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DURBAN

A MEASURE OF POVERTY:
A PDL PERSPECTIVE OF DURBAN BLACK URBAN
AND
FRINGE-URBAN HOUSEHOLDS

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CASS/21.1987

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PREFACE :

"There are many systems - economic, social and political - which distribute resources and benefits to individuals, families, groups and communities, and the reduction of inequality in South Africa would require structural change in several institutional systems.

Poverty in South Africa is a reflection not only of wide cultural differences but also of inequality in the power structure. The existing social and political system has led to a highly skewed income distribution pattern with extremes of affluence and poverty at either end of the spectrum."

Ed: Gavin Maasdorp and A S B Humphreys :

From Shantytown to Township : An Economic Survey of African Poverty and Rehousing in a South African City.

In South Africa historically it is the whites who hold main political power and own most of the wealth. While poverty is a way of life to blacks, it is hardly known at all to whites. Deprivation lives cheek by jowl with affluence. The imbalance poses serious political and sociological problems. The potential for alienation is high. Elimination of poverty is an urgent and necessary imperative.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS :

No survey is possible without the co-operation and participation of the respondents. I dedicate this study to the householders who shared their confidences with us. I thank them for their patience. I understand their frustration. I understood their frustration when they said: "Not again. People come every year from the university. Nothing ever happens to change anything." I hope the poverty research project might influence some change.

To my team of fourteen enthusiastic fieldworkers - thank you and well done. Themba Nzimande, thank you for keeping the show on the road.

To my friends, mentors, colleagues and helpers thank you for your tolerance, encouragement, support and assistance.

To Ulla Bulteel and the deadline team, no thanks can be sufficient.

A very special thanks to Professor Francis Wilson and Jane Wilson of SALDRU, University of Cape Town for allowing me to participate in the study.

Finally thanks to my patient family for their ever appreciated support.

CHAPTER 11.1 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study was to examine income and expenditure patterns of a sample of households located in sectors of black urban townships and informal "squatter" settlements on the perimeters of metropolitan Durban.

1.2 OBJECT OF THE SURVEY

The object of the survey was:

- a. To reasonably conform to the Eillson et al⁽¹⁾ 5 point requirements of an "authentic Poverty Datum Line (PDL) Survey" viz :
 - A decision is made to conduct a PDL study in a particular community in a particular area, e.g. the African community of Durban.
 - A sample survey is then conducted of households in that community.
 - For each household in the sample, data are obtained relating to the age and sex of household members and total household income.
 - A PDL is then calculated for each household taking into account that household's income; if income is less than the PDL the household is considered to be in poverty.
- b. To examine actual expenditure behaviour in relation to a household's PDL and income.
- c. To consider to what extent expenditure levels coincide or conflict with previous PDL or related studies.
- d. To examine the validity of the HSL concept in relation to expenditure patterns of blacks in certain of the urban and urban fringe area of Durban's metropolitan boundaries.

1.3 SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

1.3.1 Study Unit⁽²⁾

The basic study unit was the 'Household', defined for this purpose as:

One or more families, groups of persons, or a person dependent on a common or pooled income, and living in the same house.

Persons temporarily absent (e.g. household members at boarding school, away on holiday, or hospitalised) were included in the definition. Also included were family members with "live-in" jobs elsewhere, as long as that person stayed at the household dwelling regularly each week and the majority of his/her wages went to the household. Not included were family with established households elsewhere despite the fact that they contributed some of their wages to the household income.

1.3.2 Survey Area

The survey was conducted between February and April 1982 and covered a sample of 276 black households in the areas of Mfolweni, Malukazi, Umlazi, Lamontville, Chesterville, Clermont, Kwamashu and Inanda.

At the time of the survey the official population figures⁽³⁾ for the respective areas were given as:-

<u>Area</u>	<u>No of Dwelling Units</u>	<u>No of Households or Families</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
Mfolweni	+ 1 100	-	+ 4 000
Malukazi*	+ 6 000	-	+ 11 000
Umlazi	22 000	22 151	181 704 upward to 200 000
Lamontville	2 758	2 758	28 700
Chesterville	11 330	13 520	123 270
Clermont	3 000	10 000	+ 60 000 guestimate 100 000
Kwamashu	15 000	16 000	+ 160 000
Inanda	43 000	42 000	370 000 plus

* Since the last survey⁽⁴⁾ census, a number of shacks have been demolished and the occupants either "resettled" at Mfolweni or sent back to the homelands. The above figure is an official guestimate.

1.4 AREA DESCRIPTIONS

1.4.1 Mfolweni⁽⁵⁾ (See Maps 1 and 2)

Mfolweni is situated approximately 14 kilometers west of Isipingo and 35 kilometers south of Durban on Main Road 80 between the Umbumbulu Magistrates' office and the Isipingo Town centre. Likely employment areas for the local workers comprise Durban in the north, Umbogintwini and Amanzimtoti in the south, and Prospecton and Isipingo to the west - a radius of approximately 30 Kms. The area forms part of the Makhanya Tribal Authority of KwaZulu who granted the 85 hectare site to the KwaZulu government for development of a site and service scheme comprising 1 653 sites.

Standards for the Mfolweni settlement were set by the KwaZulu Government Service and the planning layout was prepared by the Town Planning Section of the Department of Co-operation and Development.

The site was formally taken over in January 1981. Basic infrastructure and the internal service was completed by September 1981 and the construction of individual and self-built "wattle and daub" type houses started during April 1981.

By February 1982, the local authority estimated the number of completed houses to be approximately 800 with a population estimate of between 3 000 and 4 500 people.

According to Antoni⁽⁶⁾ "the response to this resettlement scheme by the people of Malukazi has been so positive that additional tribal land is now being negotiated so as to extend the present Mfolweni settlement".

At the time of the survey there were no clinics, creches or pre-school facilities. The nearest school, a junior high school, was situated within walking distance. The closest senior high and primary schools were 12 and 8 Kms respectively. Transport to and from the area is good.

According to the KwaZulu Development Corporation (KDC) site representative extra buses were being provided on the instruction of the KwaZulu government who wished to give the scheme every chance of working "as a viable alternative to the severe black housing areas".

There is no electricity.

1.4.2 Malukazi (see Maps 1 and 3)

Malukazi is situated approximately 4 Kms west of Isipingo and 23 Kms south of Durban. Workers are drawn to the same areas as those listed above for Mfolweni, the radius being shortened to approximately 40 Kms.

Malukazi developed as an informal settlement separated on the north from Umlazi Township only by the Umbumbulu road. The informal settlers are in fact dependent on Umlazi for services which are not provided in the settlement.

Until 1980, 1 tap provided the sole source of clean water to the area. At this time, it was "guestimated" that the population had increased to between approximately 27 000 and 35 000 in spite of sporadic widespread demolition of the mushrooming shacks and the enforced removal of "illegal" residents from the area.⁽⁷⁾

At the time of the survey, 3 additional taps (total 4) had been installed and according to Township official Hannes de Witt the population reduced to approximately 11 000.

Moller and Stopforth⁽⁸⁾ divide the settlement of Malukazi into three phases:

"the early settlers who came to Malukazi before the sixties;
the Malukazi settlers of the sixties;
the last wave of in-migrants who arrived in Malukazi during the seventies".

A fourth, fifth, and sixth phase might now be added:

The rapid influx of workseekers and families coinciding with the economic boom of the late seventies and early eighties;
 subsequent demolitions and enforced removals;
 initiation of the process of voluntary resettlement to Mfolweni (see above).

See Figure 1⁽⁹⁾ for illustration of the Moller Stopforth contention that "contrary to popular belief, the majority of the Malukazi settlers originate from the urban areas and not from the country".⁽¹⁰⁾

As far as can be established, there has been no further studies to test whether the late in-migration flow (post the Moller et al study) conformed to this pattern.

Settlement has consistently concentrated near the main road (see Figure 2⁽¹¹⁾ a natural consequence of residents seeking proximity to the water tap and the adjacent Umlazi facilities, the latter area providing the only schools for Malukazi children to attend.

Given the severe shortage of educational facilities in all black areas, it goes without saying that admission to the schools is by no means automatic. In fact the survey revealed that Malukazi residents experienced great difficulties placing their children in schools (even where they could afford the fees, books and uniforms or were prepared to pay bribes). Where Malukazi children had gained admission, they were frequently discriminated against by township children and in certain cases the brunt of teacher antagonism.

The area has a developed and extensive informal sector (fruit, meat and clothes vendors, tuckshops, motor mechanics, carpenters, watchmakers, shebeens, brothels, water carriers and sellers) two official creches, four churches and a number of worship centres.

FIGURE 1 : Migration Streams Converging on Malukazi

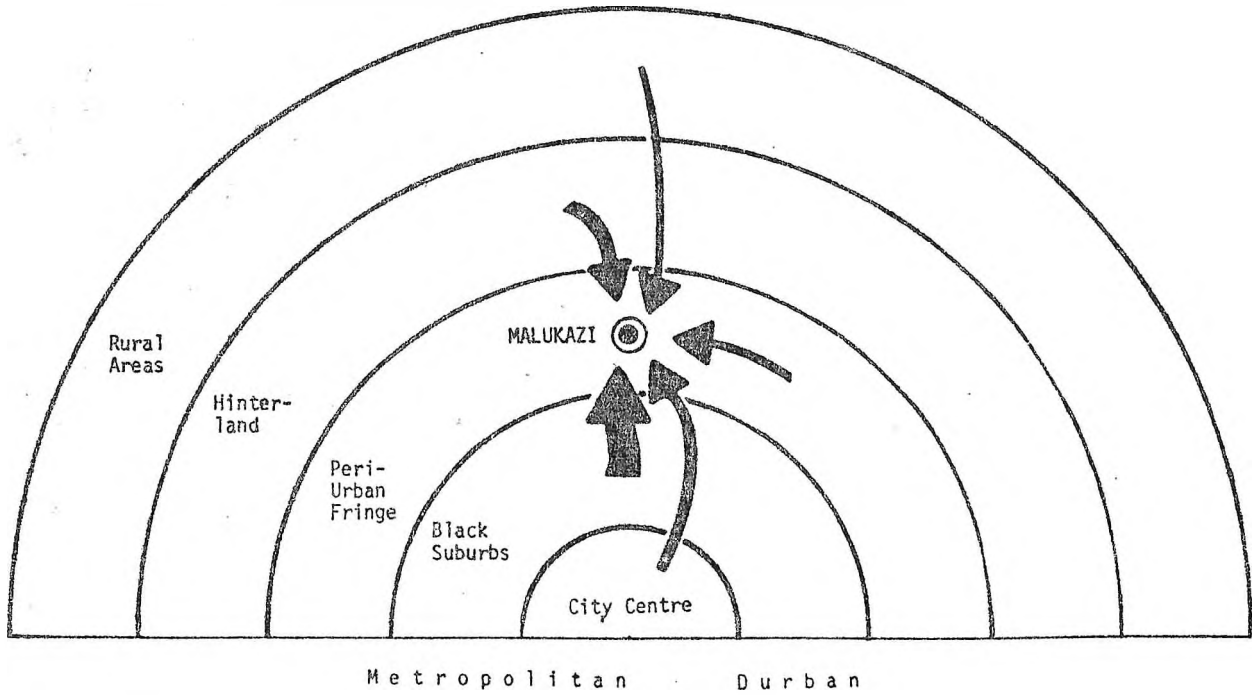
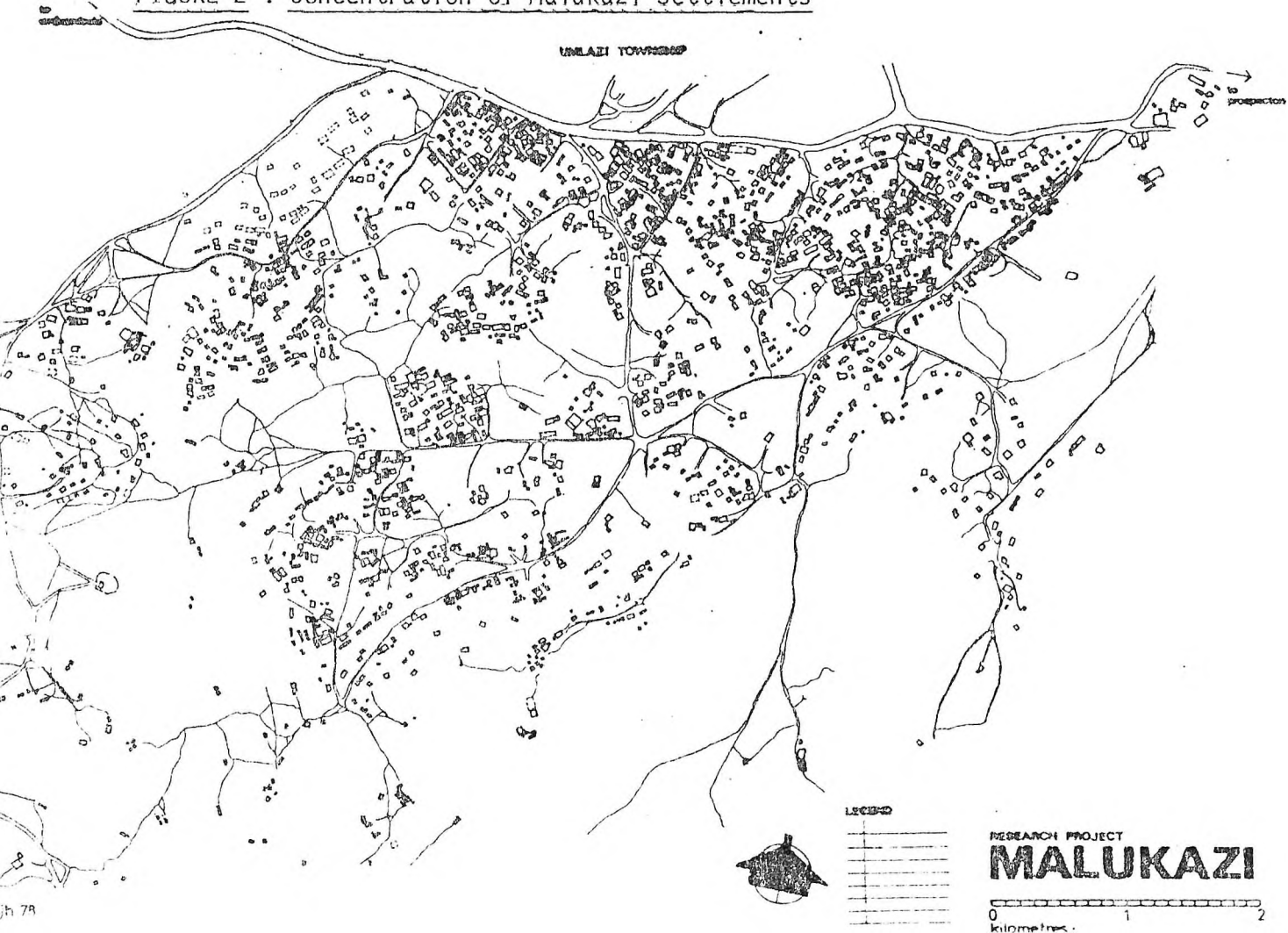
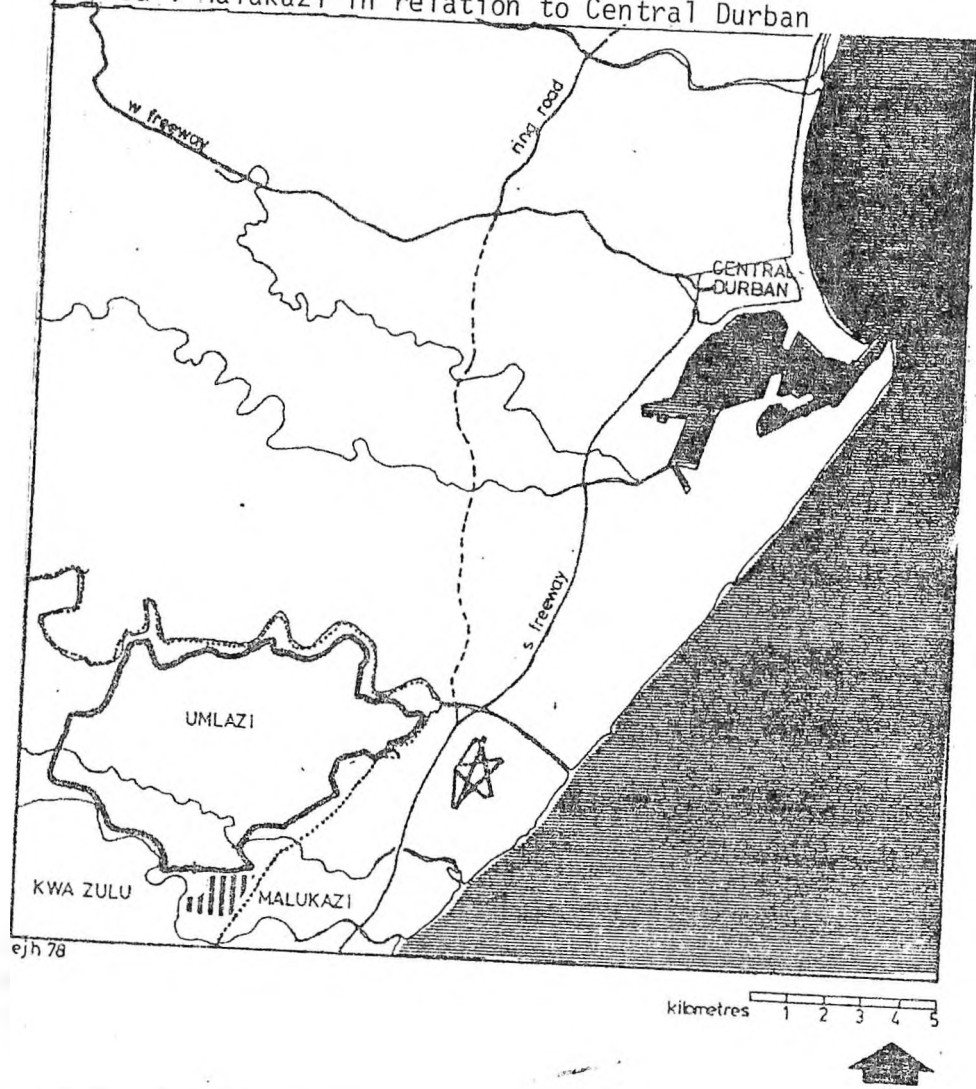


