £350 to £370 each.

Short of this the inevitable conclusion to be drawn is that the sub-economic schemes on money advanced by the Government at $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. will only benefit the high wage earners amongst the poorer people—that is to say those who can afford to pay from 10s. to 12s. per week, and for the rest, that is those able to pay from 5s. to 10s. per week, either Municipal Councils or the Government must bear the additional burden, unless a cheaper house can be devised; and in this connection it is interesting to know that as recently as the 15th ultimo the Secretary of the Central Housing Board wrote "as a result of investigation and experiments carried out by the Board it has been found that by the substitution of concrete and asbestos for wood and iron particularly in the construction of roofs, doors, door-frames and floors, suitable dwellings for the housing of both economic and sub-economic wage earners can be erected at practically pre-war cost. In addition the Board has prepared plans of various types of dwellings embodying the best schemes carried out at different centres in the Union which can be adapted to the new and economical methods of building construction."

Summarising the present position and using the Table again as the pivot round which the subject of this paper revolves, the conclusions arrived at are :

(a) The Housing schemes in Cape Town since the Slums Act became law and those at present contemplated for future construction will accommodate only the wage earners capable of paying a rental from 10s. per week upwards,

- (b) That the present cost of houses from £550 to £700 each does not enable any profit to be derived by the Municipality as envisaged by the Table owing to the present high cost of construction in relation to the rental which those who will occupy such houses can afford to pay.
- (c) That in the absence of the construction of houses at a cost of £350 to £370 each, nearly 50 per cent. of the slum dwellers—that is the section able to pay 5s. or 6s. per week—are not being accommodated.
- (d) That to meet the demand of the last mentioned section a temporary measure is being adopted in Cape Town of allowing tenants to remain on in buildings previously condemned and acquired by the Council as slum properties—subject to suitable repairs; and a further attempt to meet this need partially is being made by reducing the rents of old housing schemes and allowing the present tenants thereof to move into new houses.
- (e) That about 20 per cent. of the slum dwellers, namely those able to pay only a token rental of 1s. to 1s. 9d. per week, are not being provided for at all. The cost is beyond the capacity of Municipalities and should be met by further Government assistance.
- (f) That to a limited extent the problem of those slum dwellers completely unable to pay any rent at all is being met by the Hostel scheme towards which the Government and City Council through the Board of Aid contribute in equal proportions.
- (g) That the remedy for our Housing and Slum Clearance problems lies in cheaper houses when and where possible, increased Government assistance, and higher wages.

Opsomming

Agterbuurtes en Behuising

Kaapstadse behuisingkemas is alleen bedoel vir persone wat in staat is om minstens 10s. per week huishuur te betaal. Omtrent 20 persent van die agterbuurtbevolking kan nie meer as 1s. 9d. bekostig nie en byna 50 persent kan nie soveel as 6s. betaal nie. Om hulle onder die huidige skema te huisves, sal die oprigting van huise wat tot £370 elk kos maar nie meer nie genoodsaak.

Verantwoordelikheid vir die huisvesting van die armste van hierdie groepe behoort deur die Regering aanvaar te word. Vir diegene wat in staat is om meer as 'n nominale huishuur, maar nie 'n ekonomiese huishuur nie, te betaal is goedkoper huise as dié wat tans gebou word nodig.

Die huishuur-beleid wat aanbeveel word, word in die tabel ontleed. Huishoudings met gemiddelde verdienste tot £3 per maand en vanaf £18 per maand en daarbo word uit die sub-ekonomiese skema verwyder en verlies op gedeelte van die sub-ekonomiese skema word deur winste verreken wat van huurders met verdienste vanaf £9 tot £14 per maand toeval.

COLOURED EDUCATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY

By W. F. GRANT

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Read at the Fifth Session of the Social Survey Conference,
Cape Town, 20th February, 1942

INTRODUCTORY.—The objective of social welfare work is the promotion of the health, contentment and prosperity of each and every member of the community. The fundamental soundness of organized society must be assessed by the measure in which this objective is achieved. Perhaps the chief instrument which modern civilized society employs to promote social well-being is Education.

In simple language, public education is the institution by which the State provides opportunity for its citizens (1) to make the best of themselves, (2) to make their fullest contribution to the health, wealth and happiness of the community of which they are a part.

