Minimum Living Levels among Black Employees in a Textile Processing Industry in Natal.

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MINIMUM LIVING LEVELS AMONG BLACK EMPLOYEES
IN A TEXTILE PROCESSING INDUSTRY IN NATAL

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PREFACE

The initiative for this research report came from a company in
the Textile Processing Industry in the border industrial area of Hammars-
dale, Natal. When it was discovered that no poverty datum line (PDL)
existed for the Hammarsdale area, the company requested that the Institute
calculate a PDL for their African employees - this was accomplished during
April 1974. Subsequent to the production of a preliminary report during
April 1974, the Institute acquainted the General Manager of the company
with problems attaching to the calculation of a PDL in a border industrial
area and recent developments in thinking about subsistence poverty. The
response of the company was to sponsor a more thorough research project
based on a sample survey of their employees and to sponsor a trip for the
author of this report to attend a national conference on the topic of the
PDL in Pretoria during October 1974. The most accommodating attitude of
the company has allowed us to produce a report on the MINIMUM LIVING LEVEL
(MLL) which takes into account special conditions experienced by Africans
in a border area.

The company has not been named in the report as indications of
wage levels are given in the calculation of available income ratios for
company employees which the company may wish to keep confidential in the
event of this report being published. As the report is relevant to a wider
audience than an individual company it is hoped that the sponsor of this
project will allow publication of the results in their present form. During
the preparation of this report interest in the results was voiced by, *inter
alia*, academics, an African township official and a Member of Parliament.
While the main purpose of the report is to inform the sponsor company of the
state of its wage policies *vis-à-vis* the MLL, a wider context for the rele-
vance of our findings has been attempted. As the tables calculated for the
MLL refer to Hammarsdale or market outlets available to Hammarsdale, these
can be manipulated to produce MLLs appropriate to units of calculation in
the area other than those of the employee group of the company. Investiga-
tion of family groupings of company employees shows that much thought must
yet be given to the definition of African families as they appear in indus-
trial situations. Part of our task has been to clarify the question of

subsistence poverty and its measurement (of which PDLs and MLLs form part) and to bring to the attention of industrialists some of the fallacious thinking that has attached to the relationship between minimum African wages and estimates of subsistence poverty levels such as the MLL.

Although the popular use of PDLs or like measurements to determine wage levels have been criticised in the text, if the MLL is used as a criterion of wage level then the sponsor company is in the enviable position in South Africa of being able to state that none of its African employees receives a wage less than MLL financial requirements. This relatively satisfactory situation can be extended to cover more comprehensive considerations. As MLLs have been tabulated on a differential basis for marital statuses and family responsibilities it can be stated that only in very few cases will the employee's wage not be sufficient to meet the MLL requirement at the most extreme unit which includes all dependent kin wherever they may be. That is, the overwhelming majority of company employees are able to meet MLL financial requirements for their own immediate families, for other kin resident in the household and for indigent kin who reside either in town or the rural area.

The successful completion of the sample survey among employees at the factory was greatly facilitated by the support and understanding shown by representatives of the company, which we gratefully acknowledge. The General Manager, Factory Manager, Personnel Manager and Personnel Clerk all contributed to the smooth running of the project. The research assistants from the Institute conducting the survey, Miss Beata Mbanda and Mr. Dumisani Nduli, performed their task with responsibility and despatch enabling an early analysis of empirical data. Both assistants already named and Mrs. Marguerite Oosthuizen undertook the arduous task of costing items at the many retail outlets used in the survey to determine financial requirements for the MLL. Mrs. Oosthuizen further assisted with research supervision and classification of raw data. The Technical Assistant of the Institute, Mrs. Ulla Bulteel, undertook much of the calculation and tabulation required for the construction of MLLs.

Without the co-operation of company employees who freely allowed strangers to delve into their private lives, this report could not have been

written. Similarly, the co-operation of shopkeepers at Hammarsdale and
Mpumalanga Towndhip as well as some firms in Durban and Pinetown greatly
eased the task of costing items for the MLL. The Township Manager of
Mpumalanga Township very kindly spared the time to discuss aspects of the
research with the author of this report.

The manuscript for this report has been typed by Miss Ann Morton
of the Institute, who has taken great pains to present the many statistical
tables in the most readable form.

Prof. L. Schlemmer,
Director.

Institute for Social Research,
April 1975.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

       The main findings drawn from the results of a sample survey among black employees of a textile processing industry and a commodity and service survey for that community in Hammarsdale are briefly stated below. We express measures of standard of living (at a defined level of poverty) as Available Income Ratios (AIR = Available Income ÷ the MLL x 100) corresponding to calculated Minimum Living Levels (MLL). These findings refer to employees of the company who reside either in Mpumalanga Township or the vicinal reserves and reflect levels and standards at November 1974.

	Township		Reserves	
	MLL	AIR	MLL	AIR
	R c	%	R c	%
MARRIED EMPLOYEES				
Mean elementary family	72,38	165	70,66	169
Mean dependent family	103,13	115	101,69	117
SINGLE EMPLOYEES				
Without dependents	18,92	609	19,21	600
Mean dependent family	68,04	169	68,81	167
GENERAL				
Largest mean elementary families (Number of persons = 8)	105,59	113	104,43	114
Largest mean dependent families in the sample (Number of persons = 8 plus)	118,17	101	117,01	102

(v)

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INTRODUCTION

An exercise to determine MINIMUM LIVING LEVELS (MLL) among black employees in a Textile Processing Industry has been undertaken by the Institute at the request of that industrial company in Hammarsdale. The company as such is not identified in the report and is merely referred to by the abbreviation TPI. The study commenced in November 1974, and has taken its direction from the outcome of a National Conference convened in Pretoria during October 1974, by the Bureau of Market Research to determine poverty standards to be applied in the Republic. The proceedings of this conference are briefly reported in a recent publication of the Bureau of Market Research.* In essence, what has been accomplished in Pretoria is the standardization of a primary poverty level for the Republic, theoretically somewhat higher than the traditional PDL, while the secondary poverty level (commonly represented by the EML) remains as obscure a calculation as before. In Chapter I I argue that expanding a traditional PDL to a more "acceptable" minimum level has the result of pre-empting the calculation, not necessarily on the conventional basis, of a level which would meet the sound concept of secondary poverty. However, it seems likely that the MLL will emerge as the "Subsistence Level of Poverty" most frequently "recognised as apposite" in the context of the Republic.

It must be recognised at the outset that this study concerns subsistence levels of poverty and that questions of inequality have not been attempted while any reference to relative poverty has been specific to the border industrial region of Hammarsdale in Natal. However, the results of a sample survey conducted among employees at TPI have furnished valuable information regarding sizes and types of family

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* Nel, P.A., 1974(a), *The Minimum and Humane Living Levels of Blacks in Black Homelands, White Rural and Border Areas, February 1974.* Research Report No.42, Pretoria, Bureau of Market Research, UNISA, (pp. 1-3).

structure from which have been inferred various levels of calculated subsistence poverty. Further, subsistence poverty concepts have been related to specific socio-economic conditions generic to socio-economic underdevelopment. We show in essence that assumptions about the sociological definition of a black worker's family structure and size commonly employed in poverty lines do not necessarily accord with empirical reality. There is in our view sufficient evidence to sub-stantiate the necessity to take greater pains in determining units of consumption appropriate to the black wage earner.

Two general sets of conclusions emerge from this study. The sponsor company, TPI, pays relatively and comparatively high wages, with respect to calculated MLLs. These wages are sufficient to meet subsistence poverty requirements of workers' "families" even at an extended definition of traditional family obligations. The rider to this conclusion is that however sound the performance of an individual company is at paying wages, the effect is to broaden the sociological base of subsistence. That is that the benefits of good wages go to a worker's relatives rather than to his elementary family of procreation providing a conditional set for poor individual production achievement. It would appear that many workers are unable to improve the standard of living of their immediate families as their wages increase.

In educing these conclusions we have had cause to suggest that problems associated with black worker productivity are caused by their orientation to standards commonly associated with modern industrial societies and not with traditional, customary perspectives which are often cited as causal variables of such problems (the latter under the rubric of dual cultures theory). While meeting traditionally defined familial obligations (the economic necessity in Hammarsdale is also a factor), the consequence of which is a dissipation of income, the black worker is unable to satisfy aspirations legitimately congruent with modern standards and related to the work he performs. It is therefore the job and its remuneration which is identified with diminishing return and to which diminishing input is accorded. This is rational to the extent that norms of social obligation are sacrosanct.

Unfortunately, the limits of this study (except for the survey of the costs of MLL items) are defined by the extent of a small industry in the border area. Further, as TPI is characterised by a relatively sound wages policy, the relative affluence of their workers is certainly atypical. We cannot generalise to the "urban" and rural communities of Hammarsdale - except to suggest that unemployment and high dependency ratios are probably rife. The experience of our field researchers is that the township at Hammarsdale is a very tough environment, characterised by poverty and all its corollaries - crime, intimidation and violence.

CHAPTER I

THE MINIMUM LIVING LEVEL (MLL)

Social, economic and political changes and considerations in
South Africa in the post-war decades have in recent years come to be re-
flected by some authorities in the "measurement" of subsistence poverty.[1]
That is to say definitions of subsistence requirements among Africans
(theoretically all races) have deviated from "traditional" definitions of
a base-line of poverty to reflect the changing role of the black worker in
South African industry. These deviations in definition from the tradition-
al Poverty Datum Line (PDL) are not radical: they provide essentially for
a temporal component to ensure that the traditional principles of "minimum
levels of health and decency" as this affects "working capacity" are ex-
tended over something greater than the "short term only". However, at the
outset it must be recognised that increasing the items to be included in
the definition of a subsistence level pre-empts to some extent the calcula-
tion of "secondary (subsistence) poverty".[2] A base-line or datum express-
ed as a minimum living level (MLL) which is a recent development in "sub-
sistence poverty" definition in South Africa supplanting the traditional
PDL is not then without political consequences both for purely academic
proclivities or industrial interests. In fact it is probably true to state
that "interest" rather than purely objective principles of socio-economic
definition has determined this recent convention in the study of poverty.

1) In the conceptualization of poverty, subsistence is only one aspect of
the phenomenon. Probably more important is the question of relative
position of income groups within society (inequality) and most important
the consequences and cost of poverty for the whole community (external-
ity). With regard to these concepts of poverty see: Rein, M. 1970,
"Problems in the Definition and Measurement of Poverty" *in* Townsend, P.
(Ed.) *The Concept of Poverty*, London, Heinemann, p.46.

2) In the study of subsistence poverty, Primary Poverty refers to those
households with insufficient money to maintain physical efficiency and
Secondary Poverty refers to those whose incomes would be sufficient to
maintain merely physical efficiency were it not for the necessity to
incur other types of expenditure. (Not to be confused with the concepts
Primary and Secondary Poverty Datum Lines).

This argument is followed up under the final sub-heading of the chapter.

It is usual in a report of this nature to include the historical development of the concepts of subsistence levels of poverty. However, as this has been most adequately done in a recent publication,[1] historical development is omitted and instead comparative description of various datum lines that have been employed in Southern Africa is attempted. In this way we seek to place the MLL in some perspective within the concept of subsistence poverty. In order to simplify the procedure of comparison we might begin with a definition and explication of the most common form of a poverty base-line, namely the PDL, and then describe recent deviations, including the MLL, from the traditional form. A convenient starting point is Batson's PDL for Cape Town, referring to the period 1938-1939.[2] Two further authorities, Watts[3] and Potgieter,[4] can be associated with the convention of the traditional PDL developed by Batson from prior British studies, and their work in the main differs very little in its content. Below we extract a general description of the PDL from Watts[5] before defining the meaning of a subsistence level of poverty more closely; mainly with the aid of Batson's early work.

> "The Poverty Datum Line is a technique for describing the
> theoretical minimum cost of living. It estimates the
> lowest possible cost for maintaining a household in health
> and decency under Western conditions, in the short run
> only. Food, clothing, cleansing materials, and fuel and

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1) Cubitt, V.S. and Riddell, R.C., 1974, *The Urban Poverty Datum Line in Rhodesia*, Salisbury, Faculty of Social Studies, University of Rhodesia, pp. 1-5.

2) Batson, E. *(Ed.)* 1941, *The Poverty Datum Line*, Series of Reports and Studies issued by the Social Survey of Cape Town, No.SS3, Cape Town, Department of Sociology and Social Administration, University of Cape Town. (Mimeo).

3) Watts, H.L., 1967, *The Poverty Datum Line in Three Cities and Four Towns in South Africa in 1966*, Fact Paper No.1, Durban, Institute for Social Research, University of Natal.

4) Potgieter, J.F., 1973, *The Poverty Datum Line in the Major Urban Areas in the Republic*, Research Report No.12, Port Elizabeth, Institute for Planning Research, University of Port Elizabeth.

5) Watts, *op.cit.*, p.ii.

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> lighting are taken into account, bearing in mind the
> varying needs of persons of different ages and sexes.
> Totalling the costs for each individual in a household,
> and adding the total household's needs for fuel and
> lighting, yields the Primary Poverty Datum Line for a
> household. Adding the cost of rent and worker's trans-
> port to and from work, gives the Secondary Poverty
> Datum Line."

The meaning of the PDL, or for that matter other base-lines of
poverty, has not, however, always been interpreted with clarity. Batson's
statements of the meaning of a PDL are particularly clear and are employed
below (some of Batson's ideas are no longer accepted but these are defended
at the appropriate places in this report). So, following Batson[1]:

A subsistence level (of the PDL type) is not itself a measure of
poverty. It provides a datum from which poverty, defined in a certain way
(one or other subsistence level), can be measured if income levels are
known. The application of the "measure of poverty" is theoretically only
correct when available income of a household is expressed as a percentage
of the appropriate household PDL cash level (i.e. an Available Income
Ratio). There is, therefore, no such thing as "The PDL". The available
income ratio, therefore, measures standard of living in terms of the con-
tent of the datum line used which represents the heuristic definition of
poverty.

The PDL is not a "civilised" standard of living. A common
statement in this respect is that "such a standard is perhaps more remark-
able for what it omits than for what it includes". It ignores from the
outset the whole question of secondary poverty and most problems of relative
poverty. The standard is arbitrary.

The PDL is not a basis for a minimum wage. Available Income
Ratios do, however, describe the distribution of households in a given
population that fall above and below a defined level of poverty. A level

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1) Batson, *op. cit.*, p.13.

such as the PDL is in no way connected with production or economic bargain-
ing.

The PDL is not a statement of what ought to be.

The PDL is not a description of the actual incomes among parti-
cular households.

The PDL is not a description of the way in which households
actually distribute their expenditure. It is, however, known that few
households with an Available Income Ration = 100% (at their PDL level) are
able to satisfy PDL requirements on the food item.

The PDL is not a prescription of the way in which households
ought to distribute their expenditure. Again it is common knowledge that
social obligations intervene in expenditure patterns and that low income
groups are least able to meet the rational, theoretical minimum standards
of a subsistence definition.

The PDL is then an estimate (based on a theoretical definition
of subsistence poverty) of the minimum income upon which a household of
any given composition can purchase in the ordinary markets those supplies
included in the definition of the datum line. These are discussed
immediately below.

The traditional PDL includes the following items for any parti-
cular household :

    Food
    Clothing   ⎤
    Fuel and Light   ⎥ Primary   ⎤
    Washing and Cleansing Materials   ⎦ PDL ‾   ⎥ Secondary
                                                        ⎥   PDL
    Accommodation   ⎥
    Transport (to and from work)   ⎦

These items are common to all PDLs and derivatives, including the MLL, that

have been used in the Republic. But the conventions governing range and market of items have been changed by some authorities in some cases. Further, items have been added to the traditional list for one reason or another. Recent deviations from the traditional theoretical concept of the PDL were discussed at a national conference in Pretoria[1] on the 23rd October, 1974. Some agreement (by no means complete) among some authorities was reached concerning the use of a base-line of "poverty" to be applied in the South African context; namely, the subject of this report - the Minimum Living Level. Four different institutions have been instrumental in changes to the traditional concept. The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) has been responsible for a number of publications on the "Standard of Living" of Africans and due to their efforts the idea of adding health and education to the poverty datum has been established.[2] The Bureau of Market Research (BMR) of the University of South Africa, the most prolific producer of poverty lines for South Africa, has reconceptualised subsistence poverty as "minimum subsistence levels" which incorporate many of the SAIRR features.[3] It is this base-line of poverty that the MLL most resembles. With minor difference, the faculty of Social Studies at the University of Rhodesia (RHOD) has produced an urban PDL which replicates the work of the BMR.[4] The Department of Economics at the University of Natal, Durban (UND), has employed traditional PDL items in calculations but has used a daily food ration which

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1) The National Conference was convened at the University of South Africa, in Pretoria under the auspices of the Bureau of Market Research of that University.

2) See e.g., Hubbard, M,, 1970, *African Poverty in Cape Town, 1960-1970*. Johannesburg, SAIRR.

3) Nel, P.A., 1974, *The Minimum Subsistence Level of Non-whites in the Main Urban Areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1974*, Pretoria, Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa.
In a recent publication during 1974, the BMR in fact employed the phrase Minimum Living Level to denote the lowest living level in conjunction with what they called a low-level standard of living (Humane Living Level) and which would correspond to the concept of Secondary Poverty. See Nel, P.A., 1974(a), *op. cit.*

4) Cubitt, V.S. and Riddell, R.C., *op. cit.*

allows a comparatively greater expenditure at the base-line on food.[1]
Recent thinking at UND has tended to emphasise "realistic living costs
for low-income Africans in Durban" of which the PDL forms only part of the
study of poverty.[2] We discuss now seriatum changes associated with the
traditional items, additions to the traditional items and reasons for the
development of new standards with special reference to the MLL.

CHANGES ASSOCIATED WITH TRADITIONAL ITEMS OF THE PDL

In general the changes to traditional items occur either where
greater accuracy can be achieved or where it is thought that African com-
munities necessarily incur expenditure over and above "traditional"
requirements. Food items and allowances therefore are rationalized with
scientific nutritional findings. Clothing tends to be costed for
different age and sex groups and estimates based on adult allowances are
eschewed. Fuel and light and cleansing materials are calculated for all
households and the "household component" for these items (a difficult pro-
cedure) is dropped. Accommodation which traditionally would include rent
only now includes all compulsory payments to municipalities. Transport
(to and from work) is now calculated for purposes of education and shopping
if this is a necessity.

