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EVIDENCE TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY CONCERNING CONDITIONS AMONG URBAN NATIVES.

General and Social.

1. Survey of conditions in Grahamstown Locations.

(a) Sources of Information.

We rely chiefly upon an investigation into local conditions and our study of native family budgets, but we should like to preface our inferences from them with the caution that the investigation is still proceeding and the results are therefore provisional, and further that the family budgets cover the months September, October and November of 1940 and have not been submitted as yet to an exhaustive analysis. If the committee now investigating economic conditions desires to draw our attention to difficulties or problems, we should welcome the opportunity of including them in our further investigations, particularly as we believe that field work must be realistically oriented to practical needs, and that a realization of the needs of the practical man, whether he be administrator, educationalist or employer, serves to stimulate the investigator to fruitful lines of research.

(b) Population Statistics.

According to the 1936 census the town of Grahamstown then had a population of 8171 Europeans, 9110 Natives, 2309 Coloureds and 115 Asiatics. The European population is increasing very slowly since the town is an educational, not an industrial and commercial, centre. There are, in view of the proportionately large number of domestic servants, only rare fluctuations in labour requirements. Nevertheless, the Native population has, from 1921 to 1936, increased by about 62%, while the increases in respect of Europeans and Coloureds have been 13% and 23% respectively. We may say at once that the great native increase is incongruous with the decrease from 1936 to 1938 which seems to have been maintained up to April 1941, with the relatively small natural increase (only .64 p.c.), and with our figures as to the length of residence of heads of families in the locations. How the discrepancy is to be explained we cannot say as yet, but we are not prepared, without further investigation, to accept that the increase is an index of the influx of natives.

Natives live in 4 residential areas, distinguished as municipal locations North and South, and as the villages, Hottentot and Fingo, but in all except name and legal status constituting a single complex. Of a total population of 9107 Natives resident in the urban area in 1938, about 45% lived in the locations, 38% in the Fingo Village, 9% in the Hottentot Village and 9% in the European area (i.e. were accommodated by employers) There have in recent years been decreases in the last two, but increases in the first two, places of residence.

(c) Status of locations and villages.

The differences in legal status of the municipal locations and the freehold Villages introduce certain complications as regards police and municipal control and administration, housing and overcrowding, on the one hand, and the attitude of, and willingness to undertake measures by, the municipality on the other. The inadequate control of registration of natives, of the liquor traffic, of overcrowding and influx, and the presence of unemployed and redundant natives, are popularly and officially ascribed to the evils consequent upon the legal status of the Villages, which also serves as an excuse for doing nothing or throwing the whole burden of responsibility upon the Government. We cannot here attempt to deal with the legal details except to say that whereas the locations fall under the Urban Areas Act 21/23, the Village lands, granted in 1855-6 in freehold (quit rent) title to Hottentot and Fingos, do not. The 5/- quit-rent paid per plot is, in accordance

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with the original grant, applied to educational purposes, being handed over by the local receiver of revenue to the missions of the native and Hottentot residential areas. As there is no restriction on transfers, there<sup>are</sup> today several Europeans, Natives and Asiatics who hold title to land and reside in the Hottentot location, and several Europeans, Coloureds and Asiatics who do likewise in respect of the Fingo Village.

Several unsatisfactory features were already pointed out by Mr. Jameson of the Central Housing Board in 1937 e.g. the high Municipal valuations of property, upon which rates are paid, in the Villages, the ineffective collection of rates, the extent of subtenancy and overcrowding which should and could legally be dealt with, the lack of control over the type and erection of buildings, and, among other things, the untutored road repairs and drainage, absence of a qualified health inspector, insanitary communal latrines, flimsy fencing which discouraged gardening and the infrequent issue of permits for lodgers.

(d) Conditions in the Villages.

From the point of view of owners of primary dwellings, the Villagers differ from the location dwellers in that, while the Villagers pay the same rates as Europeans, an average per month in the Fingo Village of 2/- per month, location tenants pay 3/- rent a month. But sub-tenants are in the same position in all areas paying on an average about 10/- a month per room usually in an outbuilding or shack in the backyard. The Hottentot Village is not an area for the residence of natives and in 1940-1 an initial step was taken to get the position under control by demolishing Currie street, expropriating 12 erven and constructing 48 semi-detached houses. Many of the expropriated natives found refuge in the Municipal locations and in the Fingo Village. A great deal of misspent energy has been directed towards taking useless censuses and calculating overcrowding upon an unfruitful basis, but no control whatever has been exercised to check the movement of natives from the Hottentot Village into either the Municipal locations or the Fingo Village. All we need add about the Hottentot Village is that it contains the most depressed section of the non-European population.

The Fingo Village consists of 335 residential erven, all 160' by 80'. It is the centre of community life, containing the majority of shops, the location and Beer Halls, the chief recreational grounds, the superintendents office (with postal amenities), several schools and churches and the Lownd's clinic. There also are concentrated the well-off, including teachers and ministers, who occupy the best houses of the native area, as well as the oldest urban families who for generations have owned their plots of land. But allegiances are divided, public spiritedness and solidarity weakened as a result of complex social and economic causes, including the differential repercussions of culture contact in various strata of the population and confusion as to whether opportunities of achievement should be sought in cooperating with or obstructing the plans of Europeans. These are factors which cannot be ignored in any measures undertaken to evoke a sense of responsibility in the governance and control of the village. Subtenancy is rife, being resorted to as a means of adding to the income even by the most respectable standholders. No steps are taken by the Municipality to enforce regulations concerning permits for those who enter and are harboured by residents. The remedies we suggest include (a) imaginative handling of the situation so as to secure a positive and cooperative contribution and a sense of responsibility from the people themselves, (b) clearing up of unsatisfactory situation as to title deeds, which would involve the determination of questions of legal ownership of land, provision of an inexpensive means of transferring ownership, (c) progressive application of the Slums Act together with consistent enforcement of appropriate regulations concerning type and erection of buildings, (d)

