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Poverty, Family Patterns and Material Aspirations among Africans in a Border Industry Township

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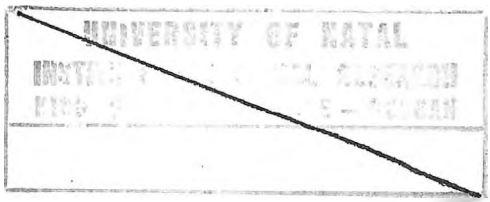
POVERTY, FAMILY PATTERNS AND MATERIAL ASPIRATIONS AMONG AFRICANS IN A BORDER INDUSTRY TOWNSHIP



Lawrence Schlemmer
Peter Stopforth

MARCH, 1974

"Where assistance to the poor has its *raison d'être* in an organic link between elements, the rights of the poor are more highly emphasized, whether their religious premise derives from a metaphysical unity or their kinship or tribal basis from a biological unity. We will see, on the contrary, that when assistance to the poor derives teleologically from a goal one hopes to pursue in this way, rather than from the causal basis of a real and effective unity among all the members of the group, the rights of the poor dwindle to nothingness."

Georg Simmel, *"Der Arme"*, 1908.

AUTHORS' NOTE

The empirical research embodied in our report was conducted in Phalaborwa during July 1973 with the sponsorship of the Palabora Mining Company. As our empirical data derives from a sample survey of Africans, analysis in this report is necessarily limited in historical time and reflects a situation current at July 1973. A significant component of the sample survey comprised Palabora Mining Company African employees at various intervals of monthly remuneration. In the time that has elapsed between conducting the empirical research and publication of this report the Palabora Mining Company has independently improved its scale of remuneration for African employees. We have been duly requested by the sponsor company to reflect recent changes in incomes of their African employees as against those pertaining in July 1973. To this end a Postscript appears which describes these changes.

L. Schlemmer,

P. Stopforth.

PREFACE

During August of 1973, this Institute submitted a confidential research report to a sponsor company, the Palabora Mining Company, entitled *African Wages and the Poverty Datum Line in a Border Mining Industry*. This could be described as a study of absolute poverty as assessed by the Secondary Poverty Datum Line. This measure is usually described as the level of income below which it is impossible for a family to survive in health and decency, even in the short run.

The present report is a sequel to the study of 1973, since it is based on additional analyses of the research data collected at the time. The framework of interpretation is different, however, and it can be described as an analysis of relative rather than absolute poverty.

It is a study of relative poverty in two different senses. Firstly, our earlier report as well as the present study clearly document the material disadvantages of our African respondents relative to the standards of living among most whites. Secondly, the present study assesses the incomes and expenditure of African families relative to their perceived needs and their material aspirations.

Our shift to a different framework of evaluation does not mean that we suggest any cavalier disregard of the Poverty Datum Line as a measure of poverty at the present time; its relevance is unquestioned and our sponsor's concern for the PDL deserves appreciation. Our intention, rather, has been to look beyond the PDL, and to consider relative poverty and factors associated with it, with an eye to the challenges of the future.

The social world of our African respondents is a world of transition. Established traditional norms relating to material

welfare and security have been disrupted or usurped by the opportunities and standards of a modern order, based on technology. As our findings illustrate, it tends to be the modern consumption pattern that our respondents take as their frame of reference. Yet neither the wages they receive nor their obligations to a wider circle of kin allow them to experience fully the potential rewards of this modern world at this stage. Their attempts to achieve the most visible accomplishments of western urban life are often made at the cost of wisdom in purchasing behaviour.

For South Africa generally, and for homeland border communities in particular, the implications of the future are clear. Change has created a framework for potential material discontentment and crises of community morale, and further change should be guided by attempts to solve these problems. The uneasy contradictions between levels of material security and aspirations which our study reveals can only be solved when Africans are trained to fulfil all modern technological and social obligations within a more advanced reward system. We hope that this study will provide some insights into the problems which make these future advances so necessary, and which these advances have to overcome.

I would like to thank, first of all, our sponsors, the Palabora Mining Company for making this study possible. Further thanks are due to staff members and assistants who performed their various tasks with facility and enthusiasm: Mrs. Ulla Bulteel, Miss Ann Morton, Mrs. Patsy Wickham, Mr. Reuel Khoza, Mr. Willy Nkuna, Mrs. Helen Schlemmer, Mr. Noel Sithole and Miss Colleen Wickham. Finally, I would like to express my appreciation of my co-author, Mr. Peter Stopforth, for the insight and efficiency which he brought to bear on the further analyses of my original fieldwork and research design, and for the drafting of the report.

LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER,
Director.

Institute for Social Research,
University of Natal,
March, 1974.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most common manifest problems encountered by an underdeveloped society in the general processes of undergoing social change is that of poverty. The ubiquitous question of poverty is occasioned in many instances by change, or attempts at change, from a subsistence socio-economic order to a modern, developed or industrial type order. Both traditional (subsistence) and modern (industrial) societies have systems of physical and social security which are internalised by their members as criteria of reward for production activity. To contrast them, the traditional system of security is based on kinship relations, the modern system relies on property and material consumption (they consume what they produce). So often as will be shown in the text of this report, the man who is in transition between the two orders finds himself in the invidious position where the traditional system of security has broken down (and no longer operates for him) and where, for one reason or another, he is denied substantial access to modern forms of security[1)]. In this case he is both "absolutely deprived" in the sense that he has no internalised system of security, and in fact very often cannot provide the minimum essentials to sustain "decent" standards of physical life for himself and dependants, and "relatively deprived" because rewards that accrue from labour are more often than not based on subsistence needs and not on modern needs. Such a situation may be described succinctly as exploitation by refusal to recognise social change.

Measures of poverty such as the poverty datum line (PDL)

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1) Security, in the sense that it is used here, refers to the overall reward basis complementary to the type of social order in which social participation is manifest. We cast no aspertions on employers who are very laudably extending peripheral means of security in the way of benefits (medical, pension, etc.) to their African labour and in this way contributing partially to the rationalisation of modern industrial concepts of security. The argument is simply that type of security is dependent on type of social order.

which has gained wide acceptance, and effective minimum level (EML), which has been given some attention in South Africa at the present time, have proved useful as indicators of absolute deprivation, but their heurism is limited to *ad hoc* assessment and generally ignores the relationship between "the poor" (in this case Africans) and the rest of the society, community or group. That is to say that wage levels based on absolute minimum levels reinforce "insecurity" and ignores the question of social change and consequent changes in societal participation, aspiration and values. The alternative approach to measures of absolute poverty, i.e. relative deprivation, consists of determining standards on the basis of felt social needs. Townsend[1] provides coherent statements of the concept and operationalisation of a relative approach to poverty: "Poverty must be regarded as a general form of relative deprivation which is the effect of the maldistribution of resources." Determination of relative deprivation is therefore situationally defined in that, ".... needs which are unmet can be defined satisfactorily only in terms relative to the society in which they are found or expressed." This is a repudiation of teleological solutions[2] to cases of poverty and stresses the "organic" aspects of society, the root cause of poverty.

Townsend's formulation prompts the immediate question "relative to what" in the South African multi-racial situation.

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1) Townsend, P. (1970): Measures and Explanations of Poverty in High Income and Low Income Countries : The Problem of Operationalising the Concepts of Development, Class and Poverty, *in* Townsend, P. *(ed.) The Concept of Poverty*. Heinnemann, London. p.2.

2) Essentially a teleological (interpretation in terms of purpose) solution to any problem seeks to explain causes in terms of their effects. Any teleological solution to a case of poverty would then attempt to find the causes of poverty within the limits of effects manifest by the poor group. (Cf. The failure of poverty programmes based on the "culture of poverty" notion).

Kingsley Davis[1] puts the South African demographic dilemma well, ".... the process of urbanisation in South Africa has to be viewed in two contexts at once. It has to be viewed in the context of what has occurred and is occurring in the industrialised nations and it has to be viewed in the context of what is happening in the under-developed countries." The fact that our immediate universe of study, Namakgale, is a "border industry" African township complicates the issue yet further. In terms of "relative to what" there are three possibilities: the society in Namakgale relative to society in the surrounding homeland territory (traditional in context), or relative to African society in industrialised urban areas of the country, or relative to the supposedly "developed" white society. Townsend[2] suggests one way to solve the criteria of relative evaluation problem: namely, the use of dualistic models, rather than monistic ones, constructed on the basis of empirical reality as it occurs in any situation. In fact this approach has been attempted among urban Africans in Rhodesia with interesting results[3]. A dualistic traditional/modern model was constructed against which forms of social structure were evaluated. It was discovered that the emerging urban African society, far from perpetuating the traditional order, was comparable with modern types of social structure over a wide range of institutions. In fact, in the final analysis it was concluded that sociologically, the social system in a particular African township resembled the European social system more than the traditional African order in Rhodesia.

So with the premise that poverty is essentially a consequence of systems of relationship and not something intrinsic to

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1) Davis, K. (1970): World Urbanisation and Economic Development, *in* Watts, H.L. *(ed.) Focus on Cities.* Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, Durban. p.39.

2) Townsend, *op cit.*, p.32.

3) See Stopforth, P. (1972): *Two Aspects of Social Change.* Occasional Paper No. 7, Department of Sociology, University of Rhodesia, Salisbury. *passim.*

individuals our report has attempted to provide some empirical evidence which we hope will allow a linkage between poverty and relative evaluation of deprivation in social change. To this end we have shown "physical" structural changes to family life, the eclipse of the rural subsistence economy as an effective force for the townsmen, the volition to modern forms of consumption manifest in "ideal" aspirations and the extreme unlikelihood that a PDL or EML based income will be efficacious in providing security of the type sought. In effect we argue that the residents of Namakgale and its immediate surrounds are relatively deprived, given low incomes, in that their changed situationally defined needs cannot be met by subsistence incomes.

While we would not propose an eschatology of African poverty at this juncture, it is opportune to draw attention to the idea that maldistribution of resources results in a mutual dependency between poor and wealthy[1]. In South Africa the "rights" of the poor (poor co-inciding with black) go largely unrecognised, while the "dependency" of the wealthy (whites) increases day by day. The catch-phrase "developed under-development" is very appropriate to a situation where responsibility for poverty is in the hands of the wealthy and where little action is taken to alleviate the plight of the poor. Charity disbursed by "benefactors" is no effective substitute for long-term solutions involving disposition of resources and recognition of modern aspirations and forms of security among urban Africans.

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1) See Wax, M.L. (1971): Poverty and Interdependency, *in* Leacock, E.B. *(ed.) The Culture of Poverty : A Critique.* Simon and Schuster, New York. *passim.*

I. THE SAMPLE SURVEY

This report, based on a sample survey of Africans inhabiting a "border area" township and contiguous areas, is a sequel to Schlemmer's report[1] concerning wages and the poverty datum line (PDL) for the same universe. The prior report suggests two "steering lines" to be recognised in the present study. They are: firstly, an empirically-based effective minimum level (EML) for Africans in the Phalaborwa area[2]; secondly, to provide insight into family patterns and residential circumstances[3]. The aims of research into these two aspects of a community will be elaborated below under the sub-title "Aim of the Report".

Universe of Study[4]

The focus of this study, Namakgale township in the Phalaborwa area of the North Eastern Transvaal, is referred to as a border industry township and not a Homeland township (although it falls within the territory of the Lebowa Homeland Government) because at this time it is still administered by Bantu Administration and Development and the Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the Republican Government[5]. While the political situation involving Namakgale is of great interest in general, it is thought that political change will have little impact on family patterns and material aspirations hence political

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1) Schlemmer, L. (1973) : *African Wages and the Poverty Datum Line In A Border Mining Industry.* An Applied Research Report of the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, Durban.

2) *Ibid.*, p.4.

3) *Ibid.*, p.6.

4) Unless otherwise stated information reported in this sub-section is drawn from Thomas, W. (1973) : *Management Responsibility and African Employment in South Africa.* (Report of a panel investigation) Ravan Press, Johannesburg. pp. 11-14.

5) There is some likelihood that responsibility for the administration of Namakgale will be transferred to a Homeland government in the near future.

analysis is largely dispensed with in this report, the scope of which is limited to data assembled from the sample survey.