ADDITIONS TO TRADITIONAL ITEMS OF THE PDL

Two conventions seem to determine additions to traditional PDL
items. These are the allowance for items that will promote minimum levels
of health and working capacity over something longer than the short run and
expenditure that is either compulsory or consonant with requirements made

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1) Pillay, P.N., 1973, *A Poverty Datum Line Study Among Africans in
   Durban*, Occasional Paper No.3, Durban, Department of Economics, UND.

2) These views appear in a "Paper Prepared for a Research Meeting,
   Pretoria, 23 October, 1974". (Mimeo). The approach is commendable
   in that the conceptualization of poverty is widened to include
   relative deprivation.

of African labour in the industrial sphere. So, to traditional items are added medical expenses, education, replacement of household equipment and income tax. Support of relatives is included for single households. The question of dependents is discussed in some detail in Chapters III and IV. The nett effect of these additions is to broaden the base-line of subsistence poverty but not necessarily to add substantially to the sum that might be calculated for a traditional PDL. This is so because the additions (excepting tax) are calculated on the basis of "minimum" requirements and cost which can hardly reflect either realistic needs or sociallydefined practices.

This defined minimum level complicates the calculation of Secondary Poverty. While MLLs are theoretically higher than PDLs, they certainly do not approach the level of an Effective Minimum Level (EML), traditionally calculated at 150% of the PDL. In fact, it can happen that calculations of a PDL by one authority exceed the requirements calculated for an MLL for the same population by another authority (this could, of course, not occur if a standard set of cost calculations were tabulated for a PDL and MLL respectively - the latter being of greater magnitude by definition). There is a very recent example of this: Potgieter[1] calculates a Household Subsistence Level (HSL) which is the equivalent of a PDL at R98,87 for a hypothetical black family of 6 in Durban, while Nel[2] calculates a Minimum Subsistence Level (MSL) which is equivalent to an MLL as R81,31 for an average black family of 6 in the same centre. Allowing for the propensity of hypothetical units of calculation to yield slightly higher figures than average units and inflation between May and October, 1974, the unexpected direction of a 17,3% difference must be accounted for by differences in method of calculation. It is axiomatic, however, that an MLL tabulation utilising a standard set of cost calculations will exceed the tabulation of a PDL (or equivalent) by virtue of changes and additions

1) Potgieter, J.F., 1974 (Oct.), *The Household Subsistence Level in the Major Urban Centres of the Republic of South Africa, October 1974*, Research Report No.14, Port Elizabeth, Institute for Planning Research, University of Port Elizabeth, p.75, Table 43.

2) Nel, P.A., 1974, *op.cit.*, p.A25, Table DU-B5.

to the latter datum incorporated in the new base-line. The above serves to emphasise the point that while MLLs are theoretically higher than PDLs, they do not reflect any substantial margin of secondary poverty - that is, MLLs are likely to exceed primary poverty levels but not sufficiently to take any real account of other necessary expenditure. Therefore, although the EML has always been no more than a factor estimate of secondary poverty, use of the MLL, at the present time, pre-empts its (the EML) calculation. THE MLL IS THEREFORE A COMPROMISE OF SUBSISTENCE POVERTY MEASUREMENT EM-PHASISING AN ABSOLUTE LEVEL OF POVERTY WITHOUT TAKING ANY CONSIDERATION OF SOCIALLY NECESSARY EXPENDITURE. The ubiquitous problem of where to draw the cut-off point for subsistence poverty is not solved by the introduction of an MLL.

REASONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN MLL

The reasons for the development of an "enlarged PDL" are broached at the beginning of this chapter: firstly, as a response to social changes occurring among urban Africans and their role in the industrial society; secondly, in reaction to the misuse of the base-line concept of poverty by business interests. This is "poverty defined in a certain way" but not at all independently of "interest". Rein,[1] who argues that measurement of subsistence poverty is characterised by circularity in that the income group which separates the poor from the non-poor is known in advance, states: "The result is that those who hold different value judgements concerning how stringent or lenient the poverty standard should be, can use the same data to demonstrate that poverty is either a significant or trivial problem. All the procedures in establishing a trade-off between consumption standards and expert judgement have an arbitrary quality which can be challenged by those who wish to see standards of poverty defined more harshly or more leniently." The criterion for value judgements of poverty levels in the Southern African arena is the question of African wages (quite erroneously in the case of subsistence poverty level conceptualisation).

1) Rein, M., *op.cit.*, p.61.

In the case of the MLL, the response to business interests has resulted in a single level of subsistence poverty (this is not to say that a secondary level cannot be worked out) which is more readily understood. In effect something just greater than a primary poverty line is traded off against a reduced significance for the question of secondary poverty levels. The Humane Living Levels (HLL) calculated by the BMR during February 1974, for blacks in various areas of South Africa, range as a proportion of the appropriate MLLs from 1,23 to 1,26[1] and to the extent that this can be considered to reflect a level of secondary poverty, a loss has been incurred in the change-over from PDLs where the traditional proportion for the secondary level (EML) is equal to 1,5. This does not mean that the MLL is a useless theoretical level. If used as a datum against which household incomes are compared, statements concerning standard of living defined in minimum terms in the "medium run" can be made in the same way as for PDLs in the short run. The assumptions based on questions of physical health and work capacity are the same. The MLL does not, however, reflect the supply, demand, skills, production, needs or relative deprivation of labour.