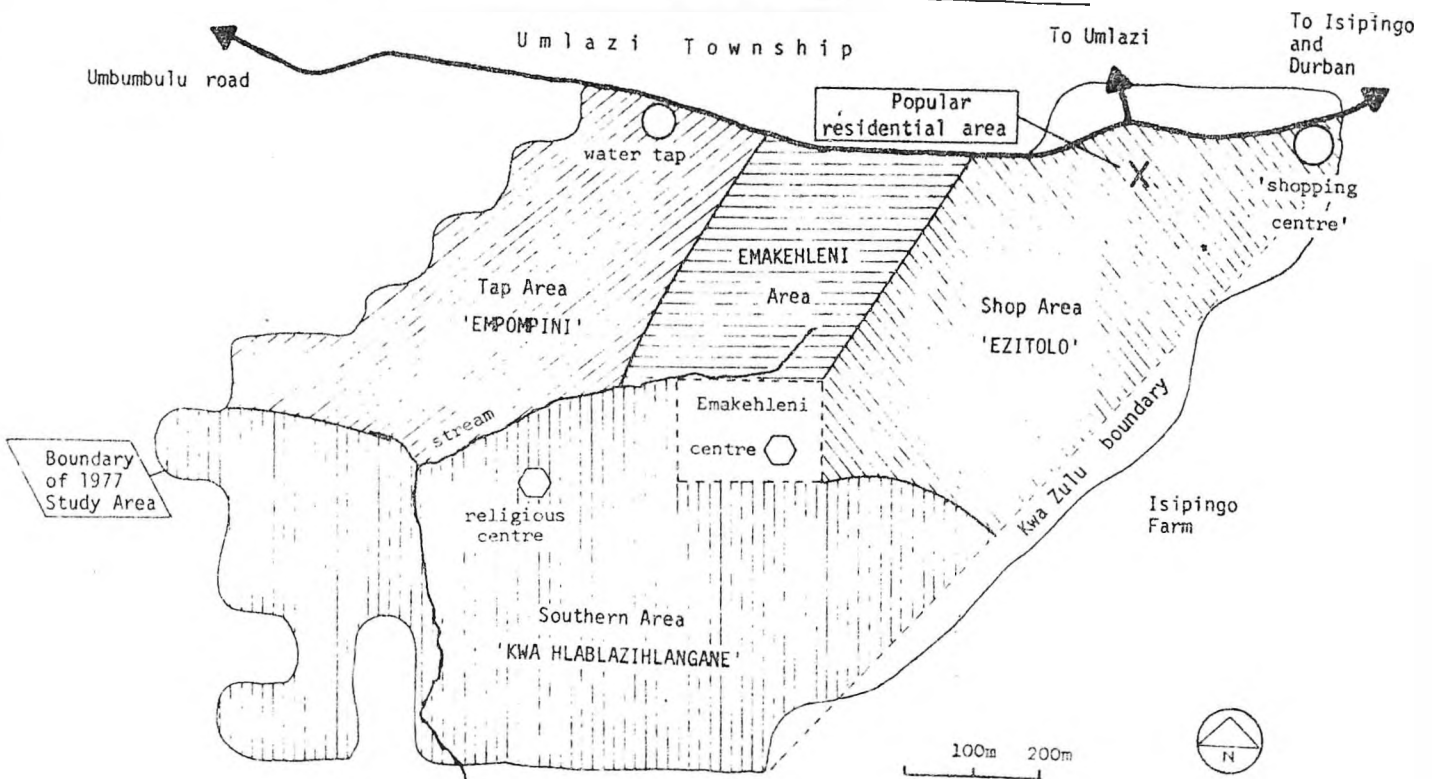
FIGURE 2 : Concentration of Malukazi Settlements



MAP 3a : Malukazi in relation to Central Durban



MAP 3b : Neighbourhoods and landmarks in Malukazi



There are no proper roads. There is no adequate drainage, sewerage or waste disposal. In the rainy season certain areas become a muddy quagmire of fermenting rubbish and impassable road tracks and walkways. Access to the water tap frequently becomes nigh impossible.

Sections of Malukazi benefit from the increased bus service to Mfolweni but large tracks of the area are a far distance from public transport. Residents have to make their way to the Umbumbulu Road or into Umlazi for bus or taxi transport, to their place of work. Some have a third journey stage by train.

1.4.3 Umlazi (see Map 1)

Umlazi constitutes part of the KwaZulu homeland and as such, is administered by the KwaZulu Department of the Interior acting as an agent of the Department of Co-operation and Development. The overall responsibility for the management of the town vests with the Township Manager. (12) It is a huge 3 000 ha sprawling city - in population one of the largest in SA - 16 Kms south of Durban.

As part of a homeland, land can be held by deed of grant. There is an increasing number of owner built houses. Most Umlazi residents however rent their dwellings. At the time of this survey, monthly rentals ranged between R 7,20 and R 12,72. In 1968 the range was R 6,72 and R 7,02. Until recently the amount included water as a free item.

The main road routes are serviced with street lighting and the major roads macadamised. Householders can have electricity connected to their dwellings at an average cost of approximstely R 1 000 for a standard 4 to 5 roomed township house.

Small sections of the town have bucket latrines but otherwise households have waterborne sewerage.

Umlazi has one hotel, 3 disco nightclubs, 2 cinemas and 2 swimming pools.

Main transport between the townships and central points in Durban and the adjacent industrialised areas is by train or bus. Taxis provide after hour, commuting and internal ferry service.

Within the area there are 3 main shopping centres and several smaller shops, cafes and vendor outlets.

Umlazi is adjoined by the Umlazi Glebe, a former residential area now occupied by "single" men (migrants living in the city without their wives and families) housed in hostels.

1.4.4 Chesterville

Chesterville lies 8 Kms west of Durban and adjoins Cato Manor, an area that has been the butt of group areas reclassification from Indian/African, to "neutral" but proposed for white, and now in 1982, to be partly restored to Indian occupation. Uncertainty pertaining to Cato Manor has affected the status of Chesterville, a pocket of black in the heart of semi-elite white suburbia. The fear of removal has affected residents willingness to build or improve properties.

Situated on 113 ha, the houses are primarily standard 4 roomed township houses.

Bus transport provides the main link to work and the city areas. Virtually all the dwellings are electrified.

Chesterville is administered by the Port Natal Administration Board.

1.4.5 Lamontville

Lamontville is Durban's oldest town. It occupies 437 hectares and houses range between established owner-built homes of 3 to 4 bedrooms to 2 or 4 roomed "subeconomic" units. In addition there are semi-detached house units and two-storey "house flat" units.

There are a number of active community organisations in Lamontville.

Main transport is by bus, with the southern rail route within walking distance of the perimeters of the town.

Main streets and shopping areas are electrified.

The town falls under the jurisdiction of Port Natal Board.

1.4.6 Clermont

Clermont is situated 4 Kms to the north west of Pinetown. Together with Edendale near Pietermaritzburg, it is one of the two black areas in Natal with established freehold rights. Homes in the area range from sizeable mansions (mainly owned by the professional and business class) to wooden packing shacks.

From the mid-60's Pinetown rapidly expanded as an industrial area. This resulted in a massive surge of black workseekers to the area.

Black landlord entrepreneurs began letting what amounted literally to a packing-case (1 room) size piece of land to the desperate-for-accommodation workseekers. Rentals for this accommodation - no water or sanitation - range from R7 to R35. The development of shack dwelling led to the acquisition of more land by the landlords and a vicious circle of exploitation.

It might be argued that public protest against the frequent bulldozing of shack settlements in Clermont has expedited fairly extensive service and housing provision facilities to the area, although still totally inadequate.

There is constant pressure from the authorities to inhibit "illegal" residence or residents.

Main roads are macadamised and serviced with electricity as are some of the more expensive residential areas. Houses in these sections are electrified.

Bus transport provides the main commuter link from Clermont.

The town is administered by Port Natal Board.

1.4.7 Kwamashu

Kwamashu was officially incorporated into the self-governing KwaZulu homeland in 1978⁽¹²⁾ and as such is administered in the same way as Malukazi above.

The overall sprawl of Kwamashu recently was extended with the completion of Ntuzuma on its northern boundary.

Kwamashu is approximately 25 Kms north of Durban and is well serviced with trains and buses.

Houses range from two-roomed dwellings (where most of the survey was conducted) to (since incorporation and the opportunity of deed of grant ownerships) substantial 3 to 4 bedroomed houses. These properties have electricity.

Main streets and shopping areas have electricity and so do the areas in the immediate vicinity of the railway stations.

Maasdorp⁽¹³⁾ points out that "in Kwamashu the authorities found that the majority of households could not afford the average monthly electricity bill of R1.50; the supply of electricity therefore became uneconomical and was stopped after an initial experimental scheme which covered 1 250 houses".

The area has 2 major shopping centres and a fair allocation of smaller type supermarkets, butcheries, vendor outlets etc.

1.4.8 Inanda

Inanda covers a vast area of land north and north-west of Durban.

Distances from Durban vary between 30 Kms to 40 Kms.

Authority and ownership are complicated in that sections fall within the jurisdiction of the Port Natal Board, the Magistrate of Verulam and the Tribal authorities.

The area known as Phoenix is Indian owned. Here landlords "let" a site to African homeowners who in turn "own" the house they construct on the site. i.e. should the owner vacate the site, he is entitled to demolish the dwelling and remove the building materials. The survey sample was taken from three areas in Inanda-Phoenix, Newtown or Ematendeni and Freetown (which includes sections known as Emachobeni, Mamba and Africa).

In the case of Phoenix and Freetown water is supplied in tankers. There is no sewerage nor electricity. Settlements are concentrated within walking distance of the main macadamised roads. Dwellings are of a variety of materials - a few brick under iron, but most wattle daub.

Newtown is a site and service scheme initiated by the Urban Foundation. The block houses conform to a basic modular design which allows for uncomplicated extension, once the householder can afford to do so. Variety is achieved through different facades. Basic services such as water taps have been provided.

An unpublished Urban Foundation Survey Report⁽¹⁴⁾ states "of those people who had lived in Inanda before, the majority (85%) felt that the Newtown was a distinct improvement primarily because of water availability and individual site ownership, and also because transport and shopping facilities were more readily available. However⁽¹⁵⁾ influx control and employment legislation for residents is still undertaken at the Labour Bureau at Verulam, not Durban. Those people who have previously obtained Section 10 rights (Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945) to work in Durban form a minority of workers in formal employment. The majority of residents of the Newtown, and of Inanda generally,

working in Durban do so illegally (my emphasis).

Furthermore, the workers with Section 10 rights cannot get their children registered as workseekers in Durban ... the sentiment has been expressed that, where the authorities are granting loans to build permanent houses, the residents cannot (without secure jobs (my inclusion)) find the wherewithal to repay their loan commitments and further enhance the quality of their lives."

1.5 SAMPLE SIZE AND SELECTION

276 households were surveyed.

The sample in the greater Durban area could not be drawn on a strictly random basis due to the absence of suitable sampling frames in informal housing areas. The procedure followed was that of systematic sampling within geographically predetermined clusters, selected to provide a representative spread of interviews throughout the areas studied.

More specifically, in the informal housing areas, the settlement was divided into geographic segments, three segments in each of the areas being so selected as to distribute interviews over a wide area. Within each segment a random starting point was selected and every 5th dwelling visited along the streets or paths within the segment. Sampling assumed a high density of low income households.

In the formal township area, interviewing was deliberately concentrated in zones of greatest poverty and crowding, identified in advance by Township personnel. This information was then substantiated through informal discussion with long-standing residents of the respective areas.

The zones were once again divided into segments and sample segments were selected to spread the interviews widely across the zone. Within the segments, every 5th dwelling from a random starting point was again selected.

1.6 ORGANISATION OF THE SURVEY

Questions for the study were included in a wider survey conducted by the author in conjunction with, and on behalf of, The South African Labour and Development Research Unit, University of Cape Town.

1.6.1 Questionnaire (see Annexure A)⁽¹⁶⁾

Pages relevant to this study are as follows:

Page 1 : Fieldwork details and Introduction

Page 2 : General Instructions

Page 3 : Coding Instructions for Table A

NB: This section was prepared by the Cape Town co-ordinator. The fieldworkers found the instructions complicated and confusing. The author feels that much of the difficulty experienced by the fieldworkers in completing the questionnaire chart sections was a direct result of the coding instructions and accounted for the not totally satisfactory level of the charts.

Page 4 : Current Household Composition

Page 5 : Activities which earn money or goods for the Household

Page 6 : List of all other sources of household income

Page 7 : Budget Expenditure

Interviews were conducted in Zulu but the answers entered in English on the English Questionnaire. The process gave no problems.

Questionnaire weaknesses :

The request for an annual figure in the middle of the questionnaire under item 5, caused confusion. In the initial stages considerable time had to be spent with the fieldworkers sorting out whether amounts reflected for item 5 through 8 were, in fact, monthly or annual figures.

Under item 9 confusion arose under the title "cooking". The first batch of approximately 10 questionnaires carried a cost figure for cooking fat or oil. An interesting item, but not the correct information sought.

Questionnaire potential :

Sections A to E (after page 8) were included with the intention of later

extending this study to assess the potential for developing a "deprivation index", considering in particular, the difficulties presented by an heterogeneous society. The object would be to examine the concept of poverty defined in terms of relative deprivation which, from Maasdorp and Humphreys ⁽¹⁷⁾ "occurs when families or individuals are unable to have the types of diets, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary in that society".⁽¹⁸⁾ The questionnaire expenditure questions on page A (item 2) provided information that acted as a check control to the answers given on page 7.

1.6.1.2 Translation

The questionnaire was translated into Zulu⁽¹⁹⁾ by a Zulu articulated clerk from Umlazi. She was instructed to favour colloquialism above a more academic use of language. The translation was then tested on five Zulu employees of CASS and on their recommendation certain alterations effected. Fieldworkers nevertheless complained that the language was too "grand" and after training and testing, further alterations were made. ⁽²⁰⁾

1.6.1.3 Pretesting

Pretesting of the questionnaire was done by the fieldworkers in training. The fieldworkers were not happy with the length of the questionnaire as the pretesting showed that the interviews would take at least 2½ hours. Practice reduced the time to 2 hours. The fieldworkers were reconciled but intermittently throughout the survey the time factor problem reappeared when householders expressed concern at the amount of their time that was needed. In one instance the head of household became progressively intoxicated and the questionnaire had to be scrapped. In another instance the head of household fell asleep and the interview had to be abandoned. Fortunately such incidents were limited.

There was a time pressure to have the survey completed and therefore no opportunity to repeat interviews or return to households for completion.

1.6.2 Organisation of the Fieldwork

1.6.2.1 Selection of Interviewers

The author, through personal contacts in the black areas asked for the word to be spread that interviewers were being sought. Criteria suggested: at least a matric qualification; familiarity with the area; personable and able to engender confidence; preferably with some interview experience. Twenty interviewers were selected after 2 general meetings had been held in Umlazi and the purpose of the survey thoroughly explained. The previous experience preference proved unwise. Three of the interviewers selected had previous market research experience. Two cheated on questionnaires (see 1.6.2.3 below) and the third one caused considerable group dissension on the basis that the pay (R6,00 per interview with R1 per interview bonus after completion of the first 14 interviews, plus daily travel allowance of R1) fell far below commercial market research rates. It did, but the budget allowed for no more. The group operated much more efficiently once the services of the 3 discontinued.

1.6.2.2 Training of Interviewers

A three-stage training programme was conducted over six meetings in three weeks:

First Stage: Discussion on the purpose of the survey.
 Interviewing techniques and manner.
 Discussion of the questionnaire (which had previously been distributed to the team for study).
 Group questions, concerns, suggestions.
Homework - testing of a questionnaire on a family or household member.

Second Stage: Presentation by the fieldworkers of a list of suggestions for interview behaviour and techniques.
 Roleplay simulating a difficult interview situation and coping with an entire household.

Third Stage: Interviewers interviewed a partner for half the questionnaire and then changed roles. This served to highlight any ambiguities in the questions or reveal an interviewer's misunderstanding of a question.

The author tested each group with a selection of questions.

Completion by the team of a list⁽²¹⁾ of tips on interviewing methods and techniques.

Notes were made of any particular points to remember about the questionnaire.

At the end of the training 3 of the 20 interviewers dropped out. One through dissatisfaction at the rate of pay. The other two were offered full-time jobs in the interim.

A cohesive team of fourteen interviewers completed the survey. As already mentioned, the services of three were discontinued after the first field questionnaires had been submitted.

1.6.2.3 Interviewer Control

In order to be able to interview household units, the team decided that the best time for interview would be evenings and weekends.

The team was divided into three groups each with a contact/liaison person.

The areas under survey were widespread even within specific townships and three of the team volunteered use of their personal cars for the evening work - collecting interviewers at designated points and taking them to the designated areas.

All the interviewers were women and for their personal safety they sampled a street in pairs. They chose however to do separate interviews, checking only which house the team mate had entered and arranging checkback points and times.

Evening interviewing did not prove successful:

- a. The interviewers felt nervous in unlit areas.
- b. The interviewers' cars were tampered with.

- c. The interviewers found that householders were weary at the end of a long day's work, children were busy with homework and the evening meal was in preparation. The head of the house frequently did not arrive until quite late.
- d. Interviewer cheating occurred in the course of evening work (several interviews were faked altogether or only partially completed in interview and subsequently completed in fabrication by the interviewer).

It was decided to concentrate on weekend work. University transport was used and the author accompanied the team for the duration of the survey time. A black liaison person joined the team. The male presence engendered a new enthusiasm to team spirit and competition to achieve.

The liaison person was used to check back on interviews and in this way cheating was detected at an early stage. Detection appeared to act as a deterrent control for the balance of the survey.

Initially the author checked each questionnaire with the interviewer but as the survey snowballed, she and the liaison person together only succeeded in checking every fourth or fifth questionnaire with the interviewers. This was clearly not ideal, but unavoidable as interviewers were unable to give up more time either because of home or work commitments. Also, the budget did not allow payment to interviewers for this additional time. While the quality of the survey must naturally have been affected, the author does not believe this to be of any marked extent.