Namakgale township is inhabited by approximately 20 000 individuals who reside in 3 168 dwellings, 2 850 of which have been provided by government and 318 built by the Palabora Mining Company (PMC). The extent to which PMC dominates as an employer of black labour is reflected in occupancy of Namakgale dwellings. Excluding bachelors or married men living in single status and others living in rural villages or unknown circumstances 1 708[1)] PMC employees (with their families) occupy houses in Namakgale. That is to say 54 per cent of the families in Namakgale are associated directly or indirectly with PMC. This association of Mine and "African Community" is a direct consequence of mining development in the area providing an almost classical developed/under-developed confrontation. The consequences of such interdependence, industry and a worker community both situated in an African rural locality, as regards the course of social change for the local community are not well documented in the South African case. Usually, the situation is reversed, i.e. industry recruits African labour to established urban areas where the trend has been to discourage (albeit not successfully) community formation and family life.

The "community" in an African rural locality needs to be qualified. Table I shows the relationship between period of residence in the immediate Phalaborwa area and period employed by PMC[2)]. A product moment correlation coefficient shows a correlation (r) of 0,62 between residence and employment; when lodgers and those residing in villages are removed from the sample the figure rises to r = 0,95. It is clear that the township of Namakgale is occupied by residents most of whom have lived much of their lives elsewhere and have settled in the Phalaborwa area in response to work opportunity. This is also

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1) See Schlemmer, *op cit.*, p.5. Figures received by courtesy of PMC show 1 708 employees residing in Namakgale as of 30:9:1973.

2) See components of sample below. Non-PMC employees are not included in the tabulations of Table I.

true of the non-PMC employed respondents in the sample who have resided on average in Namakgale for 6,2 years. It would be wrong therefore to assume that industrial development has been placed in the midst of an established rural community: rather, more accurately, it would appear that industrial development is a cause of the development of a new type of community in the area, a community made up of numerous "other community" members recruited to the township. In our sample (see forward) most respondents with more than ten years residence in the area are those residing in the villages (usually life long residents), the true "natives" of the immediate vicinity of Phalaborwa.

TABLE I Scattergram and Unit Cross Tabulation Showing the Relationship Between Period of Residence in the Phalaborwa Area and Employment by PMC in years.

Number of years residence in Phalaborwa area	Number of years employed by P.M.C.											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10+	
1		1	1	1								3
2	1	1		1	1							4
3			1111 1111		1						1	10
4	1			111 11	1	1					1	9
5			1	1	111111 111111	1						15
6	1		11	1	1	1111	1		1			11
7			1		111		11111 11111	11				16
8				1		1	1	1111 1111				11
9	1	1		1					11			5
10						1			1	1		3
10+	1111		111		111	1				1	11	14
	8	3	16	11	22	9	12	10	4	2	4	101

The term community as it is applied to the case of Namakgale should be done so with circumspection. Although Namakgale is in Lebowa territory, 60 per cent of its inhabitants are said to be Shangaan. It is an *ad hoc* urb, its existence appearing to be co-incident with the activities of PMC while it probably finds many of its vicinal and social links with the immediate homeland territories which are essentially rural and "traditional" in context. While the township of Namakgale is a focus for change among Africans, it is separated from participation and control of the effects of development. Thomas[1] describes this pattern as follows, "... virtually all the industrial, commercial and service enterprises are located in the white-zoned township with only rudimentary commercial development in the African-zoned township." As a universe of study Namakgale is a newly-formed social entity where urbanisation *per se* cannot be the independant variable in change. Nor, it will be shown later, can the traditional cultures of the people inhabiting the township wholly account for changes in modes and aspirations for consumption.

Aim of the Report

The two main emphases of this report have already been identified: a sociographic investigation of family patterns and an evaluation of material aspirations and expenditure. These factors are not unrelated. Change in family structure is associated with change in patterns of economic reliance. The general trend in changing family structure is away from extended families toward elementary (nuclear) families. Although the pure elementary family (spouses and children) is seldom encountered[2] in emerging urban African society the smaller group is forced to find alternative routes and sources of social

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1) Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

2) See Stopforth, (1971): *Survey of Highfield African Township.* Occasional Paper No.6, Department of Sociology, University of Rhodesia, Salisbury. pp. 12-13.

security. This is often expressed as a wish to participate in material consumption patterns foreign to the traditional culture but resembling modern forms of overt security symbolisation. A PDL wage, or near PDL wage, does not allow for the type of consumption reminiscent of modern society. The aim in this study is two-fold: to establish what family patterns look like and which material consumption aspirations prevail; secondly, on the basis of our findings to establish whether or not Africans in Namakgale can develop a security system appropriate to social change contingency. The theoretical formulation is clear (change in family structure changes network of security necessitating alternative security criteria), the actual solution is often obscured by unwillingness to recognise change which would have to be accommodated by a "living wage" comparable to modern rather than traditional standards.

The nature of our data will allow only an introduction to the general problem of poverty and social change. However, it is hoped that it will become clear that while a PDL approach spells out minimum levels of poverty it is not sufficient to account for relative social needs occassioned by movement from one social order to another. Our general approach is to consider the rights of the poor based on empirical research and not to rely on the obligations of the rich which tend to be interpreted in a fashion independent of social reality. At the same time we are well aware of the many sociological problems of social change which militate against an equitable relationship between developed and developing interests.

The Sample

The non-proportional stratified systematic sample with an effective sample of 112 cases (16 per cent shortfall) is the same sample used by Schlemmer in a prior report[1]. Components of stratification include PMC employees of varying income and circumstances of

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1) Schlemmer, *op cit.*, pp. 6-7.

settlement as well as non-PMC employees. A breakdown of sample categories is shown in the tabulation below :

Sample Categories

Employed By :	Income in Rands	Residential Description			N
		Houses in Namakgale	Lodgers in Namakgale	Semi-rural Villages	
P M C (Low Earners)	0 - 54	13	1	1	15
	55 - 64	27	5	4	36
	65 - 74	20	-	3	23
P M C (High Earners)	75 - 84	10	-	1	11
	85 Plus	16	-	-	16
Other Employer (Non-P M C)	40 - 77	11	-	-	11
		97	6	9	112

For convenience tabulated data in this report is presented with stub variables corresponding to PMC low earners, PMC high earners, non-PMC employees and those residing in villages in many instances (figures for lodgers are at times included in parenthesis). As the sample is small and biased in favour of lower income groups it was thought wise to weight categories so as to gain a more representative assessment of the universe of study. Taking low earners employed by PMC with a sampling fraction of approximately 12 per cent as a sample base, weights were assigned to the balance of sample categories as follows:

PMC Low Earners	(1/8)	66 x 1	=	66
PMC High Earners	(1/80)	26 x 10	=	260
Non-PMC Employees	(1/140)	11 x 17	=	187
Those residing in Villages	(1/8)[1)]	9 x 1	=	9
		112		522

1) Weighting for villagers is based on income and not on sample fraction because the sub-universe is difficult to determine numerically.

By this method the more highly remunerated employees of PMC and respondents employed elsewhere are reflected on a basis which makes statements concerning Namakgale and its surrounds more equitable.

With a small sample (112 families among a population of over 20 000) the reliability of generalising from sample to universe cannot be taken for granted. Obviously we would prefer to be able to make general statements about Namakgale rather than have to confine ourselves to sample statements. To this end a standard error of mean *de facto* sample household sizes was calculated. The result on this variable proved to be a significant estimator of the population under scrutiny.

$\bar{X}$	σ	SE.$\bar{X}$	C.V.	Z
5,40	5,85	0,55	20,37	1,96

Therefore, with CI.95 the limits of estimation equal 4,32 - 6,48 ($\bar{X}$ = 5,40 $\pm$ 1,08). As the co-efficient of variation is less than 25 the sample mean can be described as a good (rather than fair or poor) estimator of the population mean. This means that 95 samples out of 100 will estimate the population statistic within the limits above. Reliability on this variable compares more than favourably with a small sample (102 families) drawn from an African Township in Rhodesia.[1)]

Notes on Remuneration

In Chapter V of this report we discuss the relative merits of a PDL and EML against a background of family patterns, social change and material aspirations of the sample. It seems wise to include a section at the outset of this report on general wage levels and their relationship to measures that will be discussed later.

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1) Stopforth (1971), *op cit.*, p.3.

Three problems with regard to describing the real "wealth" of the Namakgale sample should be noted however.

(i) Palabora Mining Company employees constitute a large component in our sample and as this Company has a reputation for paying Africans well, the mean monthly remuneration figure (excluding overtime, etc.) discussed below might well exceed the true mean for all gainfully employed African males in the area.

(ii) Social surveys are always confidential exercises and on the basis that a Company has as much right to confidentiality as any individual respondent in a survey, details confidential to PMC (appearing in the prior confidential report) are not reported here.

(iii) The figures used below and throughout the report refer to figures as of July, 1973 (except in the one case in Chapter V where this is indicated).

In Chapter V of this report we extract two secondary PDLs from the prior report which refer to Namakgale: R62,61 in respect of PMC employees and R70,82 in respect of Africans employed elsewhere. Using the mean of these levels, R66,72, we raise to an EML equal to R100,08[1]. Against these measures of poverty we compare a mean monthly remuneration (excluding overtime) in our sample of R68,73. The range of monthly remuneration in our sample is from R40,00 to R191,00. When we discuss relative deprivation in Chapter V it is as well to know that 62% of the sample receive less than the mean monthly remuneration of R68,73; 55% receive less than the mean secondary

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1) An EML is calculated on the basis of 1,5 times the relevant PDL. It is an arbitrary yardstick which is thought to be the level at which families are actually able to spend the necessary amounts on PDL prescriptions.

PDL, R66,72, employed here; and only 8%[1] of our sample are remunerated at above the EML, R100,08, for this study.

We have chosen to use a secondary PDL calculated on the basis of a "typical" African family of six persons (compare our family size statistic of 5,59 in Chapter II) and not other calculations based on nuclear family responsibilities reported by Schlemmer, because it is felt that the "hypothetical situation" more closely resembles real family structure in our sample (see Chapter II), and in fact were we to work on the basis of enlarged family size we would include dependents living elsewhere which raises family size to the order of 8,05 persons.

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1) This percentage is derived from an actual count of our sample and is unweighted: bearing in mind that out sample is heavily loaded with PMC employees and that PMC African wages have been increased since the data was collected, the figure of 8% will have increased considerably since then.

II FAMILY PATTERNS

Family structures are notoriously difficult to analyse fully. The sociological emphasis is on the actual state of the pattern of relationships that exist among kin. In social change family relationships are disrupted by numerous factors, some social but many physical, which have objective effects on traditional structure and function. In this report we can do little more than infer sociological effects from physical changes.

TABLE II Sample Category Comparison of Mean Family Size, Number of Dependents Living Within the Immediate Household (de facto situation), Number of Dependents Residing Elsewhere and Total Number of Dependents.

Sample Categories / Mean Numbers	Total Sample Weighted Arithmetic Mean	Low Earners (Lodgers in parenthesis)	High Earners	Non-PMC	Category Residing in Villages
Mean de facto family size	5,59	5,32 (3,83)	5,77	5,40	6,11
Mean dependents in de facto situation	4,59	4,32 (2,83)	4,77	4,40	5,11
Mean dependents residing elsewhere	2,46	2,33 (3,50)	2,38	2,70	1,00
Mean total dependents	7,05	6,65 (6,33)	7,15	7,10	6,11
Total Number	N=111	N=66 (N=6)	N=26	N=10	N=9

In Table II, using the criterion of dependency on the householder, it is clear that family can not be defined on the basis of *de facto* structure (those kin residing as a single unit in one

dwelling in Namakgale or surrounds) but must be extended to kin who reside elsewhere and are financially dependent on the head of household in Namakgale. The difference in family size on the basis of dependency and not solely residential settlement is not inconsiderable. We computed a weighted arithmetic mean *de facto* family size of 5,59 from the sample. However, if dependents residing elsewhere are included in family size, the mean figure increases to 8,05: the mean number of dependents residing elsewhere (2,46) constitutes an increase of 44% to *de facto* family size. The striking differences within the sample comprise lodgers and villagers. Obviously lodgers, who are generally low earners, maintain small *de facto* families with more dependents in outlying rural areas while villagers, by definition of their residential history, incorporate most key kinsmen in one unit. There is a suggestion that non-PMC employed respondents tend to have slightly more dependents in the rural area, probably the result of lower wages compared with PMC employed respondents. High earners employed by PMC tend to have larger *de facto* families as well as more dependents overall than do their lower earning colleagues.