The datum or base-line of poverty defined as an MLL is composed of the following items :

```
Food                                ┐
Clothing                            │ Primary    ┐
Fuel and Light                      ├   PDL      │
Washing and Cleaning Materials      ┘            ├ Secondary
                                                 │   PDL       ┐
Accommodation                                    │             │
Transport                                        ┘             ├ MLL*
                                                               │
Medical Expenses                                               │
Education                                                      │
Replacement of Household Equipment                             │
Taxes                                                          ┘

* Support of relatives (single households only)
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1) Nel, P.A., 1974(a), *op.cit.*, Table I, p.5.

We reiterate that different methods of calculation can result in varying levels of financial requirement for any particular poverty base-line and other than expected differences among different base-lines. Further, value judgements seem not only to bear on the determination of adequate subsistence poverty levels, but from the difference in the findings of two independent institutions reported above, it is apparent that value judgements penetrate to the bedrock of methods of calculations.

CHAPTER II

THE SAMPLE SURVEY

The subject of this report is the amount of income required by
black workers in a Textile Processing Industry (TPI) to meet estimates of
a defined minimum living level (and, as income information is available,
to describe the distribution of "defined subsistence poverty"). To this
end two research programmes were instituted. One consisted of a costing
exercise to ascertain minimum prices of defined MLL items as reported in
Chapter V. The other programme took the form of a sample survey of the
African employees at TPI situated in Hammarsdale ca. 50 km from Durban,
Natal. The sample survey was undertaken in order to determine family
commitments, family size, household size, etc., (the unit of calculation
for the MLL); purchasing patterns of the employee's household; and
certain community practices related to availability of commodities (e.g.
availability of fuels). A roll of the African employee strength at
September 1974 was provided by TPI from which two systematic samples
(k = 7) were drawn, each with a random starting point. The samples were
drawn from among single men and from married men and unmarried men with
children respectively. The effective samples, however, do not accord
with the information supplied with the TPI roll, namely with marital
status and place of residence ("urban" township or rural reserve).

Due most probably to rapid changes in residence and marital
status not recorded in TPI statistics the effective sample shows a
different picture on the variables above. Table I reflects the marital
status of the sample of 76 employees drawn from a compliment of 538
against the company roll. The definitions of marital status are required
at this juncture. Married employees are those men living with *bona fide*
wives, not necessarily in the legal sense (usually with children). The
category "unmarried with children" describes a very special and interest-
ing phenomenon: those employees who have fathered children by women with
whom they are not co-resident but for whom they are usually paying a
bride or child price (*lobolo*). In some cases *lobolo* payments have ceased

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and there is no intention to marry but children receive continued support.
In most cases there is an intention to marry and form a co-resident con-
jugal group (spouses and offspring). Single men are those employees who
have not fathered (or accepted fatherhood of) children or who are not
co-habiting with a woman on a co-residential basis.

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STATUS AMONG BLACK
EMPLOYEES REFLECTING:

(i)   Distribution taking all Company records;
(ii) Distribution from Sample Survey taking Company
      designation of Marital Status;
(iii) Distribution of Sample Survey taking empirical
      findings of research.

Marital Status	Percentage Distribution Reflecting		
	All Company Records	Sample Survey; Company Designation	Sample Survey; Empirical Research
Married	31,8	35,5	50,0
Unmarried with Children	47,2	44,8	23,7
Single	21,0	19,7	26,3
N =	538	76	76

From Table I it is apparent that the "unmarried with children"
category is smaller than anticipated by company records. Note that com-
parison of the effective sample using company designated marital status
(ii) with company records (i) shows similar distributions. Table II com-
prises a cross-tabulation of residence and marital status among elements
of the effective sample. Urban residents refer to those employees who
reside in Mpumalanga township near Hammarsdale (strictly speaking this is
not an urban township but a high density housing scheme in the rural area -
however the adjective "urban" is used in a sense relative to rural). Rural
residents live in the reserves near Hammarsdale. Our sample shows that ca.
70% of employees live in the township while the balance (30%) live in the
reserves. In company records this distribution is reflected as ca. 63%

urban and 37% rural. The sample statistics on both marital status and
residence reflect information elicited from respondents during the course
of the interviews of the survey. The breakdown in Table II is relevant
for the calculation of MLLs and it is important that accurate statistics
on marital status and residence exist if the MLL is to be applied at all
meaningfully.

TABLE II.

CATEGORIES OF THE EFFECTIVE SAMPLE RELEVANT FOR
CALCULATIONS RELATING TO MLLs. ALL PERCENTAGES
BASED ON SAMPLE TOTAL = 76

Marital Status	Residence				Total	
	Urban		Rural			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Married	28	36,8	10	13,2	38	50,0
Unmarried with Children	11	14,5	7	9,2	18	23,7
Single	14	18,4	6	7,9	20	26,3
Total	53	69,7	23	30,3	N = 76	100,0

In Table III the effectiveness of systematic sampling is demon-
strated. Except for minor variations all factory sections are proportion-
ately represented in the sample with one exception. The general category
of workers described as accounts, stores, general and transport, is under-
enumerated. The factory operates a three shift system in order to function
for 24 hours, Monday to Friday. In addition, some workers are allocated to
a standard "day shift". Table IV demonstrates that workers in all shifts
are proportionately represented. This is not a trite finding. Elaborate
sequences of interviews were devised to incorporate employees from all
shifts to coincide with normal office hours. Had this not been done then
a propensity to favour employees working during daylight hours might have
developed.

TABLE III

PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE ELEMENTS
AMONG FACTORY SECTIONS

Factory Section	Roll		Sample	
	N	%	N	%
Final Winding	133	24,7	18	23,7
Quality Control	5	0,9	1	1,3
Grey Section	124	23,1	19	25,0
Spinning	138	25,7	21	27,6
Dyehouse	43	8,0	6	7,9
Canteen	12	2,2	2	2,6
Workshop	15	2,8	3	4,0
Accounts, stores, general and transport	68	12,6	6	7,9
Total	538	100,0	76	100,0

TABLE IV

PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE ELEMENTS
AMONG SHIFTS WORKED AT THE FACTORY

Factory Shift	Roll		Sample	
	N	%	N	%
A	127	23,6	18	23,7
B	127	23,6	19	25,0
C	127	23,6	17	22,3
"Day"	157	29,2	22	29,0
Total	538	100,0	76	100,0

The interview schedule (See Appendix) was administered to TPI sample employees by two members of the Institute staff in offices provided by the company. Each office was one with which workers were familiar, in the personnel section and the clinic respectively, but it must be recognised that to some extent our interviewers would have been identified with the company. However, no respondent manifested hostile or negative reaction to our programme. The response to the sample survey was complete.

CHAPTER III

EMPLOYEES' FAMILIES AND PURCHASING PATTERNS

At the national conference in Pretoria it was decided (agreed by most parties) that the unit of calculation for the MLL would be the (theoretical) household characterised by the average elementary family of the main breadwinner. This is the standard family structure associated with industrial society. Hammarsdale, while it is a border industrial area, is, however, not a paradigm of industrial society and the black workers at TPI cannot be described as products of industrial society. Given ethnographical differences in family structure among whites and blacks, it would then be reasonable to expect that family structure among sample respondents would not necessarily conform to the industrial norm. This will be shown to be the case below - hence the parenthetical "theoretical" above. The question of family is further complicated in this study in that the youthful age of our target group (mean = 24 years) places many of them in an ambivalent position in the family cycle. That is, the ending of residential ties with their elementary family of orien-tation (parents and siblings) and the beginning of a residential unit that will continue as their own elementary family of procreation (spouses and children). Social obligations of kinship and family as determined by the culture of the respondents is then exacerbated by their position in the family cycle.

In the design of the sample survey we allowed for information con-cerning not only co-residential units but nuclear (spouses and offspring) dependents residing elsewhere and a separate category for *bona fide* depen-dent kin wherever they reside to be elicited. This convention has realised optimum dividends for this study. It is not our intention to dictate or at this stage even suggest to industrialists any commitment or obligation on their part toward an employee's family beyond the elementary unit. The in-formation below is included because (a) border industrial areas are a special case in South Africa and they introduce special problems for units of calcu-lation of the MLL, and (b) a broad understanding by industrial management of the felt or active social obligations and commitments of their workers is

very useful.

For the purpose at hand we are able to identify three separate but usually overlapping family or household groups. These groups are distributed between rural and urban resident employees and among the three marital statuses defined in Chapter II (excepting single men and unmarried men with children, who by definition have no elementary family of procreation). The family groupings are described below:

Elementary Family Group

This is ego's (sample employee's) elementary family of procreation. It includes a wife and children. The group (in the case of this study) is not necessarily co-resident but all members are dependent on ego.

De Facto Residential Family Group

This family group can take many forms. In essence it is the sum of kin inhabiting a dwelling and functioning as a household. The outstanding feature is that it is a co-resident group. Not all members of this group are necessarily dependent on ego but in many cases this is so in the present study (the impression is ventured here that the composition of this group is probably contingent on the income of ego — greater income drawing greater obligations). Forty-six percent of these family groups may be described as of complex structure, that is, structures other than elementary.

Dependent Family Group

This group is composed of the sum of kin that are financially dependent on ego and where there is nominal evidence that ego in fact plays the role of support to a greater or lesser extent for each member included. It is not necessarily co-resident (e.g. the children sired by unmarried men paying *lobolo* for a future wife) and would in some cases include persons not included in either of the other family groups.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF MEAN NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS ARRANGED
BY MARITAL STATUS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Marital Status	Status of Dependents			
	Spouse and Children *	Other Dependent Kin	All Dependents	
Married	4	2,4	6,4	N = 38
Unmarried with Children	2	3,6	5,6	N = 18
Single	–	3,3	3,3	N = 20
				N = 76

* In the case of unmarried respondents with children, only
children are recorded in the tabulation.

In Table V we describe in broad outline the number of dependents
of sample employees according to their marital status. These dependency
ratios immediately direct attention to two related aspects of the marital
(not family) cycle. Expectedly married respondents support more dependents
than the other statuses. But unmarried and single respondents are committed
in a way that is uncommon in industrial society. The cycle can be likened
to a widening spiral: at the base are single men who support a variety of
kin (see forward for more detail of dependents); when the protracted process
of courting ensues (complicated by *lobolo* payments), dependents in the form
of children appear without any trade-off of already dependent kin (in the
present case the ratio of other dependent kin increases, probably as a
response to recognised trade-off that will occur in the next phase); formal
marriage allows some trade-off of dependent consanguinal kin but the
acquisition of a wife and procreation of children more than compensates with
a consequence that the total number of dependents is even greater than at the
two previous stages. In one direction this is to say that the industrial
income of ego has to stretch to fit the expanding spiral occasioned by his
changing marital status and concommitant obligations to kin. Fig (i) describes
the spiral in two dimensions. It is clear that in terms of dependent kin the

progress from single status through "courtship" to formal marriage is related to an increase in financial (social) obligations. It is our impression that this syndrome is more marked among sample employees living in the environs of a border area than it would be in a major industrial urban area. If this is the case then there is the question (an answer to which is not attempted here) of whether or not this constitutes a special cost to border industries in South Africa.

FIG. (i)

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SIZE OF DEPENDENT
FAMILY GROUPS AMONG RESPONDENTS OF
DIFFERENT MARITAL STATUS

Size of Dependent Family Group
(Number of People)
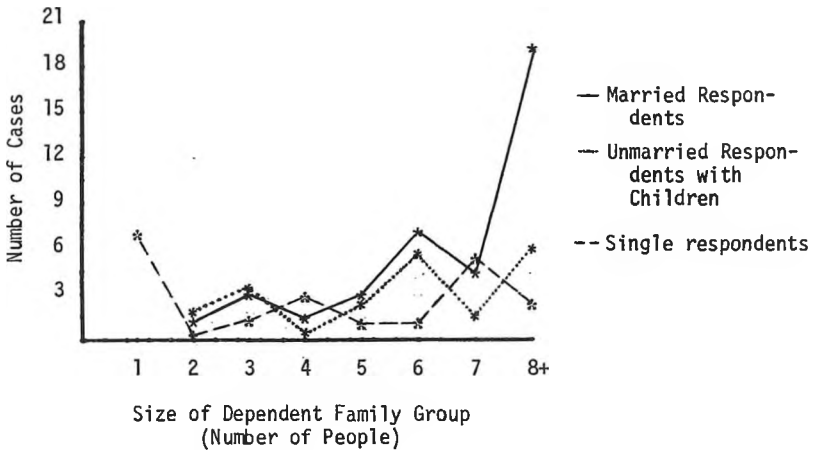
So far we have discussed in broad outline the consequences of the marital cycle for increase in dependency ratios. Now we consider the distributions of the size of alternative family groupings for each of the designated marital statuses. Bear in mind that ultimately this analysis will influence decisions relating to what can be considered a legitimate unit of calculation for the MLL in the case of border industrial areas. In the case of single men the distribution is uncomplicated by an elementary structure (or elementary fragment which describes the group consisting of an

unmarried man and his dependent children). The question of *de facto*
residential groups lived in by single men is awkward as many reside as
lodgers in homes among people to whom they are not related and the balance
represent a figure that is too small to analyse with any confidence. Fig.
(i), *inter alia* describes the distribution of the number of dependent kin
of a single respondent (actual "family sizes" are reported, including ego).
It may be noted that approximately a third of single men in the sample
have no dependent kin and (given the relatively high wages at TPI) this
is probably a relatively affluent aggregate in the area. In Fig. (ii) the
distributions of the three alternative family groupsings are compared for
those sample employees who are unmarried but who have dependent children.

FIG. (ii)

DISTRIBUTION OF SIZES OF ALTERNATIVE FAMILY
GROUPINGS RELEVANT FOR RESPONDENTS WHO
ARE UNMARRIED BUT HAVE CHILDREN
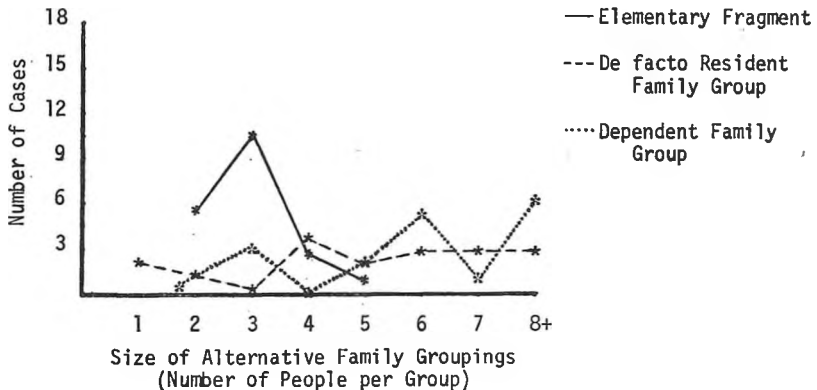
It is clear from these distributions that a man's commitments do not end with
responsibility toward illegitimate children. In addition, he has financial
commitments toward people among whom he is living (in most cases toward
siblings of his elementary family of orientation as we shall see presently)
and in some cases toward non-resident kin. Nor does the situation alter
once he is formally married. The distributions of the size of the *de facto*

groupings and dependent groups in Fig. (iii) show that while there is a trade-off of "other" dependent kin when a marriage is formalised in general; in many cases this is not accomplished and the new elementary family is merely grafted on to an already large dependency structure.

FIG. (iii)

DISTRIBUTION OF SIZES OF ALTERNATIVE FAMILY GROUPINGS RELEVANT FOR MARRIED RESPONDENTS

— Elementary Family Group

--- De Facto Resident Family Group

····· Dependent Family Group

Size of Alternative Family Groupings
(Number of People per Group)
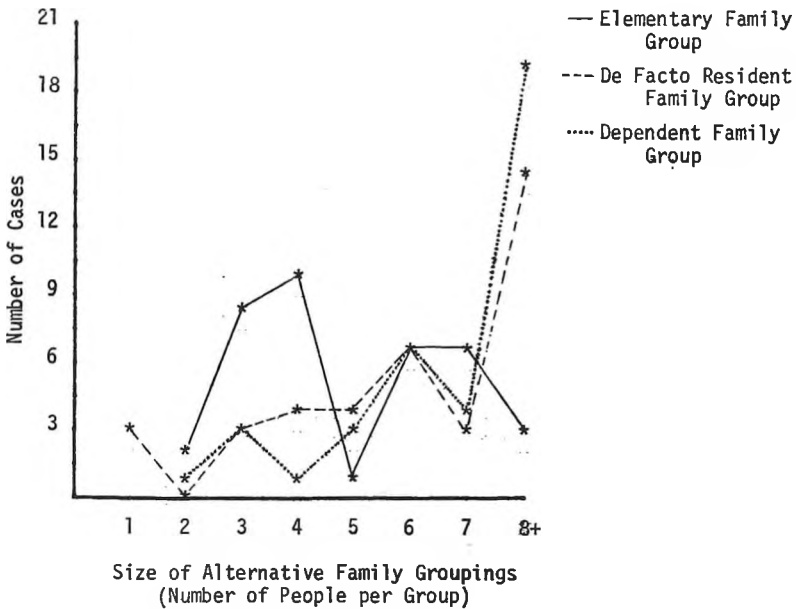
In the matter of a minimum living level of a household it would appear that the household to which the level is oriented describes different ratios of dependency from which the distribution of poverty (defined in a certain way) can be evaluated. It is probably inappropriate to attempt to determine a legitimate unit of calculation within the scope of this report. But in the event of this being a subject of subsequent interest some flesh is provided below as coverage for the bare bones we have been describing.

The ideographs of dependent family groupings pertaining to sample employees below show "who" among kin are the recipients of financial support (from the employee).[1] The figures appearing below the symbols representing males and females describe mean number of kin of the category designated by symbol and relationship to ego.

Single Employees
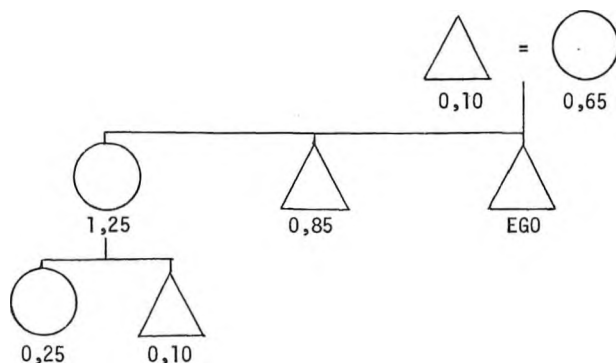
Unmarried Employees with Children

---
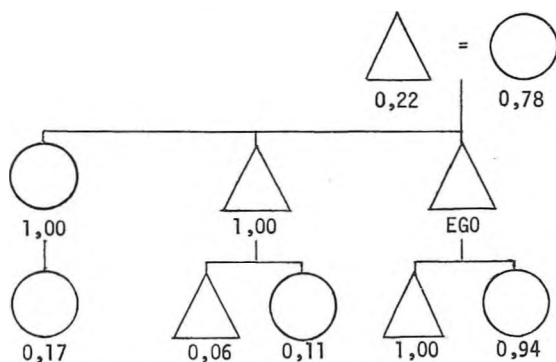
1) △ = Male; ◯ = Female. Agnatic relationship is via blood in the male line, cognatic via blood in the female line and agnates are relatives by marriage.

Married Employees
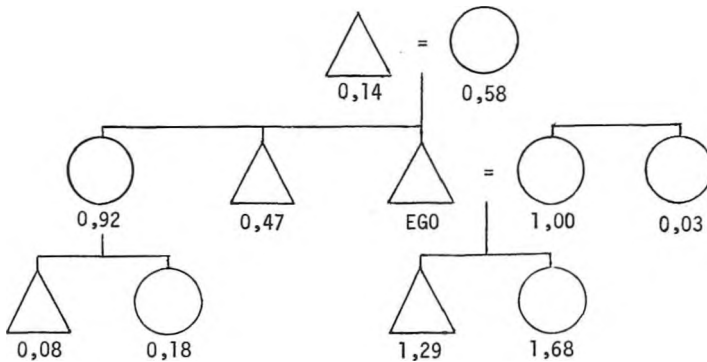
In each case the ideographs portray an emphasis on consanguinal grouping and among married respondents affinal commitment stops (except in an isolated case) with the spouse. In all cases the cognatic link with ego's mother is pronounced while among formally married respondents, responsibility for agnatic kin (siblings in the present case) appears to diminish. Our impression from the field research of the survey is that respondents (who are generally young) tend, even among married men, to identify themselves with the elementary family of orientation and not with their own or potential elementary family of procreation. In other words, the significant grouping is parents, siblings and their own children who would be of the same agnatic line.

As Hammarsdale and surrounds does not form part of an urban complex it was anticipated that markets for all MLL items would not be vicinally available. However, as a consequence of an earlier PDL exercise for TPI and the known geographic situation of Hammarsdale, we were able to anticipate the availability of retail outlets for the various MLL items. Briefly these entail: shops in Mpumalanga township (basically three centres); shops in Hammarsdale; the ubiquitous hawkers in Hammarsdale and the township; a curious phenomenon known colloquially as "shack shops", i.e. illegal, unlicensed retail of goods from private homes; and, shopping centres in Pinetown, Durban and Pietermaritzburg. An omission in the design of the interview

schedule was shops in the reserve. Fortunately the research assistants had the wit to include this category of retail outlet on the form when it first arose during interviews. In an attempt to elicit information on purchasing patterns, given the tremendous amount of information that could be collected given time, we chose to structure the schedule to a limited extent (see Appendix) to cover MLL items (and items not allowed by the MLL), but in many cases only to supply the category and to leave the choice relatively open-ended for the respondent. There is an advantage and disadvantage to this method: the advantage being that response to most items is spontaneous; the disadvantage is that small returns on certain items result. However, the empirical information returned has been adequate for the needs of the study.