1.6.2.4 Enumeration

It took three months to complete the questionnaires with only the weekends available and suitable for interview.

Weekend interviewing also had limitations. Early mornings were found to be the best time, although on a Saturday morning, householders frequently were out shopping. As the day progressed interviewing was often impossible because of the intoxicated state of a large number of householders.

It is not an easy task to interview a full household.

Difficulties for fieldworkers proved considerable :

Members of the household coming and going.

Neighbours popping in and offering their contribution.

Despite rigorous explanation and questioning, information being recorded only to find that the respondent did not in fact qualify as a household member.

Members of a household absent and the other members not sure of the absentee's income and expenditure.

The problems already listed above of timing to get best access to a complete household.

The interviewers further experienced great difficulty in obtaining income and expenditure information especially where parents and children were wage earners and present together. The father revealed reluctance to disclose his income in front of the children. According to the interviewers, most often this was because he feared that the children would not then make adequate contributions to the household. Equally, children feared if they revealed their true income, they would be required to make a higher contribution to the household budget. Where the head was not present, a wife generally displayed uncertainty about the husband's income.

Interviewers found that in a multiple household, main purchases might be made by one or two persons but that also, individual members made household purchases an additional contribution on a regular basis. Details of this information proved difficult to capture.

The author has been forced to conclude that even with a highly trained team of interviewers, it is almost an impossibility to obtain accurate income and expenditure data.

One way of improving expenditure data collection could be to issue each purchasing or spending householder with a detailed list of possible

household expenditure items with the request that each person complete a separate list over a period of one month. Interviewers could collect the sheets at the end of the period and conduct interviews at the same time.

Of course the potential hazards are many:

- loss of the list
- forgetting to make entries
- falsifying entries etc.

Nevertheless, this method could well prove less haphazard than the present methods of obtaining expenditure information.

Incomes present more of a problem. These could be checked at place of employment, but this raises ethical problems both in relation to questionnaire confidentiality and possible upset at an employee's place of work.

1.6.3 Processing of the data

1.6.3.1 Editing

Questionnaires were edited as cited under 1.6.2.3 above. Unclear or incomplete information was checked with the fieldworkers as soon as possible and while the information was still fresh in her mind.

1.6.3.2 Coding

For this study, the author used her own coding, ignoring the questionnaire coding instructions of page 3.⁽²²⁾ Coding sheets were completed for all items and the information transferred to punch cards.

1.6.3.3 PDL for each Household

For the purpose of this PDL survey the following basic components were used:

- Food
- Clothing
- Fuel and Light
- Washing and Cleansing materials
- Rent
- All transport

Expenditure considered necessary and most likely to occur among the households being surveyed was defined as "discretionary" and itemised as follows :

- Uniforms
- Books and Fees
- Remittances
- Recreation
- Liquor
- Cigarettes
- Savings
- Insurance
- Furniture
- House Repairs
- Medical Care
- Other

A PDL was calculated for each household taking into account the household's age and sex structure and using the Potgieter, March 1982, Durban figure allocations.⁽²³⁾ Using the same reference,⁽²⁴⁾ rent and transport figures were calculated from the hypothetical family⁽²⁵⁾ (an adult man and woman, a boy aged 16 - 27, a girl 10 - 12, and 2 children 7 - 9 years) allocation. A unit was determined by dividing the transport and rent figures by 6 and then multiplying by the number of people per household (regardless of age). Thus rent and transport figures were determined relative to household size.

In the case of rent, this is not an entirely satisfactory method as there is clearly no necessary correlation between size of family and household rent. However, it was felt that any over-estimate fault would be counter-balanced by frequent underestimates in the transport figure.

Calculations based on Van Schalkwyk's survey sample family of 10's actual income and expenditure in relation to Potgieter's hypothetical expenditure :

3 children	4 - 6
1 child	7 - 10
1 boy	15 - 18
1 man	19 - 50
2 girls	11 - 14
2 women	19 - 50

NOTE: Figures below in brackets denote Potgieter's allocation per person⁽²⁰⁾ which was used as the basis of calculation.

<u>Calculation</u>		Food	Clothing	Fuel, light washing and cleansing (FLWC)	Total
<u>Children</u>					
1 - 3					
4 - 6 (3)		48,18 (16,06)	12,03 (4,01)	5,10 (1,70)	65,31 (21,77)
7 - 10 (1)		19,01 (19,01)	4,01 (4,01)	1,70 (1,70)	24,72 (24,72)
<u>Boys & Men</u>					
11 - 14					
15 - 18 (1)		23,84 (23,84)	10,67 (10,67)	1,70 (1,70)	36,21 (36,21)
19 - 50 (1)		24,22 (24,22)	10,67 (10,67)	1,70 (1,70)	36,59 (36,59)
<u>Girls & Women</u>					
11 - 14 (2)		43,84 (21,92)	12,04 (6,02)	3,40 (1,70)	59,28 (29,64)
15 - 18					
19 - 50 (2)		41,92 (20,96)	16,04 (8,02)	3,40 (1,70)	61,36 (33,96)
Total	10	201,01	65,46	17,00	283,47
Rent	(27)	pro-rata amounts for family of } 12,74			21,23
Transport		10 calculated on } 13,00			21,67
Total: i.e. extrapolated on basis of Potgieter's expenditure recommendations for a hypothetical family of six, this family should spend					326,37
In fact the Van Schalkwyk example household income at 199,48					199,48
is					126,89

i.e. Income is R126,89 less than Potgieter's recommended minimum expenditure

On the Ellison et al scale⁽²⁸⁾ the household is therefore in poverty.

In this example the household actual expenditure is less than Potgieter's amounts as follows:

Food	Clothing	FLWC	Rent	Transport
98,01	50,46	4,80	10,58	15,67

On the basis of the Ellison et al (29) requirements, we contend that the study conforms with an authentic PDL study.

1.6.3.4 Tabulation

Some initial tabulation was done by hand, the balance by computer. Both descriptive and analytic statistics were derived in the form of tabulation and cross-tabulation tables.

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2. See Annexure A: copy of questionnaire Poverty: Needs, Resources and Attitudes of the Poor: and Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal Durban: Natal Regional Survey: CASS 8/82, p. 2
3. Verbally provided by Martin van Zyl, Director of Community Affairs, Port Natal Board. These figures appear conservative compared to other studies and surveys.
4. Population 14 000 (1977 survey) quoted in Valerie Moller and Peter Stopforth: Aspirations, Experiences and Needs in informal Housing: Survey observations in a Spontaneous Settlement near Durban, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, 1980, p. 3
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6. Ibid, p. 5
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8. Moller & Stopforth, op. cit., p. VII
9. Ibid, (Fig 3 - 1), p. 31
10. Ibid, picture, p. VII
11. Ibid, Fig 7 - 1, p. 122
12. The Buthelezi Commission: Vol I, 1982, p. 134
13. G Maasdorp and A S B Humphreys: From Shantytown to Township, Juta & Co. Ltd, Durban, 1975, p. 131
14. Urban Foundation: Unpublished survey report, 1982, p. 68
15. Ibid, p. 65
16. Annexure A, op. cit, item 2 above
17. Maasdorp, op. cit, p. 122
18. Quoted in Ibid, p. 122 from: Peter Townsend (ed.) The Concept of Poverty, London: Heinemann, 1970, p. 42

- 19 Annexure B
- 20 Subsequent to this survey, the author has had fieldworkers translate survey questionnaires jointly. In this way, she feels a better common level of understanding is achieved. Also, fieldworkers who don't approve of a translation, introduce their own words and consequently change the meaning of a question. Collective translations also obviate this problem.
- 21 Annexure C
- 22 Annexure A
- 23 J F Potgieter: The Household Subsistence Level in the major urban centres of the Republic of South Africa March 1982: Fact Paper No 45 Port Elizabeth, April 1982, P. 49
- 24 Ibid, p. 60
- 25 J F Potgieter: Background and Interpretation of the Household Subsistence Level: Extracted from Research Report No. 14 (October 1974) and Fact Paper No. 25 (April 1978) p. 11.
- 26 Potgieter, op. cit., p.49
- 27 Ibid, p. 60
- 28 Ellison, op. cit., p. 3
- 29 Ibid, p. 3

C H A P T E R 2

2 THE POVERTY DATUM LINE (PDL)

The PDL is intended as a measure of poverty. In South Africa considerable debate has centred around the following aspects:

- a. the definition of the PDL;
- b. what it should measure;
- c. the purpose of the PDL;
- d. the soundness of PDL as an empirical measure;
- e. the PDL potential for use and misuse.

This chapter describes briefly the historical background to the PDL and examines the points of debate.

2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In a poverty study in York, England, in 1899, Rowntree⁽¹⁾ developed a subsistence measurement of poverty, thereby introducing the concept of a poverty datum line.

He classified poverty in two categories "primary" and "secondary". The distinction highlighted two important phenomena which have had a bearing on the development of the PDL. Households defined as in "primary" poverty were in a state of bare survival who required basic minimum needs to survive at all. "Secondary" poverty households, to rise above a bare survival level, had need of additional primary needs to maintain minimum physical survival and efficiency.

Further, while households living in "secondary" poverty might be earning sufficient to purchase the "primary" and "secondary" minimum, the "sufficient" generally would be eroded by expenditure on other items that the householders

themselves perceived to be essential. As a consequence, underspending on basic survival needs would automatically occur. Therefore to qualify for "secondary" poverty "status" the household would need to earn in considerable excess of the cost of the designated minimum survival items.

Rowntree's methods were subsequently developed by Bowley⁽²⁾ and in turn, adopted and modified by Batson⁽³⁾ who is credited with introducing the PDL to Southern Africa.

Batson had a clear purpose. He sought a subsistence measurement of poverty: "an estimate of the income needed by any individual household if it is to attain a defined minimum level of health and decency".⁽⁴⁾

2.2 WHAT IS THE PDL?

Cubett and Riddell⁽⁵⁾ define the PDL as: "The income required to satisfy the minimum necessary consumption needs of a family of given size and composition within a defined environment in a condition of basic physical health and social decency".

They also caution, in quoting Bettison⁽⁶⁾ that: "the PDL must be viewed as a measure far removed from what a given family in practice (my emphasis) requires to sustain itself at a minimum level of health and decency".

In what way did Batson's PDL fit the two definitions?

- a. The "minimum necessary consumption needs" identified by Batson⁽⁷⁾ as obligatory and recurrent expenditure were:

Food)	"primary" poverty category
Clothing)	
Fuel and light)	
washing and cleansing materials))	
Transport of workers between home and work))	"secondary" poverty additions
Accommodation)	

Batson emphasised that the allocation should be seen as the absolute⁽⁸⁾ "barest minimum upon which subsistence and health can theoretically be achieved" and should in no way be considered a minimum ideal.

As he pointed out:

"such a standard is perhaps more remarkable for what it omits than for what it includes. It does not allow a penny for amusements, for sport, for medicine, for education, for saving, for hire purchase, for holidays, for odd bus rides, for newspapers, stationery, tobacco, sweets, hobbies, gifts, pocket money, or comforts or luxuries of any kind. It does not allow a penny for replacements of blankets, furniture or crockery. It is not a "human" standard of living."⁽⁹⁾

It must be added to this that the PDL assumes income and some form of employment. It must be seen as a measure in the short term only. In making no provision for savings, it must presume provision of an adequate state welfare system of, in particular, pensions, medical and unemployment benefits.

b. In his concern for what the PDL did not include and the evidence to hand of household expenditure patterns, Batson calculated an Effective Minimum Level (EML) by adding 50 per cent to the PDL.

Fifty per cent coincided with his and other's findings that: "only when a household's income exceeded its PDL by approximately 50 per cent did that household spend on food the amount which had been allocated for that purpose in the PDL ... because its PDL did not make provision for the wide range of items on which expenditure is normally incurred, the household skimmed on food purchases in order to meet its everyday needs."⁽¹⁰⁾

The EML was intended to make provision for items such as education, medical expenses and other items mentioned in Batson's quote above.

Clearly, therefore, PDL should be seen as a measurement of subsistence poverty, the extent of that poverty in relation to households' income and expenditure patterns, and as a baseline from which to calculate an EML.

Most important, the PDL "was emphatically not (my emphasis) intended to be used for wage-setting purposes".⁽¹¹⁾

The above points have been further confirmed by Murphree: "We emphasize... it is a study of minimum consumption needs for defined units under defined circumstances, not a study of income requirements for individual wage earners"⁽¹²⁾ (my emphasis).

Despite earlier protestations by the academics, the PDL in various forms increasingly has come to be used by management as a guideline for establishing minimum wage levels. The concept has gained a certain "media status" and in its popularised form is often conceived as: "An instant guideline to poverty solution" or, worse still, "How to keep your workers alive and productive without upsetting profits too seriously". It is subject to considerable abuse.

In accepting that the popular perception is unlikely to disappear, various academic institutions have responded by modifying their PDL studies to provide figures: "as a guideline to commerce and industry in determining wage levels."⁽¹³⁾ This has resulted in a rash of confusing terminology and definitions.

2.3 SUMMARY OF TERMINOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY CURRENTLY IN USE IN SA

a. University of Port Elizabeth

Household Subsistence Level and Household Effective Level.

Household Subsistence Level (HSL)

This comprises the same items as the PDL, viz food, clothing, fuel and lighting, cleansing materials, transport and housing, all "calculated at the lowest retail cost of a budget of necessities of adequate quality"⁽¹⁴⁾ and defined by Potgieter as: "an estimate of the theoretical income needed by an individual household if it is to maintain a defined minimum level of health and decency in the short term."⁽¹⁵⁾

Potgieter's method provides for the calculation of 2 separate PDLs for individual households. His HSL however is calculated for, in the case of Africans, an hypothetical family of 6 (adult man, adult woman, boy aged 15-18 years, girl aged 11-14 years, 2 children between 7 and 10 years), and reflects hypothetical expenditure amounts for food, clothing, FLWC, transport and rent.

Household Effective Level (HEL)

Potgieter calculates the HEL as being 150 per cent of the HSL, i.e. broadly equivalent to the Batson EML and applied with the same intent, i.e. to permit householders to acquire essentials over and above the HSL items "if it is to continue as a viable unit".⁽¹⁶⁾ Potgieter's information is clearly directed at management. In his introduction to Fact Paper No 45 he writes: "The project was originally inspired by a number of Port Elizabeth industrialists and it was obvious after the first report was published that it filled a specific need in the field of wage administration (my emphasis)".⁽¹⁷⁾

b. Bureau of Market Research, (BMR) University of South Africa

Ne1 et al⁽¹⁸⁾ use the terms Minimum Subsistence Level and Humane Standard of Living

Minimum Subsistence Level (MSL)

The MSL has a wider range of items than the PDL viz: to PDL basics is added - transport costs for school and shopping purposes, the replacement of household equipment and (for single persons only) the support of relatives.

Humane Standard of Living (HSL)

Ne1 and his colleagues have compiled an arbitrary list of specific additional items⁽¹⁹⁾ to arrive at the HSL. They have done this in preference to adding the 50 per cent as in the case of the EML. In the sense of increasing the basic amount, there is a parallel with the EML.

The HSL, as with Potgieter's HEL, is directed at management and calculated "with the specific intention of assisting in wage-setting."⁽²⁰⁾

In view of the confusion created by the 2 identical acronyms - Potgieter's HSL and Nel et al's HSL - the latter now use the term Supplemented Living Level (SLL), which is calculated on the same basis as the former HSL and provide figures for households ranging from 1 to 8+ and for an average-sized household.

Note: Nel et al are in agreement with the Department of Economics at the University of Natal (ECONUON) that it is preferable to determine an average household for each area rather than employing a standard hypothetical family for all areas as done by Potgieter.

A conference was held in Pretoria in October 1974 with groups involved or interested in PDL studies. The main purpose of the conference was to attempt to standardise terminology and methodology. While the BMR and ECONUON were able to reach consensus, Potgeiter indicated that he was not in a position to change either his methodology or terminology.

Potgieter justifies his preference for the hypothetical family on the grounds of both practical and methodological problems; specifically:

- a. he suggests that sociological and economic definitions of household size and composition differ. Definition is thus subjective and further complicated by the involved household structures of black (used generically to include Indians and so-called coloureds) households.

(The problem was indeed encountered by this survey's field team in the course of their interviewing. However, what perhaps needs to be considered is whether the problems of fieldwork outweigh the potential distortion to calculation through use of a hypothetical family with hypothetical expenditure allocations in place of a real average family size and actual income and expenditure mean).

- b. he argues that when average household size for an area is not available, Nel et al use another similar area's average, and that there is little difference between this "first-aid" and the use of his hypothetical family measurement.
- c. finally, he points out that household composition and area could change over time. This would mean the cost of re-survey each time an HSL survey were undertaken.

As Potgieter updates his figures twice a year, it is understandable why he prefers the hypothetical family model.

c. Department of Economics, University of Natal

This department favours a mean PDL as being less arbitrary and subjective than the hypothetical PDL. The mean PDL is calculated in relation to income and expenditure information of a survey sample. The analysis takes account of the age, sex, activity and number of earners to arrive at a weighted mean household of 5.2 persons. Weighting provides for correct apportioning of variable proportions.

The mean PDL provided the basis for a Mean PDL Index "which would provide some idea of changes in the living costs of low-income African households".⁽²¹⁾ This was the Department's response to growing demands, for wage determination purposes, for figures relating to African costs of living.

As, at the time the S A Consumer Price Index (CPI) was based only on urban white household spending, the Department felt that this was not a good guide for African living costs and consequently introduced the idea of a quarterly mean PDL Index to measure shifts in index rather than on the PDL figure.

d. The Minimum Living Level (MLL)

At the 1974 conference it was agreed that the term 'PDL' would in the future be used only in authentic poverty studies. It was also agreed that private sector demand required a measure that could be used in wage-setting.

Thus the MLL was born. Consensus was reached to include the following items: Food

Clothing

Washing and Cleansing Materials

Fuel and Light

Accommodation

Transport (work, school and shopping)

Medical expenses

Education

Replacement of Household Equipment

Taxation

Consensus was also reached on the calculation for the food component for the MLL viz a low-cost food ration scale compiled by the Department of Health.