South Africa comprises a multi-racial community in which the European is dominant. It can be sound, stable and progressive only if it is healthy in all its parts. The part to which I would direct your attention is that known as the Coloured people and the subject which will engage us is the Education of the Coloured People.

SOCIAL INJUSTICE AND COLOUR DISCRIMINATION.—While the biological heredity of the Coloured people is different from that of the European their social heredity is the same. When their different biological heredity sufficiently discloses itself there is discrimination against them. This discrimination is sometimes supported by the quite unjustifiable view that they are innately inferior. No scientific evidence for this has ever been adduced. The identity of their social heredity with that of their European contemporaries is admitted. The Cape Education Department in its 1939 Report says "Up till 1923 there was a separate curriculum for Coloured schools. Experience has shown that there existed no valid ground for such a distinction. The curriculum now followed is the same as for Europeans." It cannot be over-emphasized that no valid conclusions can yet be drawn either from intelligence tests or retardation tables as to the *innate* inferiority of the Coloured child. The conditions of life and of upbringing, to say nothing of the quality and quantity of school

education are so disparate as between White and Coloured that results give us only information as to what our differential system has produced.

We must admit, therefore, that colour discrimination in the sphere of the great social service of education operates to the lasting detriment of the Coloured child. No legal responsibility rests on his parents to send him to school. Whatever his gifts and capacities may be a paternal State does not insist that he be gathered into that great educational and *supervisory* institution—the Government school. On the purely educational side he is, unless either his parents or other social agencies bestir themselves, denied a knowledge of the three or four “R’s”. On the supervisory side he grows up without social or moral discipline and lies beyond the reach of the health and nutritional services. Beyond these there are other long-term results. He begins life by being denied this first instalment of social justice. Early discrimination bites deep and social and individual mal-adjustment follow. If to this discrimination is added that at the adolescent stage he is often denied apprenticeship and other avenues of employment above the ranks of the lowest paid labour, it is amazing that the coloured man is as good a citizen as a large proportion turn out to be.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF COLOURED EDUCATION.—Although education is not compulsory for the Coloured child, provision is made for the education of such children as are sent to school by their parents. Since the institution of the Union subsidy for the Coloured pupil in 1925, large numbers of Coloured children have been gathered into the schools and on the principle of the “inevitability of gradualness” this number will increase. According to the latest report of the Superintendent-General of Education for the Cape there are 975 institutions for the education of the Coloured people. Of these 874 are mission schools, *i.e.*, denominational schools under church control. The Coloured people owe a debt of gratitude to the churches for the educational care of the rejected of the flock and for their continued efforts to gather them in in increasing numbers. Unfortunately, however, the initiative and responsibility for Coloured education so largely assumed by the churches, allows the Provincial Administration to pursue a policy of masterly inactivity until the demand arises in some other quarter. There is nothing to compel the Administration to assess the demand and then to meet it. The function of the Administration has been to pay, in increasing measure, for such schools as the churches may establish and control, apart from those in the urban areas which are directly under school boards.

Now the great work for education which the churches have done may actually serve as an excuse for postponing compulsory education for Coloured children. For if the existing system of founding schools continues the churches will be taxed beyond their resources; there may be no church of the parents’ denomination in the area; the children in sparsely populated areas cannot be collected together at the expense of the management; and last,

but by no means least, the local church may hesitate to resort to any measures likely to interfere with the supply of labour for their more influential parishioners. In short, any attempt to implement a scheme of compulsory education by means of the existing machinery is likely to encounter the sort of obstacle which opponents of compulsion will not be slow to use—compulsory coloured education will not be “practical politics.”

There is, moreover, another defect of church control for which, it must be emphasized, the churches are in no way responsible. The mission schools provide education for 111,500 pupils. Of the remainder 12,000 are in schools under school boards. The total number of Coloured pupils in all sorts of educational institutions in 1940 was 127,911. Over 115,000 children were in Coloured institutions not under school boards. These children were not medically inspected. According to the 1940 Report there is one medical inspector for 23,500 children and one nurse for 8,200 children *European and Coloured*. Of 128,000 Coloured children at school in 1940, 1,708 were medically examined! (The number of European children examined in the same year was 29,567). It is a glaring anomaly that so much stress is now being laid on physical education in the absence of data which medical inspection alone can provide.