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erection of fences and gates to each erf on the lines recommended by Mr. Jameson in his 1937 report and (e) some scheme whereby standholders wishing to erect their own houses can obtain the advantages enjoyed by the Municipality in the construction of sub-economic houses, since if the Municipality undertakes a comprehensive housing scheme only in its own locations, the result might be the emergence of a slum area at the centre of life of the whole native community. Denial of aid to the financially weak freehold owner in the Fingo Village can hardly fail to further a situation calling for eventual wholesale expropriation of the freehold villager.

(e) Conditions in the Municipal locations.

These contain 556 erven, varying in area from 160' by 80' to 100' by 50'. It is possible to compare the relative density of population (compared with that in the Fingo Village) per erf or per unit of area, but that tells us little about the relative overcrowding which should be calculated per room; but on this point our data are as yet incomplete. It would also be dangerous to interpret the relative overcrowding in terms of the powers of control theoretically possessed by the Municipality since in the absence of practical control in all parts of both Villages and locations, the decisive factors are (1) relative attractiveness and convenience, (2) opportunities and lucrativeness of beer-brewing which is felt to be safer from police attentions in the immediate vicinity of the Beer Hall in the Fingo Village, (3) resources of the primary tenant who erects the outbuilding or shack that is to be sublet, and (4) the supposed degree of security of tenure. These factors all favour movement towards the Fingo Village and would sufficiently account for any greater overcrowding found there; but they do not prevent overcrowding in the Municipal locations. The tendency towards degeneration there is counteracted by the Municipal Housing scheme. Since 1927 a total of 76 houses has been erected, 26 two-roomed under a loan of 5% and 50 three-roomed under the present subeconomic scheme; all these houses are now rented at 4/- per week. But for the rest housing conditions are indistinguishable from those anywhere else in the native residential area. Primary tenants, not occupying municipal houses, pay 36/- an erf rental per year, a charge which includes water, such street lighting as there is, and removal of refuse.

2. Special Position of Grahamstown Locations.

(a) General.

Apart from the complications arising from the existence of freehold areas, the situation in Grahamstown presents some marked contrasts with conditions in the larger cities of the Union. Probably some aspects of the local situation are representative of the smaller, unindustrialized centres, and for this reason their bearing upon problems of economic conditions are significant enough to warrant some consideration. Firstly, the urban native population is more permanent, with its life rooted in an urban soil, and more urbanized, with few links connecting it up with the reservoir of custom in the reserves. Secondly, there is a preponderance of women, in itself an index of the permanency of the homes of the people in the urban area, but creating special economic and social problems, since women's wages are lower than men's and there are many unattached females. Thirdly, there are no large industries, so that the proportion of females employed is high, the drift to the town (which in great industrialized centres brings immediately only the native seeking work) involves migration of whole families and even the natural increase of the permanently urbanized population tends to outrun local labour requirements. Fourthly, since where a considerable proportion of female labour is required, an additional female is needed to take care of the home, there tends to be a number of males who must seek employment outside the local area.

These conditions create a serious problem. It is

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inevitable that we should envisage the growth of a stable, urban native population and accord them the right to be regarded as a community. But this is impossible if the emphasis is merely upon satisfying labour requirements, for then we have to contemplate a limitation of native families with reference to the number (1) either of males required, in which case females have to be imported with serious consequences to life in the reserves (2) or of females required, in which case the urban area will tend to become like a reserve in the sense that its "redundant" males have to seek employment elsewhere.

(b) Urbanization.

The extent to which the native population is permanent cannot, in the absence of more detailed statistics than we at present possess, be accurately determined. We do not know exactly what proportion of the population has made the urban area its permanent home. But it is one of the oldest urban native areas in the Union, and in two samples of families investigated the position was as follows: In the first, of 25 families, taken from all parts of the area, 64% had been resident for their lifetime. In the second, the sample of 143 families in the Fingo Village, there were:

- 63.7% who have resided there for 40 years or more;
- 81.2% who have resided there for 20 years or more;
- 18.9% who have resided there for under 20 years; and only 4.9% who have resided there for 5 years or less.

This investigation is proceeding and may provide more accurate and comprehensive results when it is complete.

The links of the local native population with the reserves and farms are much weaker than we have found the case to be even in Marabastad and Skoolplaats (in Pretoria), where a relatively old urbanized population used to reside. This is reflected in the absence of kinship bonds with outside people, in the incidence of local intermarriages, and in the relatively small number of visitors - 124 in a population of 9121 when the 1938 census was taken. A corollary of the urbanization is the westernization of the native population, which is of a kind markedly different from that in the larger urban centres. On the one hand there is little evidence of an accumulation of European articles, accounted for by the greater poverty, but on the other hand, there is more disintegration of native institutions and values such as marriage ceremonial, kinship obligations, the hierarchy of age and rank, religion and so on. Parental control is also weaker than elsewhere, and while authority or control can hardly any more be based on conceptions of seniority or traditional precedences, men and women seek their achievement in Europeanized ideals. This has a direct bearing on the formulation of any plan of control through the natives themselves or of the institution of a headman system, which can no longer be successfully based upon the traditional, but no longer operative pattern.

(c) Preponderance of women.