Table VI which describes the purchasing patterns among sample employees departs somewhat from conventional presentation of research data. Responses have been tabulated for both urban and rural residents but patterns are obscured by both small numbers and multiplicity of commodity categories. We have chosen therefore to clearly demarcate figures in the table which represent the primary pattern for any item. In the case where two or more outlets are popular, more than one figure is block-enclosed to clarify the pattern. In the case where a commodity is not demanded (small incidence of purchase) this is indicated (see Table VI). The differential patterns for urban and rural respondents is quite clear. As regards food, urban residents rely in general on the shops in the township and to a lesser extent on the supermarket in Hammarsdale; rural employees rely primarily on shops in the reserves and buy some meat and groceries in Hammarsdale. Both groups patronise the hawkers for fresh vegetables and eggs to a certain extent. Shack shops are used but not to any significant extent by our respondents' households (condensed milk, tinned fish and bread are items that appear to be bought at these outlets).

In the case of washing and cleaning materials the general patterns are similar to those for food: urban households patronising township shops, rural households reserve shops, and both using the Hammarsdale supermarket. The supermarket has a greater share of trade in cleaning materials than it appears to have for food and groceries. Township households buy wood and coal in Hammarsdale, while rural households acquire wood in the reserves

(little coal). Paraffin is bought most frequently at local outlets by both
urban and rural households. Urban households buy major articles of clothing
at Pietermaritzburg and Durban Shops while rural households favour Durban
shops (Pinetown and Hammarsdale get some trade and hawkers get some of the
women's trade). Furniture appears to be bought at the larger urban centres
but linen and crockery markets are shared with Hammarsdale. Some rural
households buy linen and crockery at reserve shops. Most households pur-
chase medicines in Hammarsdale at the chemist outlet.

TABLE VI

NOMINAL DISTRIBUTION OF PURCHASING PATTERNS BY URBAN AND RURALLY
RESIDENT SAMPLE EMPLOYEES AMONG AVAILABLE RETAIL OUTLETS FOR
MLL AND OTHER COMMODITIES CONSIDERED FOR THIS STUDY

KEY:
TS - Township Shop   PT - Pinetown Shops
SS - Shack Shop   PMB - Pietermaritzburg Shops
H - Hawker   DS - Durban Shops
HS - Hammarsdale Shops   RS - Reserve Shops

COMMODITIES U = Urban R = Rural		Retail Outlet							
		TS	SS	H	HS	PT	PMB	DS	RS
MILK: Skim	U	10	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
	R	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	5
Whole	U	22	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	R	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5
Condensed	U	29	4	-	4	-	1	-	4
	R	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	12
Sterimilk	U*	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	R	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
FRESH MEAT: Beef	U	40	-	1	13	-	-	-	2
	R	4	-	2	9	-	-	-	8
Chicken	U	12	-	9	6	-	-	-	-
	R*	-	-	3	4	-	-	-	1
Pork	U*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R*	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Mutton	U*	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R*	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-

* Little or no demand for commodity.   Contd.

COMMODITIES U = Urban R = Rural		Retail Outlet							
		TS	SS	H	HS	PT	PMB	DS	RS
TINNED MEAT	U	[17]	-	-	7	1	1	-	-
	R	1	-	-	4	1	-	-	[6]
FISH: Frozen	U*	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	R*	-	-	..	-	-	-	-	-
Tinned	U	[33]	3	-	8	-	1	-	4
	R	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	[8]
EGGS	U	[23]	1	[17]	5	-	-	-	4
	R	1	-	[7]	2	-	-	-	3
LEGUMES:	U	[35]	2	-	[12]	1	-	1	6
	R	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	[13]
FRESH VEGETABLES: Onions	U	6	-	[45]	2	-	1	1	3
	R	-	1	[20]	1	-	-	-	1
Tomatoes	U	5	-	[47]	2	-	1	1	3
	R	-	1	[20]	1	-	-	-	1
Potatoes	U	6	-	[42]	2	-	1	1	3
	R	-	1	[19]	1	-	-	-	1
Cabbages	U	5	-	[40]	2	-	1	1	3
	R	-	1	[19]	1	-	-	-	1
Other	U	3	-	[38]	2	-	1	1	1
	R	-	-	[14]	-	-	-	-	1
MARGARINE, OIL, SUGAR, TEA, SALT, ETC	U	[37]	1	1	[15]	2	2	-	5
	R	2	1	-	[6]	-	-	-	[16]
BREAD	U	[45]	1	-	4	-	-	-	4
	R	4	3	-	3	-	-	-	[15]
GRAIN: Rice	U	[32]	-	-	9	1	1	-	5
	R	1	1	-	[6]	-	-	-	[14]
Mealie Meal	U	[29]	1	-	[10]	1	1	-	6
	R	-	1	-	[6]	-	-	-	[15]

* Little or no demand for commodity.

COMMODITIES U = Urban R = Rural		Retail Outlet							
		TS	SS	H	HS	PT	PMB	DS	RS
GRAIN: continued Samp	U	27	-	-	7	1	1	-	5
	R	1	1	-	4	-	-	-	10
Flour	U	29	-	-	8	-	1	-	5
	R	1	1	1	5	-	-	-	16
Mealie Rice	U	8	1	-	2	1	1	-	2
	R	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	7
SOAP, POLISH, ETC.	U	25	1	-	17	2	1	-	4
	R	3	1	-	6	-	-	-	13
COAL	U	5	-	28	1	-	-	-	-
	R*	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	3
WOOD	U	6	-	29	-	-	-	-	1
	R	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	7
PARAFFIN	U	36	2	3	6	-	-	-	4
	R	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	13
SPIRITS	U*	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
	R*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
CHILDREN'S CLOTHES	U	-	-	-	3	3	20	21	2
	R	-	-	1	3	-	4	8	5
WIFE'S CLOTHES	U	-	-	4	-	4	10	16	1
	R	-	-	-	2	1	2	6	2
RESPONDENT'S CLOTHES	U	-	-	2	6	7	22	25	1
	R	-	-	-	4	1	4	17	-
FURNITURE	U	-	-	2	9	2	30	7	-
	R	-	-	1	3	-	10	5	-
LINEN	U	-	-	2	14	5	17	18	1
	R	-	-	-	4	2	1	6	8
CROCKERY	U	3	-	-	21	3	4	12	-
	R	-	-	1	5	-	-	2	6

* Little or no demand for commodity.

COMMODITIES U = Urban R = Rural		Retail Outlet							
		TS	SS	H	HS	PT	PMB	DS	RS
MEDICINE	U	4	-	-	35	-	-	-	1
	R	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-

Urban N = 53   Rural N = 23

In addition to family and purchasing information, the design of
the sample survey included general information which would be useful as a
guide to calculating MLLs. These findings are reported here. Both urban
and rural households manifest similar patterns in the use of fuel and light-
ing: wood stoves (using coal and/or wood) and primus stoves, except that
an appreciable number of rural households appear to use an open fire on the
ground rather than stoves; candles and paraffin lamps are used for light-
ing. Gas and electricity are not used. Buses and taxis (pirate) are the
common means of transport among households of the sample employees. Although
more expensive, taxis are often preferred to buses. However, bus transport
is available for late shift workers and the use of a taxi in this case is
not mandatory. A few women use buses for shopping expeditions within the
township and most women in both urban and rural households use bus trans-
port to the shops in Hammarsdale while a minority employ taxis. Very few
children require transport to or from school. Journeys to the large urban
centres are most commonly accomplished by bus though again some prefer taxis
and the railways are patronised by a minority.

The patterns of seeking medical advice are similar for both urban
and rural households (note that TPI provides free clinic services at the
factory for all their employees - not for other members of the family). It
differs from a "western" pattern in two respects. There is a heavy reliance
on traditional medicine and practitioners (*Inyanga*) although not to the
exclusion of modern medicine. Members of households among sample employees
probably use the services of a clinic more frequently than do whites in
South Africa. Otherwise households employ the services of private medical
doctors, dentists (probably less frequently than whites) and buy patent

and other medicines at a pharmacy.

In this chapter we have described alternative groupings of the family and household, purchasing patterns and some consumption practices among sample employees. While all this information is of interest (especially to the sociologist) and can be fruitfully employed to sub-stantiate "expert judgement" in the calculation of an MLL it must be recognised that community patterns are only an aspect taken into account in the preparation of any poverty line; that is, community patterns are not determinants of what will be included as components of a datum but serve only to qualify where applicable other conventions such as avail-ability, minimum quantity and minimum cost.

CHAPTER IV

THE UNITS OF CALCULATION FOR MLLs

In all definitions of subsistence poverty levels, base-lines are
dependent for their determination *inter alia* on three household variables,
viz., size (number of people), age of the members and sex of the members.
This is referred to as unit of calculation. There is thus no single
standard or level and MLLs will vary from one household to the next
according to the distribution of the variables above. However, while it
is quite feasible to compute available income ratios for all households in
a sample, the results remain particular and are of less general importance.
Comparative considerations are also difficult when the MLL is particularised.
Two conventions have been employed for general and comparative use of sub-
sistence poverty statistics: calculating levels for hypothetical family
household composition and determining levels for average families of
different sizes. Both methods assume to a greater or lesser extent that
family structure among African populations is congruent with modern forms of
the elementary conjugal group - in the previous chapter we expended some
effort to show that this is not necessarily the case. There is nothing
preventing the use of both the hypothetical and average conventions (greater
knowledge of average families can in fact determine the composition of hypo-
thetical families) but to the extent that a level of consensus was reached
at the recent national conference in Pretoria on this issue, it was decided
that the units of calculation for MLLs would comprise average families
(households) of the elementary conjugal form (spouses and children).

In order to comply with this decision we have therefore calculated
average families of the elementary type from among married respondents in
the sample survey. But as we have shown in the previous chapter this is not
the only significant structure among the sample elements nor is the distinc-
tion between single and married status as clear-cut as among "western"
groups. Therefore average families have been calculated over the range of
marital statuses and alternative family groupings previously described and
analysed and now presented again in Table VII.

TABLE VII

MEAN SIZE OF ALTERNATIVE UNITS OF CALCULATION FOR THE MLL:
UNITS DIFFERENTIATED BY MARITAL STATUS, HOUSEHOLD
COMPOSITION AND FINANCIAL DEPENDENCE ON THE SAMPLE ELEMENT

Marital Status	Number of People and Unit of Calculation		
	De Facto Urban or Rural Resident Family Group	Elementary Family Group *Sample Element plus Children	Total Dependent Family Group
Married	6,34	5,00	7,13
Unmarried with Children	5,50	*2,94	6,50
Single	-	-	4,25

In this table we present a general picture of the average sizes of elementary or elementary fragment families, *de facto* residential groupings (excepting single men in both cases) and dependent family groups to which subsequent tables of unit of calculation in this chapter refer.

Table VIII describes the averages of the numbers of members per elementary family among married respondents and this constitutes the formal requirement for the unit of calculation for the MLL. Tables IX and X refer to average alternative family groupings among married respondents. Table XI describes averages for the three alternative family groupings among unmarried respondents who have children. There is no breakdown by size among any of the alternative units because numbers are small. Table XII describes the average number of members per dependent family among single respondents. The average age of single respondents is 22 years. The difference between an MLL for a dependent family of single respondents and an MLL for that single respondent alone would be equivalent to the MLL item 'Support of Relatives' which in the formal convention applies only to men living in single status (single households) whether they are married or not. For single men in single households the BMR calculates this item from previous surveys.[1]

1) See Nel, P.A., 1974, *op.cit.*, p.28.

TABLE VIII

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS PER ELEMENTARY FAMILY AMONG MARRIED RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

Age in Years	Size of Household														All Sizes	
	2		3		4		5		6		7		8+			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0- 0,99				0,13	0,10	0,20		1,00		0,29		0,14	0,33	0,33	0,05	0,21
1- 1,99				0,13	0,30	0,20			0,29	0,14	0,14	0,29		0,33	0,15	0,18
2- 2,99			0,38		0,10	0,20		1,00	0,14		0,14		0,33		0,18	0,07
3- 5,99			0,25		0,50	0,30		1,00	0,29	0,57	0,43	0,14		0,67	0,31	0,28
6- 9,99						0,10			0,57	0,57	0,86	0,71	0,33	1,33	0,28	0,36
10-11,99									0,14	0,14		0,14			0,02	0,07
12-13,99			0,13	0,13					0,14	0,14	0,14	0,29	0,33	0,33	0,10	0,07
14-17,99											0,14	0,71		0,67	0,02	0,21
18-21,99		0,50	0,13	0,13	0,10	0,60			0,14	0,14	0,43	0,14		0,33	0,15	0,28
22-34,99		0,50	0,75	0,75	0,90	0,40	1,00	1,00	0,86	0,86	0,29	0,71	0,67	1,00	0,73	0,68
35-54,99	1,00		0,13						0,14	0,29	0,71	0,43		0,33	0,18	0,15
55+									0,14				0,33		0,05	0,00

TABLE IX

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS PER DE FACTO FAMILY GROUP AMONG MARRIED
RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

Age in Years	Size of Household													
	3		4		5		6		7		8+		All Sizes	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0- 0,99			0,25				0,14	0,29		0,33	0,21	0,29	0,14	0,20
1- 1,99			0,75			0,25	0,14	0,43			0,14	0,21	0,17	0,20
2- 2,99	0,33				0,25		0,29				0,29	0,36	0,22	0,14
3- 5,99	0,67		0,50	0,25	0,25		0,43	0,29	0,33		0,36	0,71	0,40	0,37
6- 9,99				0,25		0,25	0,29	0,29	0,67	1,00	0,36	0,43	0,25	0,37
10-11,99								0,14			0,14	0,14	0,05	0,08
12-13,99					0,25	0,25	0,14		0,33		0,21	0,50	0,17	0,22
14-17,99					0,25	0,50		0,14		0,67	0,29	0,71	0,14	0,42
18-21,99				0,25		0,25	0,14	0,29	0,33	0,67	0,50	0,86	0,25	0,51
22-34,99	0,67	1,00	0,75	0,75	0,75	1,00	1,00	0,86	0,67	1,00	0,71	0,64	0,77	0,80
35-54,99	0,33		0,25		0,25	0,50		0,29		0,33	0,21	0,36	0,17	0,28
55+							0,14	0,29	0,33	0,33	0,14	0,57	0,11	0,31

TABLE X

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS PER DEPENDENT FAMILY GROUPING AMONG MARRIED
RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE, SEX AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

Age in Years	Size of Household													
	3		4		5		6		7		8+		All Sizes	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0- 0,99								0,29		0,25	0,16	0,21	0,08	0,18
1- 1,99							0,29	0,29		0,25	0,16	0,21	0,13	0,18
2- 2,99	0,33				0,33				0,25		0,32	0,37	0,24	0,18
3- 5,99	0,33			1,00			0,57	0,14	0,50	0,50	0,42	0,53	0,40	0,37
6- 9,99				1,00			0,29	0,29	0,50	1,00	0,37	0,58	0,29	0,48
10-11,99								0,14		0,75	0,05	0,26	0,02	0,24
12-13,99					0,33		0,14	0,14		0,75	0,26	0,32	0,18	0,27
14-17,99					0,33			0,29		1,00	0,26	0,63	0,16	0,48
18-21,99		0,33				0,33	0,14	0,29			0,26	0,58	0,16	0,54
22-34,99	0,33	0,67	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,33	0,86	1,00	0,50	0,75	0,74	0,68	0,72	0,81
35-54,99	0,33	0,33				0,67	0,14	0,29	0,50	0,50	0,11	0,42	0,16	0,40
55+	0,33				0,33	0,33		0,57			0,21	0,47	0,16	0,37

TABLE XI

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS PER ALTERNATIVE FAMILY GROUPING
(AS UNITS OF CALCULATION) AMONG THE CATEGORY UNMARRIED
RESPONDENTS WITH CHILDREN ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

Age in Years	Alternative Households					
	Elementary Fragment		De Facto		Dependent	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
0- 0,99	0,18	0,24		0,11	0,17	0,28
1- 1,99	0,18	0,12			0,17	0,17
2- 2,99	0,12	0,18	0,06		0,11	0,17
3- 5,99	0,29	0,29	0,22	0,11	0,33	0,39
6- 9,99		0,12	0,22	0,28	0,22	0,39
10-11,99			0,06	0,17	0,06	0,11
12-13,99	0,06		0,22	0,22	0,17	0,33
14-17,99	0,06		0,44	0,44	0,39	0,33
18-21,99	0,12		0,33	0,17	0,39	0,17
22-34,99	0,82		0,89	0,22	0,89	0,11
35-54,99	0,06		0,28	0,56	0,17	0,50
55+			0,11	0,44	0,11	0,39

TABLE XII

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS PER DEPENDENT FAMILY OF SINGLE
RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX

Age in Years	M	F
0- 0,99		
1- 1,99		
2- 2,99		
3- 5,99	0,05	0,05
6- 9,99	0,10	0,50
10-11,99	0,25	0,20
12-13,99	0,15	0,15
14-17,99	0,15	0,50
18-21,99	0,50	0,20
22-34,99	0,60	0,10
35-54,99	0,10	0,30
55+		0,35

The various units of calculation have not been computed separately for urban and rural households. There are a number of reasons for this, the primary reason being that the sample would not bear this further breakdown. Further, costing was not undertaken among reserve shops. For the purist, it will be plain that certain irregularities will be encountered (other than the urban/rural question) in the calculation of MLLs for units of calculation other than de facto household groupings. Not all married respondents have their total elementary family co-residing with them. Dependent kin often reside elsewhere, often in a rural area - in this case cash is sent to them and MLL items are not provided from the retail outlets mentioned in this study. Further, support of dependent kin is not based on MLL standards and could very well be above or below such a level. This is not to say that these data do not exist: the raw data of the survey have been fully analysed but the small size of the sample reduces much of this refined analysis to particular cases. We are, however, aware of some of the anomalies generated by the particular analytic framework for MLLs in the course of this report.

CHAPTER V

CALCULATING THE MLL

The methods employed in calculating an MLL fall into two related categories: general conventions associated with the calculation of subsistence poverty lines and methods for determining particular items among datum components and their prices. It is apparent from Chapter I that the MLL is a surrogate for the Minimum Subsistence Level developed by the BMR in Pretoria. One consequence of this development is that methods for the calculation of MLLs follow the methods previously employed by BMR, with the understanding that certain changes emanating from the discussion at the recent national conference or dictated by the particular situation (in this case residence in the Hammarsdale area) have been effected. The most difficult task is, of course, deciding which components are to make up the MLL. As this task has already been accomplished (see Chapter I) it is worth merely to reiterate that the core components derive from the theory of the PDL which purports to describe items necessary for physical health, social decency and work capacity in the short run; and the balance of items of the MLL are rationalised as necessary inclusions to meet changing socio-economic circumstances with a view to sustaining PDL goals in something greater than the short term. In the present study the components of the MLL constitute a given quantity and are listed again for the reader's convenience :

COMPONENTS OF THE MLL

Food;
Clothing;
Fuel and light;
Washing and cleaning materials;
Accommodation;
Transport;
Medical expenses;
Education;
Replacement of household equipment;
Taxes; and
Support of relatives (which is usually only applicable to
    single households).

GENERAL CONVENTIONS FOR CALCULATING THE MLL

Two general conventions are associated with the calculation of a poverty line. These are:

(i) the minimum cost of the minimum quantity of any given item of the datum necessary to meet the particular definition of poverty being employed;

(ii) some account to be taken of the availability of goods in "available markets" where community patterns of purchasing are given relative weight if sound reasons can be found for the preference of one market place over another in the acquisition of datum items (given minimum standards).

The latter convention is usually subordinate to the former. The application of these conventions is not straightforward in the present case. Theoretically, there are two communities, rural and urban, each with local retail outlets which supply some of the items included in the MLL. Further, there is a small common retail outlet in the village of Hammarsdale used by both communities but which cannot supply all the MLL items (notably furnishings). Lastly, both communities have access to three large urban outlets (Pietermaritzburg, Pinetown and Durban) which are not suitable as retail outlets for daily shopping in the present case but do supply durable consumer commodities. Details of procedures for determining application are recorded below under the heading 'Items and Prices for the MLL'.

The general conventions ensure that "ability to pay", preference (e.g. condensed milk instead of skim milk powder), traditional community buying patterns that meet social rather than minimum criteria and cultural exigencies do not determine which particular items and costs of items are to be included in MLL calculations. The MLL remains an estimate of minimum income necessary to purchase at a level of poverty, defined in a certain way.

ITEMS AND PRICES FOR THE MLL (November 1974)

In conjunction with the sample survey (described in Chapter II) a survey of available retail outlets appropriate for sample employee households was conducted to determine prices of MLL items. From the sets of prices on

the various items, an acceptable minimum price for each item was extracted
in a manner described below. This costing survey covered shops in Hammars-