FACTS AND FIGURES IN REGARD TO COLOURED ENROLMENT.—At the last census it was found that of 124,067 Coloured children between the ages of seven and fourteen 83,986 or 68 per cent. were at school. There has been considerable improvement since that time but it is estimated that 25 per cent. of the Coloured children of school-going age still receive no education. But this is not the worst of the story. Of the 128,000 on the roll in June, 1940, no fewer than 52.9 per cent. were in standard I and below and 83.2 per cent. were below standard IV. The average attendance was 85.5 and this is high in the circumstances. (The European average attendance was 93.6). The 1940 Report refers to overcrowding and understaffing.

The retardation table for Coloured pupils taken in conjunction with the table of distribution shows that the pupils in standards V and VI, which, it should be noted is only 7.4 per cent. of the enrolment, have made up some of the retardation due to a late start. This improvement is maintained in the secondary standards. We may assume that the better economically circumstanced Coloured children remain at school beyond the fourth standard and that the more their conditions of life approximate to European standards the more they approximate in attainment to their European contemporaries.

But with all this, the important fact that there is ethnic discrimination in various employments—particularly in industry—has a disastrous effect on the Coloured child by removing the incentive to self-improvement which a fair and open field would provide. It is fatuous to urge the immediate necessity for vocational education for the Coloured child while taking good care that

he is increasingly debarred from apprenticeship. The pre-supposition in all schemes of vocational training is that there will be avenues for skill and efficiency in after life. If the statements on the subject are examined it will be discovered that vocational training for the Coloured pupil means domestic farm and "handyman" work. Such training is, of course, desirable for those of lower ability whether they be white or Coloured.

DEFECTS IN THE EXISTING ADMINISTRATION.—While the existing system of divided control as between Union and Provincial authorities has had unfortunate results on the organization and efficiency of education in the Union, the existing system of Provincial administration must bear the responsibility for the lack of a sound policy for Coloured education. Until compulsory Coloured education is enacted by law the least privileged elements will receive none of its direct or indirect benefits. Nor will it be necessary for our Provincial legislators to deal with the question as a whole. Provincial revenue is largely derived from the Union subsidy which is a grant by the central government based on the number of pupils in school for any one year but not-earmarked in any way for educational purposes. This is supplemented by local revenues. As the Union subsidy for Coloured education (£5 5s. per pupil) is quite inadequate the Provincial Administration contributes further sums from revenue. It does not initiate this expenditure; it sanctions it in the face of local demand. It can, at any time, plead that the inadequacy of its provision is due to the inadequacy of the Union subsidy; that Provincial Codlin is the Coloured man's friend and not Union Short.

The fact is that the Province as a unit of educational administration is quite unsatisfactory. It is doubtful whether it would ever have been a satisfactory unit even if, as the framers of the Act of Union intended, it was a non-party-political chamber comprising the most enlightened citizens. In the first place it is too large; in the second, it is subject to the impact of different needs, circumstances and points of view which are incompatible with administrative flexibility. Thus we hear all too frequently, even in connection with the problems of European education, that a need cannot be met in one area unless it is a need common to all parts of the Province. The Coloured Commission sought to get round this difficulty by recommending that a measure of compulsory Coloured education be made permissive in urban areas.

This brings us to the real weakness of our existing system. It is the absence of local responsibility, local control and local rating powers for education on the part of municipal and other local authorities. Take, for example a great municipal corporation like Cape Town. Education is not its concern. But within its boundaries there exists a school board which has under its supervision a school population far in excess of that of the Orange Free State. What are the powers of this board? To allocate the funds doled out to it by the Provincial Administration. Most of its work is of the rubber stamp variety.

Is the Cape Town Municipality satisfied with this arrangement? The indications are that it is not. Why, for example, has it opened up nursery schools for Coloured and European children under its own control? It is for health supervision and social training. No better example could be given of the unsatisfactory nature of our educational administration. What do we find? Nursery schools are no part of the Provincial system. The local training school for nursery school teachers was established and is maintained by the Union government. The Province recognizes and pays properly qualified nursery teachers in nursery schools which form no part of the Provincial system and is prepared to employ them in the kindergarten departments of Provincial schools under Cape Departmental control.