The proportion of women to men is often used as a criterion to measure the permanent or temporary nature of the population. The 1938 census figures are as follows:-

Locations & Villages.	18 years & over			Under 18 years		
	Males	Females	Excess of F	Males	Females	Excess of F
Resident	1935	2594	659	1816	1984	168
elsewhere.	244	366	122	95	89	-6
Total	2179	2963	784	1909	2070	161
Locations & Villages	Total					
	Males	Females	Excess of F.			
	3751	4578	827			
Resident						
elsewhere	339	455	116			
Total	4088	5033	945			

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There are significant discrepancies in the figures, but the main points are clear enough, viz., (1) an excess of 945 females in the total population of 9121, (2) the proportionately much greater excess of females over males of 18 years or over than of those under 18 and (3) while there were fewer females than males under 18 resident elsewhere (that is, accommodated by employers), the proportionate excess of females over males of 18 years or over falling in this category is the greatest of all. In the absence of specific statistics all we can say with confidence is that the figures indicate (a) that some females are imported to satisfy local labour requirements and (b) that while some men are also imported a considerably larger number of resident males find employment elsewhere. We would hazard the guess that 350 resident men were in employment outside Grahamstown and 50 men and 400 women were imported from elsewhere for local labour requirements; such figures would at least partly account for the preponderance of the female population and would be in accordance with our general impressions.

However that may be, it is certain that the economic condition of the family depends to a very large extent upon wages earned by females, while the fact that many men go out to work elsewhere very considerably diminishes their contribution to the family income, since, in our experience, they send only small amounts home and that not always regularly. The needs of the family, economically, are not those of the reserves, so that the consequences are even more serious than when the male breadwinner of the family works in the area in which he resides.

Moreover, the surplus of women raises difficult problems of family life. In spite, for instance, of a church influence, hardly paralleled elsewhere, the illegitimacy, expressed as a percentage of total births, was (according to the 1940 Report of the M.O.H.) 49.3%, a figure not very different from that found in urban areas with a floating male population and much more chaotic family conditions. The severity of the economic struggle is indicated by the resentment felt by local female natives towards Peddie girls in domestic employment in Grahamstown. It is reported that Peddie girls have recently been assaulted and local native women have held a meeting of protest. But Peddie girls are believed to be and on the whole are preferred by housewives in Grahamstown, partly because they can more easily be induced to sleep on the premises and are thus under better control, and partly because domestic servants resident in the locations habitually carry home "rations", often surreptitiously purloined from their mistress's pantry. An investigation into family budgets shows clearly that, without such "rations", the problem of malnutrition would assume enormous proportions.

(d) Labour requirements.

Grahamstown has no industries and in addition is a comparatively poor municipality. (Its revenue is levied on only 60% of properties, the others being derated entailing a loss annually in rates of over £3,500) What the actual labour requirements are in respect of natives has never been scientifically determined and as a result there is a great deal of guesswork by the Municipality in estimating the number of so-called redundant natives. The Grahamstown Malnutrition Conference, called by the Mayor to enquire into infant malnutrition and composed of representatives of the City Council, Albany Hospital Board, Albany Divisional Council, and Child Welfare Society, reported in October, 1941, that of the total non-European population of 10,000 in the locations there were approximately 3000 males over 16, 3500 females over 18 and 3500 males and females under those ages. "Of the males" it continues, "1400 are in regular employment and 200 in casual employment. If we estimate that a further 1,000 are old, infirm and retired, this still leaves a surplus of some 400 male natives, over the age of 16 years, unemployed. Farmers in this and other districts are crying out for labour but cannot

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obtain it. Recruiting for the mines produces poor results from Grahamstown and a recent offer of employment in the Native Military Corps failed to produce a single recruit .... No reliable figures were available to us of the number of females over 18 years of age in employment... We are satisfied that a large number of women over 18 years of age are unemployed".

It should be noted that (1) these are 1936 figures. The 1938 census shows that 1497 males were employed in the various occupations and 111 were working on their own account, while the number of females in employment is also given by this census, (2) the totals are given in respect of all non-Europeans, including 1894 who are not Natives, yet the subsequent calculations refer only to natives, an utter confusion therefore in arithmetic and logic. Quite apart from the extraordinary uninformed estimate of 1,000 decrepit males - in 1938 there were 2179 males over 18 including 32 visitors and 244 accommodated by employers, so that 52% of the males in the locations were estimated to be decrepit - we cannot place any reliance upon the conclusions of the Report on this point.

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Nor can much reliance be placed upon the estimate of the municipality (given in the 1938 census and quoted as if authoritative still today) that there are 2042 redundant natives. This is arrived at merely by means of a mechanical calculation as appears from the 1938 census of the resident population viz:

Total In Employment Labour Require- "Redundant"				
ments.				
Males 18 & over	2179	1379	1300	318
Males under 18	1909	101	100	422
Females 18 & over	2963	1242	1220	809
Females under 18	2070	84	84	493
Total	9121	2806	2704	2042

That the calculation is merely mechanical is evident when, say, the figures for females of 18 years or over are examined. There were in employment 1242. In addition 106 women were working on their own account and there were 30 women immobilized (28 in hospital and 2 in prison) - most of these 136 would presumably be over 18. In addition, assume that in the population of 9121 - 2042 i.e. 7079 there were 1400 families, then at least about 1400 women over 18 will be necessary to take care of children and the home generally. Finally, apart from those in hospital, there are the old and infirm, some of whom at least will be too decrepit to mind the affairs of the home. We need not place the figure higher than 50 (about 1% of the women in such a reduced population). Leaving out of account the fair number of women needed as casual workers in Grahamstown, we thus have 1242 + 30 + (say) 100 + (say) 1200 + 50 = 2622, as against 2154 (i.e. 2963 - 809) the number which it is assumed, in calculating labour requirements, the demands of home and community life may be disregarded. A settled urban community regarded solely as a source of labour presents, as we have indicated, insuperable difficulties where the numbers of male and female workers required are approximately the same. [Some men from outside, for example from the farms, come to Grahamstown for employment. The actual number is, however, not determinable, as the system neither of permits nor of registration is rigidly enforced.