dale, three shopping centres in Mpumalanga township, five shops in Pinetown
and five shops in Durban. In Hammarsdale and the township all available MLL
items in the components food, clothing, fuel and light, washing and cleaning
materials, medicines and household equipment were costed. In Pinetown and
Durban, clothing and household equipment were comprehensively costed. Un-
fortunately, shops in the reserves and shops in Pietermaritzburg were not
covered by the survey. Costing was conducted during the middle of November
1974. All MLLs in this report, therefore, refer to that date. Tables and
explanatory material concerning items and prices for the MLL appear imme-
diately below.

FOOD

Employees at TPI each receive a substantial free meal per working
day. This has to be deducted from the MLL monthly food ration for each
employee. Following the method employed in similar circumstances in a
border area,[1] this free meal is taken as the equivalent of half the daily
food ration on each working day. A fraction is then calculated on the basis
of 21,5 working days per month (4,3 x 5) and subtracted from the monthly
food cost. The food ration tables (Tables XIII and XIV) used for the calcu-
lation are the same as those employed by the BMR.[2] They are calculated
from the lowest scale of the Department of Health's (RSA) food ration scales
which are based on American standards by the South African Medical Research
Council. The number of calorie units for working men is increased by 400
units in these scales. The allowances for each item in the ration scales
and the content of each item are replicated from BMR conventions. The costs,
according to age and sex, of the allowable ration are reported for adults in
Table XV and for children and adolescents in Table XVI. These costs of the
food requirements are based on minimum prices prevailing either at the
Hammarsdale shopping centre or township shops during November, 1974.

1)   Schlemmer, L., 1973, *African Wages and the Poverty Datum Line in a*
     Border Mining Industry. An Applied Research Report of the Institute for
     Social Research, Durban, University of Natal, p.15.

2)   Nel, P.A., 1974, *op.cit.*, pp.19-23.

TABLE XIII

MLL DAILY FOOD RATION FOR ADULT MEN PERFORMING FAIRLY HARD WORK AND ADULT WOMEN PERFORMING LIGHT WORK
(IN GRAMS)

Food	Men			Women				
	Age in Years			Age in Years				
	22-34,99	35-54,99	55+	22-34,99	35-54,99	55+	Pregnant	Nursing
Milk (skim milk powder)	40	40	40	40	40	40	70	85
Meat, fish and eggs	55	55	55	55	55	55	85	85
Legumes (dried beans)	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Fresh vegetables	275	275	275	275	275	275	330	330
Margarine	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	40
Oil	7 ml	7 ml	7 ml	7 ml	7 ml	7 ml	10 ml	10 ml
Bread (brown)	170	170	170	170	170	130	170	250
Grain products	510	460	410	200	160	150	190	270
Sugar	45	40	30	30	30	30	35	60
Tea/coffee	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Salt	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Spices (per week)	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40

TABLE XIV

MLL DAILY FOOD RATION FOR CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS
(IN GRAMS)

Food	Children			Boy	Adolescent Male	Girl	Adolescent Female
	Age in Years			Age in Yrs	Age in Yrs	Age in Yrs	Age in Yrs
	1-2,99	3-5,99	6-9,99	10-13,99	14-21,99	10-17,99	18-21,99
Milk (skim milk powder)	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
Meat, fish and eggs	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Legumes (dried beans)	30	30	30	55	55	55	55
Fresh Vegetables	165	165	225	275	275	275	275
Margarine	15	15	15	20	20	20	20
Oil	4 ml	4 ml	4 ml	7 ml	7 ml	7 ml	7 ml
Bread (brown)	85	85	170	170	170	170	170
Grain products	100	170	270	370	440	290	200
Sugar	15	30	30	30	40	30	30
Tea/coffee	-	-	4	4	7	4	7
Salt	3	3	7	7	15	15	15
Spices (per week)	40	40	40	40	40	40	40

TABLE XV

MLL MONTHLY COST OF FOOD REQUIREMENTS FOR ADULT MEN PERFORMING FAIRLY
HARD WORK AND WOMEN PERFORMING LIGHT WORK, NOVEMBER 1974

Food	Price per Kilo or Litre	Men			Women				
		Age in Years			Age in Years				
		22-34,99	35-54,99	55+	22-34,99	35-54,99	55+	Pregnant	Nursing
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Milk (skim milk powder)	1,38	1,66	1,66	1,66	1,66	1,66	1,66	2,90	3,52
Meat, fish and eggs	0,82	1,35	1,35	1,35	1,35	1,35	1,35	2,09	2,09
Legumes (dried beans)	0,60	0,99	0,99	0,99	0,99	0,99	0,99	0,99	0,99
Fresh vegetables	0,25	2,06	2,06	2,06	2,06	2,06	2,06	2,48	2,48
Margarine	0,88	0,53	0,53	0,53	0,53	0,53	0,53	0,53	1,06
Oil	0,67	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,20	0,20
Bread (brown)	0,12	0,61	0,61	0,61	0,61	0,61	0,47	0,61	0,90
Grain products	0,10½	1,61	1,45	1,29	0,63	0,50	0,47	0,60	0,85
Sugar	0,15	0,20	0,18	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,16	0,27
Tea/coffee	1,14	0,24	0,24	0,24	0,24	0,24	0,24	0,24	0,24
Salt	0,15	0,07	0,07	0,07	0,07	0,07	0,07	0,07	0,07
Spices	1,00	0,17	0,17	0,17	0,17	0,17	0,17	0,17	0,17
Cost per month*		9,63	9,45	9,25	8,59	8,46	8,29	11,04	12,84

* 30 day month

TABLE XVI

MLL MONTHLY COST OF FOOD REQUIREMENTS FOR CHILDREN AND
ADOLESCENT BOYS AND GIRLS, NOVEMBER 1974

Food	Price per Kilo or Litre	Children			Boy	Adolescent Male	Girl	Adolescent Female
		Age in Years			Age in Yrs	Age in Yrs	Age in Yrs	Age in Yrs
		1-2,99	3-5,99	6-9,99	10-13,99	14-21,99	10-17,99	18-21,99
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Milk (skim milk powder)	1,38	1,66	1,66	1,66	1,66	1,66	1,66	1,66
Meat, fish and eggs	0,82	1,35	1,35	1,35	1,35	1,35	1,35	1,35
Legumes (dried beans)	0,60	0,54	0,54	0,54	0,99	0,99	0,99	0,99
Fresh vegetables	0,25	1,24	1,24	1,69	2,06	2,06	2,06	2,06
Margarine	0,88	0,40	0,40	0,40	0,53	0,53	0,53	0,53
Oil	0,67	0,08	0,08	0,08	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,14
Bread (brown)	0,12	0,31	0,31	0,61	0,61	0,61	0,61	0,61
Grain products	0,10½	0,32	0,54	0,85	1,17	1,39	0,91	0,63
Sugar	0,15	0,07	0,14	0,14	0,14	0,18	0,14	0,14
Tea/coffee	1,14	-	-	0,14	0,14	0,24	0,14	0,24
Salt	0,15	0,01	0,01	0,03	0,03	0,07	0,07	0,07
Spices	1,00	0,17	0,17	0,17	0,17	0,17	0,17	0,17
Cost per month*		6,15	6,44	7,66	8,99	9,39	8,77	8,59

* 30 day month

CLOTHING

Table XVII shows the essential items of clothing for men, women, babies, boys and girls in the various age groups and the period for which items are expected to last. The source is the BMR. Clothing items in poverty lines are notoriously difficult to cost due to lack of standardisation of products and differences in quality. However, clothing was costed in all four centres covered by the survey and the experience built up in the Institute over a number of exercises of this nature was brought to bear. As an allowance for transport for shopping purposes to the urban centres is calculated in the MLL, the prices shown in Table XVIII reflect the minimum price of any item at any of the centres (reduced by the expected period of wear) with due regard for quality.

FUEL AND LIGHT

The BMR gives two standards of allowance for fuel and light: one for inland areas where coal and wood is favoured and another for coastal regions where paraffin is favoured. Unfortunately, the allowance is stated for families of six members only and we are unable to acquire the BMR sliding scale for households of different sizes at the present time.* However, using BMR standards for families of six members, Table XIX provides a scale for items of fuel and light for the township where paraffin is extensively used and for the reserves where wood is favoured. Fuel is expensive in Hammarsdale, especially coal, and this item is excluded from the township allowance and substituted by wood for reserve areas. Table XX describes the minimum prices of fuel prevailing in Hammarsdale shops with the exception of wood which is costed for the township (no doubt wood is bought more cheaply in the reserves).

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* Subsequent to preparation of this report, we have very kindly been supplied with the relevant ratios. These are compared in a postscript to Table XX with our own efforts. Note that for the MLL the item 'Fuel and Light' is generally underestimated in this report.

TABLE XVII
MLL ITEMS OF CLOTHING FOR MEN, WOMEN, BABIES, BOYS AND GIRLS, AND THEIR AVERAGE LENGTH OF USE

Item Q = Quantity U = Use (years)	Men		Women		Babies		Boys 2-5,99		Boys 6-11,99		Boys 12-17,99		Girls 2-5,99		Girls 6-11,99		Girls 12-17,99	
	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U
Plastic rain coat	1	1	1	1														
Overall	1	1																
Sports jacket	1	2																
Khaki trousers	1	2																
Shoes	2 pr	1	2 pr	1			1 pr	1	1 pr	1	1 pr	1	1 pr	1	1 pr	1	1 pr	1
Khaki shirt (long sleeves)	3	2																
White shirt (long sleeves)	1	2																
Underpants	2	2					2	2	2	2	2	2						
Vests	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Jersey (long sleeves)	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Socks	3 pr	1					2 pr	1	2 pr	1	2 pr	1	2 pr	1	2 pr	1	2 pr	1
Pyjamas (long)	1	1																
Jeans	1	2																

TABLE XVII (Continued)

Item Q = Quantity U = Use (years)	Men		Women		Babies		Boys 2-5,99		Boys 6-11,99		Boys 12-17,99		Girls 2-5,99		Girls 6-11,99		Girls 12-17,99	
	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U	Q	U
Women's overalls			2	1														
Cotton dresses			2	2									4	2	4	2	4	2
Panties			2	1									2	1	2	1	2	1
Brassieres			2	1													2	1
Winter nighties			1	1														
Stockings			3 pr	1													2 pr	1
Head scarves			2	1														
Napkins					2 doz	2												
Leggings					2 pr	1	1 pr	1					1 pr	1				
Winter night clothes					1 pr	1	1 pr	1	1 pr	1	1 pr	1	1 pr	1	1 pr	1	1 pr	1
Waterproof pants					2	1												
Shirts							2	1	2	1	2	1						
Shorts							2	1	2	1	2	1						

TABLE XVIII

MLL ANNUAL AND MONTHLY COST OF CLOTHING REQUIREMENTS ACCORDING
TO AGE AND SEX, NOVEMBER 1974

Item	Men	Women	Babies	Age in Years					
				Boys			Girls		
				2-5,99	6-11,99	12-17,99	2-5,99	6-11,99	12-17,99
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Plastic rain coat	1,99	1,79							
Overalls	3,99								
Sports jacket	7,00								
Khaki trousers	2,25								
Shoes	7,98	5,98		3,99	3,99	4,59	2,50	3,99	3,99
Khaki shirts (long sleeves)	4,50								
White shirt (long sleeves)	1,65								
Underpants	1,38			0,69	0,69	0,79			
Vests	1,98	1,98	0,98	0,72	1,20	1,38	0,72	0,98	1,38
Jersey (long sleeves)	5,55	7,99	1,99	2,99	4,99	5,55	2,99	4,95	5,40
Socks	1,47			0,70	1,30	1,50	0,70	0,90	0,90
Pyjamas (long)	3,59								
Jeans	3,00								

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TABLE XVIII (Continued)

Item	Men	Women	Babies	Age in Years					
				Boys			Girls		
				2-5,99	6-11,99	12-17,99	2-5,99	6-11,99	12-17,99
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Women's overalls		3,30							
Cotton dresses		3,99					2,78	3,98	6,60
Panties		0,78					0,60	0,60	0,78
Brassieres		1,98							1,98
Winter nighties		2,79							
Stockings		1,17							0,78
Head scarves		1,18							
Napkins			5,40						
Leggings			1,20	0,59			0,60		
Winter night clothes			0,49	0,99	1,95	1,99	0,99	1,60	2,79
Waterproof pants			0,30						
Shirts				1,98	1,98	5,58			
Shorts				1,98	2,90	5,98			
Total Cost per annum	46,33	32,93	10,36	14,63	19,00	27,36	11,18	17,00	24,60
Total Cost per month	3,86	2,74	0,86	1,22	1,58	2,28	0,93	1,42	2,05

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TABLE XIX

MLL MONTHLY REQUIREMENTS FOR FUEL AND LIGHT
AMONG TOWNSHIP AND RESERVE RESIDENTS

Item	Single Respon- dent	Number of Persons per Household						
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
Wood - in kgs (Reserves only)	80	120	150	200	250	300	320	350
Paraffin - in litres (Township only)	10	12	15	25	30	36,4	37	38
Methylated Spirits - in mls (Township only)	250	300	350	500	600	750	750	800
Candles - in packets of 6 (Township and Reserves)	2	2½	3	3½	4	4⅓	4½	5
Matches - in boxes (Township and Reserves)	2	3	3	4	4	4	4	5

TABLE XX

MLL MONTHLY COST OF FUEL AND LIGHT AMONG RESIDENTS
IN THE TOWNSHIP AND RESERVES

Wood per kg	1,5c
Paraffin per litre	10,7c
Methylated Spirits per litre	38,7c
Candles per packet of 6	28,0c
Matches per box	1,0c

Place of Residence	Single Respon- dent	Number of Persons per Household						
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
Township Reserves	R 1,75 1,78	R 2,13 2,53	R 2,61 3,12	R 3,89 4,02	R 4,60 4,91	R 5,44 5,75	R 5,55 6,10	R 5,83 6,70

POSTSCRIPT : COMPARATIVE RATIOS FOR HOUSEHOLDS OF DIFFERENT SIZES (BMR + ISR)

BMR	-	0,86	0,90	0,93	0,97	1,00	1,07	1,14
ISR (Township)	0,32	0,39	0,48	0,72	0,85	1,00	1,02	1,07
ISR (Reserves)	0,31	0,44	0,54	0,70	0,85	1,00	1,06	1,17

WASHING AND CLEANING MATERIALS

As with fuel and light, BMR standards for washing and cleaning materials are reported for a household of six persons only and appropriate scales for households of different size have not arrived in time to be included here.* Using the BMR standard for a household of six persons we have devised Table XXI which describes requirements for washing and cleaning materials for households of different size. Table XXII describes the cost to households of different size of the items in Table XXI.

TABLE XXI
MLL MONTHLY REQUIREMENTS FOR WASHING
AND CLEANING MATERIALS

Household Items	Single Respondent	Number of Persons per Household						
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
Blue soap (kg)	1	1	1,5	2	3	3	3	4
Sunlight soap (grams)	100	200	250	300	400	500	500	600
Small tin polish (number)	½	½	½	1	1	1	1	1½

Individual Items

Lifebouy soap	-	50 g per person
Toilet roll	-	1 per person
Razor blades	-	1 per male over 18 years
Sanitary towels	-	packet of 12 per female 14 years and over but under 55 years

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* BMR scales for washing and cleaning materials for households of different sizes are now available. These are compared in a postscript to Table XXII with our own ratios. Note that the fit between BMR and ISR ratios on the item 'Washing and Cleaning Materials' is generally good.

TABLE XXII

MLL MONTHLY COST OF WASHING AND CLEANING MATERIALS

		c	
Blue soap	(kg)	31	
Sunlight soap	(kg)	64	
Small tin polish	(1)	8	
Lifebouy soap	(100g)	8	
Toilet roll	(1)	11	
Razor blade	(1)	3*	Calculated separately for average number of
Sanitary towels	(12)	30*	men and women per household

Cost	Single Respon-dent	Number of Persons per Household						
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
* Razor blades and Sanitary towels excluded in this table	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
	0,56	0,78	1,12	1,49	2,02	2,23	2,38	2,94

POSTSCRIPT:

COMPARATIVE RATIOS FOR HOUSEHOLDS OF DIFFERENT SIZES (BMR + ISR)

BMR	0,20	0,37	0,54	0,70	0,85	1,00	1,15	1,29
ISR	0,25	0,35	0,50	0,67	0,91	1,00	1,07	1,32

ACCOMMODATION

This component of the MLL includes all compulsory payments to municipalities, including rent. In the case of married township residents the overall monthly charge is R6,10. Table XXIII shows calculated sums for monthly costs of accommodation for all the groups being treated in this study. Sums other than the full township rate for a dwelling were calculated from data collected in the sample survey.

TABLE XXIII

COMPULSORY MONTHLY PAYMENTS TO MUNICIPALITIES AND COST OF HOUSING IN OTHER AREAS (PER MONTH)

Marital Status of Employee	Cost of Housing in the :	
	Urban Township	Rural Reserves
Married	R6,10	R1,97*
Unmarried with Children	R4,69**	R1,06*
Single	R3,00***	R1,50*

  * Sample mean

 ** Many sample elements responsible for rent payments but some pay only half the rent. Therefore this sum represents the mean of six full rents and five contributions of R3,00 per month

*** Sample mode

TRANSPORT

Table XXIV shows monthly MLL allowances calculated to meet requirements of transport to and from work and for shopping purposes. Transport to and from school is not allowed. Men are accorded a trip to Durban once per annum which is not accorded women because informal information received suggested that men and not women buy major articles of household equipment (these would usually be bought in Pietermaritzburg or Durban). Women are, however, likely to buy clothes for the household and consequently are allowed two trips to Pinetown (the nearest urban centre) for this purpose per annum. The monthly costs reported in Table XXIV reflect the costs of bus transport multiplied by number of trips required and then reduced to a monthly sum. Transport costs are rationalised in this series of MLLs so that a minimum number of people are allowed travelling expenses for shopping purposes.

TABLE XXIV

MLL REQUIREMENTS FOR TRANSPORT TO AND FROM WORK AND
FOR SHOPPING PURPOSES COSTED PER MONTH

Transport Used / Transport Required By		To and From Work		For Shopping Purposes			
				Hammarsdale		Pinetown	Durban
Men	Factory Employees (and other gainfully employed men if applicable)	U	R4,40	Nil		5c	7c
		R	R6,16				
Women		(As above in case of working women)		U	RO,86	10c	Not Allowed
				R	R1,20		
Table of cost applied in accordance with unit of calculation used		22 working days per month		One shopping trip per week		Men: Once per annum Women: Twice per annum	Men: Once per annum

MEDICAL EXPENSES

As with the items fuel and light and washing and cleaning materials
the BMR publication does not give a sliding scale for medical expenses for
the range of average family sizes. Instead of requesting this information
for this item, however, we have drawn up tables which accord with our sample
and local conditions. Employees at TPI receive free medical attention
(doctor and nursing sister). The local clinic provides for normal ailments
and maternity and ante-natal care and is well patronised. Although private
doctors and dentists are patronised by households in the sample, these costs
are not included for MLL purposes. Costs of traditional medicine are also
excluded. Table XXV describes the allowance we have made for patent medicines
and health accessories. Table XXVI describes the monthly costs of medical
services (clinic: 50c per visit; R3,00 per pregnancy and ante-natal care) and
an allowance for prescribed medicine which, together with patent medicines and
health accessories, give a monthly cost for various age groups. Children under

one year of age are not included in the count as it is assumed that the ante-natal care supplied by the clinic will have been covered by the initial payment of R3,00.

TABLE XXV

MLL ALLOWANCE FOR PATENT MEDICINES AND HEALTH
ACCESSORIES PER ANNUM

Age in Years and Sex of Adult	Cough Mixture	Laxative Tablets	Fruit Salts	Pain Reliever	Eyedrops	Eardrops	Health Accessories e.g. Plaster, Cotton Wool and Disinfectant	Annual Cost	Monthly Cost
	ml	tabs	g	tabs	ml	ml	c	R	c
1 - 5,99	50	6	-	6	5	10	0,35	1,31	10,9
6 - 17,99	25	6	65	9	$2\frac{1}{2}$	5	0,50	1,37	11,4
Adult Man 18+	25	6	130	12	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	0,25	1,40	11,7
Adult Woman 18+	25	6	130	12	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	0,75	1,90	15,8

TABLE XXVI

MLL REQUIREMENTS FOR MEDICAL SERVICES AND PATENT
AND PRESCRIBED MEDICINE PER MONTH

Age in Years and Sex of Adult	Medical Services	Patent Medicine and Health Accessories	Prescribed Medicine	Total
	c	c	c	c
1 - 5,99	8,3	10,9	6,7	25,9
6 - 17,99	4,2	11,4	6,7	22,3
Adult Man 18+	4,2*	11,7	8,3	24,2
Adult Woman 18+	4,2	15,8	8,3	28,3
Pregnant Woman	25,0	15,8	-	40,8

* Excluding factory employees

EDUCATION

There are thirteen schools in Mpumalanga township, and at November 1974, two more were under construction (plus a teachers' training college). Table XXVII describing MLL requirements for education is extracted from a table in the BMR report.[1] For this study no allowance is made for boarding fees and travel to and from boarding school.

TABLE XXVII

MLL REQUIREMENTS FOR EDUCATION EXPRESSED AS A MONTHLY
COST FOR CHILDREN IN DIFFERENT AGE CATEGORIES

Age of Child in Years	Cost per Month	
	R	c
8 - 11	0	21,7
12 - 14	0	65,0
15	0	69,2
16	1	50
17	3	00
18	2	17

REPLACEMENT OF HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

The BMR standard is adopted completely for this MLL item. Table XXVIII describes all items of equipment, the number of persons to whom items can apply, the number of years that items can be expected to last before replacement and the monthly cost of replacement. Most of the items reflect minimum costs in the urban centres with the exception of some items of linen and crockery which were cheaper either in Hammarsdale or the township shops.

1) Nel, P.A., 1974, *op.cit.*, Table 10, p.27.

TABLE XXVIII

MLL REQUIREMENTS FOR HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT AND COST OF REPLACEMENT IN TERMS OF NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ITEM AND LENGTH OF USE

Item	Number of Persons Per Item	Length of Use in Years	Cost of Replacement per Month
			c
Furniture			
Bed, 3'6"	2	15	8,0
Mattress, 3'6"	2	4	19,0
Bed, 2'6"	1	15	9,0
Mattress, 2'6"	1	4	27,0
Chair	1	15	3,0
Table	Household	20	6,0
Coal stove	Household	20	27,0
Primus stove	Household	8	7,0
Linen			
Blanket, single	3 per person	5	15,0
Blanket, three-quarter	3 per 2 persons	5	15,0
Pillow	1	3	4,0
Pillow-slip	1	1	5,0
Sheet, single	1	1	25,0
Towel	1 per 2 persons	1	6,0
Cutlery			
Enamel plate	1	3	1,1
Enamel mug	1	3	0,7
Spoon	1	5	0,3
Knife	1	5	0,6
Fork	1	5	0,5
Saucepan	Household	10	2,0
Kettle	Household	10	1,9
Frying pan	Household	10	1,6