One could merely state this difference and not comment further on the grounds of statistical insignificance. However, it is not inconceivable that a trend of family commitment associated with income is being established in Namakgale. Usually one associates high income with smaller families. But an income of R80+ per month is not objectively high (only relatively so) and certainly cannot allow for "middle class" consumption and social patterns. In effect, the just higher than subsistence wage allows for the situation where kin with legitimate traditional reciprocation can make claims on the higher wage earner. The size of the real sociological unit increases in such a case. Of the many consequences of this formulation that could be discussed one springs very clearly to mind: the question of productivity and the backward sloping supply curve. An increase in wage insufficient to allow the wage earner a real increment over and above immediate familial obligations is not necessarily a positive incentive in terms of the relationship between remuneration and production achievement.[1] In effect he begins working for his relations and derives no benefit

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1) This is a general assertion and does not refer specifically to PMC where recent wage increases (see Postscript) have possibly resulted in greater productivity orientations.

from the wage increase. Employers should consider carefully whether they are merely broadening the base of subsistence or making sufficient contribution to the wage earner's real buying power.

Our sample weighted mean of 5,59 people per *de facto* family in this study overestimates the raw mean which is 5,40 people per family. While it is difficult to comment independently on this figure per family size it can be compared with other figures to establish whether or not it is out of the ordinary. The comparisons below, which give mean figures for various urban areas in Southern Africa, indicate that the mean family size in Namakgale is in no way essentially different from what one would expect to find in an urban area. The Salisbury figures are directly comparable being true means of family size. Steenekamp's figures are for households (defined in his Annexure B) and would include people not strictly of one family structure. Family figures would be slightly lower which suggest firmly that mean family size in Namakgale accords generally with means for African townships elsewhere.

	$\bar{X}$ Family Size
Namakgale	5,40
Salisbury[1]: Highfield	5,91
Kambuzuma	5,20
Dzivaresekwa	4,64
Pretoria[2]	5,68
Johannesburg[2]	5,07
Durban[2]	5,45
Port Elizabeth[2]	5,18
East London[2]	4,94
Cape Town[2]	5,90
Krugersdorp[2]	5,84
Tembisa[2]	5,95

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1) Unpublished material from a sociological survey conducted in three African townships in Salisbury 1970-71, by P. Stopforth.

2) Steenekamp, J.J.A. (1972): *Income and Expenditure Patterns of Multiple Urban Bantu Households: An Inter-regional Comparison.* Research Report No.32, Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa, Pretoria. p.10.

TABLE III Differences Between Elementary and Complex (Enlarged and Polygamous) Family Structure As They Relate to Key Mean Variables of Family Size and Family Commitment.

Sample Categories / Mean Numbers	Total Sample : Weighted Arithmetic Mean			Low Earners (Lodgers in Parenthesis)		High Earners		Non-PMC		Category Residing in Villages	
	Total	Elementary	Complex	Elementary	Complex	Elementary	Complex	Elementary	Complex	Elementary	Complex
Mean de facto family size	5,59	4,72	7,99	4,79 (3,40)	6,63 (6,00)	4,80	9,00	4,57	7,33	4,00	7,71
Mean dependents in de facto situation	4,49	3,72	6,99	3,79 (2,40)	5,63 (5,00)	3,80	8,00	3,57	6,33	3,00	6,71
Mean dependents residing elsewhere:	2,46	2,59	2,10	2,30 (3,20)	2,42 (5,00)	2,70	1,33	2,57	3,00	0,67	1,17
Agnates		1,61	1,26	1,53	1,74	1,50	0,50	1,86	2,00	0,33	1,00
Cognates		0,52	0,68	0,64	0,58	0,55	0,50	0,43	1,00	0,33	0,17
Affines		0,48	0,16	0,13	0,10	0,69	0,33	0,29	0,00	0,00	0,00
Mean total dependents	7,05	6,31	9,09	6,09 (5,60)	8,05 (10,00)	6,50	9,33	6,14	9,33	3,67	7,88
Total Number	N=111	N=77	N=34	N=47	N=19	N=20	N= 6	N= 7	N= 3	N= 3	N= 6
				N=66		N=26		N=10		N=9	
Percentage of Category N		69,4	30,6	71,2	28,8	76,9	23,1	70,0	30,0	33,3	66,6

Table III describes some differences between elementary and complex family structures. By elementary family we mean spouses and their children. Complex family structure includes elementary enlarged and polygamous units. The elementary enlarged family consists of the elementary care to which is accreted one or more relatives; it is not an extended family in the traditional sense of family structure[1]. Polygamous unions here refer to men with more than one wife in the *de facto* situation. Other polygamists are not included in the definition complex. The incidence of men in town with an extra wife residing elsewhere is not high as indicated by the low incidence of affines as other dependents very few of whom are in fact wives.

The most startling statistic in Table III is the incidence of elementary *de facto* family structure: 69,4 per cent in our sample calculated as a weighted arithmetic mean. The comparison below will allow some idea of the extra-ordinariness of the large number of elementary family structures in Namakgale.

	% Incidence of Elementary Family Structure[2]	
Namakgale	69,4	
Musami[3]	35,1	
Zulu Wards[4]	44,0	
Highfield[5] and 6)	40,2	44,2
Kambuzuma[6]	59,1	
Dzivaresekwa[6]	58,7	

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1) Stopforth, (1971) *op cit.*, p.12.

2) I have criticised the definitions of elementary family structure employed in the studies of Musami, Zulu Wards and Baumannville elsewhere. See Stopforth, (1971) *op cit.*, pp.10-11.

3) See Chavunduka, G.L. (1970): *Social Change in a Shona Ward.* Occasional Paper No.4, Department of Sociology, University of Rhodesia, Salisbury. Table IV.

4) See Reader, D.H. (1966): *Zulu Tribe in Transition.* Manchester University Press, Manchester. p.77.

5) Stopforth, (1971) *op cit.*, p.9.

6) Unpublished material from a sociological survey in three African townships in Salisbury, 1970-71, by P. Stopforth.

We have described Namakgale as an intermediate urban community - urban type settlement in a rural environment where rural and urban networks can in fact co-exist simultaneously. Compare the incidence of family nucleation with other communities above. The number of elementary families in Namakgale is higher than the figures for both rural communities (Musami and Zulu Wards) and urban communities above. It comes closest to the figures for Kambuzuma and Dzivaresekwa in Rhodesia. Both these townships are new; Kambuzuma catering to higher socio-economic strata and Dzivaresekwa for domestic servants. Although it is clear that there is no absolute pattern for nucleation the high incidence in Namakgale suggests a situational explanation. As Phalaborwa town is small and the number of jobs limited it is possible that Namakgale does not fall prey to the ubiquitous job-seeking kinsmen omnipresent in other South African towns. Also as Phalaborwa is in a border area job-seeking can probably be conducted from the traditional home quite easily. In general most respondents in Namakgale (compare villages) have resided there a short time with no build up of generations. It is also probable that traditional patterns are not upset to the extent that they are by removal to say Johannesburg, and that the nuclear family in Namakgale can keep in contact with the extended family in the near rural area without accreting extra kinsmen to the structure in town. Whatever the explanation, it seems unlikely that influx control laws in a "white area" are pursued with such efficiency in Namakgale so as to produce the high incidence of elementary families. Independent of the cause of nucleation, it must be bornein mind that continued experience of different statuses and roles in a situation will have far-reaching effects. Independence won in town is seldom sacrificed without a fight.

Expectedly, complex families are larger than elementary families in Namakgale although the difference in size of 3,27 based on the weighted mean is rather large. Unexpectedly, the number of total dependents between elementary and complex structures does not even out when dependents residing elsewhere are enumerated: the difference between the two types of family when all dependents are

included in the definition merely drops from 3,27 to 2,78; not sufficient to compensate for the larger *de facto* complex family. This means that the complex family structure is always disadvantaged in that the dependency ratio is always higher.

In fact it would appear that only in the sample category High Earners do complex families have fewer "other dependents" than elementary families (1,33 as opposed to 2,70); in all other categories the larger *de facto* complex families have more "other dependents" than do elementary structures. This might well be accounted for by the unusually large *de facto* complex families among high earners; they probably tend to collect most eggs into one basket. This is consistent with the argument made earlier concerning family responsibility and higher earnings. There is a further suggestion in Table III that affinal kin make more demands from high earners than they do from lower earners.

The question of urban family pattern in Namakgale is a mixed bag. Three distinct patterns emerge in the *de facto* situation: a high proportion of elementary structure, an unusually low incidence of complex families (30,6%) which comprise elementary enlarged structures and polygamous groups. At 35 per cent of complex families, polygamous marriages tend to be high (note that the category residing in villages is the only one where there are more complex than elementary families). Common to the three structures elementary, elementary enlarged and polygamous is dependent kinsmen who live in the rural area suggesting extended networks of association which comprise the *de jure* family or group of recognition among particular family members. In this extension agnates predominate followed by cognatic kin with a small number of affines (especially among high earners) included in some cases. This type of extension/dependency is common throughout Africa and has been documented on many occasions in South Africa. Many arguments both for change and against change are advanced on the basis of this "family in two places". We are in the fortunate position of being able to investigate the economic links and to wed these to the overall structural situation of the family. This we do below.

III FAMILY AND RURAL RELIANCE

From Table IV it is immediately apparent that 63 per cent of respondents in our sample have the use of land in the rural area and that expressed as a mean statistic they have considerably more dependents in the rural area than do those respondents who have no use of land in the rural area. What is unexpected is that those householders in Namakgale who do not have use of land in the rural area still maintain dependent relatives (1,61 per family) there.

TABLE IV Relationship Between the Use of Land and Mean Number of Dependents in the Rural Area.

Land Holdings \ Sample Categories	Total Sample Weighted Arithmetic Mean	Low Earners (Lodgers in parenthesis)	High Earners	Non-PMC	Category Residing in Villages	
Use of land in the rural area	2,95	2,63 (3,50)	2,63	3,57	1,50	63,1%
	N=70	N=41	N=16	N=7	N=6	
No use of land in rural area	1,61	1,88 (0,00)	1,40	2,00	0,00	36,9%
	N=41	N=25	N=10	N=3	N=3	
Total Number	N=111	N=66*	N=26	N=10	N=9	

* All lodger respondents (N=6) had use of land in the rural area.

Obviously mutual dependence is by no means absolute in the present case. To test the assumption that dependent relatives in the rural area reciprocate in the way of rural earnings to the family as a whole we turn to Table V.

It is clear that only 17 per cent of townsmen receive any income in kind from the rural area; add to this 32 per cent who have the use of some crops and 29 per cent that have the use of stock in the rural area and the pattern emerges where less than a

third of the complement in Namakgale benefit economically from activity in the rural area. Scrutiny of the raw data of the survey will reveal that any income or use of crops or stock from the rural area is absolutely nominal. Income might consist of a box of tomatoes, crops might amount to half a bag of maize and stock often meant killing a goat during the Christmas vacation. There is a suggestion in Table V that respondents with higher incomes in the sample depend less on rural products than do lower earners.

TABLE V Percentage Distribution of Income in Kind, Crops and Stock Received, Used or Sold from the Rural Area.