At the registration office it is estimated (but the estimate still requires both analysis and checking) that an average of 5 or 6 males, entering the urban area from outside, are registered every month. At the present moment, according to figures available on 22 October, 1941, the number of males who are working at the aerodrome is 324, of whom all but about 15 local males are from the district and particularly from Peddie.

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These 324 are casual workers engaged by the day and on discharge cannot (as the system is now operated) be traced, since (a) not all employed males in the town are in fact registered, (b) the native boy sent round to collect the 6d. registration fee is sometimes denied entry by employers, (c) there is no effective enforcement of the regulation that males, employed from outside the urban area, must be accommodated on the premises, and (d) no sustained attempt has been made to induce employers to register their native male employees. The result is that the machinery set up for the control of influx does not operate; and in the circumstances no accurate statistics can be presented on this point. The position is, moreover, very greatly complicated by the free flow of female labour.

Nor is there any means of accurately determining the number of males seeking work in other areas. Travelling passes are required only in the case of those going to the Transvaal, while figures of the numbers recruited for the mines are available at the office of the recruiter. But the latter do not differentiate between the males from the Grahamstown urban area and the rural districts (Albany and Bathurst). In 1939, 1940, and for the period 1st January to 20th October 1941, the numbers recruited were respectively 315, 493 and 538. In a sample of one month (July, 1941) it was found that 16 passes were issued to natives from the urban area going to the Transvaal for work, and 14 from the districts; so that the majority appear to be from the urban area, a conclusion, which accords with the recruiting officer's general impressions.

(e) Consequences of these special conditions.

These circumstances combine to aggravate the evil consequences of low wages, inadequate housing and malnutrition. There is a very considerable loss, economically, in normal conditions when many more males find work outside Grahamstown than come in; the preponderance of women, who earn lower wages than men, further depresses the standard of living; and while the usual burden of indigent relatives must be borne, in so old and stabilized a population the incidence of the burden of the old, infirm and others partially or temporarily out of employment is much greater than in the larger centres. The results are evident in the lack of possessions, such as furniture and other goods. There is little sign of the accumulation of any form of capital, and less has been achieved in this direction even among freehold owners, who pay rates averaging £2 a year and have many tenants, than in half or a third of the time in the great cities. Nothing can be more eloquent of the small margin between total income and total expenditure, and this is amply borne out by a study of family budgets. We cannot avoid stating our opinion that similar results might be expected wherever a stable urbanized native population grows up in conditions which tend to approximate to those in the reserves. Economically native urban areas have been tolerable largely because of a considerable floating male population, contributing more to the urban area than to their homes in the reserves; they become intolerable when something approaching a balance between males locally available and labour requirements is achieved; and this in turn implies that the ideal of a native urban community, with a right to decent existence, must envisage the assumption of greater responsibilities by local authorities.

3. Labour.

(a) Wages.

It is not possible to understand the economic position of Natives in Grahamstown without reference to the question of wages, and any remedies suggested must likewise be realistically viewed against this background. It affects, for instance, any practical measures for fixing rents or for housing schemes; it bears upon problems of buying facilities and malnutrition; and it throws into relief the urgency of providing security against invalidity and other contingencies. There are two

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factors of first importance: (1) the low wage of the male breadwinner and (2) the disproportionate reliance upon the wage of females. From a study of a sample of family budgets, it appears that in 50% of the families investigated the women made a substantial contribution to the total income. The average total wages per family or more accurately per economic unit were £4.2.0. This economic unit is usually larger than the individual family, including other relatives, such as infirm parents, sisters, daughters-in-law, all economically interdependent, jointly contributing to and sharing resources. Such an economic unit or family consisted on an average of 7.3 persons (1.3 male adults, 2.0 female adults and 4.0 children). The £4.2.0. obtained as wages represented, however, only 63% of the total average expenditure, leaving 37% derived from sources other than wages e.g. beer-brewing, taking in washing, occasional charring etc.

The average wage of males is about 15/- per week. This figure is arrived at (a) from the investigation of family budgets, and (b) from the figures of males employed in various categories. As the data on which the calculation is made are relevant for other purposes they are briefly given here. According to the 1938 census the males employed were classified as follows:-

Professional	38
Clerical	3
Trade and Industry	516
Domestic Service	753
Municipality	172
Railways	15
Working on own account	111

Municipal employees receive a starting wage of 2/6 a day, a few rise to 3/6 a day and the average wage is 2/11 a day. Before the coming into effect, a month ago, of the minimum wage regulations in the Commercial and Distributive Trades, shop boys received 10/- to 18/- a week, waiters and porters 18/- a week, alternatively £2 a month with food, and garage boys 18/- a week. The Banks, Colleges and Hospitals pay 15/- to 20/- a week. Boys in domestic service, also employed in gardening, receive £1 to £1.10. a month with food.