Broom	Household	2	6,6
Pail	Household	1	9,6
Basin	Household	1	12,4

TAXES

Tax payable by TPI employees (given knowledge of wages) can be read off from the General Bantu Tax Tables in terms of Section 6(a) of Act 92 of 1969. Table XXIX describes the monthly tax payable by TPI employees in terms of mean monthly wage.

TABLE XXIX

MONTHLY TAX PAYABLE BY TPI EMPLOYEES IN TERMS OF MEAN WAGE

Marital Status	Mean Monthly Wage		Monthly Tax Payable on Mean Wage	
	R	c	R	c
All Employees	118	62	1	51
Married	119	09	1	51
Unmarried with Children	121	48	1	56
Single	115	25	1	46

SUPPORT OF RELATIVES

This item has been included by the BMR to apply in the case of single households only. In the case of single households an MLL can be calculated on the basis of Table XII which describes the average number of members per dependent family of single respondents. But it follows from our analysis of family and household in Chapter III and presentation of alternative average units of calculation for the MLL in Chapter IV that support of relatives imposes minimum financial responsibilities additional to the MLL of the average elementary family in this study. In effect, the calculation of alternative MLLs in the following chapter allows a much wider "socially defined" application of a subsistence poverty level than is usually presented. This point will be introduced again in Chapters VII and VIII of the report.

* * *

Having determined units of calculation and calculated costs (by age, sex and in some cases residence) of defined goods and services we are now in a position to tabulate the results to determine the minimum financial requirements of households if they are to meet the specifications of an MLL. This is accomplished in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

AVERAGE MINIMUM LIVING LEVELS

The tabulation of MLLs is accomplished by raising or reducing calculated minimum costs of items of the MLL among average membership of households (taking regard for age and sex) for various household sizes (accommodation is standard in the present case for place of residence and differing marital status). The sum of the minimum costs among members of an average household is the average MLL.

NOTES FOR AVERAGE MLLs

1. As MLLs refer to households associated with employees of TPI only a proportion of 0,36 is subtracted from the cost of each employee's monthly food ration to account for the free meal provided by the company (or multiplied by a proportion of 0,64).

2. Nursing and pregnant mothers are allowed more food than other women as well as an additional clinic fee (both of which reflect indirect costs for babies 0-0,99 years). The costs for nursing mothers are included in the tables for MLLs in this chapter. The costs for pregnant mothers are not shown in MLL tables of financial requirements (the information on pregnant mothers from the sample survey was inadequate). However, by raising any monthly MLL by the difference between a young woman's food ration and that for a pregnant woman and the difference between medical service costs, an MLL for a household containing a pregnant woman can be calculated. Such a sum would equal R2,71 in most cases.

3. The estimates of MLLs can be accurately tabulated in the cases of elementary family households of married men (although even in the case of elementary families a small number of wives and/or children would not be co-resident with the breadwinner), for single men (excluding support of relatives) and for *de facto* households (see Chapter VII for rationalisation of breadwinners per *de facto* household) only. In all other cases questions of residence intervene (e.g. transport costs cannot be calculated in each divergent case) and we have merely assumed co-residence as a convention for tabulating MLLs here. Further, a sample employee's real responsibilities for and practice of support of dependents is not absolutely clear (e.g. unmarried man's financial responsibility for his children) — we have again heuristically assumed responsibility appropriate to the assumptions of the MLL.

Given the assumptions above, Tables XXX-A to XXX-I describe tabu-
lated MLL monthly financial requirements for the alternative household units
of calculation analysed for the purposes of this study.   In Table XXX-J,
alternative MLLs are consolidated for easy reference purposes.   In Table
XXX-K, our own table of MLL monthly financial requirements for average
elementary family households in the township (November 1974 -see Table
XXX-A) is compared with the BMR Minimum Subsistence Level (MSL) monthly
financial requirements for Durban blacks during May 1974.[1]   During April
1974, the Institute conducted a traditional PDL exercise on behalf of TPI in
which we submitted datum lines applicable to hypothetical elementary family
households of 4 and 6 persons respectively.   In Table XXX-L we show a nominal
comparison of three subsistence poverty base-lines for Hammarsdale and Durban
at different times during 1974.   Strictly speaking, these figures cannot be
compared, which is true in the case of MLL and MSL comparison in Table XXX-K,
and are presented here merely to provide a context for the MLL in alternative
subsistence poverty tabulations - taking regard for different places, costs
and periods.

The BMR have released an MLL for Madadeni (Newcastle) which is
described as a Border Area. They report their MLL for all households equal
to R72,39. Compare our MLL for married respondents in Mpumalanga township
which will be roughly equivalent to Madadeni township of R72,38 (see Table
XXX-A in this report and Table MA-B7 in Nel, P.A. 1974(a), *op.cit.*, p.A 14).
Although the BMR figure reflects prices at February 1974, and ours November
1974, it is still likely that MLLs for Hammarsdale are higher than for New-
castle as the average household pertaining to the figure R72,39 (BMR) is
larger than the household on which our figure above is based.

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1)   Nel, P.A., 1974, *op.cit.*, p.A 25, Table DU-B5.

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TABLE XXX-A*

MLL MONTHLY FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF MEAN ELEMENTARY FAMILY "HOUSEHOLDS" OF MARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES LIVING IN THE TOWNSHIP

Item	Number of Persons per Household							All House-holds
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Food	14,75	21,37	26,84	31,59	43,77	53,38	55,88	34,36
Clothing	6,60	7,86	8,63	9,32	12,89	15,60	15,29	10,69
Fuel and Light	2,13	2,61	3,89	4,60	5,44	5,55	5,83	4,60
Washing and Cleaning Materials	1,11	1,45	1,82	2,35	2,66	3,02	3,67	2,45
Accommodation	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10
Transport	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48
Medical Expenses	0,48	0,71	0,92	1,00	1,38	1,63	1,68	1,10
Education	-	0,31	0,02,	-	0,49	2,12	1,81	0,67
Replacement of Household Equipment	2,51	3,48	4,45	5,42	6,39	7,37	8,34	5,42
Taxes	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51
MLL	40,67	50,88	59,66	67,37	86,11	101,76	105,59	72,38

* Note that for any household containing a pregnant woman the MLL should be inflated by R2,71.

TABLE XXX-B

MLL MONTHLY FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF MEAN ELEMENTARY FAMILY "HOUSEHOLDS" OF
MARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES LIVING IN THE RURAL RESERVES

Item	Number of Persons per Household							All House-holds
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Food	14,75	21,37	26,84	31,59	43,77	53,38	55,88	34,36
Clothing	6,60	7,86	8,63	9,32	12,89	15,60	15,29	10,69
Fuel and Light	2,53	3,12	4,02	4,91	5,75	6,10	6,70	4,91
Washing and Cleaning Materials	1,11	1,45	1,82	2,35	2,66	3,02	3,67	2,45
Accommodation	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97
Transport	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58
Medical Expenses	0,48	0,71	0,92	1,00	1,38	1,63	1,68	1,10
Education	-	0,31	0,02	-	0,49	2,12	1,81	0,67
Replacement of Household Equipment	2,51	3,48	4,45	5,42	6,39	7,37	8,34	5,42
Taxes	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51
MLL	39,04	49,36	57,76	65,55	84,39	100,28	104,43	70,66

TABLE XXX-C

MLL MONTHLY FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF MEAN DE FACTO HOUSEHOLDS OF
MARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES LIVING IN THE TOWNSHIP

Item	Number of Persons per Household						All House-holds
	3	4	5	6	7	8+	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Food	21,03	27,13	38,86	43,42	54,17	70,92	50,36
Clothing	7,82	8,66	12,51	13,36	16,81	20,42	15,20
Fuel and Light	2,61	3,89	4,60	5,44	5,55	5,83	5,48
Washing and Cleaning Materials	1,45	1,82	2,73	2,74	3,22	3,76	2,96
Accommodation	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10
Transport	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48
Medical Expenses	0,74	0,93	1,22	1,39	1,62	2,18	1,58
Education	-	0,05	1,68	0,49	1,74	2,42	1,39
Replacement of Household Equipment	3,48	4,45	5,42	6,39	7,37	8,34	6,72
Taxes	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51
MLL	50,22	60,02	80,11	86,32	103,57	126,96	96,78

TABLE XXX-D

MLL MONTHLY FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF MEAN DE FACTO HOUSEHOLDS OF
MARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES LIVING IN THE RURAL RESERVES

Item	Number of Persons per Household						All House-holds
	3	4	5	6	7	8+	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Food	21,03	27,13	38,86	43,42	54,17	70,92	50,36
Clothing	7,82	8,66	12,51	13,36	16,81	20,42	15,20
Fuel and Light	3,12	4,02	4,91	5,75	6,10	6,70	5,87
Washing and Cleaning Materials	1,45	1,82	2,73	2,74	3,22	3,76	2,96
Accommodation	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97
Transport	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58
Medical Expenses	0,74	0,93	1,22	1,39	1,62	2,18	1,58
Education	-	0,05	1,68	0,49	1,74	2,42	1,39
Replacement of Household Equipment	3,48	4,45	5,42	6,39	7,37	8,34	6,72
Taxes	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51
MLL	48,70	58,12	78,39	84,60	102,09	125,80	95,14

TABLE XXX-E

MLL MONTHLY FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF MEAN DEPENDENT FAMILY GROUPINGS OF
MARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES LIVING IN THE TOWNSHIP

Item	Number of Persons per Household						All House-holds
	3	4	5	6	7	8+	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Food	21,42	28,85	39,97	45,78	60,74	64,68	54,44
Clothing	8,27	8,95	14,33	14,13	15,96	18,35	16,05
Fuel and Light	2,61	3,89	4,60	5,44	5,55	5,83	5,59
Washing and Cleaning Material	1,55	1,82	2,76	2,83	3,09	3,67	3,13
Accommodation	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10	6,10
Transport	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48	5,48
Medical Expenses	0,74	0,97	1,27	1,46	1,83	2,02	1,71
Education	-	0,22	0,79	0,84	2,71	2,19	1,62
Replacement of Household Equipment	3,48	4,45	5,42	6,39	7,37	8,34	7,50
Taxes	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51
MLL	51,16	62,24	82,23	89,96	110,34	118,17	103,13

TABLE XXX-F

MLL MONTHLY FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF MEAN DEPENDENT FAMILY GROUPINGS OF
MARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES LIVING IN THE RURAL RESERVES

Item	Number of Persons per Household						All House-holds
	3	4	5	6	7	8+	
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Food	21,42	28,85	39,97	45,78	60,74	64,68	54,44
Clothing	8,27	8,95	14,33	14,13	15,96	18,35	16,05
Fuel and Light	3,12	4,02	4,91	5,75	6,10	6,70	6,18
Washing and Cleaning Materials	1,55	1,82	2,76	2,83	3,09	3,67	3,13
Accommodation	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97	1,97
Transport	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58	7,58
Medical Expenses	0,74	0,97	1,27	1,46	1,83	2,02	1,71
Education	-	0,22	0,79	0,84	2,71	2,19	1,62
Replacement of Household Equipment	3,48	4,45	5,42	6,39	7,37	8,34	7,50
Taxes	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51	1,51
MLL	49,64	60,34	80,51	88,24	108,86	117,01	101,69

TABLE XXX-G

MLL MONTHLY FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF MEAN ALTERNATIVE HOUSEHOLDS OF
UNMARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES WHO HAVE CHILDREN AND WHO LIVE
IN THE TOWNSHIP

Item	Alternative Households		
	Elementary Fragment $\bar{X} = 2,94$	De Facto Household $\bar{X} = 5,50$	Dependent Grouping $\bar{X} = 6,50$
	R	R	R
Food	18,15	44,53	49,63
Clothing	5,86	14,50	14,75
Fuel and Light	2,58	5,02	5,50
Washing and Cleaning Materials	1,13	2,60	2,69
Accommodation	4,69	4,69	4,69
Transport	4,52	5,48	5,48
Medical Expenses	0,56	1,30	1,46
Education	0,17	1,97	1,74
Replacement of Household Equipment	3,59	6,07	7,03
Taxes	1,56	1,56	1,56
MLL	42,81	87,72	94,53

TABLE XXX-H

MLL MONTHLY FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF MEAN ALTERNATIVE HOUSEHOLDS OF
UNMARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES WHO HAVE CHILDREN AND WHO LIVE
IN THE RURAL RESERVES

Item	Alternative Households		
	Elementary Fragment $\overline{X}$ = 2,94	De Facto Household $\overline{X}$ = 5,50	Dependent Grouping $\overline{X}$ = 6,50
	R	R	R
Food	18,15	44,53	49,63
Fuel and Light	3,08	5,33	14,75
Washing and Cleaning Materials	1,13	2,60	2,69
Accommodation	1,06	1,06	1,06
Transport	6,28	7,58	7,58
Medical Expenses	0,56	1,30	1,46
Education	0,17	1,97	1,74
Replacement of Household Equipment	3,59	6,07	7,03
Taxes	1,56	1,56	1,56
MLL	41,44	86,50	93,33

TABLE XXX-I

MLL MONTHLY FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF SINGLE EMPLOYEES AT TPI
AND REQUIREMENTS OF CALCULATED DEPENDENT
FAMILIES (EMPLOYEE PLUS DEPENDENTS)

Item	Employees in the Township		Employees in the Reserves	
	Single Employee	Dependent Family $\overline{X}$ = 4,25	Single Employee	Dependent Family $\overline{X}$ = 4,25
	R	R	R	R
Food	3,17	33,66	3,17	33,66
Clothing	2,59	10,91	2,59	10,91
Fuel and Light	1,75	4,07	1,78	4,24
Washing and Cleaning Materials	0,59	2,06	0,59	2,06
Accommodation	3,00	3,00	1,50	1,50
Transport	4,52	5,48	6,28	7,58
Medical Expenses	0,13	0,99	0,13	0,99
Education	-	1,55	-	1,55
Replacement of Household Equipment	1,71	4,86	1,71	4,86
Taxes	1,46	1,46	1,46	1,46
MLL	18,92	68,04	19,21	68,81

TABLE XXX-J

CONSOLIDATED TABLE OF MLL MONTHLY FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS OF MEAN HOUSEHOLDS
AMONG TPI EMPLOYEES ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS, TYPE OF
HOUSEHOLD AND RESIDENCE

Type of Household / Marital Status	Elementary Elementary Fragment* Employee**		De Facto Resident Household		Dependent Grouping	
	Township	Reserves	Township	Reserves	Township	Reserves
	R	R	R	R	R	R
Married	72,38	70,66	96,78	95,14	103,13	101,69
Unmarried with Children	42,81*	41,44*	87,72	86,50	94,53	93,33
Single	18,92**	19,21**	-	-	68,04	68,81

TABLE XXX-K

MLL (NOVEMBER 1974) FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS ELEMENTARY FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS OF TPI EMPLOYEES, TOWNSHIP AND MSL (MAY 1974) FINANCIAL
REQUIREMENTS OF BLACK MULTIPLE HOUSEHOLDS IN DURBAN (BMR)

ITEM	Number of Persons per Household														All Households	
	2		3		4		5		6		7		8+			
	MLL	MSL	MLL	MSL	MLL	MSL	MLL	MSL	MLL	MSL	MLL	MSL	MLL	MSL	MLL	MSL
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Food	14,75	14,42	21,37	21,20	26,84	27,99	31,59	34,25	43,77	41,53	53,38	47,18	55,88	64,10	34,36	39,04
Clothing	6,60	5,33	7,86	7,28	8,63	9,22	9,32	10,58	12,89	12,12	15,60	13,82	15,29	18,25	10,69	11,77
Fuel and Light	2,13	4,42	2,61	4,63	3,89	4,78	4,60	4,99	5,44	5,14	5,55	5,50	5,83	5,86	4,60	5,04
Washing and Cleaning Materials	1,11	0,79	1,45	1,12	1,82	1,52	2,35	1,73	2,66	1,97	3,02	2,35	3,67	2,95	2,45	1,85
Accommodation	6,10	5,33	6,10	5,33	6,10	7,03	6,10	7,03	6,10	7,03	6,10	7,03	6,10	7,03	6,10	7,03
Transport	5,48	2,10	5,48	3,15	5,48	4,20	5,48	5,25	5,48	6,30	5,48	7,35	5,48	9,84	5,48	5,96
Medical Expenses	0,48	0,55	0,71	0,65	0,92	0,72	1,00	0,76	1,38	0,83	1,63	0,93	1,68	1,04	1,10	0,79
Education	-	0,26	0,31	0,42	0,02	0,83	-	1,63	0,49	2,06	2,12	1,79	1,81	3,54	0,67	1,75
Replacement of Household Equipment	2,51	1,47	3,48	2,07	4,45	2,41	5,42	3,04	6,39	3,36	7,37	3,99	8,34	5,02	5,42	3,21
Taxes	1,51	0,31	1,51	0,44	1,51	0,57	1,51	0,77	1,51	0,97	1,51	1,17	1,51	1,72	1,51	0,87
MLL & MSL	40,67	34,98	50,88	46,29	59,66	59,27	67,37	70,03	86,11	81,31	101,76	91,11	105,59	119,35	72,38	77,31

TABLE XXX-L

NOMINAL COMPARISON OF THREE DIFFERENT SUBSISTENCE POVERTY BASE-LINES
FOR VARIOUS DIFFERING UNITS OF CALCULATION AMONG BLACKS IN
HAMMARSDALE AND DURBAN BETWEEN APRIL AND NOVEMBER 1974

Units of Calculation*	Number of Persons per Household	
Subsistence Poverty Base-lines	4	6
	R	R
MLL Hammarsdale November 1974	59,66	86,11
Traditional PDL Hammarsdale April 1974 (Secondary PDL)	56,68	80,59
MSL (BMR) Durban May 1974	59,27	81,31

* MLL - Mean elementary family households of different sizes
  PDL - Hypothetical elementary family households
  MSL - Mean multiple households of different sizes

CHAPTER VII

EMPLOYEES' WAGES AND THE MLL

The MLLs tabulated in this study refer to November, 1974. During November wages at TPI were increased: fortunately, we were confidentially informed of the impending change and were able to inflate wages by the increase (this increase might be underestimated in a few cases involving supervisory personnel). Wages are paid weekly at TPI but MLLs are tabulated for a monthly period. Weekly wages have been raised to monthly income levels by the expedient of multiplying by 4,3. The mean wage of our sample respondents is shown in Table XXIX as R118,62 per month. This figure probably underestimates the true mean over time to some extent. The explanation is contained in the fact that the sample included seven employees in the probationary category who are remunerated at less than the company's normal minimum wage. The distribution of monthly wages paid by TPI to black employees taken from the sample survey is shown below.

Monthly Wages in Rands
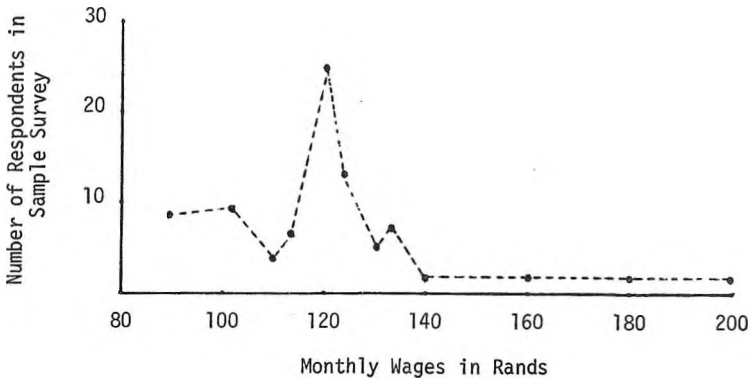
The estimated sample mean wage of R118,62 is, therefore, very close to the modal sample wage of R118,25 per month.

Having established MLLs over the empirical range of units of

calculation for TPI black employees it is now appropriate to reiterate that an MLL is not itself a measure of poverty and that the purpose of establishing a base-line is to measure standard of living (with respect to poverty defined in a certain way) by means of the Available Income Ratio (AIR). Recall that the AIR is expressed as available income divided by the MLL and multiplied by 100 to be read as a percentage. An AIR above 100% means that a household is above the defined poverty line (MLL); an AIR at 100% represents a household on the poverty line; and an AIR below 100% describes a household below the poverty line. Although MLLs over all alternative units of calculation can be tabulated for each individual household the production of 76 MLLs would be extremely laborious and time-consuming. We propose, therefore, to analyse average or mean MLLs which have been tabulated and shown in Chapter VI and mean TPI monthly wages in order to present appropriate available income ratios below. For reference purposes recall that mean sizes of households among alternative units of calculation are shown in Table VII; mean number of persons per alternative household in units of calculation for all household sizes are found in Tables VIII to XII and that mean monthly wages according to marital status are presented in Table XXIX (together with income tax rates). MLLs are, of course, shown in Tables XXX-A to XXX-J.

MARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES

The results of the sample survey show that married employees at TPI earn a mean of R119,09 per month. This sum is the dividend in the AIR equation.

Elementary Family Households (Township)

MLL for the mean of all households = R72,38

Mean AIR = 165%

Note that the AIR above reflects a mean figure for the size distribution of all households and not for the mean composition of households of 5 persons only which would be AIR = 177% (only one household of 5 persons was recorded in the survey so AIRs are not reported for this category). All subsequent AIR percentages should be read with this difference in mind.

Expressed as a mean, all married employees in this category earn 65% more than the MLL appropriate to the unit elementary family. Again in mean terms, as no married respondent has an elementary family exceeding 8 members in size (MLL = R105,59; see Table XXX-A) where the AIR would equal *circa* 113% it can be stated (about the mean) that no married TPI employee earns less than MLL financial requirements for the defined needs of his elementary family. In terms of mean income, were an EML (Effective Minimum Level) to be calculated from the base of the mean MLL (a convention discarded in terms of the agreement reached at the meeting in Pretoria and not strictly appropriate here) the resulting sum of R108,57 indicates that the mean TPI married employee earns more than this amount.

TABLE XXXI

AIRs AMONG MARRIED RESPONDENTS WITH RESPECT TO ELEMENTARY
FAMILY HOUSEHOLD UNITS (TOWNSHIP)

Number of Persons per Household	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+
Mean Income	R122,55	R117,53	R118,25	-	R115,38	R113,09	R121,48
MLL	R40,67	R50,88	R59,66	R67,37	R86,11	R101,76	R105,59
AIR	301%	231%	198%	-	134%	111%	115%