Sample Categories / Respondents Who:	Total Sample	Low Earners (Lodgers in Parenthesis)	High Earners	Non-PMC	Category Residing in Villages
Receive income in kind from the rural area	17,12	16,67 (16,67)	11,54	40,00	11,11
Use crops in the rural area	31,53	31,82 (50,00)	26,92	40,00	33,33
Use stock in the rural area	28,83	25,76 (50,00)	26,92	30,00	55,56
Total Number	N=111	N=66	N=26	N=10	N=9

Table VI shows that not all people who grow crops in the rural area are able to use (to consume or sell) such production. Most respondents who maintain some agricultural activity in the rural area grow maize; of these 74 per cent get some kind of return on their activity. Generally, small percentages of Namakgale residents grow other crops in the rural area and it is clear that very little subsistence, if any, could be maintained by urban residents were they to rely on rural production of crops. Table VII makes the position quite clear, bearing in mind the paucity of the return - the percentages for use by the total sample indicate a very low level of reliance on crops to aid subsistence in the urban area.

TABLE VI Percentage Distribution of Respondents Who Maintain Some Agricultural Activity in the Rural Area, Taking into Account Crops Grown (or attempt at growing) and the Use (Sold or Consumed) Made of Such Crops.

Sample Category / Crops Grown	Total Sample		Low Earners		High Earners		Non-PMC		Category Residing in Villages	
	% Growing Crops	% Using Crops	% Growing Crops	% Using Crops	% Growing Crops	% Using Crops	% Growing Crops	% Using Crops	% Growing Crops	% Using Crops
Maize	37,84	74,36	42,42	67,86	23,08	66,67	50,00	80,00	33,33	66,67
Kaffir Corn	10,81	18,18	13,64	22,22	7,69	0,00	0,00	0,00	11,11	0,00
Ground Nuts	15,32	40,00	13,64	22,22	7,69	0,00	40,00	75,00	22,22	50,00
Sorghum	8,11	57,14	7,58	60,00	0,00	0,00	20,00	0,00	22,22	50,00
Vegetables	13,51	75,00	9,09	16,67	15,38	25,00	20,00	0,00	33,33	66,67
Other	3,60	50,00	0,00	0,00	15,38	50,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
Total Number	N=111		N=66		N=26		N=10		N=9	

TABLE VII Total Percentage Use (Sold or Consumed) Made of Different Crops.

Sample Category / Crops Used	Total Sample	Low Earners	High Earners	Non-PMC	Category Residing in Villages
Maize	26,13	28,79	15,38	40,00	22,22
Kaffir Corn	1,80	3,03	0,00	0,00	0,00
Ground Nuts	5,41	3,03	0,00	30,00	11,11
Sorghum	3,60	4,55	0,00	0,00	11,11
Vegetables	3,60	1,52	3,85	0,00	22,22
Other	1,80	0,00	7,69	0,00	0,00
Total Number	N=111	N=66	N=26	N=10	N=9

As with crops so with stock. The dismal story continues. Of all respondents only 20 per cent own cattle, 28 per cent goats and 23 per cent chickens, while on average less than 50 per cent use is made of this stock (Table VIII). Table IX serves merely to reinforce the low incidence of rural reliance by Namakgale residents: 7 per cent of respondents actually sell or consume cattle (although cattle might be regarded as wealth and be maintained for their own sake), 18 per cent derive some benefit from goats and 11 per cent see a return from chickens.

It seems safe to conclude that economic reliance on the products of the rural area is minimal for the inhabitants of Namakgale. In fact, apart from a few isolated cases in the sample the return from the rural area where this occurs at all is merely a token. This leads to some obvious conclusions concerning dependency and the wider network of kin making up a family grouping.

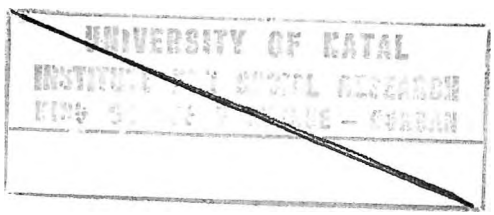
TABLE VIII Percentage Distribution of Respondents Who Own Stock and the Use (Sold or Consumed) Made of Such Stock.

Sample Category / Stock Owned	Total Sample		Low Earners		High Earners		Non-PMC		Category Residing in Villages	
	% Owning Stock	% Using Stock	% Owning Stock	% Using Stock	% Owning Stock	% Using Stock	% Owning Stock	% Using Stock	% Owning Stock	% Using Stock
Cattle	19,82	36,36	21,21	21,43	19,23	60,00	30,00	66,67	0,00	0,00
Goats	27,93	54,84	28,79	57,89	30,77	62,50	10,00	100,00	33,33	100,00
Chickens	22,52	40,00	25,76	47,06	11,54	66,67	20,00	0,00	33,33	66,67
Total Number	N=111		N=66		N=26		N=10		N=9	

TABLE IX Total Percentage Use (Sold or Consumed) Made of Stock

Sample Categories / Stock Owned	Total Sample	Low Earners	High Earners	Non-PMC	Category Residing in Villages
Cattle	7,21	4,55	11,54	20,00	0,00
Goats	18,02	16,67	19,23	10,00	33,33
Chickens	10,81	12,12	7,69	0,00	22,22
Total Number	N=111	N=66	N=26	N=10	N=9

There is no financial advantage to maintaining dependent kin in the rural area (except as a last resort type of security). In fact, the flow (in the form of cash) is from urban to rural. Although data on this flow is not necessarily completely reliable, it is clear that many respondents in the sample were remitting cash sums on both a permanent and on *ad hoc* basis to relatives (usually of the patriline and in many cases mothers) in the rural area. This constitutes a drain on the conjugal unit (whether elementary or enlarged) in town and serves to weaken the base of security from which "modern" aspirations can be launched. The situation describes the enigmatic position of the family in developing Africa and provides many individuals with dilemmas among the possible alternatives. These are documented elsewhere and will not be reiterated here. The important indicator from the data concerning lack of rural reliance is that security seems to have moved from traditional imperatives to modern reliance on cash income which requires a new mode of life and social order.



IV PROJECTED "IDEALS" OF HYPOTHETICAL NEEDS

The physical changes to family structure are manifest. The social consequences of this change and the question of "social security" have received some attention above. In order to test for change in orientation to social order we may now evaluate aspirations relating to three aspects of standard of living, viz. clothing, household effects and daily diet. Before proceeding some explanation for the title of this chapter must be made. Respondents were originally asked to enumerate items on the aspects above that would be merely sufficient for their needs. For example on the question of clothing the stipulation was "Not much, just enough"; for household effects women were requested to supply information indicating what would have to be bought every year and for daily diets the schedule required an answer based on the stipulation "Tell us what you feel would be just enough to be satisfying?" In fact the survey return, except for the last aspect, as will become obvious when we look at some items in detail, indicated that respondents were not expressing mere sufficiency but something else altogether.

The actual response has had some advantages for the survey research as a whole. We have deduced that respondents were replying to our questions in an "ideal" fashion, i.e. what they would like to have and not what they could have in present circumstances. This requires a projective ability which apart from other things, is an indication of social change. So, we are now able to deviate from our original purpose, which concerned income and expenditure and measures of poverty, to some extent and to look at material aspirations manifested by our sample cases. We have fortuitous proof of empathic ability directed at an "other than traditional order", and, as the items appearing in the tables below derive from definitions supplied by respondents and are not preselected by research design we are certain that the data reflects a sociologically real situation in the minds of respondents in Namakgale.

During this chapter we will be referring to two sets of

tables: tables included in the text for easy perusal and which are derived from larger working tables included in the Appendix. (Note that tables in the text are identified by Roman numerical reference and tables in the Appendix by Arabic numerical reference). Tables in the Appendix break down the response in much the same way as we have been doing above; i.e. PMC low and high earners, non-PMC employed (low earners) and a category residing in the villages. The first set of projected ideals concern the question of hypothetical needs for clothing. As we will want to refer to the minimum annual needs and costs of clothing utilised for the PDL measure in Schlemmer's report the appropriate table[1] from that report is included here.

Minimum Annual Needs and Costs of Clothing
Based on Lowest Prices in Phalaborwa

Men	R c	Women	R c
Sports jacket 1	13,00	Coat 1 over 3 yrs	2,67
Trousers 2 prs	11,98	Dresses 3	9,00
Walking shoes 2 prs	11,98	Skirt 1	3,00
Pullover 1	5,99	Blouse 1	1,99
Longsleeved shirts 4	7,80	Shoes 2 prs	3,98
Khaki short pants 1	1,09	Pants 2 prs	,78
Underpants 2 prs	,80	Vests 2	,78
Vests 2	,90	Bras 2	1,98
Socks 3 prs	1,20	Full-length petticoat 1	,99
Sleeping shorts 1	1,15	Nightie 1	2,30
Hat 1 over 3 yrs	1,67	Jersey 1	2,40
Tie 1 over 2 yrs	,49½	Pantihose 3 prs	1,17
Belt 1 over 2 yrs	,45	Head squares/berets 2	1,18
		Overall 1	1,99
Total per annum	58,50½	Total per annum	34,21
Total per month	4,87½	Total per month	2,85

1) Schlemmer, *op cit.*, p.13, Table III.

Table X describes the mean number of various articles of clothing said by adult men to be "required"; an annual replacement index was also elicited from respondents. It is immediately apparent from the comparison of Schlemmer's minimum figures and Table X that adult men in Namakgale judge that they "need" far more in the way of apparell than any subsistence statistic will allow.

TABLE X — Adult Man (Husband) : Mean Number of Various Articles of Clothing said to be Required and to be Regularly Replaced (Replacement on an Annual Basis).

Various Articles of Clothing	Trousers Shorts		Shirts		Shoes		Jackets		Suits		Hats	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
Total Sample Weighted Arithmetic Mean	7,6	3,0	12,0	5,2	4,9	1,9	2,1	0,7	3,8	1,2	1,1	0,4

Coats		Vest & Pants		Socks		Ties		Jerseys		
Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	N=112
0,5	0,2	6,7	4,1	3,8	2,2	2,7	1,3	1,0	0,3	

In fact all items mentioned by respondents are in excess of the minimum PDL requirements except pullovers[1]. In addition, lounge suits seem to be in some demand. There is some emphasis on visible clothing; trousers, jackets, suits, shirts and shoes. In subjective judgement one might postulate that the hypothetical need expressed here corresponds somewhat with the wardrobe of a less than well-off white middle-class man in South Africa. Scrutiny of Table 1 (Appendix) reveals a puzzling pattern of projection. PMC employees (excluding villagers) show an expected pattern, high earners projecting their ideals above low earners. However, non-PMC employees who are generally among the categories low earners project an ideal as high

1) In the original report, Schlemmer, *op cit.*, p.10, overcoats for men were eliminated as a PDL item in view of the hot climate prevailing in the Phalaborwa area.

as that for PMC high earners and those respondents residing in the villages project the highest ideal need in terms of clothing of all categories (village earnings range from R45 - R81). It is possible that the last two categories named are less secure (either employment or residence) than PMC employees who live in Namakgale township and compensate for lack of status by overprojecting their clothing needs. This could be reminiscent of the syndrome among African domestic servants who compensate for their low social status by conspicuous dressing.

TABLE XI Adult Woman (Wife): Mean Number of Various Articles of Clothing said to be Required and to be Regularly Replaced (Replacement on an Annual Basis)

Various Articles of Clothing / Total Sample Weighted Arithmetic Mean	Skirts		Blouses		Dresses		Doeks Hats		Shoes		Coats	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	5,6	2,1	4,3	2,0	9,6	4,3	3,7	2,1	5,0	2,2	0,6	0,3
	Panties Petticoats		Stockings		Wigs		Jerseys		Costumes		Bras	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	5,5	4,4	3,1	3,0	0,8	0,3	1,2	0,6	1,1	0,5	1,8	1,3

N=112

As with men, the projected needs among adult women in Namakgale bears little resemblance to minimum PDL measures. Many more skirts, blouses, dresses, shoes and an extra component "costumes", are enumerated as average requirements (Table XI). In terms of the cost factor built into tables in the Appendix (see next chapter) the weighted mean costs for adult men and women "per month" is R17,27 and R7,00 respectively. So, while the cost of clothing for men is seen as definitely more than the cost for women, can we conclude that the projected ideal of clothing needs among men is greater than among women? Both men and women show a high projected pattern of consumption for basic visible articles of clothing:

for men, shoes, suits, jackets, trousers, etc.; for women, shoes, dresses, skirts, blouses, costumes, etc. Whatever the judgement, ideas of consumption of clothing for men and women show definite "western" influence.