As regards women, according to the 1938 census, 1310 were in domestic service, 16 in other employment, professional, industrial and municipal, while 106 worked on their own account. Ordinary household servants receive an average of about 22/-, nursemaids 10/-, a few special cooks about 42/- a month, with an all round average of, say, 20/- a month, but food is provided and "rations" often carried home. The family budgets investigated show an average of about 22/- a month, so that an average of 5/- per week is consistent with the results of both methods of calculation. In addition many women do casual jobs such as washing and charring, the usual rate of pay being 2/- a day plus food.

We need merely reiterate that, according to the budgets investigated, the total wage from regular employment of the "family" of 7.3 persons was no more than 82/- a month, despite the fact that in 50% of the "families" the women in regular employment made a substantial contribution.

(b) Residence with family (Questionnaire A.1)

There are no reliable statistics. Certain rather risky inferences may be made from the 1938 census, which gives the numbers of natives actually resident in the locations and elsewhere, i.e. accommodated in town by employers. We know that many of those accommodated by employers have their houses in the locations, while many whose homes are in the district or in other districts, and are employed locally, are not accommodated by employers. We can, however, merely guess how many of those employed in the urban area but accommodated in the locations reside with their families. There is the further difficulty

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that most natives in the locations live with relatives but cannot be said to have their whole families there. A census taken in April, 1941, of the Fingo Village gave 679 native families, which would account for practically the whole population, the drift to the town is by families rather than individuals, and in no case of the families, whose budgets we investigated, did we encounter individuals who could not be said to be attached to some family actually residing in the locations (unless indeed we define the word family in a sense that does violence to native conceptions) Basing our opinion upon the factors and situation as we know them so far, we venture to guess that, in respect of employed natives, 10% of those accommodated by employers and 90% of those residing in the locations, have their families (in the European sense) in the urban area, that is:-

	Residing with Employer	Residing in Location	All residents.
Family in town.	79	1827	1906
Family elsewhere	745	202	917
Percentages.	10%	90%	68%

Thus on the assumptions we have made 32% of the labour employed in the urban area have their main family attachments elsewhere. This figure is probably too high, but it is not inconsistent with the large number of Peddie girls and other females from the district in normal domestic employment. Further analysis of the figures we have and our further investigations may show that our estimate will have to be revised.

(c) Seasonal fluctuations (Questionnaire A.2)

Labour requirements are not subject to seasonal fluctuations as is evident from the nature of the employment: 2063 out of a total of 2823 natives, male and female, employed, according to the 1938 census, absorbed in domestic employment. Erratic fluctuations do occur: extraordinary municipal works, sewerage and other, just after 1929, building extensions at the large educational institutions in 1940 and 1941 and the constructional work just commenced at the aerodrome are illustrations of erratic labour demands causing fluctuations. It is the general impression, both of natives and of the City Council, that just after 1929 there was a considerable influx of natives who, during the course of their employment, either established domestic ties locally or brought their families to live in the locations and thereafter remained as permanent urban dwellers.

This is precisely what is happening at present. Over 95% of the 324 boys employed at the aerodrome, we are informed, come from the district, not from the urban area which was unable to supply the labour. Though provision is made for housing them on the premises, the early stages lorry loads were deposited at night in the locations. Many of these boys are already entering into the life of the locations and there is no adequate control of their movements. Since (so we are informed) about 2000 more natives will be required at the aerodrome, the position in the locations (though temporarily improved by the contributions of so large a number of males at present unattached) must degenerate still further when their labour is no longer required.

If the present position is to be kept under proper control, several reforms in administration are urgently needed (a) in the registration office, where a scientific card index system should be instituted instead of unwieldy books and ledgers; (b) in the enforcement of regulations concerning registrations by employers and permits for looking for work, (c) as regards the accommodation of natives not resident in the area by employers and the stiffening of the regulations concerning engaging non-resident natives by merely engaging them outside the area. But we do not believe that such regulative measures are in themselves sufficient to deal with the evils supervening upon influxes of males to meet erratic local needs. On the one

hand adequate housing or quarters, outside the present locations should be provided for imported labourers; on the other, such labourers should not as at present be engaged merely by the day, with the result that, if discharged within the period for which their togt passes hold good, they become harboured in the locations and are lost track of.

(d) Labour exchanges (Questionnaire A.3)

We regard the institution of labour exchanges as closely interlinked with a more positive solution of the problems arising from the circumstances mentioned above. On the one hand it is continuously urged by the Municipality that there are many redundant natives, the official figure being 2042, on the other employers of labour and particularly those needing domestic servants and garden boys, not infrequently complain of the difficulty of obtaining labourers or at least suitable labourers. Thus while employers feel aggrieved that their needs are not satisfied we nevertheless are told that there are many unemployed natives.

The Grahamstown Maternitition Conference had evidence before it, based however upon mere opinion, that there were over 700 unemployed and itself estimates a surplus of 400 males over 16 unemployed, in spite of the crying demands of farmers and the mines, and the general opinion is that there are many "won't works". In addition, there is released from the schools a large number of adolescents who for a time have nothing to do until they become absorbed into the ranks of the employed either locally or in other parts - there are in fact very few opportunities for young men. When to this is added that, despite the extent of so-called redundancy, practically all the male labour has to be imported when exceptional needs arise, that many domestic servants are peddie girls, that the Dairies and Gasworks habitually obtain their labour from the district, it is evident that a much more adequate scheme is necessary than the existing one to adjust and coordinate supply and demand.

Some two or three years ago a privately-run labour exchange, designed mainly to meet the needs of housewives, was in operation. It failed, we understand, though we have not investigated the matter fully, chiefly because of the existence locally of a tradition of private recommendation, both among employers and employees, which occasioned disputes.