But there is the still greater question. Are the large municipalities whose citizens number tens of thousands of Coloured men and women, prepared to have their educational system scaled down to the limitations of the Provincial outlook? In other words, are not Provincial Councils whose real *raison d'être* is education, an anachronism?

Opsomming

Kleurling-onderwys en Administratiewe Verantwoordelikheid

Kleur-diskriminasie geld in onderwys. Onderwys is nie vir die kleurling-kind verpligtend nie en van die 975 inrigtings in die Kaap vir die onderwys van die kleurlinge is 874 sendingskole. Maar die kerk se groot werk op onderwysgebied het nietemin sekere tekortkomings.

'n Kwart van die kleurlingkinders van skoolgaande ouderdom ontvang nog nie onderwys nie en die aantal kleurlingskoolkinderen word baie vertraag.

Die bestaande stelsel van provinsiale administrasie moet die verantwoordelikheid vir die ongesonde beleid van kleurling-onderwys dra. Daar bestaan 'n groot behoefte aan plaaslike beheer oor onderwys.

A SOCIAL POLICY FOR PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

By LOUIS P. BOSMAN, PH.D., M.B., CH.B., B.SC., M.P.C.

Read at the Fifth Session of the Social Survey Conference, Cape Town, 20th February, 1942.

When I was approached to address you, my reply was the usual three lettered monosyllable. I take this opportunity of thanking you for the honour, for I am deeply sensible of the far-reaching affects of so important a Conference. Within a week of being approached I was promptly handed my subject, *viz.*, "A Social Policy for Provincial and Municipal Government." This dampened my enthusiasm somewhat, for I would have preferred to select my own topic.

You will soon realize how difficult it would be even to attempt to discuss Social Reform in the Province when I tell you that this Provincial Council controls forty-seven hospitals, ninety-six Divisional Councils, one hundred and thirty Town Councils, one hundred and forty Village Management Boards, and no fewer than one hundred and eleven School Boards. Moreover, I am very doubtful whether a discussion on Social Reform could be productive of any good unless it were considered more on a national than a provincial basis. A purely provincial scheme as such is, in my humble opinion, outside the bounds of practical politics. I prefer to confine my remarks to a municipality such as Cape Town. I feel that we should first tackle a smaller problem and, in the fullness of time, take stock of our successes and failures, endeavour to rectify the latter, and then apply our schemes further afield. My listeners will thus, I hope, allow me to concentrate on Cape Town—the gateway to, and the mother city of, this vast sub-continent.

From time to time I have attended meetings on social welfare problems and I have also read articles on the subject. I am not, however, in a position to present to you a learned statistical discourse on the matter. If you desire to have this you will find food for thought in the various publications of our erudite, able, and enthusiastic friend—Professor E. Batson. He is our recognized local authority and it is to him that we are indebted for so much.

As a past chairman of the Public Health Committee of this city, I had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with the conditions of our lesser privileged population. The overcrowding, the undernourishment, the malnourishment, the disease, and consequently, the abject misery prevalent in our very midst, is appalling. I wonder how many citizens living in the Gardens,

Tamboers Kloof, and Oranjezicht, know of the conditions prevailing in Wards 2 and 3, Ward 7 and the lower portion of Ward 6. This applies to older Cape Town only. I do not even cite the Flats areas in newer Cape Town. There the conditions are even worse.

That we have slum areas in most of the European towns also, we frankly confess. That there should be such areas in any town, we equally frankly condemn. Our problem, however, is complicated by the fact that we have a mixed population. Of our population of about 350,000, roughly fifty per cent. is non-European: Professor Batson states that about 53 per cent. of the Coloureds, 48 per cent. of the Natives, 20 per cent. of the Asiatics, and 6 per cent. of the Europeans, live below the bread line.

The repetition of all the pathological details, though enlightening, will avail us little unless we seek the aetiological factors and stamp these out.

It would be just as well then, if I, as a layman in social economics, pen the picture as I see and understand it.