TABLE XII Boys Under 10 Years; Mother as Respondent: Mean Number of Various Articles of Clothing Said to be Required and to be Regularly Replaced (Replacement on an Annual Basis).

Various Articles of Clothing	Shirts		Trousers		Shoes		Vest & Pants		Jackets		Socks	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	7,9	5,5	4,9	2,9	3,5	2,2	2,8	3,0	1,2	0,6	2,5	2,5
	Hats Caps		Suits		Jerseys		Coats		Shorts		Ties	
Total Sample Weighted Arithmetic Mean	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	0,9	0,5	1,4	0,7	1,2	0,6	0,7	0,3	2,5	1,7	0,1	0,1

N=112

TABLE XIII Girls Under 10 Years; Mother as Respondent: Mean Number of Various Articles of Clothing Said to be Required and to be Regularly Replaced (Replacement on an Annual Basis).

Various Articles of Clothing	Dresses		Vest & Pants		Petti-coats		Shoes		Hat Beret		Jerseys	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	8,0	4,4	5,5	4,6	3,1	2,3	3,7	2,1	1,4	0,9	2,2	1,0
	Socks Stock-ings		Uniform Gym dresses		Costumes		Coats		Skirts		Blouses	
Total Sample Weighted Arithmetic Mean	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	2,9	3,1	0,6	0,5	0,5	0,3	0,4	0,2	1,1	0,6	1,3	0,8

N=112

TABLE XIV

Mean Number of Household Effects and Utensils Said to be Required (At Any Time) and to be Replaced on a Regular Basis (Replacement Corrected to Annual Index)

Various Household Effects and Utensils	Pots		Pans		Plates		Cups	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
Total Sample: Weighted Arithmetic Mean	5,9	2,3	3,9	1,8	10,0	4,2	11,2	5,4
	Spoons		Knives Forks		Beds		Ward-robes	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	8,0	2,5	6,8	2,2	2,5	0,4	0,9	0,16
	Dressing Tables		Tables		Chairs		Side-boards	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	0,4	0,06	1,1	0,16	4,4	0,7	0,5	0,07
	Stoves		Carpets		Kitchen Cup-boards		Lounge Chairs	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	0,5	0,07	0,4	0,06	0,45	0,06	0,66	0,11
	Lounge Sofas		Bedroom Suites		Dining Suites		Lounge Suites	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	0,32	0,06	0,37	0,06	0,05	0,06	0,32	0,06
	Kitchen Scheme		Fridge		Radio-gram		Kettle	
	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl	Req	Repl
	0,45	0,06	0,06	0,01	0,16	0,05	0,18	0,06

The pattern for boys and girls under 10 years (Tables XII and XIII) in the minds of their several mothers reflects the same high consumption impetus as for adults. Though this is not surprising in itself it might be regarded as an indicator of real social change as opposed to merely change in clothing consumption. The physical wants and needs of children are not accorded high priority among traditional Africans. There is evidence from the tables mentioned above that at least one derived physical need (i.e. clothing) is being given prominence among African mothers which accords more with modern emphases on such matters than with traditional practice.

Probably the most revealing projection of a change in life style is recorded in Table XIV which concerns mean number of different household items said to be needed. The pattern that emerges is a far cry from any traditional way of life or expectation. Not only are utensils given some prominence as to type and number, but requirements show a clear modern pattern as to type of house and how such a house is to be furnished and supplied. Projections for beds, wardrobes and dressing tables clearly indicate the felt need for bedrooms and bedroom suites. Similarly, the modern pattern requiring sitting rooms, dining rooms and proper kitchens can be educed from Table XIV. One item that appears infrequently, namely a paraffin or electrical fridge, is out of step with the general pattern. One probable explanation is that real poverty does not allow for the accumulation of perishables so consequently there is no felt need for a fridge.

Schlemmer[1)] has remarked recently "A perusal of the results of the sample survey indicated fairly modest aspirations in regard to the daily diets which people regard as adequate." Compared with aspirations for clothing and household effects most respondents reflect a subsistence attitude toward consumption of food. This is no doubt due to a number of causes, one of which is probably ignorance. If this is the case then consideration should be given to dietary education as soon as possible. Notwithstanding the modest aspirations for daily diets our data reflects a tremendous

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1) Schlemmer, *op cit.*, p.9.

range among diets described as adequate. Such differentiation though interesting in itself has imponderable consequences when low wages, tremendous range of cost in alternative diets and priority of overall expenditure form part of any one equation - further remarks on cost will be made in the following chapter.

TABLE XV Percentage Distribution of Alternative Menus Considered to be Adequate for Breakfast (Wife as Respondent)

Alternative Menus	Menu 1	Menu 2	Menu 3
BREAKFAST	Tea Bread/Porridge Sugar Margarine Salt	Tea Bread/Porridge Butter Milk Jam Sugar Salt	Tea Bread/Porridge Butter Milk Jam Meat Sugar Oil Salt
Percentage Distribution	25,9% (N=29)	30,4% (N=34)	43,7% (N=49)

N=112

TABLE XVI Percentage Distribution of Alternative Menus Considered to be Adequate for Lunch (Wife as Respondent)

Alternative Menus	Menu 1	Menu 2	Menu 3
LUNCH	Tea Porridge Meat Sugar Salt Oil	Tea Porridge Meat Vegetables Sugar Salt Oil	Tea Porridge Meat Vegetables Sweet Sugar Salt Oil
Percentage Distribution	46,4% (N=52)	42,0% (N=47)	11,6% (N=13)

N=112

TABLE XVII Percentage Distribution of Alternative Menus Considered to be Adequate for Dinner (Wife as Respondent)

Alternative Menus	Menu 1	Menu 2	Menu 3
DINNER	Tea Bread/Porridge Sugar Margarine Salt	Tea Bread/Porridge Meat Milk Sugar Oil Margarine Salt	Tea Bread/Porridge Meat Milk Vegetables/ Sweet Sugar Oil Margarine Salt
Percentage Distribution	8,9% (N=10)	58,9% (N=66)	32,2% (N=36)

N=112

The method for determining alternative diets was inductive. Responses were recorded and analysed on an inductive basis for what emerged as three alternatives for each meal of the day. Where necessary, components were added if not mentioned; e.g. sugar with tea, margarine with bread, salt with porridge, etc. Alternative menus for breakfasts, lunches and dinners are detailed in Tables XV to XVII. The alternative menus for each of the three daily meals show that whatever the standard of meal selected they all appear to be based around a core staple of either bread or porridge (porridge being selected in each alternative for lunch). It is well-known that eating habits are very resistant to change and it would appear in the present case that there is little deviation from traditional habits, differences reflecting merely scope of the meal. As the alternative menus can be readily scrutinised in the survey tables as above it will not be necessary to describe the content and range in the text.

Table XVIII is a consolidated table describing the percentage distribution of daily diets considered by respondents to be

adequate. Immediately one can state that the expectations of 26 per cent of the respondents for breakfasts are inadequate in view of the lack of even milk-protein, 46 per cent of respondents choose a diet for lunch that is made barely adequate by the inclusion of meat and 9 per cent select a dinner which is as inadequate as breakfast. On the basis of a crude percentage of differential diet choice it can be stated that somewhat less than 27 per cent of people in Namakgale (less than 27 per cent because menu choice on each meal is not a constant) are subsisting on a very poor diet indeed.

TABLE XVIII Consolidated Table of the Percentage Distribution of Daily Diets Considered to be Adequate

Meals	Variable Menus* Constituting Daily Diet		
	Menu 1	Menu 2	Menu 3
Breakfast	25,9% (N=29)	30,4% (N=34)	43,7% (N=49)
Lunch	46,4% (N=52)	42,0% (N=47)	11,6% (N=13)
Dinner	8,9% (N=10)	58,9% (N=66)	32,2% (N=36)
Crude (Menu) percentage of differential diet choice	27,0%	43,8%	29,2%

* See Tables XV, XVI and XVII for definition of differential Menus.

The second alternative menu for lunch (Menu 2) which comprises starch, meat and vegetables (the *table-d'hote* of meat and two veg.) and which appears to be an adequate meal is selected by 42 per cent of respondents. Fifty-nine per cent choose a dinner which features meat and milk in addition to starch which appears to be a barely adequate meal. On the face of the data at our disposal it would appear as a rough estimation that approximately 30 per cent of respondents eat, or would like to eat, reasonably well, 40

per cent have a barely adequate diet and 30 per cent have a very poor diet, mostly starch. Two interesting omissions might be remarked here. Eggs were never mentioned as an alternative for breakfast, in fact, eggs do not appear in any of the nine possible diets; respondents simply did not mention this item. Beer is not mentioned as a "food" on our schedules. We are certain that this does not reflect consumption or attitudes to consumption of beer which is usually a high priority among African men but that our schedule did not explicitly make provision for this item. We can only reiterate that the dietary habits and aspirations of Africans in Namakgale give grave cause for concern for the general health of the population.

So far we have been speaking of the general projected ideals of our sample with regard to hypothetical needs and aspirations. In common with most sample surveys amongst Africans, field assistants provided notes on an open plan describing their impressions gained during interviews. Unfortunately, in the present case the notes were unstructured. However, such notes as existed were analysed by their content and a nominal rating scale of the material prosperity manifest among sample dwellings was constructed by the authors. This three-point nominal scale refers to whether the household environment could be considered adequate, barely adequate or inadequate. These definitions are given some descriptive body below. With the aid of our admittedly nominal scale we wish to provide some idea of the real material context from which these aspirations emerge. It will become clear when Table XIX is scrutinised that far from reflecting real situations, our respondents are projecting optimistically (except in the case of diet) from a position of general relative deprivation.

In our scale "Adequate" describes a manifest prosperity where furniture is judged to be in good repair and where most rooms in the house are furnished. "Proper" kitchen furniture and accesories weighed quite heavily in this placing on the scale. General upkeep and appearance of the interior of the house was also taken into consideration. Costly furniture, radiograms, etc., determined a rating of "Adequate" rather than "Barely Adequate" if there was some doubt.

The "Barely Adequate" rating describes general household environment where just moderately "decent" living conditions prevail. Generally furniture in more than one room and a stove determined this rating rather than a rating of "Inadequate".

The "Inadequate" category is the easiest to describe. Little or no furniture where the kitchen was sparsely furnished without a stove and few utensils was the chief determinant in making an "Inadequate" rating. Some indicators we used included wood fire for cooking, one bed, one table, benches, no chairs, etc. The dwellings rated "Inadequate" appear to reflect absolute and miserable poverty.

TABLE XIX Nominal Rating Scale of the Material Prosperity Manifest in Sample Houses on the Basis of Unstructured Field Notes

Sample Category	Manifest Material Household Environment						Total Number in Sample
	Adequate		Barely Adequate		Inadequate		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Low Earners	15	22,7	15	22,7	36	54,6	66
High Earners	13	52,0	4	16,0	8	32,0	25*
Non-PMC	3	30,0	4	40,0	3	30,0	10
Category residing in Villages	1	11,1	3	33,3	5	55,6	9
Total Number	32	29,1	26	23,6	52	47,3	110

* Insufficient information on one return

It will come as no surprise to those wise in the ways of life among urban Africans in the subcontinent to know that approximately 70 per cent of dwellings rated for material prosperity can be described as "Barely Adequate" or "Inadequate" (23,6% and 47,3% respectively). Forty-seven per cent of the sample cases can be

said to subsist in the most dire poverty if their manifest material condition is anything to go by. The balance, 29 per cent, appear to enjoy a quite adequate standard of material life. It is necessary to note that high earners enjoy a 52 per cent adequacy rating while low earners record a 54 per cent inadequacy rating. Obviously increase in income is reflected in the home. However, it is most disturbing to realise that 32 per cent of high earning homes fall into the "Inadequate" category. This is more than an indication that in some cases higher earnings are not sufficient to offset big families, extra family responsibility as well as a wish for modern personal consumption described by aspirations for clothing.