"This low-cost ration scale was to be used for all race groups and the adaptations were to be made for ethnic differences in food tastes and preferences. It would also be used for all MLL studies irrespective of whether they were conducted in urban or rural areas".⁽²²⁾

It must be noted that despite agreement on the food component calculation, controversy still abounds. The Department of Economics argues strongly in favour of a PDL food basket, contents determined, after survey, on people's buying preferences. They contend that householders buy what they want to eat, rather than necessarily what they should nutritionally buy.

For the rest of the components, it was left to the discretion of individual researchers to determine calculation.

No decision was taken whether the higher measure should be calculated by adding a percentage as with the EML or by including an arbitrary list as with Nel's SLL.

2.4 IN SUMMARY

- a. There is general agreement that the PDL is a measure of subsistence poverty and should not be used as a basis for wage determination;
- b. that the basis for wage negotiation should be the MLL determined at the October conference, (in Potgieter's case his HEL) ⁽²³⁾;
- c. that if management is using the MLL as a measure of wage determination, it should be aware of the scale's limitations and certainly strive to pay each employee a wage not lower than his MLL.

In this connection, Stopforth's criticism of the MLL is pertinent:

"The MLL is ... a compromise of subsistence poverty measurement emphasising 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". ⁽²⁴⁾

It seems clear that the private sector have come to expect from the universities, minimum level guidance of one sort or another. Also, rightly or wrongly, the levels have been accorded strong credibility as a basic measure for wage determination.

The next two chapters examine the PDL in relation to Potgieter's hypothetical HSL as well as Loubser's and van Schalkwyk's surveyed patterns of income and expenditure and the Van Schalkwyk individually calculated HSLs contrasted to above, on and below HSL component minima.

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3. E Batson: Social Survey of Cape Town, Reports Nos 551 - 30, School of Social Science and Social Administration, University of Cape Town, 1941
4. Quoted in: E Batson, The Poverty Line in Salisbury: A report in a series on the findings of a Social Survey of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia; Conducted in July to September, 1944, p. 1
5. V S Cubitt and R C Riddell: The Urban Poverty Datum Line in Rhodesia: A Study of minimum Consumption needs of families: Faculty of Social Studies, University of Rhodesia, June 1974, p. 5
6. Ibid, p. 3 quoting: D G Bettison; The Poverty Datum Line in Salisbury, Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, Vol. 27, 1960, p. 21
7. Batson, op. cit., p. 1
8. Ibid, p. 1
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10. Ellison, op. cit, p. 18
11. Ibid, p. 6
12. Murphree in Cubitt, op, cit., introduction
13. Potgieter, op. cit., p. 12 quoted in Ellison, op. cit., p. 7
14. Ibid, p. 4
15. Ibid, p. 4
16. Ibid, p. 4
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18. P A Nel, M Loubbser, and J J A Steenkamp: The Minimum Subsistence Level and the Minimum Humane Standard of Living of Non-Whites living in the main urban areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1973, Research Report No. 33, Pretoria: Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa.
19. M. Loubser: Income and Expenditure Patterns of Urban Black multiple Households in Durban, 1980: Research Report no. 94.6, Pretoria, 1982, p. 39

20. Ellison, op. cit., p. 7
21. Ibid, p. 8
22. Ibid, p. 10
23. It should be noted that while this study focuses on urban and fringe-urban Africans and therefore tends to emphasise the urban black perspective of other researchers, Potgieter does calculate a HSL and HEL for the major urban centres for African, Coloureds, and Indians and Nel and MLL and SLL for Africans, Coloureds and Indians in the main and certain other selected urban areas as well as for Africans in White rural areas, border areas and homelands.
24. P Stopforth: Minimum Living Levels among Black Employees in a Textile Processing Industry in Natal: Institute for Social Research, April 1975, p. 11

C H A P T E R 3

3 PRESENTATION OF THE DATA AND MAIN FINDINGS for two income categories taken from the survey sample range: R 2 000 - R 2 499 pa and R 3 000 - R 3 999 pa.

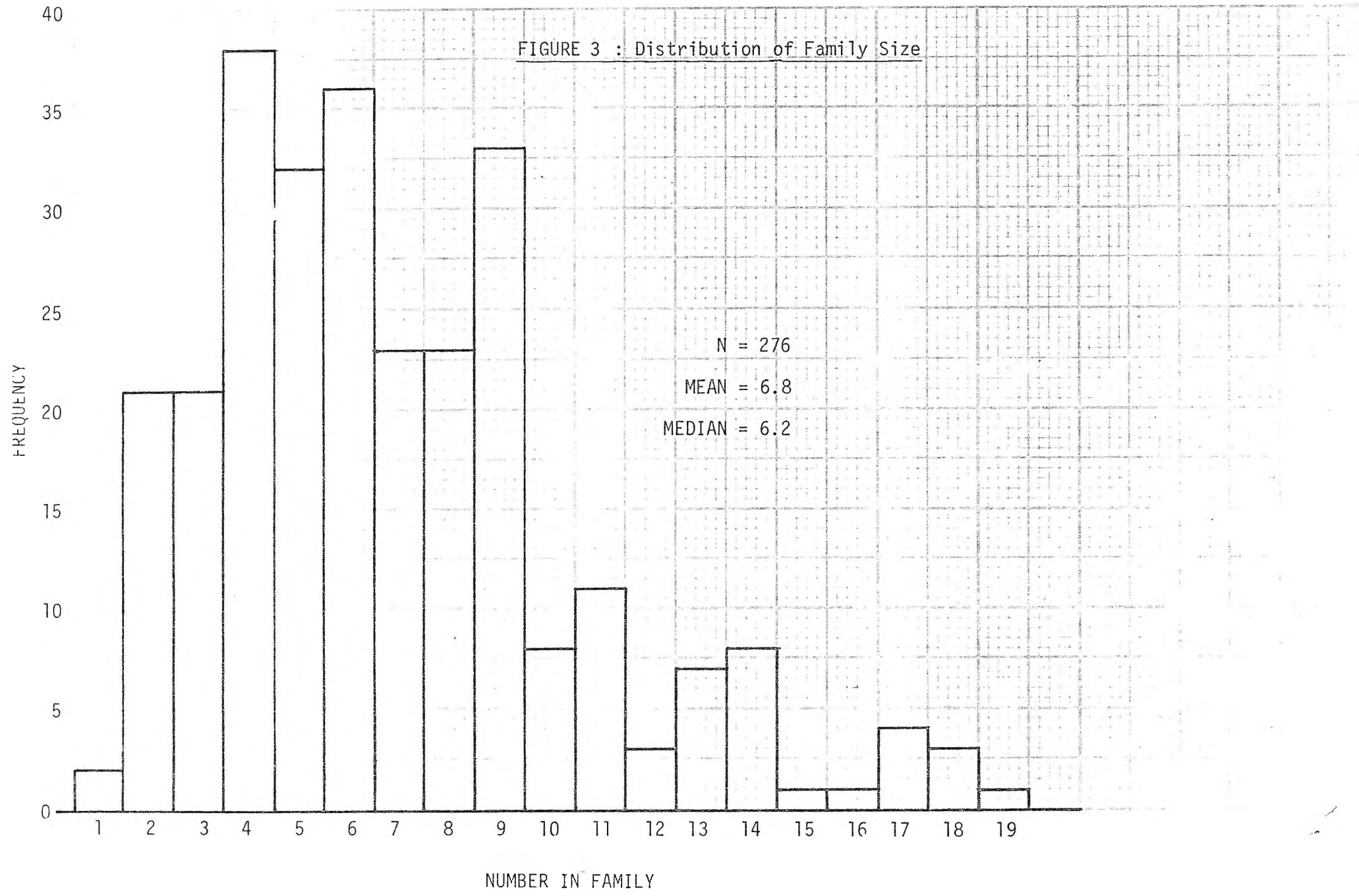
3.1 HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE (see Figure 3)⁽¹⁾

The mean household size of the Durban sample was found to be 6,8 and the median figure 6,2. Loubser's figure for 1980 was 5,89.⁽²⁾ His definition of the "household" is not substantially different to that of the Durban study.⁽³⁾ If the average household size rise remains constant with Loubser's figure for the period 1975 to 1980, his figure for 1982 would be 5,98 - closer to Potgieter's hypothetical family of 6 - than the Durban 'real' average of 6,8. There might be a further variation in Loubser's figure considering his family size range of 1 - 8+ while the Durban range is 1 - 19. The Durban study's median figure at 6,2 is more closely comparable to that of Loubser and Potgieter, but as indicated in Figure 3 illustrating the survey family size frequency, there is little substantial difference.

Despite the fact that Potgieter's hypothetical expenditure allocations make provision for individual employee calculations, in fact managements' calculation generally is based on the current average MLL or HEL for an area. In this regard it is suggested that Potgieter's ⁽⁴⁾ charts could be improved with the inclusion of an HEL column juxtapositioned to the HSL column. It would seem that in many instances the HSL as the figure higher than the Poverty Household Subsistence Level (PHSL) is mistakenly regarded to be the HEL.

Management contends that the hypothetical family as an average errs on the high side and that overall more employees benefit than suffer by application of the MLL or HSL average.

FIGURE 3 : Distribution of Family Size



3.2 INCOME DISTRIBUTION PER FAMILY (see Figure 4)⁽⁵⁾

(Survey income range R 96 pa - R 12 000 pa + 5 families with incomes ranging from R 13 200 pa to R 22 080 pa).

In the Durban survey (Van Schaalkwyk), the average family income was found to be R 310,90 per month and per capita mean R 54,15 per month. The median was R 245,50 per month and per capita median R 42,00 per month (n 276 and household average size 6,8).

In 1980, Loubser's ⁽⁶⁾ mean income per household was given as R 3 903,00 per annum (n 376) or R 325,25 per month. Using the mid-Y deflator⁽⁷⁾ of 1,276, Loubser's mean household income updated becomes R 415,01 per month.

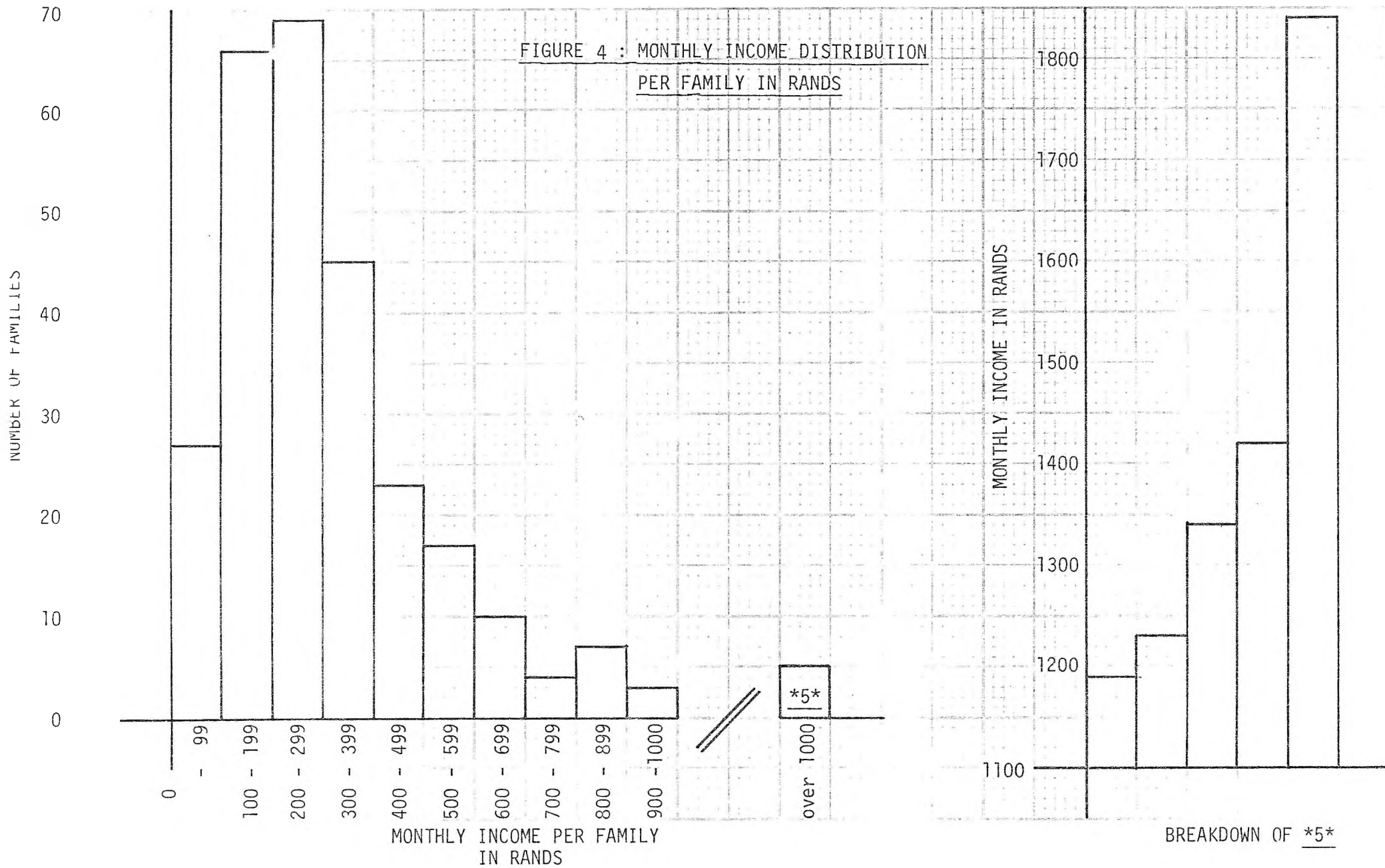
The lower income discrepancy in the Durban figure (R 310,90 pm) probably can be accounted for by the fact that the main portion of the sample was drawn from poor areas within townships or on the fringe, while Loubser's sample was drawn from established urban townships.

Van Schaalkwyk's average monthly income figure falls short of Potgieter's recommended HEL monthly expenditure total of R 354,39 for the area for the same period, by R 43,00. The R 354,39 is for Potgieter's hypothetical family of 6. Therefore the shortfall would increase proportionately if the calculations were matched to the Van Schaalkwyk average of 6,8.

3.3 EXPENDITURE

a. Chart 1 illustrates how deflator amounts were calculated to arrive at a scale for updating Loubser's 1980 figures for food, clothing, fuel, light, washing and cleanser (FLWC) rent and transport.⁽⁸⁾

Note: In calculating the CSS-CPI, households of all racial groups were included in the sample. Higher white expenditure patterns tend to distort averages especially for rent and transport.



b. Charts 2 & 3 give a comparison of expenditure patterns derived from the Loubser/BMR study for 1980 and the present study for the income group R 2 000 - R 2 499 pa and R 3 000 - R 3 999 pa respectively. Both distributions of expenditure are compared with the hypothetical distributions of expenditure in the components of the Potgieter HSL.

3.3.1 EXPENDITURE PATTERNS : CHART 2:

FOOD :

Loubser's study shows an average apportionment of 43,33% for food, while Van Schalkwyk's reflects an average apportionment of 35,3%. The Potgieter hypothetical and nutritionally adequate percentage is 54,6%. Thus the actual average expenditure percentages of both the Loubser and Van Schalkwyk studies fall far short of recommended minimum nutritional adequacy and suggest an alarming level of malnutrition. The Chart 2 survey group is spending 40% of total income on discretionary amounts ⁽⁹⁾ which with the exception of perhaps liquor and cigarettes, could be said to be essential items.

CLOTHING :

The Van Schalkwyk clothing percentage of 6,4% could be expected. It would seem logical that clothing would be considered a luxury purchase where there is insufficient money for food. The 6,4% is increased to 9,1% when the average school uniform expenditure for the income group is added and brings the figure in line with the BMR 9,13% which already includes uniform expenditure.

The author considers Potgieter's clothing allocations to be high and contends that the hypothetical apportionment of 18,4% goes beyond "adequate" clothing requirements.

	CONSUMER PRICE INDEX (CPI)		Deflator
	1980	March 1982	
Food	184,0	243,9	1,326
Clothing	146,9	187,1	1,274
Fuel, Light Washing, Cleansing	211,1*	255,4*	1,210
Rent	151,5	193,2	1,275
Transport (Public)	164,6	226,7	1,377

NOTE: As it is not clear exactly when in 1980 Loubser conducted survey (he speaks of "the second half of 1980") a general value for the year was calculated in place of a specific month.

* = Simple average of Fuel and Power (278,5) & (228,4)
and Cleansing materials etc. (232,2) & (193,7)

SOURCES: Statistical News Release No. P2 Consumer Price Index
March 1982
Bulletin of Statistics Quarter Ended June 1982
Central Statistical Services, Pretoria.

Income Deflators

	Lo-Y	Mid-Y
1980	174,8	177,1
March 1982	225,1	225,9
Deflator	1,288	1,276

1. March'82 Y = 310,9p.m. = 3730,8
 = R2923,82 (1980)
 (using Mid-Y Deflator)

Therefore use Loubser's
 2500-2999 col.**

38 a

2. March'82 Y = 203,00p.m. = 2436,00
 = R1891,30
 (using Lo-Y Deflator)

Therefore use Loubser's
 1500-1999 col.**

** Loubser, M: Income & Expenditure
 Patterns of Urban Black Households
 in Durban, 1980.

COMPARISON OF EXPENDITURE PATTERNS

LOUBSER's (BMR 1980) actual average expenditure percentages compared with VAN SCHALKWYK's (March 1982) actual average expenditure and contrasted to POTGIETER's hypothetical allocations for the Durban Area for (March 1982 UPE)

INCOME GROUP R 2 000 - R 2 499 p.a. (Mean Income = R 203 (1982))

Expenditure Item	Loubser 1980* % Expenditure	Van Schalkwyk % Expenditure	March 1982 Index of ** Loubser's Real Expenditure	Potgieter March 1982*** % Expenditure	Index of** Loubser's Real Expenditure	Index of S****
Food	43,33	35,3	67,7	54,6	121,9	55,5
Clothing	9,13	6,4	61,1	18,4	202,5	30,2
Fuel, Light Washing, Cleansing	3,18	8,7	247,8	11,8	393,37	62,9
Rent	6,37	3,3	45,5	5,4	85,2	53,4
Transport	9,11	6,6	58,0	5,5	56,2	103,1

NOTES: % Expenditure = Percentage of Income spent on relevant item.

Expenditures do not total 100% because of the omission of sundry items.