The child is under- or mal-nourished. Why? Because his parents have not the wherewithal to supply adequate nourishment. Why is this? Usually because the breadwinner earns too little and, more often than not, has a large family. *Kinders is die arm man se rykdom*. Why does he earn too little? Partly because he is exploited and partly because of lack of knowledge. Not infrequently his only saleable commodity is his muscular power. He is in fact an unskilled labourer. Circumstances have militated against his acquiring a modicum of education. His forebears were exactly in the same position as he is to-day. So we get the recurrence of the vicious circle with its attendant evils.

What measures, then, would we adopt to rectify these undesirable conditions? First and foremost I place *compulsory education* and *re-housing*. Compulsory education is a function of the Provincial Council, but a scheme could easily be devised whereby the City Council is entrusted to see that it is carried into effect. The standard aimed at should be Junior Certificate or until the child reaches the sixteenth year, or alternatively a trade such as masonry or carpentry. With this as a foundation, he will be better able to regulate his future and so avoid the miseries of his predecessors. I could elaborate on this issue, but space does not permit.

It is advisable that he should simultaneously be living in a reasonably clean and decent house or flat, and not in a disease-stricken hovel. This would give him a different outlook on life and develop a certain degree of self-respect. We need only study the various Council housing schemes and we shall soon see how these folks, given a chance in life, pride themselves on their respectable surroundings. In fact, they vie with each other as to whose dwelling is the more attractive. Let me say here and now that I strongly deprecate privately-owned housing schemes. Private Slum-property owners should be ruthlessly wiped out. I cannot sufficiently stress the fact that we "City Fathers" see an almost im-

mediate transformation in the non-Europeans who have been removed from a slum area and have been re-housed in one or other of our Council tenements. Overcrowding and its associated evils are eliminated.

It is obviously absurd to re-house and educate a youth unless he is adequately nourished. *Proper nourishment* and *adequate remuneration*, of course, are almost synonymous. Having had a reasonable education, he will no longer be unskilled and hence it follows that he will be in a better position to earn increased wages. With this we naturally solve the problem of malnutrition. It is for this reason that I stressed education before nourishment. The difficulty, however, is that there may not be enough demand for the semi-educated non-European. There will, of course, always be a supply of unskilled workers, whatever course we adopt. For those a minimum but reasonable living wage could readily be fixed, as is being done now by the City Council.

I frankly confess that there are difficulties in the way of obtaining employment for well-educated and decent non-Europeans. These difficulties are, however, of our own creation. It is within my own living memory that our carpenters, our masons, and our plumbers were all non-Europeans. Just recently I was shocked to learn that there were fewer than a dozen non-European apprentices in these trades. Surely this state of affairs can be rectified. Surely some corrective legislative measures could and should be introduced. Proportional representation would be a reasonable solution. The fact to-day is that, for an educated non-European, we have but two outlets, teaching for the male and nursing for the female. This, however, does not nullify my argument in respect of education. Education is a *sine qua non* and it is our duty to devise means whereby this qualification can be utilized. We are our brother's keeper and the sooner we realize and recognize this sacred charge, the better will it be for our City and all its inhabitants.

There is a school of thought which favours segregation, and this is not without support among the non-Europeans. With their own demarcated area, conducted by themselves, their own municipality, offices, police, and institutions would supply ample outlet for the better educated non-Europeans. This, however, is a vexed question and is beyond the scope of the present paper.

I know full well that many will not agree with me when I place Education first, but I am convinced that the other essentials will follow in the wake.

There are, of course, other important accessories, such as ample opportunity for *recreations*, for which large playing fields should be provided. A limit to the easy acquiring of alcohol is another matter well worth considering. It does not become a man in my position to advocate *birth control*, but where I have been forced to do it, I have had remarkably successful results. As this too, in my opinion, will rectify itself with education (and hence restraint) I do not propose to advocate it, save where absolutely

essential. *Free medical attention* is another desirable accessory factor.

The scheme synopsised above would not, of course, produce an Utopia in a decade, but I am confident that it will show results in that period and will, I am sure, be of great mutual benefit. Generally speaking the non-European looks to the European for help and protection. As often as not he does not receive these. And alas! he too is not always blameless. The Europeans, however, must be frank and confess that we have not in past centuries acted in a Christian way towards the Coloureds. We have neglected them shamefully and exploited them. Some of us have grown rich by the sweat of their brow—and what have we done in return? We have kept them in comparative serfdom. Our misdeeds have transformed into a hell what might have been a heaven: our misdeeds have taken from them the opportunity to live as decent human beings. Let us endeavour to put right the mistakes of our forefathers and then, and then only, shall we realize the wisdom of Solomon when he said, “righteousness exalteth a nation.”