In order to run a rough check on signs of prosperity, respondents were asked to state whether they owned consumer items as described in Table XX. It is clear from the mean percentage row for the total sample that ownership of consumer durables is not the rule in Namakgale. The percentage of people (40,5%) owning radios is judged to be very low. Compared with African respondents in a township in Salisbury where 74,7%[1)] of the people had access to a radio in the place where they lived, it must be assumed that many people in Namakgale are relatively isolated from the wider world.

TABLE XX Percentage of Respondents Owning a Variety of Consumer Items

Consumer Item / Sample Category	Transistor Radio	Bicycle	Radio-gram	Motor Car	Other	Sample Number
Low Earners	36,4	21,2	10,6	1,5	4,6	N=66
High Earners	38,5	19,2	30,8	7,7	7,7	N=26
Non-PMC	60,0	70,0	20,0	0,0	0,0	N=10
Category residing in Villages	55,6	33,3	22,2	0,0	0,0	N=9
Total Sample	40,5	26,1	10,8	2,7	4,5	N=111

1) Stopforth (1972), *op cit.*, p.86.

In concluding this chapter, we reiterate inferences made which relate to family patterns and material aspirations:

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

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

(iii) Further, volition to material consumption is hampered by extension of and responsibility for the family in the rural area which makes claims on the cash earnings of the urban householder. Notwithstanding traditional practice, familial responsibility in underdevelopment where urban/rural income differentials are great, is a real consideration in the budget of an urban wage earner.

(iv) Given the many problems of social change, cash incomes based on a just greater than subsistance level are not sufficient to allow participation in the real rewards of a modern economy, i.e. material consumption. [The exception, relatively high consumption of clothing, must be mentioned here. It would appear that clothing is the easiest way to demonstrate (conspicuous) participation in modern consumption patterns. In a 1966 Bureau of Statistics[1)]

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1) *Survey of Family Expenditure - November 1966.* Report No.11-06-02, Bureau of Statistics, Republic of South Africa. Government Printer, Pretoria. p.46.

publication a weighted mean for white family expenditure on clothing, footwear and accessories is estimated to be R379,76 per annum. Crude monthly expenditure would have equalled R31,65 for white families in South Africa. Given that inflation will have caused considerable increase to the figure above, we find that minimum costing of aspirations for consumption of clothing among our sample equals R34,10 (see Chapter V): a not incomparable figure. However, in our own Table XXI (Chapter V), reported expenditure on clothing is expressed as a weighted mean of R14,09 per family in Namakgale. This represents 18,06 per cent of expenditure as opposed to 8,48 per cent for white families. So, we are able to state that while consumption of clothing is relatively high for our sample, this falls short of what appears (on a minimum cost basis) to be a comparatively legitimate aspiration.] All too often Africans in town are rewarded on a subsistence basis for work contributing to a modern economy without thought for changing social patterns which are a function of the work they do.

(v) The backward sloping supply curve that is supposedly encountered when wages increase and production falls is probably a consequence of too little rather than too much in terms of increased income. To raise wages just above subsistence does not really allow aspirants the type of consumption described above. In establishing a new subsistence level where the wage earner is no better off materially is to count the rational response: less work, less pay, back at old level and no worse off. The worker gains by working less.[1)]

(vi) It is usually assumed that problems of social change

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1) Once again, this general comment is not specifically relevant to the new wage rates at PMC.

in South Africa are always located within the emerging African society. This is a fast exploding myth and it would be more rewarding to study the modern potential of urban Africans *vis-a-vis* the rewards they are allocated by that modern society rather than to rely on intuitive exegetical accounts of the negative aspects of traditionalism which are so often empirically not present.

As the influences from this chapter indicate, and which are exemplified in Chapter V, "Expenditure Patterns", the situation we are describing is consistent with an adverse Want-Get ratio symptomatic of the revolution of rising expectations common to most underdeveloped areas that have come into contact with industrialisation (whether directly or indirectly). Given that "getting" is generally a problematic condition among our sample, it would be useful to know something of the local problems and conditions which influence the operations of "getting" on a limiting budget. To this end Helen Schlemmer has contributed an addendum, entitled "African Buying Patterns - Phalaborwa and Namakgale", which is included in our report. This addendum provides an insight to the fundamentals of relative poverty as experienced by the subjects and to the alternatives open to them. Helen Schlemmer's observations cover limitations among the people in Phalaborwa area, the supply of consumables and facilities for making rational choices given low incomes. Further, scrutiny of information on buying patterns will greatly enhance a general understanding of the data on expenditure patterns (Chapter V) which omits reference to the local conditions of retailing.

V EXPENDITURE PATTERNS

The prior report prepared by Schlemmer analyses the primary and secondary poverty datum lines for Namakgale[1]. From a table in that report (Table VI, p.19) two secondary poverty datum line figures for hypothetical "typical" African families of six[2] persons in Namakgale are given which are of interest here:

	Secondary PDL
Namakgale. Assuming a PMC employee with free worker's transport, one meal and one snack per working day, and average rental of R4,63 per month. One bread winner.	R62,61 (July 1973)
Namakgale. Assuming a non-PMC employee with current transport costs to and from work of R5,20 per month, and an average rental of R4,63. One bread winner.	R70,82 (July 1973)

As approximately half of the householders in Namakgale are PMC employees it is necessary to give both figures above. It should be noted that these figures for a Secondary PDL can be used as guidelines only as they are based on hypothetical families and do not necessarily take into account all dependents of all householders. However, for our purposes they constitute a base for comparison with our sums below and a point of reference to which we shall return later. Using a crude skewed mean for a Secondary PDL derived from the figures above we can calculate a crude EML for the Phalaborwa area. This EML (R66,72 x 1,5) would reach the sum of R100,08.

The EML is always a crude estimation and makes arbitrary allowance for the vagaries of human rationality in expenditure and consumption and it is considered to be the level of income at which

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1) Schlemmer, *op cit.*, pp.15-21.

2) Note our own weighted mean *de facto* family size of 5,59. Remember that if all dependents are enumerated in family size then this figure would increase to 8,05.

people are able to maintain a minimum Secondary PDL level of consumption. Given that PDL computations do not include "essentials" of expenditure such as beer, recreation, etc. and are based on minimum costs it is unlikely that an EML would allow for consumption on a modern scale.[1)]

Table XXI describes the monthly distribution of household expenditure over pre-selected items as reported by respondents in the sample. It is apparent that the pre-selected items do not include expenditure on drink, tobacco and recreation which are almost certain to be included as real expenditure in domestic budgets. It is, however, immediately apparent from the weighted mean for total expenditure, R78, that this figure exceeds either of the PDL figures above and that it is considerably below the crude EML for the area. This uneasy position of statement of monthly expenditure is very complex when considered in the light of PDL construction. Schlemmer, using a weighted average PDL for PMC employees equal to R57,36 calculated PDL expenditure as below.[2)]

Food	:	R32,50
Clothing	:	R14,85
Fuel, lighting, washing and cleaning materials	:	R5,55
Rent and cost of housing	:	R4,46

Compare these components with items in Table XXI

The components for rent are comparable which would be expected where rents are known and controlled. The stated expenditure on fuel, etc. is almost double the PDL standard. The components for clothes are comparable but hardly reflect the aspirations for consumption of apparel. It is clear that expenditure on food is sacrificed to other priorities. Even the highest earners estimate that they

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1) It must be noted that the relatively low cost of housing (R4,38 to R5,02) in Namakgale would allow for more flexibility of material consumption on the EML being considered.

2) Schlemmer, *op cit.* p.27.

spend less than a very basic PDL monthly sum on food. Together with a modest aspiration for food it would appear that this item of expenditure is going to lag for some time to come. However, as we shall show below there is a wide range in the cost of alternative diets variously approved by our respondents. People in Namakgale tend to spend money on transport other than for purposes of getting to and from work. Both low and high earners employed by PMC (who provide transport for work purposes) spend comparatively large sums on transport.

It is difficult to evaluate the real meaning of any statement of monthly expenditure among people with low incomes. It is clear from Table XXI that low earners tend to overestimate their expenditure. This is quite usual for this type of exercise and many reasons could be advanced for the overestimation. A feature of the estimation of expenditure is those wage earners falling into the bracket R75-84 who overestimate what they spend. It would appear from their pattern of expenditure that their aspiration has outstripped their comparatively higher salaries. We have shown that there is little income to be derived from rural sources. The activities in the "informal sector" of the local economy are not known - we suspect that apart from shebeens and prostitution there is little to be gained from small scale trading although this might occur when cash is particularly scarce in any one family. In general the results reported in Table XXI reflect a sound appraisal from our sample as to what they spend. We now reduce some aspirations to costs and take a look at the potential "cost" of projected material consumption.

The methodology of the following parts of this chapter is *ad hoc*. Most calculations are based on minimum costs (with the full knowledge that these costs bear little resemblance to real purchasing habits) merely to establish a standard where little subjective arbitrariness can intrude. Methods used will be detailed when considering the separate tabulations below.

TABLE XXI Monthly Distribution of Household Expenditure Reported on a Range of Items in Rands (Both Spouses as Respondents)

Sample Category	Income Category in Rands	Item of Expenditure Recorded in Rands											
		Total Expend-iture	Rent	Food	Trans-port	Soap, Fuel	Medi-cal	Clothes	House-hold Effects	Educ-ation	House	Tax	
Low Earners	0-54	64,11	4,59	21,00	7,39	10,86	2,24	10,42	5,89	1,17	0,19	0,36	N=14
	55-64	66,83	4,50	21,15	9,19	9,44	2,35	10,08	8,63	0,91	0,24	0,34	N=32
	65-74	65,80	4,60	18,20	13,20	8,16	1,68	8,33	10,22	0,69	0,29	0,43	N=20
High Earners	75-84	85,34	4,61	25,50	10,45	10,00	2,81	14,84	13,54	2,75	0,34	0,50	N=10
	85 Plus	99,26	4,58	30,31	10,83	15,98	2,31	20,38	11,82	2,23	0,46	0,36	N=16
Non-PMC	40-77	61,05	4,62	19,20	6,82	7,55	1,34	10,02	9.91	1,09	0,21	0,29	N=11
Villages	45-81	59,16	0,48	20,22	5,24	8,72	2,10	11,46	10,09	0,34	0,13	0,38	N= 9
Weighted Arith-metic Mean		78,00	4,53	23,96	9,12	10,85	2,03	14,09	11,02	1,72	0,32	0,36	N=112

Clothing

The weighted mean estimation of expenditure by respondents (Table XXI) equals R14,09; the clothing component from a reduced PDL as above is stated as R14,85. In Table XXII we arrive at a crude monthly requirement cost of R48,29 and a replacement cost of R19,91 based on aspirations for clothing among our sample (see Tables X - XIII). The calculation is based on a hypothetical family of six where non-adult costs are based on empirically produced proportions worked out in the prior report.[1] The actual cost per item is based on a table prepared by Schlemmer entitled "Minimum Annual Needs and Cost of Clothing Based on Lowest Prices in Phalaborwa."[2]

TABLE XXII Consolidated Table of Costed Projected Needs for Clothing Crudely Reduced to Monthly Means: Adult Man and Woman, Boy and Girl Under 10 Years (Crude Mean Calculation for Boy 14-21 Years and Girl 10-17 Years)

Weighted Arithmetic Mean / Age Status	Total Costed Requirement and Annual Replacement				Total and Annual Sums Divided By 12			
	Required		Replaced		Required		Replaced	
	R	c	R	c	R	c	R	c
Adult Man	207	22	75	19	17	27	6	27
Adult Woman	84	01	39	22	7	00	3	27
Boy Under 10 Yrs	38	08	22	25	3	17	1	85
Girl Under 10 Yrs	21	30	12	70	1	78	1	06
Boy 14-21 Yrs	165	78	60	15	13	82	5	01
Girl 10-17 Yrs	63	01	29	42	5	25	2	45
	579	40	238	93	48	29	19	91

1) See Schlemmer, *op cit.*, p.14. Proportions: Male under 10 years = 30%; Male 14-21 years = 80%. Female under 10 years = 38%; female 10-17 years = 75%.

2) Schlemmer, *op cit.*, p.13.