At present the location superintendent acts as a kind of labour exchange, but the system is wholly unsatisfactory and cannot meet the needs. It is unorganized and haphazard, placings are reported by neither employer nor employee, there is no classification and no information as to qualifications and experience but merely a list of names, and the natives themselves lack all confidence in the scheme. The result has been that since a few months ago a total of 22 natives have (in a burst of initial enthusiasm which has petered out) placed their names on the list and the superintendent is unable to say how many of them have been engaged or whether, if engaged in the first instance, they have been discharged. Moreover, according to native opinion, only bad masters would avail themselves of the system, because good masters have no difficulty in obtaining substitutes to replace those employees who leave him and recommend him. There is a similar lack of confidence on the part of the European employer, at least in most cases.

There are also other practical difficulties arising from local patterns of behaviour. Female servants often leave without notice, partly because they dislike giving notice and do not know what their legal rights are, partly because, if they cannot immediately accept an offer/employment, they lose their opportunity. These habits are interlinked, constitute a vicious circle, from which it is easy neither for servant nor for master to escape, and cause a sense of insecurity which cannot be dealt with merely by way of coercive legal measures.

These considerations incline us to support both Native Labour Exchanges and separate Juvenile Affairs Boards, at least in the larger municipal areas. On purely economic grounds, and without reference to administrative difficulties and social resistances, the advantages are obvious, at all events whenever a sufficient knowledge of opportunities is not provided by a system of private recommendation. In these cases, time and effort are wasted and income lost, since the unemployed for whom work is available do not know where to look for it but go round offering their services to one potential employer after another, a practice that is too much in evidence in Grahamstown. An effective system of registration of employers wanting workers and workers wanting jobs, would do a great deal to reduce such waste and loss, to spread a knowledge of available opportunities for employment, to increase the mobility and the "perfection" of the labour market and to reduce "frictional" and "transitional" unemployment.

These advantages are tangible enough, but in view of the extent to which private recommendations provide knowledge of opportunities and of the practical difficulties, organization and expense involved, it must be a matter of investigation whether a system of labour exchange will be justified in the smaller towns. But we believe that in Grahamstown, where the question is intimately interlinked with larger problems such as the influx of natives and their migration to seek work elsewhere, such a system should be put into operation, but not before a thorough investigation into (a) the extent to which it can be coordinated with these larger problems, and (b) the most suitable methods of overcoming the resistances and suspicions, and of meeting the needs and securing the cooperation of both employer and employee. We are not in a position to advise on these points at present, but we suggest that, should the principle of labour exchanges be generally accepted, the authorities concerned might avail themselves of our cooperation in overcoming those difficulties, suspicions and resistances which it is within our province to study and understand. We do not expect immediate success and anticipate an initial period of lack of support in centres such as Grahamstown. This is not the place to suggest the details of a plan to overcome these difficulties, but we believe that emphasis must be placed upon (a) efficiency in office methods and continuous adjustment to local needs and demands, (b) knowledge and study of the reactions by Europeans as well as natives, so that their confidence can be gained, (c) freedom of interference or pressure from the system of tracing deserters or enforcing laws of master and servant, but co-ordination with the system of registering male employees.

#### 4. Housing.

##### (a) General.

The particulars already given of conditions in the locations and villages amply testify to the seriousness of the situation, as well as to its complexity. In general terms except for the 76 Municipal Houses, a number of substantial residences in the Fingo Village and a few houses elsewhere, which could be made tolerably habitable by improved windows, even the primary dwellings are little more than shacks, of pieces of tin or corrugated iron, dilapidated, unhealthy, with mud floors and sometimes porous brick and wood. The secondary dwellings are mostly one-roomed shacks, sometimes rooms, let at 10/- to 12/- per room; but the extensive practice of letting rooms within the primary dwelling is far less in evidence here than we knew it to be in Pretoria and the overcrowding per room or house is thus also much less.

There is, moreover, one other redeeming feature, which holds out great possibilities in any far-sighted housing scheme: the wide streets (80'), regular layout, and large stands. At present, in the absence of trees and windbreaks, the

/locations .....

locations are exposed to the south; the streets are badly lit, and are mostly eroded tracks; but the dispositions of streets and stands as they exist are such as to permit of the laying out of pavements and front gardens, with fenced street frontages.

The execution of any ambitious plan requires above all (a) a more lively appreciation on the part of the City Council of its obligations to the urban native, not merely as a labour force but as a community; (b) a thorough investigation into the legal status of the Fingo Village and the reforms and policy necessary, which should eliminate excuses for procrastination or complacency in areas other than the Fingo Village; (c) removal of misconceptions as to the ultimate advantages and immediate burden of a comprehensive sub-economic housing scheme. Judging from the reactions of the City Council, it would seem that considerably more should be done to make the smaller municipalities realize both their responsibilities and the advantages of the subeconomic housing schemas.

In a sample of houses and huts on 170 plots in the Fingo Village, it was found in 1941 that (1) 127 were occupied by the owners (2) on 43 there lived "caretakers", and (3) in addition there were 104 families occupying rooms in the primary houses or other structures in the back yards. The total of 274 families lived in 265 houses of which 94 had 3 or more rooms, 63 had 2 rooms and 108 were one-roomed structures, usually shacks. A total population of approximately 1500, including 670 adults (persons over 20) lived in 610 rooms i.e. an average of about 2.5 per room. In the sample from every part of the locations of 23 "families" whose budgets were investigated, about 40% of the houses were of corrugated iron or pieces of tin patched together; these "families" occupied 69 rooms with an average again of 2.5 persons per room, varying from a family of 7 (parents and 5 children) crowded into a shack 8' by 9' to a family of 5 (three adults and 2 children) living in a 4-roomed house (though it was a municipal house to which 2 further rooms of corrugated iron had been added)

From these figures the conclusion seems warranted that (1) about 40% of the houses occupied are shacks, (2) the majority of families are tenants of either owners of stands or of primary tenants, the extent of subtenancy not varying appreciably in the Villages and locations, and (3) if the sample taken for the purpose of budgets is representative, about 13% of the families are living on charity, i.e. they are the primary occupier's friends or relatives, pay no rent or have their rent paid for them by their relatives.