Opsomming

'n Maatskaplike Beleid vir Provinsiale en Munisipale Bestuur

Die omvang van provinsiale bestuur is so wyd dat dit raadsaam sou wees om 'n uitvoerbare beleid vir 'n munisipaliteit uit te werk en om dit dan in groter mate toe te pas.

Die kernprobleem wat in Kaapstad aangepak moet word is armoede wat hoofsaaklik onder die nie-blankes aangetref word. Dit kan toegeskryf word aan laer verdienvermoë wat die uitvloeisel is van uitbuiting en die gebrek aan bedrewenheid en opvoeding. Die invoering van verpligte onderwys gepaard met deeglike munisipale herbehuising behoort die fundamentele verbeterings te wees om op te bou, en met die invoering hiervan sal die nie-blanke in staat wees om homself te help tot voordeel van alle seksies van die samelewing.

THE SOCIAL SURVEY AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES

DISCUSSION AT THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE
SOCIAL SURVEY CONFERENCE, CAPE TOWN,
FRIDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY, 1942.

DR. M. JACKSON HAIGHT, moving the following resolution :

That there be equal educational opportunities for all, and compulsory education for children between the ages of seven and seventeen,

said that after listening to Professor Grant's paper, she felt that she could add little in support of her motion.

Our teachers should include the best brains in the country ; the people who are best informed. They should be broad-minded men and women who are able to develop in our youth a sense of responsibility as citizens of free societies. Our youth should be taught to sift the important from the unimportant. Why do the best brains not enter the teaching profession ? [*Laughter.*] The pay is inadequate. Secondly, the system of education is so rigid and short-sighted that there is no inducement for the people with initiative to enter Education.

Moreover, the State is robbed of a large number of the most intelligent children who have to leave school without matriculation because their parents are unable to make a living, and consequently they need those children to contribute to the family budget.

Resolution moved.

MR. S. G. MAURICE, moving the following amendment :

Add: "Furthermore, it is imperative that the Union Government make the necessary adjustments to the Financial Relations Act, permitting of a far higher subsidy for the Coloured child than obtains at present,"

said that there was general agreement about the need for equal educational opportunities and for compulsory education, but that the main point was to get the subsidy raised.

The subsidy is : non-European, £5 ; European, £14. All the developments we are waiting for are kept back because the money is not forthcoming from the Central Government.

DR. M. JACKSON HAIGHT accepted Mr. Maurice's proposed amendment.

MR. W. BALLINGER, moving the following amendment :

Add after "seven and seventeen": "due regard being paid to the adequate nourishment of children receiving such education,"

said that it was well known that most non-Europeans could not profit by the education provided for them, largely by reason of malnutrition.

DR. M. JACKSON HAIGHT accepted Mr. Ballinger's proposed amendment.

MISS V. MAGNIAC described the work of the food kitchen at Port Elizabeth at which two thousand children were fed weekly at a cost of a penny a head, and suggested that meals should be provided in schools where Native children were under-fed.

Dr. M. Jackson Haight's revised resolution put, and adopted.
[See Resolution 12, p. 206.]

MRS. CHAPMAN HANDLEY read the following resolution on behalf of the Cape Town Branch of the National Council of Women :

That the Government be requested to consider the matter of appointing a whole-time central Housing Board in order to co-ordinate housing throughout the Union of S.A. and as far as possible keep down the cost of building materials so that housing for the poorer people may continue.

Resolution moved.

MRS. F. H. HOLLAND pointed out that the Central Housing Board, as a part-time body, laboured under serious disadvantages, and pleaded for a permanent Board.

I would put this suggestion forward too, because I think it important. So many people come to me and tell me that their municipality will not do slum clearance. The local authority must be enlightened. With a strong Central Housing Board it would be possible in every town to form a utility company such as you have in Cape Town ; and if the company could go for advice to the Housing Board and secure the support of the Board, money should be got through the company.