Table XXXI describes mean AIRs for elementary family units distributed among households of different size. It is clear that over the total mean range no TPI employee is unable theoretically to support his immediate family at a Minimum Living Level.

Elementary Family Households (Reserves)
MLL for the mean of all households ≈ R70,66
Mean AIR = 169%

It would appear that married employees living in the reserves are marginally better off in AIR terms associated with the elementary family unit than are their colleagues in the township - the difference is, however,

small. The results for this category are similar to those of the previous category and as sample numbers are small for the reserves, a further AIR analysis breaks down to individual cases except for households of 4 persons where the mean AIR = 217%.

It is safe to conclude that ALL MARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES ARE RE-MUNERATED AT A SCALE EXCEEDING THE MLL ASSOCIATED WITH ELEMENTARY FAMILY UNITS.

De Facto Households (Township)

In the case of *de facto* households income earned by members of the household other than TPI sample employees is relevant. While a sample employee is probably responsible for his own wife and children he cannot be said to have to support relatives who are earning an income and it is usual to calculate AIRs on the basis of total household income. From sample findings it can be established that 25% of households among married elements have a second earner (it is more than probable that this figure is in fact higher but has not been properly declared during interviews). Of the seven households involved, one had three additional earners and another had two additional earners. The mean additional income from employment in *de facto* households among married elements equals R23,86. Therefore, the mean household income for *de facto* units is raised from R119,09 to R142,95. In this category then we state :

> MLL for the mean of all households = R96,78
> Mean household income = R142,95
> Mean AIR = 148%

Expressed in mean terms it is apparent then that married employees at TPI live in households where mean income substantially exceeds the appropriate MLL. Table XXXII describes mean AIRs for *de facto* family household units distributed among households of different size.

TABLE XXXII

AIRs RELEVANT TO DE FACTO FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS
AMONG MARRIED EMPLOYEES (TOWNSHIP)

Number of Persons per Household	3	4	5	6	7	8+
Mean Household Income	R122,55	R123,63	-	R169,02	R161,25	R132,23
MLL	R50,22	R60,02	R80,11	R86,32	R103,57	R126,96
AIR	244%	206%	-	196%	156%	104%

Although the mean AIR for *de facto* households is 17% lower than the AIR for elementary families it would appear that for households of middle size, that is from 3 to 7 persons, additional income to that of the TPI sample element compensates for additions to the elementary unit. While this is reflected in the mean figures above it must be recognised that mean additional income masks to some extent the empirical reality: only *circa* 25% of households enjoy an additional income and the balance if treated individually would show smaller AIRs as a result of an increased MLL divisor applied to a constant income dividend.

De Facto Households (Reserves)

Among households of married TPI sample employees in the reserves only one additional income (that of a wife) was reported in the survey. The mean household income in this category is, therefore, raised from R119,09 to R123,82. Therefore, we have:

MLL for the mean of all households = R95,14
Mean household income = R123,82
Mean AIR = 130%

While the relative lack of extra income in this category shows more clearly

the effects of relatives additional to the elementary unit, the level of income in general is still substantially above an MLL. A scrutiny of all cases of *de facto* units in the reserves reveals that in no case is any household below its MLL financial requirements.

It can be stated then that ALL DE FACTO HOUSEHOLDS AMONG MARRIED EMPLOYEES AT TPI EXCEED MLL FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS.

Dependent Family Groupings (Township)

As this unit of calculation includes dependents of the sample employee the available household income is equal to the monthly wages of the TPI employee.

MLL for the mean of all households = R103,13
Mean AIR = 115%

It is clear that when all dependents among married TPI employees living in the township are considered available income of the average employee is sufficient to meet MLL standards but that the margin for a secondary poverty level is slight. In Table XXXIII we scrutinise the relationship between employee monthly incomes and MLL requirements more closely. The AIRs show expectedly that as an employee's dependents increase so the likelihood of living at the MLL rather than above it increases. That this is especially true for employees with a greater number of dependents is born out by the number of married employees who actually fall below the MLL tabulated for dependent family grouping units. Among men with six dependents (number of persons per household = 7) one man earns *circa* R5,00 and another *circa* R20,00 less than the MLL. Among men with seven dependents one man earns *circa* R4,00 less than the MLL and two men fail to reach the MLL financial requirement by eight cents per month.

When all dependents of married employees are included in the unit of calculation for the MLL then it can be stated that 7% of these employees fall at the MLL financial requirement (or marginally below) and 11% fall somewhat below MLL financial requirements.

TABLE XXXIII

AIRs RELEVANT TO DEPENDENT FAMILY GROUPINGS
AMONG MARRIED EMPLOYEES (TOWNSHIP)

Number of Persons per Household	3	4	5	6	7	8+
Mean Income	R117,53	R118,25	-	R115,38	R113,09	R121,48
MLL	R51,16	R62,24	R82,23	R89,96	R110,34	R118,17
AIR	230%	190%	-	128%	102%	103%

Dependent Family Groupings (Reserves)

MLL for the mean of all households = R101,69

Mean AIR = 117%

While employees in the reserves fare only marginally better in this category than employees in the township when the mean AIR for all households is calculated, no dependent family groupings associated with men living in the reserves fall below MLL financial requirements.

We conclude that AMONG MARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES WHEN ALL DEPENDENTS ARE INCLUDED IN THE UNIT OF CALCULATION 5% AND 8% OF AVAILABLE INCOMES FALL AT AND BELOW AN MLL RESPECTIVELY: THE BALANCE OF INCOMES EXCEED THE MLL.

To summarise the standard of living as reflected in available income ratios among married TPI employees above, we may reiterate: the wages paid by TPI are clearly substantially above mean MLLs appropriate for elementary families ; substantial for MLL financial requirements appropriate to *de facto*, co-residential family units though mean figures mask a decline in living standard among *circa* 75% of this category; and, though the available income ratio is marginally above an MLL when total dependent groupings (all ego's dependents) are taken into account, 8% of these units fail to meet MLL financial requirements. In the last case, sheer size of unit or number

of dependents is the cause of sub-MLL measures.

UNMARRIED TPI EMPLOYEES WHO HAVE FATHERED CHILDREN

This category of marital status among TPI employees receive a mean monthly wage equal to R121,48. Among eleven township elements only one household has accruing to it additional income, in this case three monthly incomes totalling R143,10. Mean total household income among *de facto* households is therefore equal to R134,49 among households in the township. No income in addition to TPI wages occurs among sample *de facto* households in the reserves. As only mean MLLs in each category of household unit could be calculated among unmarried respondents with children the analysis of standards of living with respect to available income ratios is present-ed without subdivision. Table XXXIV summarises the available information.

TABLE XXXIV

AIRs FOR ALTERNATIVE UNITS OF CALCULATION AMONG UNMARRIED
TPI EMPLOYEES WHO HAVE FATHERED CHILDREN

Alternative Units of Calculation	Township			Reserves		
	Elementary Fragment	De Facto Household	Depen-dent Family Grouping	Elementary Fragment	De Facto Household	Depen-dent Family Grouping
Mean Income	R121,48	R134,49	R121,48	R121,48	R121,48	R121,48
MLL	R42,81	R87,72	R94,53	R41,44	R86,50	R93,33
AIR	284%	153%	129%	293%	140%	130%

The trend of decreasing AIR from substantial balance of income at the elementary (fragment) level through a decline in this balance when *de facto* households are considered to a further decline when all dependents are included in the unit is confirmed among this category. The relatively sharp

decline in percentage from elementary fragment to *de facto* household com-
pared with married respondents can be accounted for by the difference in
responsibility at the elementary level: the fragment is substantially
smaller (fewer persons per household) at 2,96 persons than 5,0 persons among
elementary families of married employees. Relatively higher mean AIRs for
dependent groupings compared with the figures among married respondents
reflects a lesser responsibility among employees at this stage of their
marital cycle. Scrutiny of individual household available incomes among
the unmarried category who have children reveals that no household falls
below its MLL financial requirement at any level of responsibility - *de
facto* household or dependent grouping. It is safe to say then that ALL TPI
EMPLOYEES IN THE "UNMARRIED" CATEGORY ARE REMUNERATED AT A SCALE EXCEEDING
MLLs ASSOCIATED WITH THE ALTERNATIVE UNITS OF CALCULATION.

SINGLE TPI EMPLOYEES

The mean monthly wage of single TPI employees is equal to R115,25.
In the case of calculating AIRs for single employees where support of
relatives is excluded the exercise is merely academic (see MLLs Table XXX-I).
The MLLs for mean dependent family groupings are also substantially less
than average income. Table XXXV describes AIRs among single employees.

TABLE XXXV

AIRs AMONG SINGLE TPI EMPLOYEES

Units of Calculation	Township		Reserves	
	Single Employee Only	Dependent Family	Single Employee Only	Dependent Family
Mean Income	R115,25	R115,25	R115,25	R115,25
MLL	R18,92	R68,04	R19,21	R68,81
AIR	609%	169%	600%	167%

It is possible that the wages of two sample employees living in the township and one employee in the reserves are placed under severe strain due to very large dependent families. These individual AIRs would be laborious to calculate and are not considered in detail here. From Table XXXV, however, it is an easy conclusion that in the case of single employees only WAGES ARE VERY SUBSTANTIALLY ABOVE MLL FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS AND WHEN DEPENDENTS OF SINGLE MEN ARE CONSIDERED IN THE UNIT, MEAN AIRs ARE SUBSTANTIALLY GREATER COMPARED WITH MARRIED AND UNMARRIED MEN.

SUMMARY

In Table XXX-J, MLL financial requirements for all units of calculation are presented. In this chapter a similar table reflects alternative AIRs and allows us to summarise the findings of this chapter. (Table XXXVI).

TABLE XXXVI

CONSOLIDATED TABLE OF AIRs OF MEAN ALTERNATIVE UNITS OF
CALCULATION USED IN THE TABULATION OF MLLs AMONG
TPI EMPLOYEES ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS AND RESIDENCE

Unit of Calculation Marital Status	Elementary Elementary Fragment* Employee**		De Facto Resident Grouping		Dependent Grouping	
	Township	Reserves	Township	Reserves	Township	Reserves
Married	165%	169%	148%	130%	115%	117%
Unmarried with Children	284%*	293%*	153%	140%	129%	130%
Single	609%**	600%**	-	-	169%	167%

The picture is clear. Differences in AIR between employees living in the township and those in the reserves are marginal among different marital status on elementary type units and dependent groupings; it would appear, however, that the *de facto* units among both married and "unmarried" men are

a greater source of drain on income in the reserves than in the township.
Considering the elementary type of unit it is apparent that married men
spend almost twice as much on their wives and children than do "unmarried"
men on the children of their elementary fragment. The difference between
the MLL financial requirement for average elementary families is more than
400% that of the requirement for a single man. Note that all AIRs for
elementary type units (including single men) are extensive enough to allow
for secondary poverty expenditure.

Among *de facto* resident households the category including "un-
married" employees exhibits a more equitable AIR than among *de facto*
households associated with married men except that households of married
men in the township appear to have more leeway than households of "unmarried"
men in the reserves. Note that the tolerance for secondary poverty expendi-
ture among *de facto* households is somewhat curtailed in comparison with
elementary type units bringing households of unmarried employees into
approximate parity with households of married men. The wages paid by TPI
plus additional household income is probably just sufficient to maintain
some level of secondary poverty expenditure: recall that additional house-
hold income is very unevenly distributed suggesting more material restric-
tion than our mean statistics indicate.

The wages, expressed as means, paid by TPI are sufficient to meet
MLL financial requirements even at the largest unit of calculation employed
in this study. Among single employees the mean wage is sufficient to allow
them considerable secondary poverty expenditure above their MLL even when all
their dependents are included in the unit. This is not the case among
married and "unmarried" employees. While "unmarried" men are relatively more
advantaged than married men in terms of AIR corresponding with dependent
family groupings the tolerance at this level for secondary poverty expendi-
ture is drastically diminished. However, in terms of primary poverty married
TPI employees are in general above the MLL appropriate for the extended unit
of all dependents and only *circa* 4% of all sample employees can be said to
fall below this particular alternative MLL.

The implications of the marital cycle and alternative units yielding
a range of MLLs are addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

WORK AND STANDARD OF LIVING

The standard of living of the elementary families (as well as elementary fragments and single households) among sample employees as measured by the available income ratio is relatively high on the basis of a minimum living level (poverty defined in a certain way) and this indicates that the wages paid by TPI are probably comparatively high in the context of the South African black labour market. In the previous chapter we were able to show that when elementary families were considered as the unit of calculation no household of a TPI employee would have an income less than the MLL, households of the sample average would have sufficient income to meet a traditional 50% increase in financial requirement to exist in secondary poverty (partly subsumed by the MLL) and only within large households would this increase not satisfy all secondary poverty desiderata. Contrast with this some recent estimates of subsistence poverty among blacks in South Africa: in the 'Report of the Economics Commission' of SPRO-CAS[1] the SAIRR 1971 *Survey* is quoted showing that 68%-71% of Soweto (Rand) residents were living below a PDL and a BMR (Report No.3, 1971) study is cited where *circa* 77% of all African families are estimated to earn less than the financial requirements of minimum living costs. It is clear that as an enterprise TPI has ensured (both comparatively with other enterprises and relatively to a defined base-line) an equitable standard of living for their black employees and their immediate families.

All of the above can be inferred from the previous chapter. This chapter attempts to relate standards of living among black workers to the work that they perform in the factory and consequently to their remuneration. Further, through this analysis to acquaint TPI with some relevant specific information regarding this relationship in order that they might (if they

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1) Randall, P., (*ed.*) 1972, *Power, Privilege and Poverty*, Johannesburg, SPRO-CAS Publication No.7, p.19. (Report of the Economics Commission of SPRO-CAS).

wish) clarify their own assumptions and policy of responsibility toward labour. This is merely an attempt to supply information, not an exhortation to action.

The coincidence of development and underdevelopment that characterises white and black in South Africa is most apparent in border industrial areas and in fact the establishment of modern industry contiguous with traditional black society creates a special set of situational circumstances regarding social change. The more usual demographic and social consequences of industrial development for blacks is in part reversed. Instead of urban in-migration of blacks and their participation in modern institutions of the developed sector which effects rapid structural change among the urban population, developed modern industry migrates to the rural area where it co-exists with the traditional black society. A modicum of quasi urbanisation (high density housing schemes and rudimentary services) is usually established but the agents associated with structural change are largely lacking. Factory workers then experience in paradigm the disjunctive effects of pluralism in South Africa: they work within a modern industrial structure but are largely conditionally impelled to relate for most other purposes to a traditional, subsistence culture (bearing in mind that the traditional culture itself has been considerably modified by the market economy and migrant labour). Two related consequences ensue: the creation of a class of relatively prosperous black wage earners, *vis-à-vis* the economy of the rural society, establishes an alternative reward and security system but at the same time causes the invocation of traditional familial ideology where support of indigent relatives creates an imbalance between units of production and consumption.

The industrial job is obviously the point from which the con-· sequences of relative wage-earning prosperity flow. However, we propose to show below that there is not necessarily a one-to-one relationship between a relatively well paid job and relative prosperity. The rationale of the relationship between capital and labour in a modern, industrial or neo-capitalist society is that the worker is remunerated at a proportion of his production (the balance going to owners of capital) which constitutes his reward for participating in the enterprise. This reward is translated into

security for an appropriate unit of consumption (in western terms usually
the elementary family) which during this century has been manifest in a
high level of material consumption. A security system is complementary to
the type of social order disbursing rewards, not only in wages but in-
cluding consumption patterns, and if the reward basis is insufficient to
meet expected security standards then the source disbursing rewards (i.e.
the job in the industrial order) is progressively devalued.

There are many established explanations for black underdevelop-
ment in South Africa; discrimination in the forms of lack of education,
training for and access to jobs, inequality in income, lack of political
power, urban insecurity, rudimentary services, adverse share in public
revenue, etc. There are also theories of personal/individual inability
and cultural incapability which are popular among rank and file whites as
well as dual-cultural models which are more respectable and purport to
explain differential development among races. Propagators of the dual-
culture model hold that cultural perspectives determine economic advance-
ment (structural arrangements are ignored) and where this does not occur
it is assumed that the "worker" is responding to the adverse prescriptions
of an inappropriate culture. This is often assumed without any attempt to
demonstrate the explanation of the effect. It cannot be denied that culture
formulations of a society determine much of its normative content, but it
must also be recognised that structural change modifies the orienting cul-
ture and that often there is a poor fit and more often a lag between
structural and cultural forces. We advance the thesis below that if there
is any manifestation of "backward bending supply curve of effort" among TPI
workers, then this manifestation is the consequence of a response to modern
expectations which are being thwarted, *inter alia*, by traditional, cultural
norms of social obligations. That is to say, because workers cannot achieve
a fuller measure of modern material consumption (being bled by indigent
relatives) they are likely to be less productive; not that they are less
productive because culturally they are incapable of rationally aligning
greater reward with greater productivity (low level of aspiration, limited
time-horizon, etc.).