Another general aspect is the poverty of the interior of houses. There are none of those more expensive or ambitious pieces of furniture such as cupboards, sideboards and gramophones, nor any of those evidences of accumulation of goods, that one sees in the homes in Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Pretoria or even in such reserves as those of the Ba Mmakau or Ba Mosethla, North of Pretoria, which we have personally investigated. That is all the more surprising because (1) the population in the Grahamstown area spend carefully and have a much better appreciation of the value of money than in the North, and (2) the rents and rates are low. There may be other factors involved but our present impression is that poverty of household amenities is primarily one aspect of the intensity of the struggle for existence, and of the lack of any margin between income and expenditure. There cannot in such circumstances be any saving nor security in case of invalidity, infirmity, old age or other contingencies.

(b) Place of residence (Questionnaire B.1.)

/ census

The 1938 gives the following figures, "resident elsewhere" referring merely to those "accommodated in town by employers", though the totals under this latter heading are separately given as 337 males and 450 females, total 787.

	Males		Females		Totals		Total
	18 & over	under 18	18 & over	under 18	18 & over	under 18	
Locations & Villages Resident elsewhere	1933	1816	2592	1984	4527	3700	8327
% resident elsewhere	244	95	366	89	610	184	794
	11	5	12	4	12	5	9

As a general rule employers of domestic servants prefer them to sleep on the premises, the reasons being better control and less depredation upon the pantry. It is frequently also for this reason that Peddie girls are engaged in preference to those living in the locations. The quarters allotted to natives do not appear to be as satisfactory as they should be. We would suggest two improvements: (1) More consistent enforcement of regulations concerning housing conditions on employer's premises and (2) more careful application of the regulation that makes employed from outside the area be accommodated by the employer.

(c) Municipal Housing (Questionnaire B.2.)

The Municipal provision for housing is lamentably inadequate. The City Council has approved of a housing scheme of which about £40,000 is intended for natives; during the last few years £70,000 has been spent on improving location sanitation; there have been in addition extensions and improvements in water supply, street lighting and road construction; in 1940 a considerable area was purchased in the Hottentot Village, the dwellings (mainly slum properties) were demolished and 48 semi-detached dwellings erected for coloureds, each costing £174 exclusive of the land; and in 1941 an additional room is being added to the 26 two-roomed houses erected in 1926 for natives in the S. Location. But a total of 76 houses in 15 years is a poor effort. The 26 two-roomed houses originally erected have been found to be unsatisfactory, so much so that to most of them the tenant has added a third or fourth room, badly constructed and generally of corrugated iron.

Sanitation in all the locations and villages consists of privy pits, at present constructed under the control of the Municipality. This system was strongly recommended by Mr. Jameson. The cost to the occupier is £6 payable 2/6 a month, but new privy pits are made free of charge. In July, 1941, the M.O.H. reported that there were 1070 pits (one to each unsewered erf).

The City Council is reluctant to undertake any ambitious housing scheme, the reasons given in a memorandum of the Town Clerk to the Native Affairs Commission, 17/10/41, being (1) "The high costs of building and the high standard of housing insisted upon by the Central Housing Board hamper my Council in its efforts to improve the housing conditions of the Coloured and Native people"; (2) "It is extremely difficult to put into operation the Public Health Act, the Slums Act and the regulations regarding the influx of natives and the registration of male natives, and it is quite beyond the means of the Council to house these natives; nor is it fair to expect the Council to bear the considerable expense that would be involved thereby", and (3) "the natural result of the action of the Government is establishing in 1855/56 a large number of Fingo and Hottentot families on erven granted to them and their descendants. Surely, therefore, it is not reasonable for the City Council to renew its request to the Government for relief from conditions for which the Council is unable to find a remedy". The council apparently feels not merely that it cannot afford an extensive housing scheme, but also that it has done its duty. "The Natives" states the above-mentioned memorandum, "have for years past enjoyed an unlimited supply of filtered water, all refuse is removed

/ regularly .....

£7,000

"...the present unsatisfactory conditions are to a considerable extent

regularly free of charge - street lighting has been extended and road machinery purchased for their exclusive use; despite the fact that considerable losses are incurred annually in supplying these services to the Fingo, Hottentot and Municipal locations."

In our opinion these arguments are unsatisfactory, but even if they contain more substance than they do, the City Council's attitude is short sighted.

(d) Rents and charges (Questionnaire C.3.)