* Mean Income of R203 p.m. was worth R1891 p.a. in 1980, therefore Loubser's expenditure for the Income group R1500 - R1999 is given.

** The expenditure given by Loubser in 1980 is assigned the value 100. Van Schalkwyk's estimates of expenditure on the same item is expressed as an index to the base 100 in real terms. Potgieter's estimates of expenditure are treated in the same manner.

*** Potgieter's estimate of the theoretical expenditure allocation by an individual household (i.e. hypothetical 6) in Durban.

**** Van Schalkwyk's estimate is expressed as a proportion of Potgieter's estimate (i.e. Potgieter's = 100).

SOURCES: LOUBSER, op cit 1980, P 39; POTGIETER, op cit 1982, P 49; CENTRAL STAT., op cit 1982.

It would be more realistic to allocate a portion of this percentage to the transport component.

FUEL, LIGHT, WASHING & CLEANSING (FLWC) : See Van Schalkwyk Chart : 2

8,7% is a comparatively high allotment for this category for a household only able to spend 35% on food. This is probably one of the items that account for underspending on food.

Urban and fringe-urban black dwellers have little or no electricity. They have to rely on paraffin and candles for fuel and light. They tend to purchase these items in small quantities at local stores, where prices are high.

It is interesting to note at this point that 88% of the survey sample (n 276 household) indicated that they obtained their main purchases from supermarkets.

But paraffin is difficult to carry long distances and expensive to transport by either train or bus if bought in bulk (35c per extra "heavy" or "large" package). For these reasons, the item is a local store purchase.

RENT : See Van Schalkwyk Chart : 2

3,3% appears low compared to Loubser's actual expenditure average of 6,37%. It must be reiterated though that many of the Van Schalkwyk survey households in the lower income group were living in informal or fringe areas. Many of them, as illegal residents, either build cheap shacks or take over abandoned structures and pay a nominal or no rental at all.

Another factor influencing the BMR figure of 6,37% is that Loubser calculates electricity into the rental amount.⁽¹⁰⁾ For the purpose of this study, it was not possible to determine how to calculate out the electricity allowance.

TRANSPORT :

This cost is another essential item likely to erode the food budget. As it is, the author felt that the submitted figures for transport expenditure were inclined to be underestimated by respondents.

The Van Schalkwyk survey 6,6% is a conservative amount considering the costs borne by households living up to 38 Kms from their place of work. The Loubser apportionment of 9,11% would seem more realistic. Loubser's established township sample admittedly is unlikely to have lived such distances from work, but as a more urbanised group, it is predictable that the higher percentage could also reflect an increase in private vehicle ownership.

OTHER THAN HSL AND DISCRETIONARY EXPENDITURE: The Van Schalkwyk Survey

	R 2 000 - 2 499		R 3 000 - 3 999	
	n 27 households - 7,5%		n 45 households - 12%	
	of n276		of n276	
	R	%	R	%
Uniforms	5,40	2,7	7,12	2,3
Books & Fees	8,60	4,2	8,95	2,9
Remittances	12,00	5,9	15,59	5,0
Recreation	2,20	1,1	4,20	1,3
Liquor	17,10	8,4	15,60	5,0
Cigarettes	4,70	2,3	7,10	2,3
Savings	5,50	2,7	23,25	7,4
Insurance	0,20	,1	2,09	,7
Furniture	8,70	4,3	15,56	5,0
House Repairs	4,20	2,1	3,70	1,2
Medical Care	8,20	4,0	6,64	2,1
Other	3,70	1,8	10,52	3,4

As introduction to this section, it might be well to quote Orwell⁽¹¹⁾ describing conditions of the poor in the north of England in the 1930's

"Would it not be better if they spent more money on wholesome things like oranges and wholemeal bread or if they even ... saved on fuel and ate their carrots raw? Yes, it would, but the point is that no ordinary human being is ever going to do such a thing...

When you are underfed, harassed, bored and miserable, you don't want to eat dull, wholesome food. You always want something a little bit 'tasty'".

UNIFORMS, BOOKS & FEES :

Expenditure of 6,9% and 5,2% respectively to educate children in households whose budgets are severely strained and underspending as much as, respectively 19,3% and 25,3% of the HSL food allocation seems absurd and unrealistic. Furthermore starving and malnourished children can benefit little from schooling.

However, black households have two options - either they find the money to send their children to school or the children are forced to remain at home. Three percent of the sample households with children ranging in age from 7 to 13, reported this to be the case.

In respect of the first option, it is very important to the low income parents to be able to educate their children.

They perceive it as an investment for their old age and opportunity for the children "to find a house, be legal and drive a car".

Much is written about the disparities of expenditure on white and black education in South Africa, white figures far exceeding the black ones.

It would be interesting to establish how many white parents spend equivalent proportions of their income on their childrens' education.

REMITTANCES :

The areas surveyed house a large number of migrants. The majority of migrants retain a link with their rural family or home. In most cases the rural family is dependent on the migrant as a sole source of cash income.

The comparatively high percentages of 5,9% and 5,0% respectively are understandable. Remittances have a social significance and as such carry an obligation. They also provide a tangible bond with a home that the migrant cannot afford to visit too regularly.

RECREATION :

Football was the most favoured form of recreation. Apportionment for recreation of 1,1% and 1,3% respectively represent low percentages of the household's overall budget and could be expected to be higher considering the distances outlying area dwellers have to travel for any form of recreational facility.

Seven percent of the respondents expressed a wish to be able to visit the football stadium, cinema or disco but indicated that, either because of the distance, high cost of transport, no after-hour transport, dangers of returning home through poorly lit areas, or weariness from long hours of work, they were unable to fulfill the wish. What the low percentages would seem to reflect, is the total lack of recreational facilities in the outlying areas.

LIQUOR :

Percentage expenditure - 8,4% and 5,0% respectively is high.

Here it might serve to quote from Cubitt et al, again:

"Rowntrees studies were attacked some seventy years ago with with the argument that people cannot be poor if they spend what little money they have on 'unnecessary' items such as beer. Earlier Booth had pointed out that excessive drinking might be the result rather than the cause of poverty (my emphasis)" ⁽¹²⁾

The high figures can perhaps be ascribed to three main factors:

- a. as already indicated the survey was drawn from areas where the informal sector is very active. 4% of the respondents acknowledged that they ran shebeens and fieldworkers reported detection of a number of others.
- b. Drinking is the sole form of recreation and sociability for households living in comparative isolation and long distances from town.

c. People drink to forget their situation or worries.

The following quotes taken from questionnaires speak for themselves:

It is getting rid of worries that we cannot have a house of our own.

We all drink moderately when we want to be happy.

I can drug my brains. I enjoy it to drink. It makes me to forget my worries.

Derek drinks very often. He started drinking by trying to please friends.

CIGARETTES :

Two comma three percent as expenditure on this item is high.

What the figure appears to reveal is that even with a shortage of food, smokers are not prepared to forego cigarettes.

SAVINGS :

The high savings figures of 2,7% and 7,4% respectively are surprising. It would seem contradictory to save while the family was semi-starving.

Respondents indicated though, that the more uncertain and insecure their situation, the more they felt compelled to save. For instance, great anxiety was displayed at the possibility of not being able to accord a family member a decent burial. Concern to be in a position to meet other traditional festival and ritual obligations was also given as a reason for saving. Two respondents articulated anxiety over the excessive drinking in the household. They felt the drinking could lead to violence or death and that they would need money to see them through the crisis time.

FURNITURE :

Again a high percentage of the budget - 4,3% and 5% respectively.

Seventeen households reported re-possession of their furniture.

Kitchen schemes appeared to have high status value and were the most popular choice of purchase followed by radios and TV sets (where there is no electricity the sets are run off car batteries - a very expensive exercise, but as one respondent said:

"the television brings light where there is no electricity. The people come to visit our house because there is music and speaking and the people are not so afraid of the dark. We don't watch the TV all the time, it just makes a party for people to come."

The author was surprised that the figures turned out to be so high.

Her impressions from the questionnaires had been quite different.

Particularly as in many of the informal and squatter areas, people indicated a disinterest in owning furniture because of the dangers of fire and theft.

It could be that interviewers experienced the problem pointed out by Loubser⁽¹³⁾ :

"that respondents often try to impress interviewers by exaggerating or reporting imaginary expenditure on status items."

It is doubtful however whether this could have occurred very often.

It is impossible to lie about bulky possessions such as furniture, when being interviewed in a two or four roomed house.

MEDICAL CARE :

Four percent for the lower income group and 1,2% for the higher group is significant.

As already indicated, the lower income groups tended to live the furthest distances. In these areas there were no clinics or only at considerable distance. Distance adds transport costs.

Consequently this group of respondents tended to make use of 'inyangas' and 'sangomas'. The traditional medical practitioner fees are generally quite high.

Non-cure results in further medical expenses.

Respondents in outlying area also reported purchase of patent medicines from local stores at high price.

Three percent of the households reported that they had had a cholera victim. There were no deaths, but long periods of illness were reported.

3.3.2 EXPENDITURE PATTERNS : CHART 3 : (14)

FOOD :

In the higher income group, the percentage expenditure on food in the Van Schalkwyk sample is 29,3% as opposed to 35,3% on Chart 2.

One would expect the higher income category to spend proportionately less on food, but what is puzzling is the very low level of proportionate expenditure for both categories. It might be argued that being drawn from marginal and less established areas, the people may be exploiting themselves in regard to food in order to save for better housing or consumer durables. The high savings rate shown under discretionary expenditure on Page 39 would seem indicative of such a trend.

What is puzzling, is why people should be spending a lower proportion of their income on food in 1982 compared to 1980. (See Loubser Chart 1 & 2)

One could speculate on a number of reasons but no positive explanation offers itself.

CLOTHING :

The higher expenditure on clothing 14,0% as opposed to the more plausible 6,4% of Chart 2, would seem to suggest that households in this category are purchasing clothes in place of food. This could indicate that the

COMPARISON OF EXPENDITURE PATTERNS

LOUBSER's (BMR 1980) actual average expenditure percentages compared with VAN SCHALKWYK's (March 1982) actual average expenditure and contrasted to POTGIETER's hypothetical allocations for the Durban Area for (March 1982 UPE)

INCOME GROUP R 3 000 - R 3 999 p.a. (Mean Income = R 310,90 (1982))

Expenditure Item	Loubser 1980* % Expenditure	Van Schalkwyk March 1982 % Expenditure	Index of** Loubser's Real Expenditure	Potgieter March 1982*** % Expenditure	Index of** Loubser's Real Expenditure	Index of S****
Food	40,67	29,3	71,9	54,6	101,8	70,6
Clothing	10,73	14,0	135,6	18,4	135,0	100,5
Fuel, Light Washing, Cleansing	3,37	7,5	243,6	11,8	291,0	83,7
Rent	8,38	3,2	39,0	5,4	50,7	76,9
Transport	8,37	8,0	91,5	5,5	48,0	190,8

NOTES: % Expenditure = Percentage of Income spent on relevant item.
Expenditures do not total 100% because of the omission of sundry items.

* Mean Income of R310,90 pm was worth R2924 pa in 1980, therefore Loubser's expenditure for the Income Group R2500-R2999 is given.

** The expenditure given by Loubser in 1980 is assigned the value 100. Van Schalkwyk's estimates of expenditure on the same item is expressed as an index to the base 100 in real terms. Potgieter's estimates of expenditure are treated in the same manner

*** Potgieter's estimate of the theoretical expenditure allocation by an individual household (i.e. hypothetical 6) in Durban

**** Van Schalkwyk's estimate is expressed as a proportion of Potgieter's estimate (ie Potgieter's = 100)

SOURCES: LOUBSER, op cit 1980, p 39; POTGIETER, op cit 1982, p 49; CENTRAL STAT., op cit 1982.

higher income group is more status conscious, possibly occupying more white collar positions. Consequently they would be forced to own a more extensive wardrobe or be propelled into a "keeping up with the Ngcobo's syndrome".

Another puzzling factor is that this group spends slightly less on the discretionary amounts, 38% in contrast to the lower income groups 40%.

FLWC :

The slightly lower figure for the FLWC, 7,5% in the higher income group compared to 8,7% (difference 1,2%) of the lower group could be explained in two ways:

the higher income group tended to live closer to the main shopping centre and could benefit from lower prices in the purchase of items such as paraffin;

they were more likely to have access to electricity which is cheaper than paraffin.

RENT :

As in the case of Chart 2, the Van Schalkwyk lower percentage rental of 3,2% compared to Loubser's 8,38% can be explained on the basis of Loubser's inclusion of electricity. Township rentals are comparatively low, and have not risen appreciably in the past two years, probably explaining the low percentage allotment for this component.

TRANSPORT :

The transport figure on Van Schalkwyk's chart of 8% is 1,4% higher than the lower income figure. Here the reason is likely to be that more people in the higher group own private vehicles.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Page 36a (Figure 3)
2. Loubser, op cit, p. 11
3. This survey, op cit, p. 2
4. Potgieter, op cit, p. 60
5. Page 37a (Figure 4)
6. Loubser, op cit, p. 60
7. Chart 1, p. 37a
8. Ibid, p. 37a
9. Chart 2, p. 38a
10. Loubser, op cit, p. 39
11. Quoted in Cubitt, op cit, p. 2
12. Ibid, p. 2
13. Loubser, op cit, p. 7
14. Chart 3, p. 45a

C H A P T E R 4

4 HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ON HSL COMPONENTS

A critical aspect of the HSL concept is whether or not it is realistic in relation to expenditure patterns in the typical black domestic economy. Does a household income at the level of the HSL in fact allow expenditure on the various components which the composition of the HSL lays down?

4.1 ACID TEST

On the Ellison et al ⁽¹⁾ criteria, the substantial number of eighty-nine households from our sample were seen to be in poverty. That is 32,2% of families had incomes below their individually-calculated HSL's. Forty-seven households or 17% of the sample were on a borderline of poverty. Just over half of the sample - 140 households or 50,7% were clear of the subsistence poverty range and above the HSL.

Presented below are comparisons of expenditure on HSL components relative to hypothetical minima on those components for families whose total household income is either above or below the HSL. The comparisons are presented in table 1 through 5.

TABLE 1: FOOD: Relation between income in relation to HSL and Food expenditure in regard to Food HSL

Income/HSL	Food	R-306-5 Below	R-4--5 On	R6-232 Above	N276	
R-493-25	Below HSL	N87 98%	N1 1%	N1 1%	N89 100%	32,2%
R-24--25	On HSL	N37 79%	N3 6%	N7 15%	N47 100%	17%
R26-833	Above HSL	N81 58%	N8 6%	N51 36%	N140 100%	50,7%

Of the 32,2% of the survey sample with incomes below the HSL, 98% (87 households) spent considerably less than their calculated HSL amount for food. Only one household in this category spent on the HSL and one above it.

The income category calculated as being on the HSL, that is between -R24 and +R25 above or below the minimum figure, constituted 17% (47 households) of the survey sample. In this category no less than 79% of the 47 households were spending below their food HSL. A mere 6% were spending at the level of HSL and 15% in the range above HSL. Just under 51% of the sample had incomes above their individually-calculated HSL's. Despite this as many as 58% (81 households) were spending in the range below the HSL for food and 6% had expenditure at the minimum level.

In summary therefore, in each of the three income/HSL categories, the highest proportion of householders were underspending on the Food component - a quite alarming level of self exploitation.

TABLE 2: CLOTHES: Relation between income in regard to HSL and Clothes expenditure in regard to Clothes HSL.

Income/HSL	Clothes	-125-5 Below	-4-+5 On	6-341 Above	
-493-25	Below	59	5	25	N89
		66%	6%	28%	100%
-24-+25	On	24	2	21	N47
		51%	4%	45%	100%
26-833	Above	84	12	44	N140
		60%	9%	31%	100%

It would seem reasonable to expect a correlation between an individual household's income below the HSL and an under-expenditure on the household's expenditure on clothing. In the income range below the HSL, 59 of the 89 households (66%) were underspending on the individually calculated amount for clothing. However 28% of this low income group were spending above the HSL.

This would seem high expenditure for a group spending so little on food and must be partly indicative of why householders in the poverty range are underspending on food.

Householders whose income is on the PDL are reasonably equally divided between underspending on the HSL -51% and overspending, 45%.

As in the case of food expenditure, figures revealed for the income group above the HSL were somewhat unexpected. In this category as many as 84 households (60%) were spending less than their calculated HSL while 44 households (31%) were seen to be spending above the HSL.

As far as the overspending for the three categories is concerned, this coincides with the information given by at least half of the survey respondents that they made clothes purchases once a year on hire purchase. It would seem from the replies that the stores concerned extend an automatic credit of R60 per month repayment per household, almost regardless of income, as even households with comparatively low incomes reported paying this amount. It should be noted that this repayment was over and above school uniform hire purchase repayments.

The under expenditure on clothing for the three categories could be explained by the fact that Potgieter makes his calculations for clothing on the basis of a purchase price for new clothes. A large proportion of the householders surveyed reported that they could only afford to buy "seconds".

It is interesting that secondhand clothes vendoring is an important source of income and informal activity in the areas of this survey, thus creating a circulatory money flow pattern.

TABLE 3: FUEL, LIGHT, WASHING AND CLEANSING (FLWC): Relation between income in regard to HSL and FLWC expenditure in regard to FLWC HSL

Income/HSL	FLWC	-15-5 Below	-4-+5 On	6-92 Above	
-493-25	Below	11	42	36	N89
		12%	47%	41%	
-24-+25	On	4	16	27	N47
		9%	34%	57%	
26-833	Above	3	27	110	N140
		2%	19%	79%	

Potgieter's hypothetical allocation for this category seems conservative. He does not appear to make sufficient allowance for the lack of electricity in black areas and the consequent high consumption of expensive paraffin for fuel and light. The figures on table 3 would appear to support this contention.

In the income category below the HSL, only 12 households (12%) were spending below their HSL calculation for FLWC, while only 4 households (9%) on the income HSL underspent, and a mere 3 households (2%) in the category above the HSL.

It might have been expected that over-expenditure on FLWC would be higher for the lower income groups given the previously mentioned problems of this group's inability to purchase from supermarkets, and their reliance on small quantity purchases at expensive local shops or cafes. Counterbalanced to this however is the possibility that people in the lower income groups are inclined to live the furthest away from the city and might have access to cheaper fuel in the form of firewood. Also, many poverty households simply do without light and minimise fuel consumption to the least possible level.