At the present time in South Africa as black wages slowly increase
there is much speculation that it would be more profitable to substitute

capital for labour (one of the fears of parties sympathetic to black develop-
ment and in part a reason for their advancing MLLs - enhanced primary
poverty level - rather than EMLs - secondary poverty level - as base-lines
for minimum wages) because black labour is thought to be expensive at higher
wage levels. We are assuming for the purposes of this study that this effect
has been considered by TPI: the matter of productivity has not been dis-
cussed with management and what appears below can be viewed as a rubric
under which worker response to a variety of situations can be analysed. The
ambivalent structural/cultural situation of the border industry black worker
(and probably other Africans) is discussed below.

Relative wage-earning prosperity on the border industrial-
traditional rural fringe would present no problem if wage earners had not
been transmuted from the traditional to a modern security and expectation
system. The findings in this study suggest that among TPI employees, at
least, no problem would be encountered in maintaining a large network of
kin at a subsistence level. If, however, they wish to meet the "revolution
of rising expectations" consonant with industrial development the network
of dependent kin is just too extensive a unit of consumption to allow for
such participation. In this particular study we do not have available much
data on material aspirations and consumption patterns except data collected
in the course of attempting to determine purchasing patterns on MLL items.
However, in a previous study of Africans in a border area in the North
Eastern Transvaal, we were able to analyse projected ideals for material
consumption among a sample from the mining industry which would not be
socially very different from the TPI sample. Three conclusions from the
previous work are reported here[1]:

   "(i) Expression of general 'western' material aspirations, except
        in the matter of diet which is commonly resistant to change,
        indicates a coherent empathic pattern for a form of social
        order far removed from traditional, tribal society.

1)   Schlemmer, L., and Stopforth, P., 1974, *Poverty, Family Patterns and
     Material Aspirations Among Africans in a Border Industry Township*,
     Durban, Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, p.40.

(ii) It would appear that social security in the form of land
and subsistence from rural sources is no longer effective,
that an alternative source of security in town is being
sought and that objectively in only a limited number of
cases is material consumption consistent with aspiration.

(iii) Further, volition to material consumption is hampered by
extension of and responsibility for the family in the
rural area which makes claims on the cash earnings of the
urban householder..."

Assuming a similar pattern of material aspirations and lack of
security from the land among TPI employees it would be logical to infer that
the chief agent of change is the industrial job - almost the only sphere of
modern institutional participation for workers in Hammarsdale. The appropriate
reward/security system congruent with industrial participation is modern
material consumption patterns. Is the black worker able to relate the job and
the wage in any meaningful way to his standard of living (consumption)?
There are probably two answers to this question: in universal, modern terms -
NO; in relative situational terms - THEORETICALLY YES.

The negative answer is not of central importance to the present
endeavour but in terms of the racially inequitable distribution of income in
South Africa it is. It must be stated that though TPI's reputation for com-
paratively high wages has been demonstrated this is based on a subsistence
definition of poverty. Broadening the base of subsistence is in no way a
substitute for full participation in a developed society and does little to
ameliorate the adverse Want : Get ratio. Certainly the actions of one enter-
prise cannot provide solutions to the problems of black underdevelopment and
we pass to the affirmative assertion relating wages and standard of living.

The relatively prosperous black worker constitutes an affluent
class (in statistical terms at least) among Africans in the border area.
Though he may be relatively deprived *vis-à-vis* white industrial workers he is
priviliged compared with most in the immediate social environment. Theoretical-
ly his material consumption patterns can manifest a much higher level of
participation in the modern social order than those of his fellows. The evi-
dence of this study suggests that this does not happen - cultural norms
unrelated to the industrial job situation cause a drain off of much of the

surplus existing above primary poverty. In Chapter III we showed that the
number of a man's "dependent" kin increased as he progressed from single
through to formally married status taking all dependents into the count but
that the gross number of dependents was contingent upon the household unit
which was considered. In Chapter VI we show that while a married man has a
substantial surplus above a primary poverty line if only his elementary
family dependents are countenanced, this surplus declines when co-resident
dependent kin are assessed at poverty level and dwindles to a marginal
surplus when all dependent kin are tabulated in the poverty level. Table
XXXVI in Chapter VII shows the trend very clearly in terms of what would
happen to available income if traditional family obligations were met - that
is, income is dissipated at a poverty level instead of being used for modern
type consumption by the immediate family.

The units of consumption appear to be always larger than the units
of production. In many industrial societies the unit of procreation (elemen-
tary family of procreation) defines both the unit of production and consump-
tion. That is when people marry they become responsible for their own
elementary family only. However, as we have shown in this report the unit
of procreation is the smallest of the three alternative households studied,
many of the co-resident households with a complex family structure merely
add to the unit of consumption while producing nothing and this is exacer-
bated by yet further consumption elements in terms of dependent kin elsewhere
who drain off from the small production unit. Further, increase in the in-
come of the producer (employee) is no hedge to adverse dependency ratios. In
our sample, respondents with greater incomes had more dependents than men
with lesser incomes. This is not an isolated finding. In previous research
in a border region we discovered a similar trend.[1] In order to match with
this group from the Transvaal we extracted relevant dependency ratios from
married TPI employees living in Mpumalanga township and divided them into
income categories cutting off at just below the mean. Table XXXVII compares
the results.

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1) Schlemmer, L., and Stopforth, P., 1974, *op.cit.*, p.14.

TABLE XXXVII

MEAN TOTAL NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS AMONG EMPLOYEES DRAWN ON
SAMPLE SURVEYS IN TWO COMPANIES OPERATING IN DIFFERENT
BORDER INDUSTRIAL AREAS IN SOUTH AFRICA
(TOWNSHIP RESIDENTS ONLY)

Sample	Mean Total of Dependents	
	Lower Earners	Higher Earners
TPI Hammarsdale	5,38	6,07
Mining Company Phalaborwa	6,65	7,15

The size of the total consumption unit is sensitive to the income of the
relatively prosperous wage earner. Clearly, as a man's wage increases, more
indigent kin with legitimate traditional claims for support exercise the
custom.

The prognosis for the wage earner is a progressive increase in the
real sociological unit of consumption combining both his elementary family
of procreation and a moeity of his elementary family of orientation. The
progression is likely to resemble the following pattern: acquisition of a
job and consequently a wage which in many cases means that the earner passes
from dependency status to a supportive role; relative prosperity allows him
to begin courtship which results in support of a child or children without
trading off other dependent relatives; with marriage a wife and more children
are added to the consumption unit and while there is some trade-off of other
dependent kin this is insufficient to stem the increase in total number of
dependents. Bear in mind that the mean age of sample respondent is only 24
years and that married men have a mean of only three children which is likely
to increase with the passing of time. Increase in income (increments, pro-
motions, etc.) merely results in increase in the unit of consumption.

The inference drawn from this sociological pattern is that a wage
insufficient to allow the wage earner a real increment over and above socially-
defined family obligations is not an adequate incentive to ensure that the
worker will relate work performance to remuneration in a positive way. His

relative prosperity is diffused among others and the rational relationship
between work/remuneration and participation in the appropriate reward/
security order is confounded. In effect he works for his relatives and
derives only a subsistence type reward for his elementary family. Although
wages might be relatively high in the specific social milieu, taking the
total complex of underdevelopment and social definitions into account it
would appear that wages based on the concept of subsistence poverty merely
broaden the social base of modern subsistence without allowing the wage
earner the opportunity to secure a modern reward.

By turning the "dual cultural" theory on its head and stating
that any apparent lack of productivity is related to reaction to modern pro-
clivities and not to traditional cultural incapacity we have inferred that
the worker makes a rational set of decisions derived from the experience
that greater work effort is not related in his situation to greater appro-
priate rewards. It is true that traditional definitions of family obliga-
tions are part of the cause of the workers' paradox but it would be naive
to suggest that the solution lies in curtailing responsibility to the
elementary family in a border area (or an urban area for that matter). In
the first place social norms exercise a very powerful influence in all
societies - unless he is highly politicised a man in a western industrial
state is more prone to blame the job or firm for his inability to buy a TV
set rather than the social norm of conspicuous material consumption.
Secondly, the relatively "prosperous" wage earner lives physically within
an underdeveloped society where a wage-job is not necessarily secure - loss
of a job means a plunge from "relative affluence" to sub-subsistence. The
analysis in this chapter provides no solution to the problems that might
be experienced with the output of African labour. The problem is under-
development. One inference that might be made here is that border industries
are expected indirectly to bear the cost of security in the community which
ought in a country like South Africa to be provided by the state.

Unless areas such as Hammarsdale can be generally developed, and
this is not the responsibility of individual enterprises, the model below
is probably apposite. The solutions to this type of problem are political
and economic.
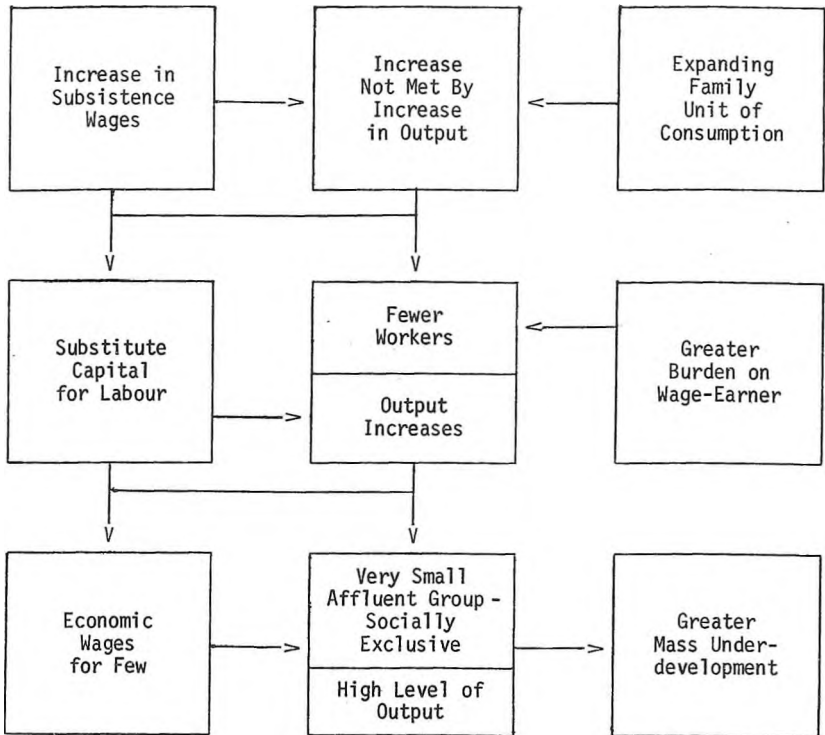
In effect what we have done is merely to provide a sociological view of a micro-situation as it affects industrial labour and possibly the embryonic soical complex which lies at the root of some industrial unrest. This view is summarised below :

(i)   The unit of calculation for subsistence poverty levels among blacks in border industrial areas will underestimate the workers' real social obligations if that unit is confined to the elementary family of procreation.

(ii) The black worker responds and reacts to modern aspirations

and expectations for material consumption (rewards and
security system congruent with industrial work).

(iii) Problems of black worker output relate to lack of satis-
faction of appropriate modern rewards, occasioned among
"well paid" workers by an expanding family unit of con-
sumption, and not to supposed cultural incapacities for
industrial work.

(iv) The effect of increased wages is often an increase in the
worker's unit of consumption, so broadening the base of
subsistence without allowing sufficient surplus for
secondary poverty expenditure which would go some way to
satisfying modern aspirations. This situation is probably
endemic in a situation where returns to labour are defined
in subsistence terms.

(v) The real problems, both economic and social, associated
with border industrial areas are related to socio-economic
underdevelopment which is properly a political problem and
the final responsibility of the state.

(vi) Substitution of capital for labour which would be attrac-
tive to industry for its immediate ends would result in
greater underdevelopment in the region.

CHAPTER IX

UPDATING THE MLL

The MLLs presented in this report reflect financial requirements at November 1974 in Hammarsdale: in this sense the present report is already outdated. It is desirable, therefore, to have a method for regularly updating the subsistence base-line of poverty calculated for the area. The simplest means of accomplishing this task, and also the most inaccurate, is to raise the minimum living level by the percentage increase in the consumer price index (CPI). There are two reasons why this is not an acceptable means: firstly, the CPI includes expenditure on all items and is a weighted index of expenditure while the MLL is an unweighted tabulation of financial requirements over a range of defined expenditure; secondly, the CPI tends to underestimate increases in MLLs for a number of reasons, one being that it is based on expenditure of whites.

The effects of using the CPI can be clearly seen by referring to two previous studies. Pillay[1] at the University of Natal, Durban, states "... a study made by this department on the basis of actual expenditure shows that the household costs of the Durban African population increased by 59% between 1959 and 1971 compared with an increase in the CPI of 32% over the same period". Potgieter[2] comparing increases in Household Subsistence Levels (HSL) in the major urban centres of the Republic on the basis of field surveys as well as CPI updating states the following conclusion, "Generally speaking, it would appear that there is a rather wide difference between an HSL calculated by means of a field survey and that of a CPI updated figure - the former being consistently higher. It seems that the CPI may, therefore, not be a valid measure for updating the HSL in the

1) Pillay, P.N., 1973, *op.cit.*, p.22.

2) Potgieter, J.F., 1973, *The Household Subsistence Level in the Major Urban Centres of the Republic*, Fact Paper No.8, Port Elizabeth, Institute for Planning Research, University of Port Elizabeth, p.6.

short term.   Its validity in the long term will, however, still have to
be probed."   It is clear that the effect of updating by the CPI tends to
minimise the rise in financial requirements among Africans.   Further, a
CPI is not readily available for Hammarsdale.

The alternative is updating by means of field surveys - that
is replicating what has been done in calculating the MLLs in this report.
In costing commodities care should be taken not to accept a particular
retail outlet as the cheapest seller of any particular item over time and
all prices of the various outlets on all commodities must be compared if
MLL conventions are to be observed.   Further, changes in services must be
recalculated - e.g., changes in bus fares, clinic fees, introduction of
electricity, etc.   The local retail outlets go with the community.   The
urban retail outlets used in this study cannot be named in this report
but these can be readily identified to TPI management if so required.
Where method of calculating the amount and cost of items to be tabulated
for an MLL are not fully disclosed in this report, they can be found in
recent publications of the BMR (particularly Nel, P.A., 1974, *op.cit.*)
which have been closely followed by the Institute.

In the short term the units of calculation for MLLs in Chapter
IV may be employed.   However, as the black labour force at TPI is young
(mean 24 years) it can be expected that elementary families will increase
in size over time.   It would, therefore, be necessary to conduct a sample
survey similar to the one conducted for this study to determine changes in
family data.

A P P E N D I X

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

TPI STUDY, HAMMARSDALE

MINIMUM LIVING LEVEL AMONG BLACK EMPLOYEES IN A TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Family Status	------------------------------------
Residential Status	------------------------------------
Survey Code	------------------------------------
Company Number	------------------------------------
Factory Section	

Cost of Housing*
R   c

Married families in the Reserves
Single lodgers in the Reserves
Single lodgers in the Township
*State Weekly, Monthly, Annual

R	c

De facto urban family structure
Total bona fide dependent family structure
Size of de facto urban family
Size of total elementary family
Size of total dependent family

R   c

Factory Income
Family Income
MLL urban family
MLL elementary family
MLL dependent family

R	c

Composition of de facto Urban Family (State Relationship to Ego)	Age in Yrs	Sex M or F	Nursing Mother	Pregnant Mother	Children Attending School (TICK)	Gainfully Employed (TICK)	Occupation	Income* from Employment*		Other Family Income*	
								R	c	R	c
EGO											

Nuclear Dependents Elsewhere	Age	Sex	Nursing Mother	Pregnant Mother	School	Place of Residence (U=Urban; R=Rural)	Cost of Maintaining Dependents*		
							R	c	Comments

Bona fide Dependent Kin	Age	Sex	Nursing Mother	Pregnant Mother	School	Place of Residence (U=Urban; R=Rural)	N.B. Cost of Maintaining Dependent Kin*		
							R	c	Comments

* Note: Specify income and cost sums as weekly or monthly.

TS - Township Shops
SS - Shack Shops
H - Hawker
HS - Hammarsdale Shops

KEY
PT - Pinetown Shops
PMB - Pietermaritzburg Shops
DS - Durban Shops

What do you/does your wife buy?	TS	SS	H	HS	Where is (this) bought? *Specify shop if possible PT*	PMB*	DS*
1.1 Milk							
Skim Milk Powder							
Condensed Milk							
Fresh Milk							
1.2.1 Fresh Meat							
Beef							
Chicken							
Pork							
Mutton							
1.2.2 Tinned Meat							
1.2.3 Frozen Fish							
Tinned Fish							
1.2.4 Eggs							
1.3. Legumes, e.g. dried beans							
1.4 Fresh Vegetables							

What do you/does your wife buy?	Where is (this) bought? *Specify shop if possible						
	TS	SS	H	HS	PT*	PMB*	DS*
1.5 Things like oil, margarine, sugar, tea, salt, spices, etc.							
1.6 Bread							
1.7 Grain							
2.1 Soap, polish, toilet paper, etc.							
3.1 Coal Wood Paraffin Spirits							
4.1 Clothes for Children 4.2 Clothes for Wife							

What do you/does your wife buy?	Where is (this) bought? *Specify shop if possible						
	TS	SS	H	HS	PT*	PMB*	DS*
4.3 Clothes for yourself							
5.1 Furniture (Specify second hand)							
5.2 Linen, blankets, etc.							
5.3 Cutlery and crockery, plates, spoons, pans, etc.							
6.1 Medicines							

III.   GENERAL INFORMATION

NOTE: Indicate multiple response where applicable

1.   What sort of stove does your wife cook on?

TICK   Wood   _____

            Coal   _____

            Paraffin (specify) _____

            Gas   _____

            Electric   _____

2.   What do you use for lighting at night?

TICK   Candles   _____

            Paraffin lamp   _____

            Wood fire   _____

            Gas lamp   _____

            Electric light   _____

            None   _____

3.   How do you get to (and from) work if you are on night shift or
     if you end your afternoon shift at 11.00 p.m.?

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

4.   How does your wife usually get to the shops at :

	TICK		
	Walk	Bus	Taxi
(Reserve) Township			
Hammarsdale			
PMB, PT or Durban			

Single Fare	
R	c

5.   If school-going children

     Do your children use a bus to   TICK Yes
     go to school?
                                            No

     Daily Cost
         c

6. When anybody in your family is ill :

    TICK: Do you visit an Inyanga? _____

                        _____

                        _____

                        _____

                        _____

                        _____

                        Buy medicine at the shops? _____

                        Buy medicine at the chemist shop? _____
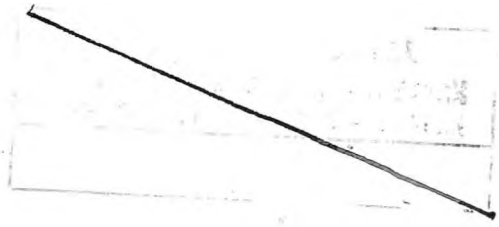
                        Visit the clinic? _____

                        Visit a doctor? _____

7. Has anybody in your family ever been to a dentist?

    TICK: Yes _____   Who in your family? _____

          No _____   _____

                              _____

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