The rents, inclusive of other charges, of the 76 municipal houses are 4/- p.a. week; in the rest of the Municipal locations the rent is 3/- a month per erf. Subtenants of primary occupiers, in the villages, standowners, pay on an average 10/- a room per month. Owners in the Villagers pay the same rates as Europeans, but the valuations of these properties are inflated, indeed "so inflated as to preclude the Council from considering such a step (repayment of the purchase price to Government if the Government expropriates) unless Government will make a substantial financial grant". (Town Clerk's Memorandum 17/10/41) The rates paid by standholders vary considerably: there are seven lots valued at £210, 286 at £29,475, and 192 are each valued at £75 or more. The average rate is believed to be a little more than £2 p.a. or about 2/- a month per erf. Roughly, the position is:-

- 76 families pay 17/4 a month in rent (municipal houses); locations
- 480 families pay 3/- a month in rent (rent of erf in municipal/
- 384 families pay 2/- a month in rates (owners of plots) and
- 760 families pay 16/- a month in rents (subtenants)

The average works out at about 16% of the average wage of the male breadwinner or 10% of the total wage earned in the family. The rent ~~and~~ rates actually paid as revealed in the family budgets investigated constituted on an average 19% of the average wage of the male breadwinner or just over 12% of the total average wage per family.

The 17/4 rental per month is too high for the level of wages in Grahamstown, but it is infinitely better than the rack rents charged for the shacks and single rooms that are sublet by plot owners or primary tenants. We do not consider that very much can be done to alleviate the position by a reduction of rents but we would tentatively suggest: (a) the devaluation of properties in the Villagers so as to reduce rates, (b) a reduction to 3/6 per week in the rentals of the present Municipal Houses, (c) a reconsideration of the whole question as to the deductions municipalities may make in estimating the rent they charge and (d) greater emphasis to be placed on local wage levels than upon running the subeconomic housing scheme with practically no burden upon general revenue of municipalities.

(e) Overcrowding (Questionnaire B.4.)

This question has been dealt with already. There is overcrowding in all the locations, municipal and freehold, and its extent cannot be mechanically calculated, nor does the solution lie in such drastic measures as expropriation of the Fingo Village. The City Council diagnoses the overcrowding as being due merely to the continuation of conditions created by the Government in giving natives and Hottentots freehold land; hence it is the Government that must remove the cause and solve the problem. What is needed is first of all a more thorough investigation into the true causes and then the application of such remedies as can be invoked within the present framework of laws and regulations. But the Municipality should first demonstrate its ability to handle the situation in its own locations before its recommendation be given weight, viz. that the Villages be converted into areas under the Urban Areas Act.

Apart from the enforcement of the existing laws, something more positive should be envisaged. One of the fundamental causes of overcrowding is the absence of decent accommodation for those who come to work in the urban area; opportunities of exploiting this situation will naturally be taken by local standholders or the primary occupiers in Municipal locations, and for the resulting overcrowding it is merely unrealistic to blame the Native. "Despite the overcrowding and incidence of unemployment", so runs para 4 of the Town Clerk's Memorandum of

17/10/41, "the Fingo Village Committee recently advocated that the Council should allow unrestricted influx of Natives into this area." Despite the contention in para 25 of this memorandum that discussions with their Committee have always been amicable, Fingo Villagers, suspect the motives of the Municipality and the measure of cooperation is negligible. There is ample documentary evidence of friction between Municipality and Fingo Vigilance Committee, of accusations by the Municipality that the Committee wish neither to consult nor to recognize the Municipality, of little interest by the Committee in the management of the Village. Yet for a positive response from the natives what is needed is their cooperation and confidence. Otherwise "harbouring", subtenancy, and other evils that contribute towards overcrowding will remain unchecked except by coercive measures which can hardly solve problems positively.

(f) Housing for the very poor (Questionnaire B.5.)

The proportion of very poor, quite unable to pay even the lowest rents, appears, from our investigation into family budgets, to be about 35%. In these "families" the average total wage, earned by the combined efforts of males and females, represents only 32% of the sum of money needed for minimum food requirements alone, in the sense ~~in~~ which that term is used by us. The sale of minimum food requirements was drawn up in consultation with Dr. Fox of the S.A. Medical Institute, but it must not be taken to be more than a rough and ready scale. The average expenditure per month on food, per standard family of 5, in the case of the very poor families was 36/-; and the total expenditure of whatever kind was 57/-. These figures clearly do not admit of any margin to pay even nominal rents.

We would also like to emphasize that unemployment was not the cause of the extreme destitution in any of these families. To indicate the nature of the problem we give the position in summary form:-

Family	Composition	Workees & their income p.m.	Remarks
A.	H.W. 5 ch. of 13, 10, 6, 3 & 1/2. D-in-1, & 3 young ch.	W. washing 10/- D-in-1 casual labour 5/-	H. infirm and exempt from tax. Help from son in whose house family lives, rent free & also sends 10/- a month. Old location family.
I.	H.W. 5 ch. of 13, 8, 7, 4, & 2	H. casual labour (avr.) 15/- W. washing & c. labour 20/-	H. invalid & cannot work full-time, exempt from tax, old location family.
M.	H.W. 6 ch. of 16, 12, 9, 4, 3, & new born baby.	H in regular job. 52/- Son caddies (avr.) 9/6	W. usually does casual work but was confined 20 yrs. in location.
N.	H.W. 5 ch. of 17, 15, 9, 6 & 3.	W in regular job 12/- Son's casual job (avr.) 6/-	H. infirm, exempt from tax. Worked for 18 yrs. with firm before becoming decrepit. Old location family
O.	H.W. 1 ch. 3 mths.	H. in regular job 40/-	newcomer to urban area
S.	Old M., 4 adults & 7 ch. of 13, 12, 10, 3, 2, 1 & 1.	2 d's in regular jobs 66/-	M is too old to work 2 d's still suckling ch., but occasionally do casual jobs. All ch. illegitimate. Old location family
V.	old m, 3s, adults & 2 ch. of 15 & 8	3s in regular job 20/- d. in regular job 12/6	Pension of 10/- a m. in respect of deceased h. Old location family.

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