The figures in fact show that in the poverty income group, 42 households (47%) are spending on their HSL amount for FLWC while 36 households (41%) are spending above the HSL amount. On the other hand, for households with income on the HSL, 27 families (57%) are spending above the FLWC HSL and 16 families (34%) on the HSL.

Overexpenditure increases in the income category above the HSL. Here 110 households (79%) are overspending on their calculated FLWC HSL amounts and 27 households (19%) on the HSL.

The survey indicates that a predominant proportion of the higher income group lives closer to the city and in more settled areas. This group has the advantage of access to cheaper shopping facilities, and it is entirely possible that bulk buying leads to higher consumption of product on the bases of what is available can be used.

In these areas a proportion of the survey had access to electricity. While electricity is generally cheaper than paraffin, access to power inevitably leads to acquisition of appliances and other electrical equipment which naturally in turn pushes up the fuel and light consumption. It is also conceivable that "washing and cleansing" expenditure rises in the more settled areas where there is easier access to water through site taps and water connections to dwellings.

TABLE 4: RENT: Relation between income in regard to HSL and Rent expenditure in regard to RentHSL.

Income/HSL	Rent -34-5 Below	-4-+5 On	6-43 Above	
Below	67	14	8	N89
-493-25	75%	16%	9%	
On	22	17	8	N47
-24-+25	47%	36%	17%	
Above	68	44	28	N140
26-833	49%	31%	20%	

The high percentage of underspending on rentals in all three income categories - income below the HSL 75% of the group underspending, on the HSL - 47% of the group underspending, and above the HSL 49% underspending supports the explanation given in the previous chapter that by and large in the areas surveyed, people either pay no rental at all or fairly nominal amounts but both certainly considerably lower than the Potgieter HSL allocation for rental.

Survey experience shows that rentals tend to rise with the introduction of electricity as in Chesterville or where transfer to homeownership occurs.

TABLE 5: TRANSPORT: Relation between income in relation to HSL and Transport expenditure in regard to Transport HSL

Income/HSL	Transport	R-39-5 Below	R-4-+5 On	R6-122 Above	N276
R-493-25	Below	N39 44%	N30 34%	N20 22%	N89 100%
R-24-+25	On	N12 26%	N21 44%	N14 30%	N47 100%
R26-833	Above	N22 16%	N46 33%	N72 51%	N140 100%

In view of our argument that the majority of households in poverty tended to live the greatest distance from their place of work, it is surprising to find from the sample that in this group 39 households (44%) were spending below their HSL for transport.

The only explanation might be that a proportion of the sample benefitted from subsidised or work-provided transport.

The over expenditure on their transport by 20 of the households (22%) in this group would be more in line with our expectations and equally in the case of the 30 households (34%) spending on the HSL.

In the income category of households above their HSL, the high expenditure on transport in excess of the HSL - 72 households or 51% - would substantiate our previous contention that in the higher income groups there is an expected higher expenditure on transport probably as a result of increased vehicle ownership and also increased spending (and travel) on recreation.

Spending below the HSL on transport in the "above" income category only involves 22 households (16%).

NON-HSL AND DISCRETIONARY EXPENDITURE

The following distribution gives the medians for non-HSL expenditure items as a percentage of household income for the households below, on or above their individually calculated HSL's. Included in this is expenditure on both discretionary and non-HSL amounts - initially coded only as "discretionary" :

i.e.	Uniforms	Savings
	Books & Fees	Insurance
	Remittances	Furniture
	Recreation	House repairs
	Liquor	Medical care
	Cigarettes	Other

Median of non-HSL expenditure
as percentage of household income

R25 or more <u>below</u> HSL	34%
<u>On</u> HSL (R25 above or below HSL)	35%
R26 to R100 <u>above</u> HSL	40%
R101 to R200 <u>above</u> HSL	37%
R201 or more <u>above</u> HSL	29%

What is seen is a very slight response in patterns of "additional" expenditure in relation to levels of welfare.

The very poor are spending no lower a proportion of their income on discretionary and non-HSL items than the more affluent. This goes a long way to explain the under-expenditure on food.

The Durban sample clearly appears to be exploiting themselves to establish home, educate children, buy durables. The high numbers of TV sets in the households surveyed noted by the fieldworkers was extraordinary.

Consumer society has flauntantly arrived in the townships and once again the proof of the power of advertising is evident.

4.2 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I wish to concentrate on one aspect in particular - underexpenditure on food. The underexpenditure on food reflected in this survey is particularly serious considering that it is measured against the Potgieter hypothetical calculation for a household's basic nutritional food requirement, which is frequently criticised for being a conservative allocation.

As made clear in the previous section, the Durban survey reveals an alarming pattern of self-exploitation by a tenacious group of increasingly urbanised dwellers determined to join the ranks of the legally established urbanites in terms of home ownership and possession of consumer durables.

This group displays the belief that educating their children will guarantee the young adults of the future assured employment and thereby also a legal right to remain in the city.

(Only a few of the respondents appeared aware of recent and threatened changes to the act that determines their right to be in an urban area - Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act - and the loss of previous possibilities of acquiring urban rights in terms of Section 10 (1) (b) by the introduction in 1970 of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act. The new legislation makes it virtually impossible for "illegal" urbanites to acquire the necessary status of Permanent Urban Resident (PUR) and the accompanying right to live and seek work in an urban area)

In place of assured employment and a legal right of residence, acquisition of goods appear to offer a material assurance of "settled" and "permanence".

A high price indeed for security - especially such a nebulous security. That this security should be sought at a price of near starvation demands attention.

The householders have set a pattern with hunger as a daunting measure of the extent of incentive required to relate to possible solutions for altering the situation.

4.2.1 WHAT POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS?

Behavioural patterns are never easy to alter. The legislative and social structures governing the behaviour of the survey group are fairly rigid. Most solutions seem out of reach. However some constructive attempt to alleviate the situation would seem imperative. Mindful of a dependency potential factor, it is nevertheless suggested that a state subsidised schools and clinics feeding scheme should be considered.

Ideally, the programme would be administered in co-operation with community workers and structured to permit education of parents and children alike to their healthy nutritional needs.

Such a programme would naturally need to be structured to the level of literacy and income of the group concerned.

A load of information about kiljoules, carbohydrates and proteins would be useless as would mere picture posters of what people should eat.

Rather the programme should be developed with community groups and adjusted to householder's food preferences, income and expressed expenditure needs. Gradual adaptation of food preferences could be encouraged in this way and a budget awareness developed.

In addition, community groups could be encouraged to improve their expenditure potential through the formation of bulk purchase buying groups.

Where water supplies were adequate, vegetable gardens could provide income as well as a source of diet supplement and balance.

The buying groups or others could be encouraged to form sewing groups to provide school uniforms and thereby reduce a very high item of family expenditure and freeing income for greater food expenditure.

In addition, Management might be encouraged to include simple nutrition and budget education courses in normal work and skills training programmes.

The above suggestions assume a number of things:

- a. funds for subsidised feeding;
- b. personnel to administer the scheme;
- c. trained and community acceptable community workers;
- d. a stable group not under constant threat of removal;
- e. sympathetic management training officers.

FUNDS

This is a serious problem, especially as the budget for black education is already totally inadequate. However, malnourished children benefit little or nothing from education, and the authorities would need to be encouraged to view subsidisation as an education investment.

But this still leaves a problem of available funds.

In this respect, what is vitally necessary is a revision of the disparate expenditure on black and white education. White education currently benefits by a more than 70% higher allocation. In addition, white pupils at government schools do not pay school fees. Black children pay fees at their schools. Therefore steps need to be taken to achieve an equalised allocation of funds to black and white education. If black school fees were to be retained, a portion of the amount could be used for the feeding subsidy.

PERSONNEL

There is a serious shortage of trained black civil servants to introduce and administer innovative programmes. Sooner or later the need will have to be met. If necessary various state departments such as education, health, community welfare could combine and use their limited resources as effectively as possible to train or acquire the necessary personnel including community workers.

COMMUNITY

A healthy, settled community presumably is the ideal of any society. It is in the interests of all to encourage community growth and stability. Stability in turn, infers a right to be housed - by ownership or rental - and a right to seek work, among other fundamental needs.

Stability should also contribute to a more healthy base for budget education and a consequent deterrent to underspending on food.

HOUSING

In the longer term, the housing crisis might have to be met partly with more schemes such as the one introduced at Mfolweni (described in Chapter 1).

LEGISLATIVE STRUCTURES

Stability requires a revision of legislation affecting blacks' freedom of movement and right to work.

URBANISATION

Urbanisation is likely to increase. Some control might be effected through meaningful rural development. This would require a sophisticated approach to a combined policy of decentralisation and rural and community development.

WAGES:

Underspending on food and spending on "necessities" is not simply wilful behaviour. In a desperate situation, people are forced to spend as and how they are able to meet the daily requirements of staying alive, being dressed, travelling long distances by public transport to work, educating their children and generating increased income through informal sector activity which frequently requires "purchase for resale" procedure.

Clearly one of the major problems is low income resulting from low wages or an inability to gain employment.

There is a need to create more jobs and increase wages.

Management is limited in its ability to create more jobs. Demands for increased wages frequently lead to increased capitalisation.

Professor Natrass advocates a policy of growth at the macro level as a solution.

At the micro level, a balance needs to be found for Management between job creation and wage increases.

As we have seen, the PDL as a base for calculating either a MLL or HEL, and thereby a basis for wage determination is now common practice. It is certainly not an ideal system, but at least provides a level of negotiation and leverage.

What Management has made quite clear, is that if the HEL or MLL were to rise too high above a reasonable marketplace level, they would have no compunctions in abandoning the measure as being "out of reach"

A dilemma is created through the high level of self exploitation that has been demonstrated by our sample in their purchases of other than HSL basic components and the consequent substantiation of the Batson contention of a need for an effective addition to HSL et al allocations, before householders could begin spending on basic HSL minima.

On the basis of this study's findings, it is submitted that the present increase of 50% to Fortgieter's hypothetical HSL is too low. It would seem clear that, in addition to removing structural inhibitions to community stability, higher incomes need to be generated to improve the situation of underspending on food.

Some possible alleviating measures:

- a. the HSL plus amount be increased from 50% to between 75% and 80% - suggested as an undramatic but minimum increase;
- b. where an arbitrary list of discretionary extras is used for a basis of calculation to add to a basic MLL component amount, the discretionary items be as representative of regional households' expenditure preferences as possible and amount to at least the equivalent of the above suggested 75 - 80%;
- c. that researchers publishing figures and scales with the specific intent of providing a basis for wage determination, should give prominence to the effective and recommended higher levels in their charts, so that Management, already confused by the different terminology and multiple methods of calculation, can be quite clear that they are selecting the correct levels (and clearly recognised as even then, being an absolute minimum) as a basis for negotiation.
- d. a portion of annual company profits, where feasible, be allocated for new job creation without affecting a normal and expected wage increase process.

The challenge of constructive change is a daunting one but one that needs to be tackled with resolve, if a high price is not to be paid through a minority having too much wealth at the expense of a hungry majority with no wealth at all.

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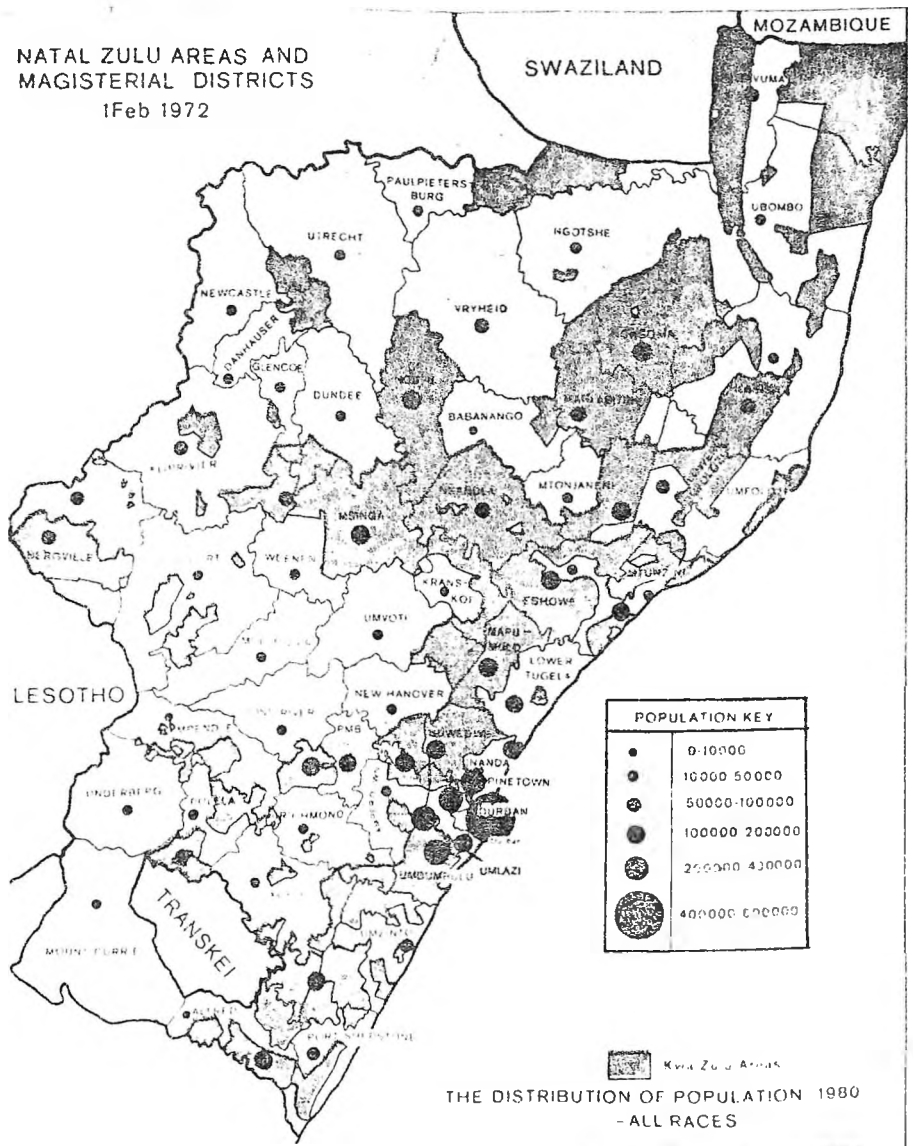
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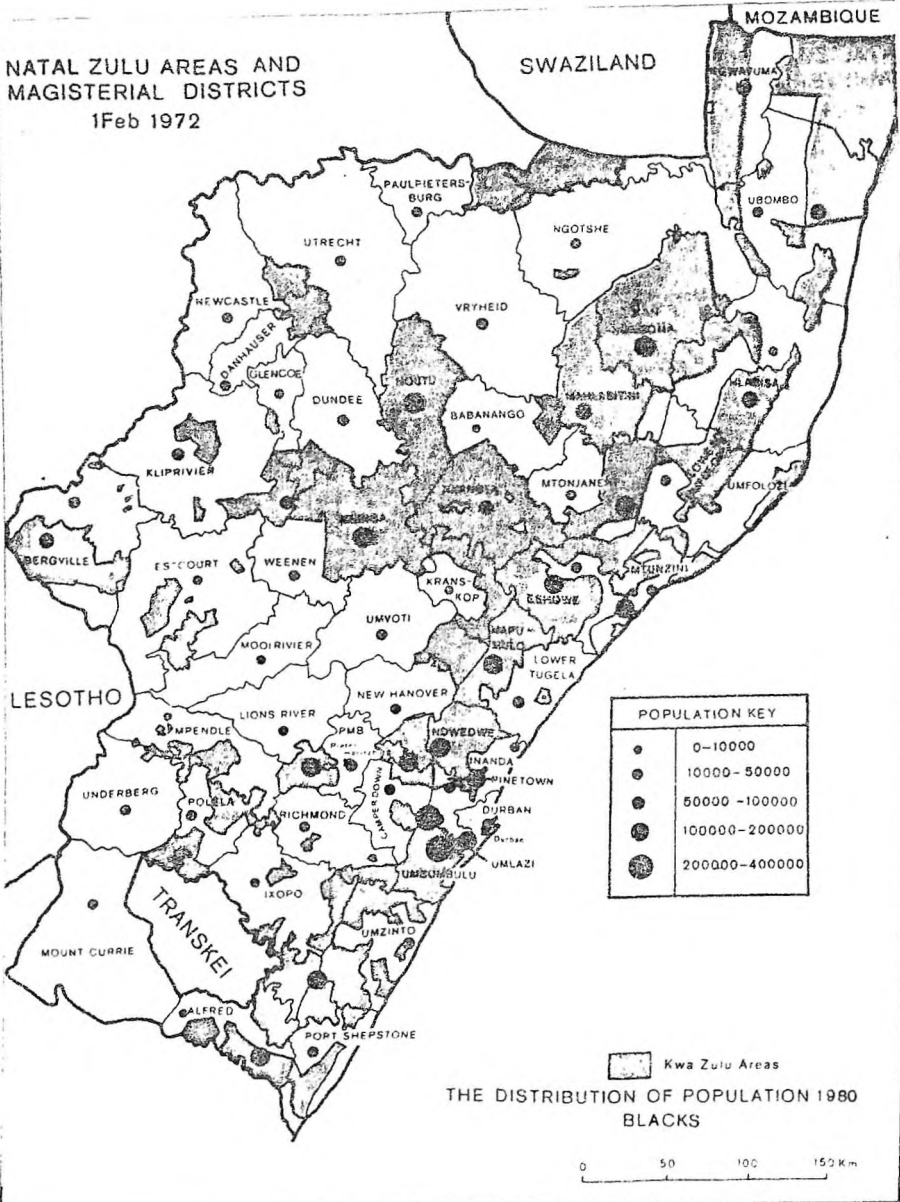
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**NATAL ZULU AREAS AND
MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS**

1 Feb 1972



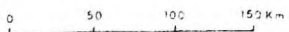
NATAL ZULU AREAS AND
MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS
1Feb 1972