Where necessary costs have been divided or multiplied where they appear in the table as cost for more than one or cost for one over more than one year. Other costs have been incorporated from reputable studies where no costs are available for Phalaborwa and in a few instances, e.g. wigs, minimum costs in Durban have had to be used. Some of the costs used in calculations are ridiculously low, especially the costs for children's clothing calculated at roughly a third of the adult costs (see Tables 1 - 4 in the Appendix). The costs in Table XXII reflect the mean costs of the mean requirement for each item from our sample (and in the case of older boys and girls for which we have no substantive data a crude mean calculation as described in footnote 1) on page 47 is used). We are faced with two figures as a monthly family cost reflecting projected needs: cost of requirements as stated on an annual basis and cost of annual replacement as reported by respondents reduced to a crude monthly basis. The question is, how are these costs to be used to calculate minimum cost of meeting aspirations?

Obviously the monthly cost cannot be used because this suggests total replacement every year. The replacement value would not be an accurate measure of the cost of high consumption of clothing because it does not take into account the original capital outlay. Any estimation of the monthly cost necessary to meet aspirations for clothing successfully must fall somewhere between these figures of R48,29 and R19,91. The replacement index stipulated by respondents works out at approximately 41% per annum. Although this figure is high, the costs used in computing means for each item are very low which suggests poorest quality which will wear very easily (e.g. the minimum cost of a man's suit is under R20,00 whereas any suit of reasonable quality cannot be obtained retail for under R50,00, at a very low estimate). If it is assumed that clothes will have to be replaced every 2½ years then one way of solving the problem is to divide the capital monthly outlay by 2½ and add monthly replacement cost to obtain a figure. This, however, is larger than the mean of both sums which is R34,10 per month. Although this sum is arbitrary in many ways it cannot be said to be an overestimation of the cost of meeting aspirations for consumption of clothing

for the whole family in our sample. It has the advantage of being based on minimum costs and having been standardised throughout.

Calculations

Monthly cost of meeting consumption of clothing aspirations for a hypothetical family of six in Namakgale based on minimum standards of cost and being the mean of capital outlay and replacement index (Table XXII).	R34,10

Food

The costs of alternative diets for families in the Namakgale sample (Tables XV - XVIII and Appendix Table 5) were based on minimum monthly costs of food in Phalaborwa for different ages and sexes as supplied by Schlemmer in a previous report[1] and raised or lowered by a numerical age index derived from a statistical breakdown of the actual age sex structure of our sample (i.e. a statistical mean family was counted for this purpose). Further, where any commodity appeared more than once at a different meal the cost of that commodity was divided by the appropriate divisor (2 or 3) so as to maintain our minimum costing basis. Scrutiny of Appendix Table 5 will show that the cost of tea consumed for any alternative menu at any one meal is R0,26.2 per month. This calculation, and calculations for all items of food, was derived in the following way :

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1) Schlemmer, *op cit.*, p.12.

Numerical Age Index		Monthly cost of item per individual by age and sex in cents[1] Tea	Actual cost of tea per individual each month	Cost of tea per individual divided by 3 (tea 3 times a day)
Adult Man	1,06	24	25,4	8,5
Adult Woman	1,17	24	28,1	9,4
Child 0-3 yrs	1,03	-	0,0	0,0
4-6 yrs	0,69	-	0,0	0,0
7-9 yrs	0,54	14	7,6	2,5
Boys 10-13 yrs	0,32	14	4,5	1,6
14-21 yrs	0,28	24	6,7	2,3
Girls 10-17 yrs	0,33	14	4,6	1,5
18-21 yrs	0,05	24	1,20	0,4
				26,2

Where range of cost is reported in Table XXIII this describes the differential cost of the alternatives bread or porridge in any menu - bread being generally cheaper than porridge (see Table 5). In Table XXIII we arrive at an arithmetic mean cost among daily diets of R31,07 per month. This is below Schlemmer's PDL figure of R32,50 reported above and obscures the range of cost among families in Namakgale. Further, it must be emphasised that all figures are based on minimum cost though it is commonly known that lower income groups are least efficient in maximising consumption for cost. The figure of R31,07 reinforces the idea that people in Namakgale have little aspiration to change traditional dietary habits and that they exercise little imagination in choice of daily menus (actual or projected).

It is clear from Table XXI that even the highest earners in our sample (R85 plus) spend less than a PDL minimum on food. Schlemmer[2] calculated that the food component in a PDL for Namakgale was 56,5 per

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1) Schlemmer, *op cit.*, p.12.

2) Schlemmer, *op cit.*, p.27.

cent of our assumed Secondary PDL, R66,72, equals R37,70, while high earners report a monthly expenditure of only R30,31 on food.

TABLE XXIII Consolidation Table of Costed Daily Distribution of Alternative Diets

Meals in Daily Diet	Arithmetic Mean Cost of Daily Diet	Alternative Costed Menus for "Adequate" Daily Diet		
		Menu 1	Menu 2	Menu 3
Breakfast	Range of Cost	R1,91.2- R2,43.9	R11,08.0 - R11,26.3	R13,40.3 - R14,19.4
	Mean Cost	R2,17.6	R11,17.2	R13,79.9
	% Distribution	25,9%	30,4%	43,7%
Lunch	Cost	R5,87.9	R11,28.3	R12,26.4
	% Distribution	46,4%	42,0%	11,6%
Dinner	Range of Cost	R1,91.2 R2,43.9	R11,98.4 - R12,11.5	R15,17.7 - R15,30.8
	Mean Cost	R2,17.6	R12,05.0	R15,24.3
	% Distribution	8,9%	58,9%	32,2%
	R31,07.2	Crude Mean Cost : Menu 1 R10,23.1	Crude Mean Cost : Menu 2 R34,50.5	Crude Mean Cost : Menu 3 R41,31.0

N=112

It may be assumed that expenditure on food, a primary need, is a critical component in distribution of family income. The median income of the group high earners equals R101,34: an important question is at what wage level are families likely to spend a PDL minimum on consumption of food? By rough extrapolation we might raise income of the highest earners by the percentage difference between what they do spend and the PDL minimum for expenditure on food, the percentage difference being 19,6. So, to enable high earners to spend R37,70

per month on food and using a raising factor of 0,2 income should equal R101,34 (group median) x 1,2 which is R121,61. This sum exceeds our EML figure by some R21,00 and possibly challenges the rule of thumb assumption based on Batson's work that an EML can be estimated at 1,5 x PDL. Whatever the judgement on the efficacy of an EML, it is clear that respondents in our sample who are in fact earning a median EML wage do not spend a PDL minimum on the crucial item food.

The most interesting feature in the cost of alternative diets is the range for each meal as well as a possible range for monthly expenditure. In the case of breakfast the three alternative menus show a mean range between R2,17 to R13,79 where the cheapest monthly meal would cost R1,91 and the most expensive R14,19. The midday meal has an absolute range between R5,87 and R12,26. This reflects a reasonably standard attitude toward what constitutes a sufficient midday meal. However, note that 46 per cent of respondents choose a meal costing R5,87 while 42 per cent choose a meal costing almost double at R11,28. Ideas about dinners reflect the range of breakfasts; from a mean cost of R2,17 to R15,24 where the cheapest meal would cost R1,91 and the most expensive R15,30. From the distribution of response it would appear that most people favour a substantial meal in the evening more so than in the morning.

Using crude mean figures for possible minimum and maximum costs per month for food the range is R10,23 to R41,31 (a difference of R31,08 per month) while the most frequent set of choices, Menu 2 in Table XXIII, costs R34,50. It would appear that the Arithmetic Mean cost of daily diets per month, R31,07, which compares with the PDL calculation, is a fair reflection of what people eat and want to eat. It is unlikely that a rise in wages will motivate Namakgale residents to better eating habits and it is unlikely that these will change until consumption of food types is seen to have stratification advantages. As expenditure on food seems to be independent of income, i.e. a standard expenditure, increase in income will no doubt be absorbed by more highly valued items of material consumption.

Calculation	
Mean monthly cost of alternative daily diets calculated for the Namakgale sample	R31,07

Household Effects and Utensils

The costing of aspirations for this section is similar to that for the costing of clothing projections. However, as no minimum costs for household effects in Phalaborwa were available an employee of PMC kindly undertook to cost items both in Phalaborwa town and in Namakgale late during 1973: these figures are utilised in this study. In keeping with our minimum cost convention, where there was a difference in cost the lowest was used (see Appendix Table 6 for minimum costs for this section). These costs were then raised or reduced by the mean figures describing projected requirements and replacement, then crudely reduced to monthly figures in Table XXIV (the calculations are contained in Appendix Table 6). Using minimum costs the very high aspirations recorded for hypothetical needs in terms of household effects can be reduced to a manageable sum. The replacement value of household effects is approximately a sixth of the total monthly value which represents capital outlay. As household effects are likely to last six years or more (quality will be poor) it seems feasible to divide monthly capital outlay by six and to add the replacement values as they appear in Table XXIV. This yields a monthly sum of R13,95 to be spent on household effects, little more than the reported R11,02 recorded as actual expenditure in Table XXI.

The futility of using minimum costs to estimate the real cost of satisfying material aspirations is clearly shown in these figures. An increase of R2,93 per month spent on household effects is not going to change the standard of material prosperity manifest in houses in Namakgale as reported in Table XIX and it certainly

will not allow the middle-class consumption pattern preferred by our respondents any purchase at the present rate of calculation. However, for want of a better minimum figure and in order to serve our own convention the monthly cost R13,95 for household effects has to be accepted here.

TABLE XXIV Consolidated Table of Costed Projected Needs for Household Effects and Utensils Crudely Reduced to Monthly Means for a Range of Income Categories.

Sample Category	Income Category in Rands	Mean Cost of Household Effects and Utensils							
		Total Costed Requirement and Annual Replacement				Total Annual Sums Divided By 12			
		Required		Replaced		Required		Replaced	
		R	c	R	c	R	c	R	c
Low Earners	0-54	379	50	61	52	31	63	5	13
	55-64	467	70	70	58	38	98	4	88
	65-74	358	87	65	80	29	91	5	48
High Earners	75-84	572	58	58	01	47	72	4	83
	85 Plus	459	43	103	06	38	28	8	59
Non-PMC	40-77	461	83	91	23	38	49	7	60
Villages	45-81	466	42	65	57	38	87	5	46
Weighted Arithmetic Mean		499	36	84	11	41	61	7	01

If we return to Table XXI we can make some adjustments to probable expenditure if some of the material expectations of our sample are to be hypothetically met. Recall that we are operating with the assumption of a Secondary PDL for Namakgale of between R62,61 and R70,82 (reported expenditure in Table XXI of R78,00 already exceeds either sum) and a crude EML of R100,08.

Item of Expenditure See Table XXI	Weighted $\bar{X}$ Expenditure Reported in Table XXI	Some Amendment to Figures Based on Aspirations Reflected in Survey Results
Rent	4,53	4,53
Food	23,96	31,07
Transport	9,12	9,12
Soap/Fuel	10,85	10,85
Medical	2,03	2,03
Clothes	14,09	34,10
Household Effects	11,02	13,95
Education	1,72	1,72
House	0,32	0,32
Tax	0,36	0,36
Weighted Mean	R78,00	R108,05

It is immediately apparent that our amended figure for possible expenditure taking into account absolute minima regarding cost of meeting some aspirations of the people of Namakgale exceeds the crude EML by approximately R8,00. Are we to congratulate ourselves on arriving empirically at a figure which is not far removed from a crude EML or are we to investigate the meaning of the similarity alluded to?

Taking up the second part of our rhetorical question we ask the supplementary, does a hypothetical income of R100,00 plus which is roughly equivalent to an EML in this case, provide the conditions for subsistence consumption of PDL essentials considered to be the minimum for "decent" living standards. Looking at the data in this report it is possible to concede that an income of R100,00 plus does allow leeway for necessary expenditure (in fact Table XXI indicates that except for food most people are already exceeding PDL expenditure on essentials). That is to say, certain acquired priorities of urban expenditure can be partially satisfied so allowing people to spend subsistence amounts on essentials. But

how far does a sum of R100,08 or R108,05 go to meeting essential subsistence needs, derived urban and aspirant needs and special needs engendered by the insecurity of Africans in towns in South Africa. The question can be attempted for each set of needs separately :

(i) Subsistence Needs: The sum of R108 is clearly higher than our working PDL of between R62,61 and R70,82; so given a modicum of rational expenditure essential needs can be met from such an income.