BISHOP S. W. LAVIS, moving the following amendment :

Delete the words following "be requested" and substitute "to constitute a full-time Central Housing Board with the duty of initiating enquiries and exercising coercive powers in the matter of the housing of the poor in urban and rural areas, and that such Board shall

- (a) co-ordinate housing reforms throughout the Union ;
- (b) consider methods whereby costs should be maintained at levels which will encourage the building of houses for the poorest class ;
- (c) secure exemption under existing regulations in order to permit the use of unskilled and semi-skilled labour in making housing provision for these classes,"

said that not only was a permanent Central Housing Board required, but the new Board would need wider powers than the present.

Amendment moved.

Bishop Lavis's amendment put, and carried.

Amended resolution put as substantive motion, and adopted.
[See Resolution 10, p. 206.]

MR. STAKESBY LEWIS, moving the following resolution :

Recognizing how great a factor drink is in relation to poverty and public health, the Conference hereby resolves to press upon the Authorities concerned the urgent necessity of providing for systematic scientific instruction regarding the nature and effects of alcohol, and of making such instruction compulsory in teacher-training centres, and also in schools and other educational institutions,

said that he was pleased with Dr. Bosman's remarks on the subject of ignorance.

Ignorance is responsible for a lot of our troubles. Ignorance is one of the most costly things of life. And I am here to put before you the question of ignorance with regard to the effects of liquor. Some years ago John Morley said in England, "The first stage in social reform is temperance."

THE CHAIRMAN (MR. W. JAMES) ruled that Mr. Stakesby Lewis's remarks were irrelevant.

MR. STAKESBY LEWIS :

I feel that the social policy of the Provincial Council and of the Union Government should deal with the drink question. We are spending about ten million pounds a year in the Union on drink, and in the Cape Peninsula I should think that not less than half a million a year is spent by the Cape Coloured people. In 1941 there were 4,812 convictions of Coloured people for drunkenness and in the few days that I have been here I have spoken to some social workers and they tell me harrowing tales—the result of liquor, especially amongst the Coloured people. I feel, therefore, it should be a policy of the State first of all to enlighten everybody on the nature and effects of intoxicating drink. We talk about malnutrition. If you buy liquor you cannot buy food with the same money. Drunkenness means that you are affected, you are losing time, you are losing money, you are losing efficiency. That is one of the chief reasons why you have so much malnutrition and so much poverty amongst the Coloured section of the Cape Town community, and I feel that it should be a policy of the State to reduce the possibility of obtaining liquor. You will never solve any of our social problems until you deal with the first stage, and that is the question of intoxicating liquor.

Resolution moved.

Mr. Stakesby Lewis's resolution put, and adopted. [See Resolution 13, p. 206.]

MR. S. REAGON :

Dr. Bosman put in the forefront of his paper the matter of education, but also emphasized that before trying to clean up someone else's house we ought to put our own in order. He mentioned that Professor Grant was perhaps wrong in blaming the Provincial Government for doing nothing and he mentioned what the Provincial Government is doing. It is a fact, Sir, that the Provincial Government is about to spend over four million pounds on education. We have been whipping the wrong horse for too many years. When we blame another person, attention is naturally focussed on our own shortcomings. The Provincial Government has been too prone to blame the Government for everything. Let us look at the position and see some of the shortcomings of the Provincial Government in connection with education, especially Coloured education. We find in the Union that the amount spent is at the rate of £18 per European child, £5 for Coloured, and £2 for Natives. That is the position in the Union. In the Transvaal we find that they spend on Europeans £17, a little less than the Union

average, and on Coloured they spend £8, considerably more ; 30 per cent. more than they receive from the Union Government. In Natal they spend £17 on European and £10 on Coloured. Is there anything to prevent the Cape Province from coming up to the standard of the other Provinces in regard to Coloured education ? Why always go to the Union Government when we are at fault ? It is quite true that we are spending on Coloured education £200,000 more than we receive in direct subsidy. How is it made up ? The Union Government subsidises on the average attendance of children at school. You have been told by Professor Grant that the attendance is about 80 per cent. and consequently we get only 80 per cent. All we do in the Province is to make up that one-fifth. With the European we find that we are actually spending over and above what we get from the Union Government to the extent of £1,200,000.