POPULATION KEY	
●	0-10000
●	10000-50000
●	50000-100000
●	100000-200000
●	200000-400000

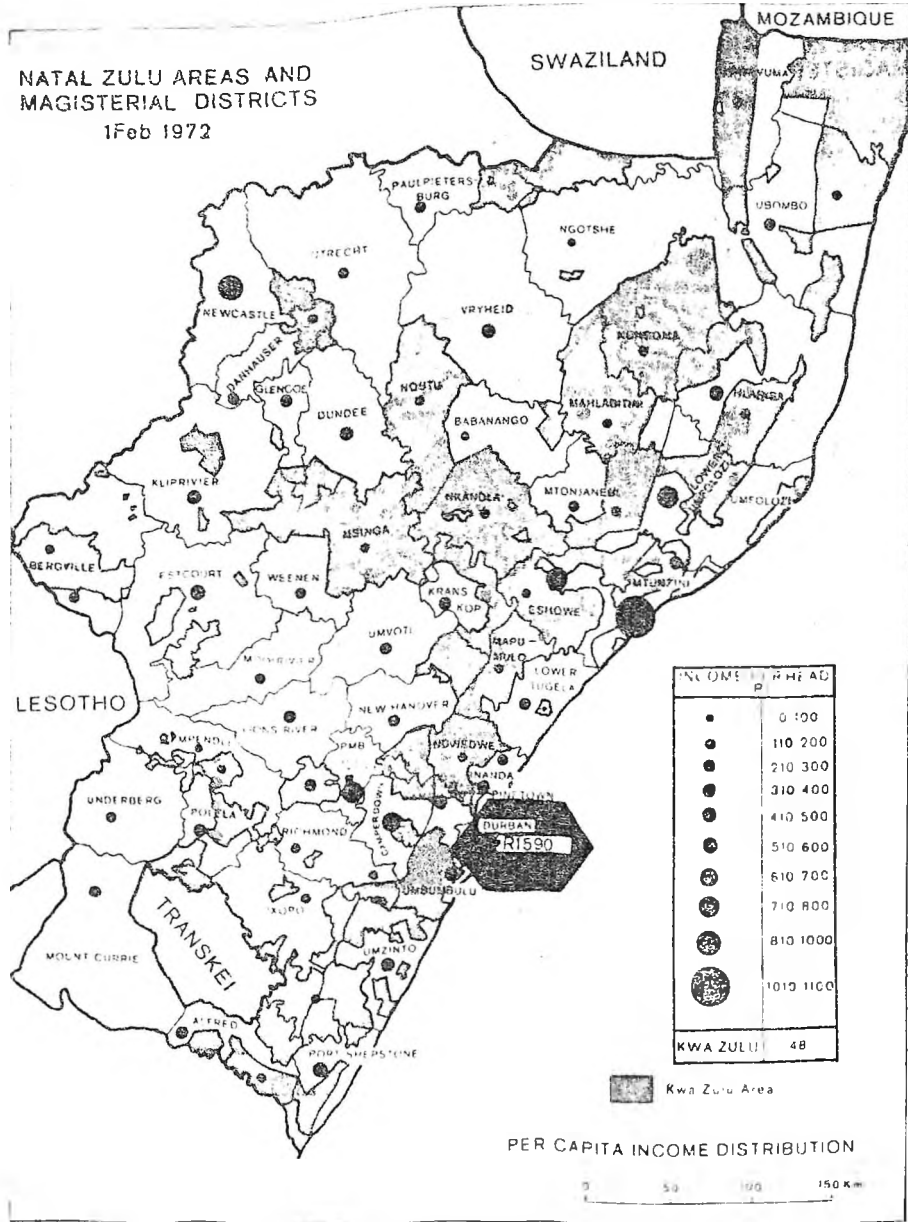
■ Kwa Zulu Areas

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION 1980
BLACKS



NATAL ZULU AREAS AND MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS

1Feb 1972



INCOME PER HEAD	
0 - 100	●
110 - 200	●
210 - 300	●
310 - 400	●
410 - 500	●
510 - 600	●
610 - 700	●
710 - 800	●
810 - 1000	●
1010 - 1100	●
KWA ZULU	48

 Kwa Zulu Area

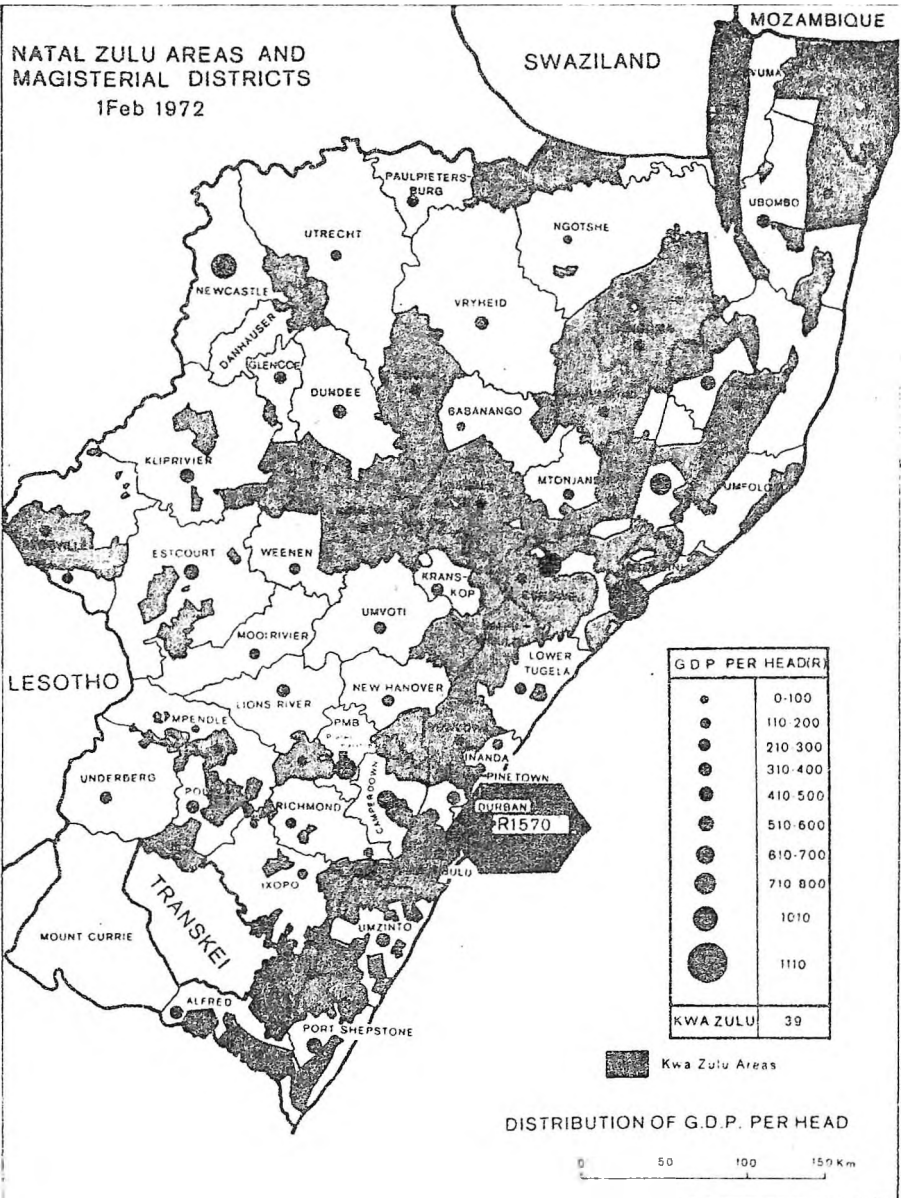
PER CAPITA INCOME DISTRIBUTION



NATAL ZULU AREAS AND
MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS
1Feb 1972

SWAZILAND

MOZAMBIQUE



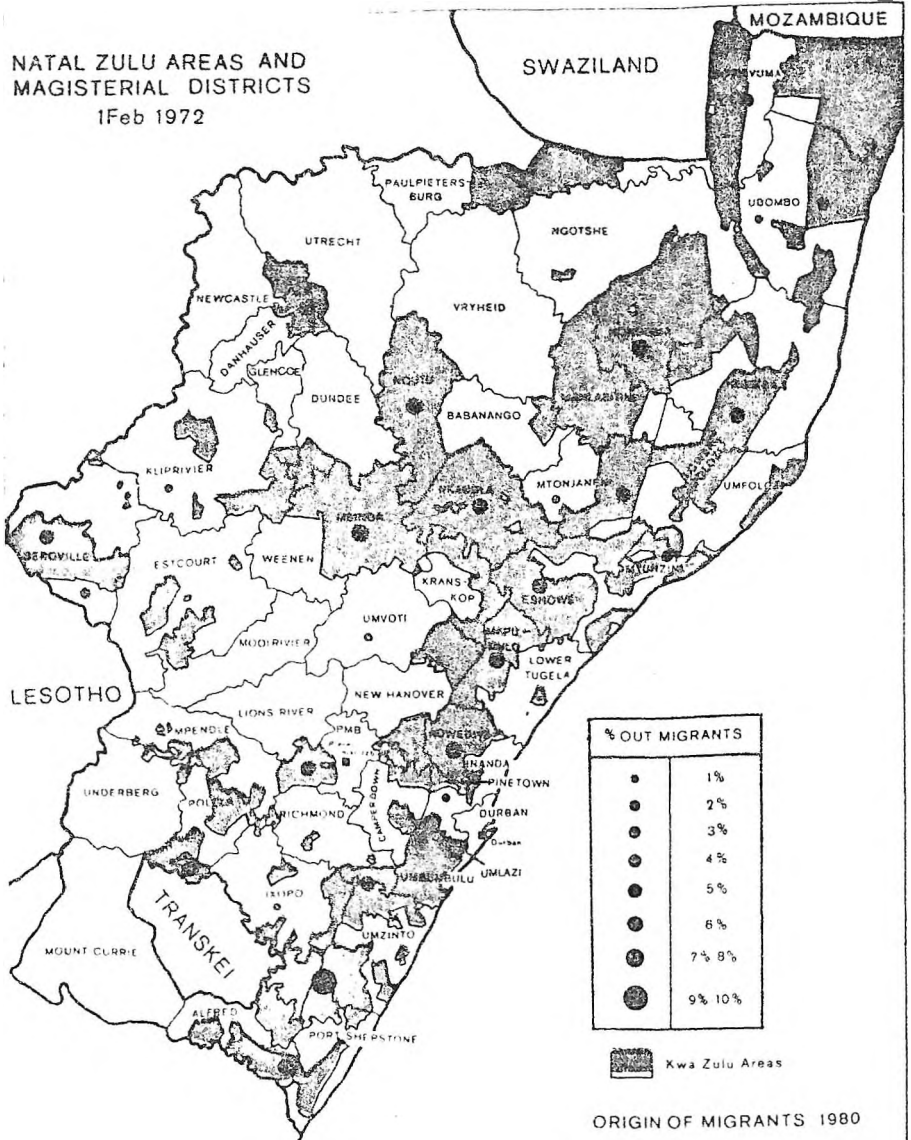
GDP PER HEAD/R	
●	0-100
●	110 200
●	210 300
●	310 400
●	410 500
●	510 600
●	610 700
●	710 800
●	1010
●	1110
KWA ZULU	39

Kwa Zulu Areas

DISTRIBUTION OF G.D.P. PER HEAD

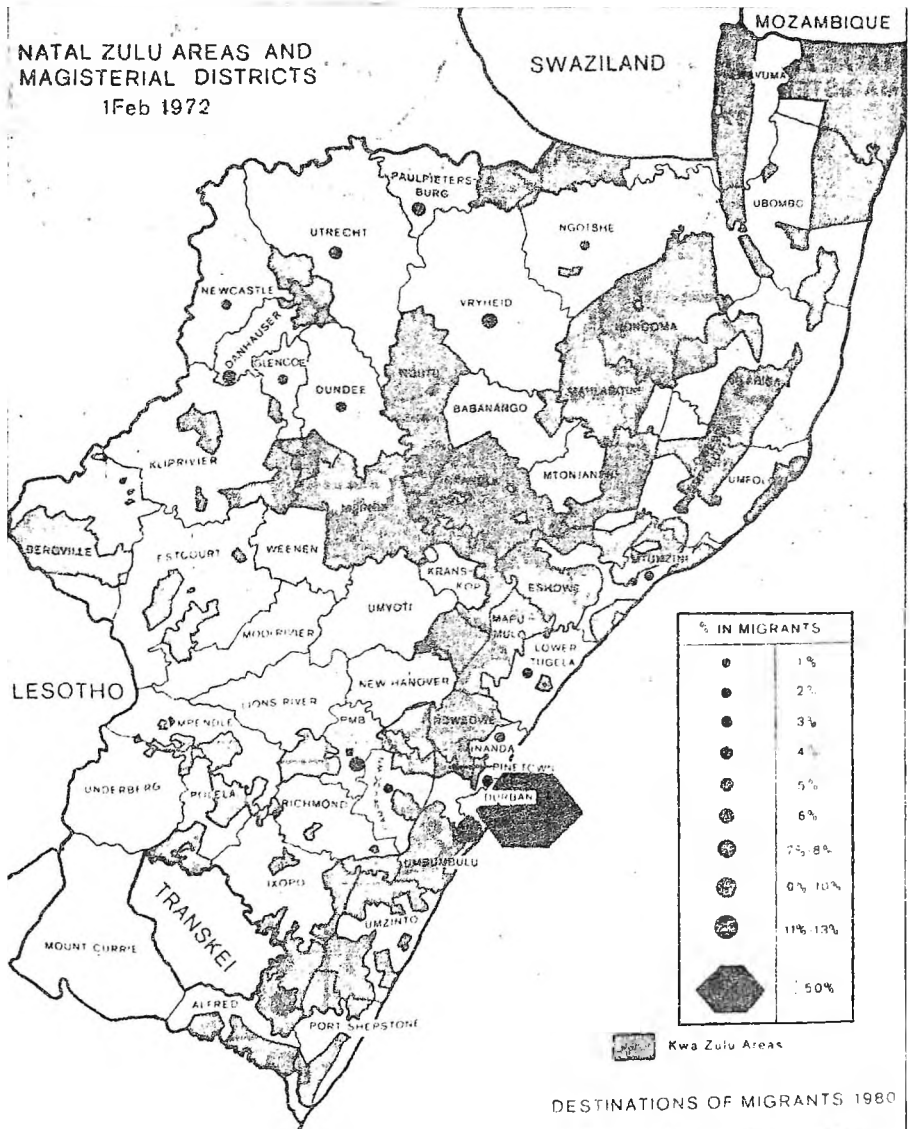
0 50 100 150 Km

NATAL ZULU AREAS AND
MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS
1Feb 1972



NATAL ZULU AREAS AND MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS

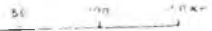
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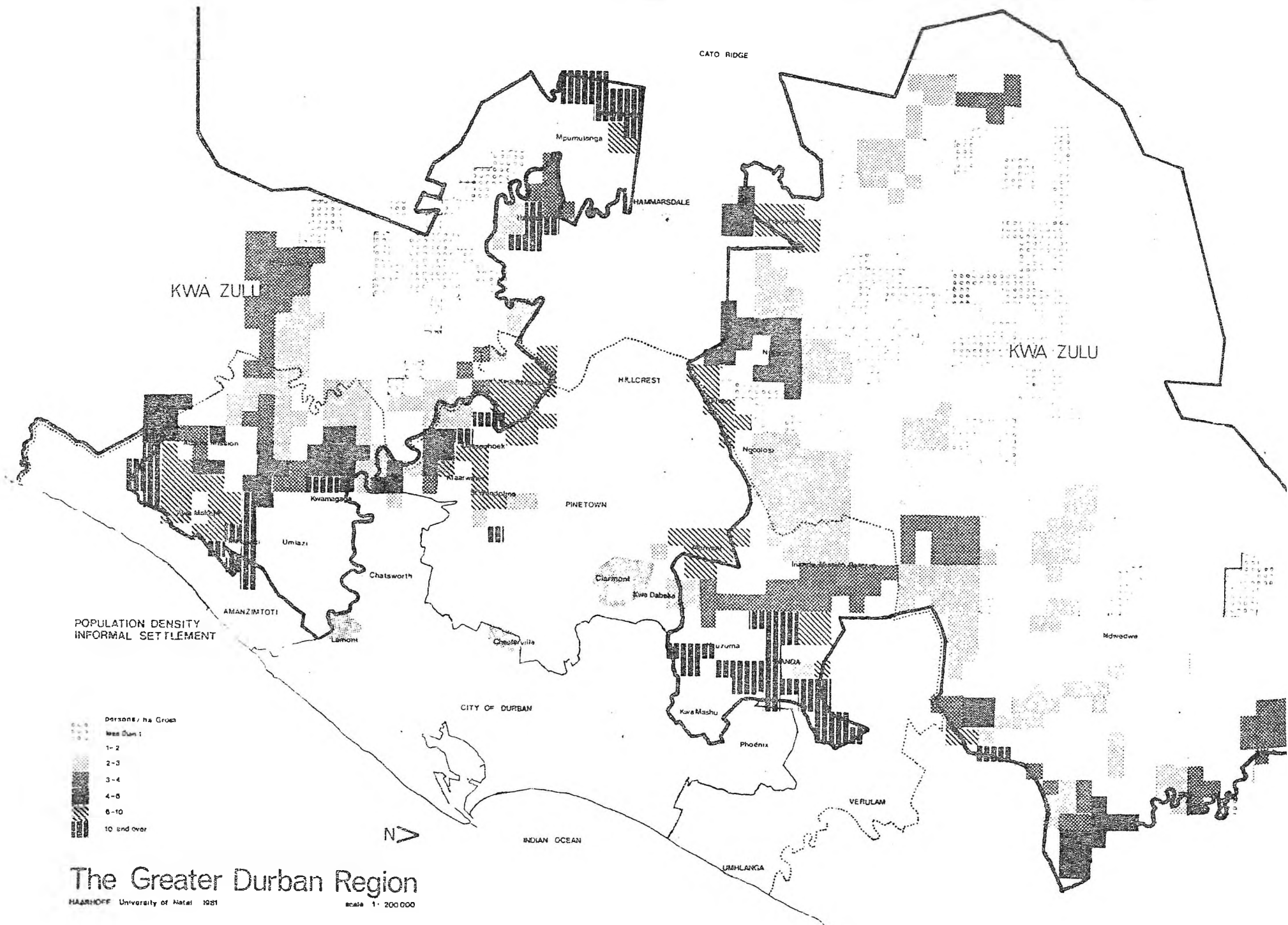