I say that it is up to a gathering like this to impress on the Council that it will back that Council up in further taxation. We do not go to the Central Government for more money for the hospitals. We will provide the money for the schools.

MRS. J. HERTSLET, moving the following resolution :

That, owing to the aggravation of poverty and ill-health by illiteracy, the Provincial and Government Authorities should aim immediately at providing at least the rudiments of education for every child and youth of whatever race ; and, in the meanwhile, private individuals should assist by giving instruction to persons or groups,

said :

Much can be done by individuals. In this Conference I feel we have passed a good many resolutions, but we have not seen very well how to go into immediate action. In this matter of trying to give at any rate a knowledge of reading and writing to our illiterate people, we can go into immediate action. On the Reef the European teachers have seen how the Natives there want night schools and they have organized the system of night schools ; they give their services free and they have good results. It is quite possible to gather together a small group of illiterate people to teach them how to read and write. In this Conference, we are sympathetic to the idea of general education ; there is, however, a large body of people in this country who do not want to educate the non-Europeans. They know whenever they are educated a new system will have to come about. Let us go from this Conference to teach the people around us.

Resolution moved.

Mrs. Hertslet's resolution put, and adopted. [See Resolution 11, p. 206.]

Die Maatskaplike Opname en die Verantwoordelikhede van Provinsiale en Plaaslike Owerhede

Hoofpunte in die Bespreking op die Vyfde Sitting van die Konferensie insake Maatskaplike Opname, Kaapstad.

Vrydag, 20 Februarie 1942.

DR. M. JACKSON HAIGHT het voorgestel dat daar gelyke onderwysgeleentehede vir almal behoort te wees en verpligte onderwys vir kinders van sewe

tot sewentienjaaroud. Sy het verklaar dat min gevoeg kon word by wat Professor Grant in sy verhandeling gesê het en het enige verbeterings geskets wat in die onderwysberoep nodig was. MNR. S. G. MAURICE het voorgestel dat die subsidie vir kleurlingkinders aansienlik verhoog behoort te word en Dr. Haight het hierdie wysiging aanvaar. MNR. W. BALLINGER het 'n wysiging voorgestel met betrekking tot die voeding van skoolkinders, en Dr. Haight het hierdie wysiging aanvaar. MEJ. V. MAGNIAC het die werk van die verskaffing van voedsel deur 'n kombuis te Port Elizabeth beskryf en aangedring op die uitbreiding van sodanige werk tot naturelleskole. Dr. Haight se gewysigde besluit is aangeneem. (*Sien Besluit 12, bl. 211*).

MEV. CHAPMAN HANDLEY het 'n besluit voorgestel dat 'n voltydse sentrale behuingsraad aangestel word. MEV. F. H. HOLLAND het hierdie besluit gesteun en aangedring op die behoefte aan voorligting van plaaslike owerhede. BISKOP S. W. LAVIS het 'n wysiging voorgestel tot omskrywing van die bevoegdheids wat deur die permanente raad, die instelling waarvan verlang word, uitgeoefen moet word. Die gewysigde besluit is aangeneem. (*Sien Besluit 10, bl. 211*).

MNR. STAKESBY LEWIS het Besluit No. 13, (*Sien bl. 212*) voorgestel. Hy het aangevoer dat Dr. Bosman se opmerkings oor onkunde die aandag van die Konferensie behoort te vestig op die kwessie van onkunde betreffende die uitwerking van alkoholiese drank. In die Kaapse Skiereiland word waarskynlik nie minder nie dan 'n half miljoen pond per jaar deur die Kaapse kleurlinge aan drank uitgegee. Dit was een van die vernaamste redes vir die maatskaplike toestand van die Kaapse kleurlinge. Die besluit is aangeneem.

MNR. S. REAGON het te kennê gegee dat wat die saak van onderwys betref ons die skuld op die verkeerde plek soek. Die verpligting om beter voorsiening in die Kaap te maak berus by die provinsiale bestuur.

MEV. J. HERTSLET het by die voorstel van Besluit No. 11, (*bl. 211*) klem gelê op die verantwoordelikhede van private individue wat betref die saak van die onderwys van die nie-blanke. Die besluit is aangeneem.

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