% IN MIGRANTS	
○	1%
●	2%
●	3%
●	4%
●	5%
●	6%
●	7% 8%
●	9% 10%
●	11% 13%
●	50%

Kwa Zulu Areas

DESTINATIONS OF MIGRANTS 1980

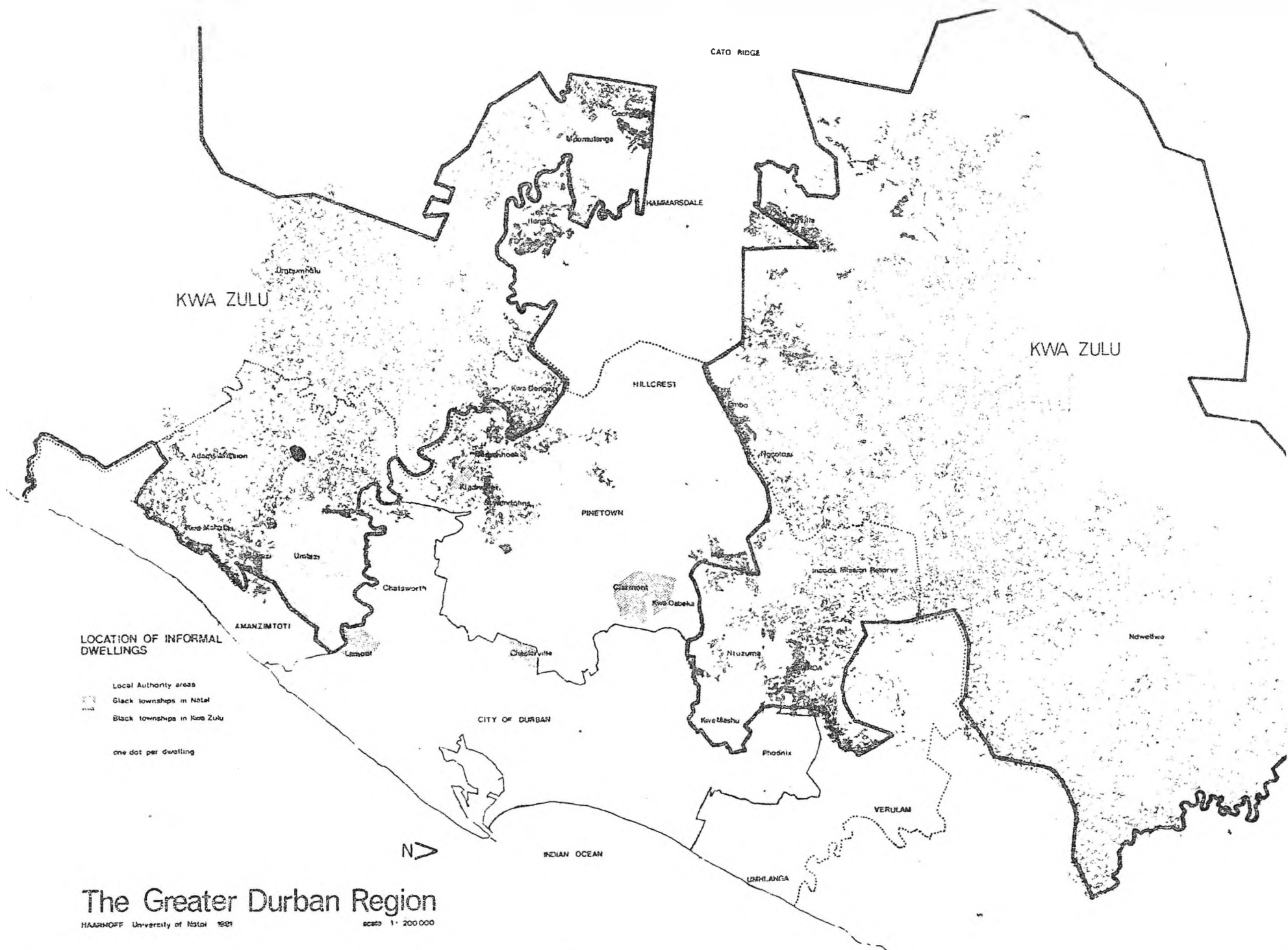








POPULATION DENSITY
INFORMAL SETTLEMENT



The Greater Durban Region
 HAARHOFF University of Natal 1981
 scale 1:200 000



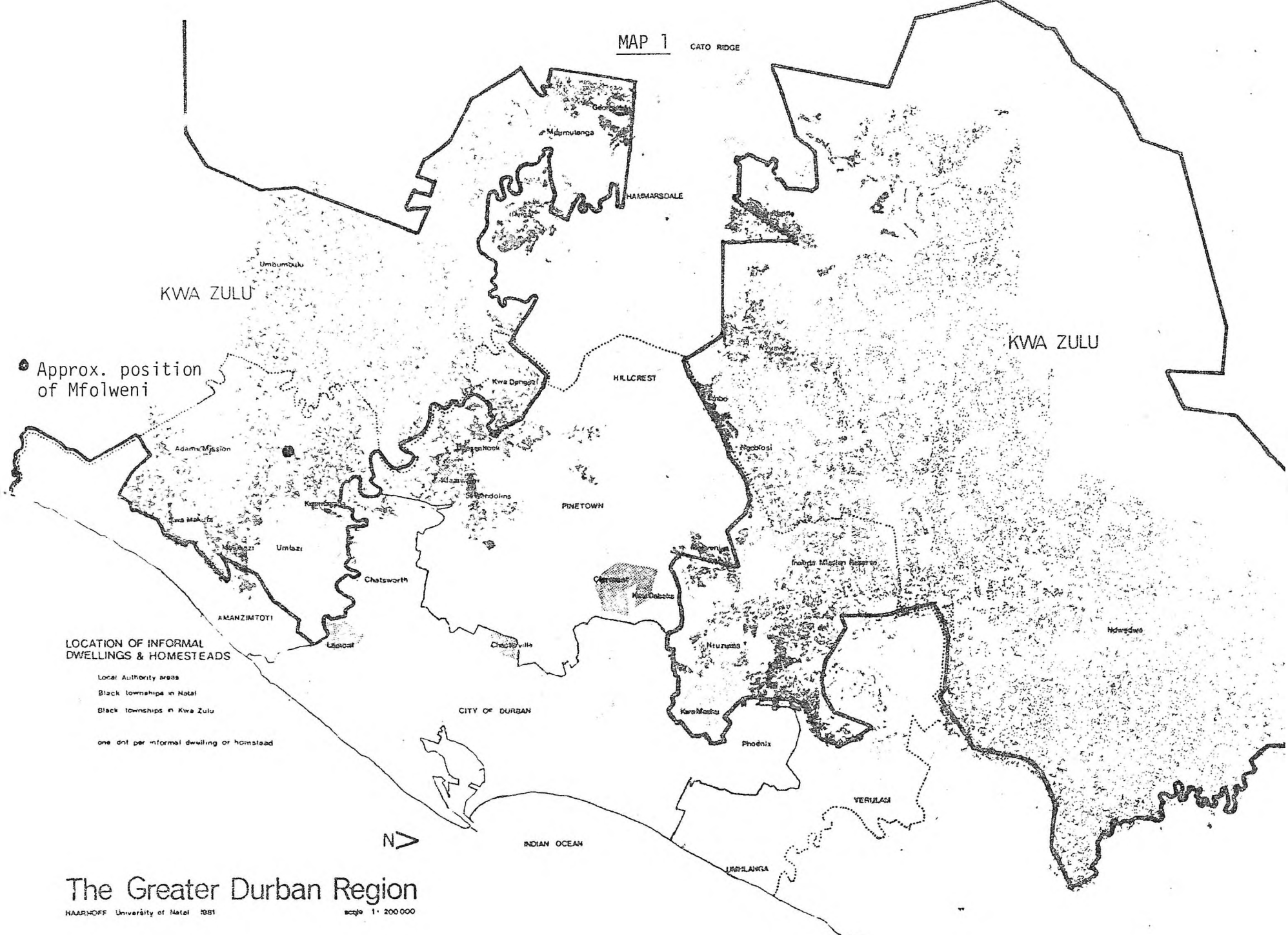
LOCATION OF INFORMAL DWELLINGS

-  Local Authority areas
-  Black townships in Natal
-  Black townships in Kwa Zulu
-  one dot per dwelling

The Greater Durban Region

HAARMHOFF University of Natal 1981

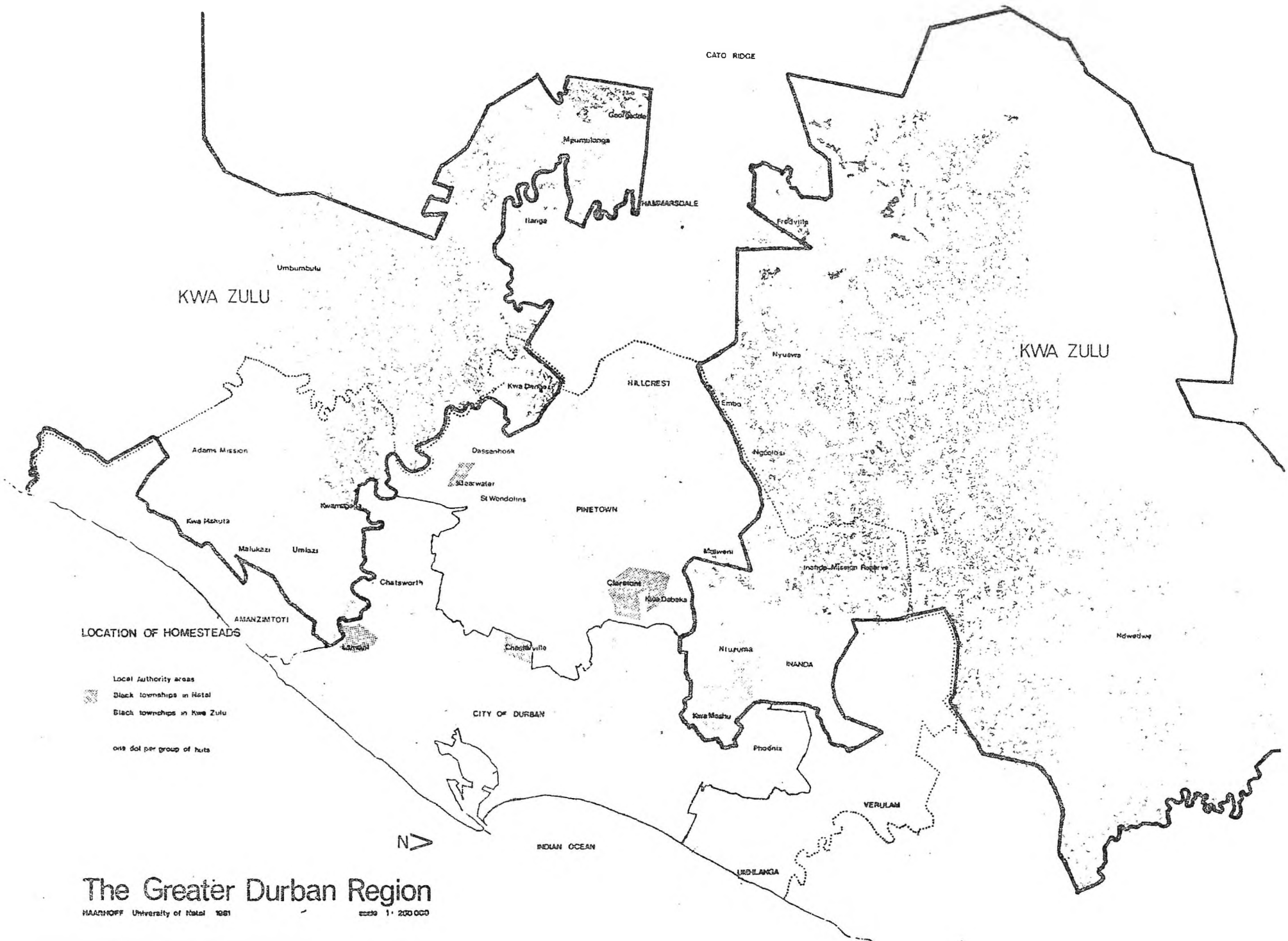
scale 1:200 000



Approx. position of Mfolweni

LOCATION OF INFORMAL DWELLINGS & HOMESTEADS

- Local Authority areas
- Black townships in Natal
- Black townships in Kwa Zulu
- one dot per informal dwelling or homestead



The Greater Durban Region

ANNEXURE C

POVERTY SURVEY:

INTERVIEWER GUIDELINES:

February, 1982

(Designed by the fieldwork team in training sessions)

1. CONFIDENTIALITY:

The people of the household who are being interviewed, must understand that we are only recording first names.

They must feel safe that their answers will be treated with absolute confidentiality. We must assure them that we do not need to know their surname, and that nobody else will know who they are.

2. OBSERVATION:

It is very important for us to be alert to what we see as well as what we hear. Things that we observe, will help us to know when we should be probing for more information. We must always probe with care and not seem to be pushing the people. We must remember that sometimes people say one thing, but that you can see from their face that maybe they mean something else, or that they are wondering whether to tell you something more.

When this happens, we should try to ask the question again in a slightly different way or else come back to the question again later.

We need to probe gently to find out how people really feel about things.

We must be quite sure that we are hearing and understanding exactly what the respondent is saying.

We must remember that if we are not sure about the meaning and write down an incomplete answer, it is impossible for the people at the university working with the papers to know what is meant by the reply. That is a wasted question and a waste of our time too.

3. CONFIDENCE BUILDERS:

We need to make it quite clear to the respondent that there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. We are interested in what people think and feel about certain things and situations.

We need to speak clearly so that we do not confuse the respondent. If the person answering the questions appears unsure, nervous or confused by the question, we must not hesitate to repeat what we have asked or said.

Sometimes we might have to rephrase the questions so that the person understands better.

2.

If we do rephrase a question, we must be quite sure that we do not change the meaning.

Only if a person asks how long an interview will take, will we discuss time with them. We need to reassure the respondents that with their co-operation, it should not take too long.

We need to make the respondent feel an important part of the survey and tell them something about the study and how it might help people in general.

HOWEVER WE MUST REMEMBER THAT IT IS VERY IMPORTANT NOT TO LEAVE PEOPLE WITH FALSE HOPES ABOUT WHAT THE SURVEY COULD DO FOR THEM. WE MUST BE QUITE CLEAR ON THIS POINT.

WE CAN TELL THAT WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE INFORMATION WILL BE USED TO GUIDE PEOPLE WHO WISH TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES FOR POORER COMMUNITIES. WE MUST SAY THAT WE SHALL TRY OUR BEST TO MAKE THIS HAPPEN, BUT WE CANNOT MAKE ANY PROMISES.

We must avoid appearing too smart or better educated than the respondents. We must avoid using words that are not common to local dialect. At the same time we must not lose meaning.

We must just keep our language as simple as possible.

We must remember that big words might make people feel uncomfortable or embarrassed and therefore unwilling to talk freely.

We must not dress too smartly and rather not use make-up or nail varnish for the interviews. Some older people might react negatively to us because of our youth, and then feel even more uncomfortable if we seem too 'untraditional.'

4. INTERVIEWING TIPS:

When we reach a house, even if only one person is available to answer the questions, if that person appear to have most answers for the household, go ahead with the interview.

Remember that we are working to a deadline. Unfortunately we cannot return another day. We must therefore make sure that we can get all the answers from only one person and not waste time at that house if this is not so.

If we decide we cannot interview at a house, for any reason whatsoever, we must be very polite and explain carefully why we are leaving without filling i- the questionnaire.

3.

As a further guideline, if we arrive at a house and the head of the house is ill or absent, and the other members of the household who are over 18 are not present, but there is one person at home who is over 18 and that person appears to be able to answer questions for the whole household, or appears to be the main breadwinner, then we can proceed with the interview.

But we have to be very sure that we can get all the information we need from only one person.

When we arrive at a house, we must be very careful to find out who is the head, and not offend anybody by speaking to people without the permission of the head.

If we are speaking to the head, we must be careful how we request the presence of younger people at the interview.

When the whole household is gathered, we must take care to listen carefully to each person. If somebody is not answering, we should direct a question to that person and try to draw them out.

We must listen carefully who is giving the answer and try and record what each respondent says.

5. QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE:

a. The front page is for our use only. It should be filled in before we interview a household, that is before we enter the house.

We must record the house number if it is visible.

We must remember to write down the time that we arrive at a house, and the time we leave.

b. INTRODUCTION:

We are going to set the person at ease. We will introduce ourselves and carefully explain our reason for calling. We must be careful not to use the phrase 'we want to help you' as this will raise people's hopes.

We must emphasize that the information is important and that it might be able to assist people in charge of communities to bring about changes.

REMEMBER WE CANNOT PROMISE ANYTHING DEFINITE. We must emphasize confidentiality.

c. UNIT OF STUDY:

When we arrive at the house, we must ask if it is possible to speak to the head of house, if this is not the person who has opened the door. We must carefully explain the purpose of our visit. If necessary, we must repeat the reasons for our visit when we meet with the other members of the household. It is important that everybody participating in the interview knows exactly what we are doing. We need to carefully inquire how many people are in the household. We need to remember to check whether all the people present fit our description of household, and whether any of them have an established home elsewhere.

We must explain that we are first wanting general particulars. If necessary, we must repeat the request that all members over the age of 18 who form part of the household, should join the discussions. We must remember that the charts are important to the university for coding. We must take care how we complete them.

As soon as the household is settled we must ask for details of Chart A. We must not forget to put "R" next to the name of the person who answers a question.

We must be careful with the income totals, and how we carry over figures to the next page.

We must constantly be alert to whether or not the figures make sense. If not, we should repeat the question.

d. PROBE GUIDELINE:

As an example, question 5 a: If the answer is : "I dont know"
Try saying:

"When did you last buy uniforms? And when else? How much did you spend? Now tell me, about how many times a year do you buy uniforms? Do you spend more or less the same amount each time? Do you buy "seconds". How much do you save when you buy "seconds"
From these answers we should be able to calculate the annual amount. We must record all the information, and if we do not have time to add, do the sums later or ask the co-ordinator to check the figures at the report back meeting.



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