(ii) Derived and Aspirant Needs: It seems clear that a sum of approximately R40 above a PDL is not going to allow middle-class patterns of material consumption that respondents in this survey reportedly aspire to. In reality a "properly" furnished home and "decently" dressed family costs more than R480 a year. At best something over R100 a month will allow for improvement to actual material prosperity reported in this study; at worst, if material aspirations weigh very heavily in in the balance, subsistence needs (e.g. food) will be sacrificed.

(iii) Special Needs: Two special needs not financially accounted for anywhere in our study come to mind. Firstly, the question of recreation: in tribal society recreation is found among one's peers and kinsmen and is relatively cost-free in cash terms. In town this is replaced by recreational forms which require cash, and established habits like drinking beer require a larger cash outlay. The imponderable "allowable" cost for drinking, smoking, gambling, club type association, etc. which is part of urban living (whatever moral attitude is assumed) and comes out of income (probably

before anything else) is still with us. Secondly, removal of a smaller conjugal unit to town does not automatically exonerate a man from wider familial responsibilities (given the urban/rural income gap mentioned earlier). We have seen that on average a Namakgale householder has 2,46 dependents over and above the urban conjugal unit as his responsibility. Surely in a border area this cost must weigh quite heavily in any set of expenditure priorities.

With regard to a special need arising from "enlarged" families and possibly having any bearing on remuneration it might well be argued that any such consideration is without the modern industrial sphere or order. The question is what weight, if any, should be attached to local emergent social structure and in this case, specifically to family structure? (In essence this question is the same question we ask throughout the text of this report, i.e. what recognition should be accorded to substantive social change by way of change in any distribution of rewards consistent with systems of security?) We have seen that there is a strong tendency toward nucleation of families within the *de facto* situation characterised by lines of support radiating out to members of the extended family in the rural area. That is, an additional burden on a householder's wage earnings. Now, two arguments concerning the meaning of this structure and relationship to a reward system are pertinent here:

a) Form of Emergent Structure: The elementary enlarged family structure common among Africans in town is the result both of meeting traditional reciprocal kinship obligations and rural/urban differences in income. Further, both these effects

tend to strengthen ties with the extended family in the rural area, firstly because rural relatives rely financially on urban kinsmen and secondly, urban dwellers seldom achieve the relative security in town which would enable them to rely solely on the modern order. This is a cost of underdevelopment reinforced by a plural system in South Africa. The enlarged *de facto* family structure is not in itself inimical to the urban development of Africans, and might well be a particular emergent form of the family, but the conditions that maintain it unnaturally and necessitate a drain of urban incomes to augment rural subsistence are a crucial factor for productivity and wage levels. Clearly the present *status quo* (and its rigid maintenance and manipulation) will not make for rational efficiency of African labour.

b) Consequences of Emergent Structure: The transition from one social order to another suggests a threshold or critical level at which people opt for one rather than the other. What this level is in terms of expectation of income is difficult to say, except to reiterate that it must allow for participation in the new order and consequently provide adequate security appropriate for that order. It has been argued earlier that the initial volition to modernity has been manifest in changing family structure and changing notions of material consumption - it is argued now that if this volition is not met by an attempt to accord Africans the real opportunity to participate in a modern economy the present ambivalence, with negative results for industry, will prevail. The present system in South Africa is self-defeating. Without recognition of change in the fundamental way of adequate remuneration, identification with modern forms of security is always a risk cost for the individual. That is to say,

> the expectations of the employer have to be met without any guarantee that the expectations of the employee will be considered. It is suggested here that what is required is a recognition of change and not the perpetuation of an outdated system. Speaking of the wider society Schlemmer[1] has given substance to the central issue which has "fixed" the tradition of African labour in South Africa, "... the African in the urban area is expected to be, at one and the same time, a member of an urban working-class proletariat with a high degree of commitment to industrial labour as a life-long career, as well as a man from a completely different social, cultural, and latterly, political world."

In general it would appear that a wage level which approximates a PDL measure, or is calculated on the basis of an arbitrary proportion exceeding a Secondary PDL, takes little account of real changes in social order. Clearly the minimum cost convention spawned by PDL thinking is useless when applied to higher standards of physical and social existence. The question of relative deprivation in consideration of poverty looms: "relative to what?" An equation of no social change: therefore, traditional material standards; clearly reinforces subsistence levels of remuneration. If on the other hand the society from which labour is drawn is in a state of change, especially with regard to patterns of material security, as we have shown above, then alternative relative criteria of reward have to be canvassed. If Namakgale is to experience change

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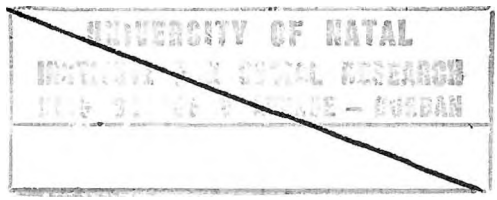
1) Schlemmer, L. (1972): 'City or Rural "Homeland" : A Study of Patterns of Identification Among Africans in South Africa's Divided Society'. *Social Forces*, 51, 2, 154-164. p.163.

comparable with that among Africans in the various urban areas of Southern Africa then rewards for labour have to comply with those of a modernising economy. The "cultural subsistence" rationalisation for exploitation of black labour - in the sense of relative under-remuneration - flies in the face of mounting evidence of social structural change, the corollary of which is a higher value placed on material consumption, and can no longer be entertained by objective minds. The question of relativity in South Africa is obscured by a political theory that contends that social order "between" blacks and whites cannot be compared - in this theory the "relative to what" question is untenable. However, the evidence on changed projections and aspirations of material needs presented in this report suggest a *prima facie* case for abandoning a subsistence system of reward in favour of a system relative to modernising socio-economic conditions.

> "The crofter of Heisgier in the Hebrides is more like the native hillsman in the remote interior of New Zealand, so far as the essentials of social action and mentality are concerned, than either the preliterate Scotsman or his Maori counterpart is like the citified denizen of Glasgow or Auckland."
>
> Howard Becker.



ADDENDUM

AFRICAN BUYING PATTERNS - PHALABORWA AND NAMAKGALE

Helen G. Schlemmer

This Addendum reflects my observations as research worker in Phalaborwa, Namakgale, and the two villages of Makushane and Mashishimale during the fieldwork for the Poverty Datum Line investigation in July 1973, and incorporates additional information gleaned in the course of my more focused research duties viz. pricing goods in various stores in the area. What is outlined below then are certain impressions which may be of interest. These impressions are supported by systematic evidence only in some instances. The research project was not designed to elucidate the buying habits, preferences and patterns of African respondents, yet here and there certain patterns were readily to be observed. These are presented below under the following four broad areas of household expenditure :

Food
Clothing
Household Maintenance
Furniture

Two chief factors emerge as determining these buying patterns. Firstly, there is the very real problem of the adequacy of the township stores. Closest in proximity to the township and village Africans, these stores are the obvious places from which to buy goods. Yet the lack of capital and consequent lack of both storage and retail space, forces the township and village store-owners to stock a very narrow range of goods, and these in small quantities. They cannot compete in retail price with the larger town shops, and so where possible the Africans prefer to do their shopping in Phalaborwa, where they have no choice due to transport problems or the need for immediate purchases they are subject to the very uneconomical price structure in the local stores. Small

quantities of goods are purchased at high prices. The tendency, therefore, seems to be to shop for clothing and furniture - the more expensive commodities - in town; but to rely on the local stores for everyday items of food, and household cleaning materials.

Secondly, buying patterns are clearly affected by a growing desire for western goods. As clothing and furniture allow for a manifest display of western taste, whereas food does not, the tendency in the majority of homes seems to be that of spending an inadequate proportion of the household income on food requirements while attending more to a need for fashionable clothes and household furnishings - the latter often on Hire Purchase. Nevertheless this trend is not clearcut; two of the exceptions that come to mind are an apparent concern for adequate feeding of babies (elaborated below), and a desire to buy lasting, although more expensive clothing, i.e. a clear awareness of long-term economy in the buying of clothes and shoes.

Food:

The following table shows some of the problems encountered in the buying of food at township or village stores. Items have been selected which demonstrate most clearly these difficulties.

TABLE 1 Comparative Food Prices per Kilogram at Town, Township and Village Stores

Item	Phalaborwa	Namakgale	Villages
Skim Milk Powder	R0,95	R1,50	R1,50
Meat/Fish (Average)	,65	,75	,85
Brown Bread	,10½	,12	,12
Coffee	1,19	,80	,80
Tea	1,10	1,53	2,08
Jam	,28½	,43	,46
Cheese	1,02	1,33	N/A
Eggs	,71	,90	N/A

A noticeable difference between town and township/village stores, is that the cheaper skimmed milk brands of milk powder are simply not available in the latter. This accounts for the discrepancy in price noted above. Only available are tins of full-cream milk powder - Klim, Nespray, Lactogen, etc. This far more expensive milk is bought, it appears, only for babies. When asked the price of milk powder, the township/village shopkeepers presented these brands of special "babies' milk". This may indicate that more and more Africans are prepared to spend money on nourishing foods for their younger children. A conversation with two African women in a Phalaborwa supermarket further supported this impression. When asked what food they would buy for their babies, given very little money, they pointed immediately to such accepted baby brands as Purity foods, Kreemy meal and Lactogen milk powder. They further indicated that the "average" African woman was taking more interest in her children's nutrition.

Given that the milk powder available in the township is too expensive for general use, the alternative left open to the housewife is to buy tinned condensed milk (the unsweetened variety, always ± 2c cheaper, is not available) and either to restrict its use to only tea or coffee for the adults or to use it as a milk equivalent at great expense; without perhaps realising it. Three tins of condensed milk with water make the equivalent of milk that is obtained from 250g of milk powder. Comparative prices on this item show again the tremendously uneconomical trends in food-buying.

TABLE 2 Comparative Prices of the Equivalent of 1 Litre of Milk

Base	Price
Condensed Milk	R0,36
Skim Milk Powder	,12
Full Cream Milk Powder	,19½

Fresh meat, although freely available in Phalaborwa, cannot

be stored in the township and villages because of obvious problems of refrigeration. The nearest butchery, however, lies just outside the gates of Namakgale with prices closely approximating those in town. Most popular is beef (sold mainly as mince), poultry, "boy's meat" and offal, trotters and tripe. However, fresh meat is difficult to store, so the diet is supplemented instead in most homes by tinned meats and fish. These tinned foods, especially meat, are very much more expensive than fresh meat and add additional burden to housekeeping, as can be seen by the table below.

TABLE 3 Comparative Prices of Meat and Fish Per Kilogram

Item	Phalaborwa	Namakgale	Villages
Tinned Corned Meat	R0,86½	R1,33	R1,18
Tinned Pilchards	,40	,55	,52
Chicken	,63½	,63	N/A
Mince	,80	,91	N/A
"Boy's Meat"	,73½	,70	N/A
Offal, Trotters, Tripe	,28½	,33	N/A

It is hardly surprising that meat and fish feature so seldom in the diet of an average township or village household.

A similar problem arises with the high protein items of cheese and eggs. In the villages these are not available (except of course, where a family has its own chickens). In Namakgale, as can be seen in Table 1, the prices are very much steeper than in town. Even in Phalaborwa the prices of these items are relatively prohibitive.

Brief mention should be made of the additional 1½c per kg on bread (just over one loaf) in the township and villages. This small example illustrates well the higher cost of living in out-of-town areas.

An interesting pattern in taste emerges in the buying of the beverages, tea or coffee. Although coffee (poor quality admittedly) is so very much cheaper - in the villages 80c per kg as opposed to R2,08 for tea (see Table 1) - tea is clearly preferred to coffee. One wonders at the discrepancy in prices. Tea is far more expensive in the township/village stores because it is marketed in smaller quantities - 62,5g and 125g - but also, one might suggest because whatever the price the shopkeeper has a captive market.

One last general point on the purchasing of food in township and village stores, is that the small range of goods marketed by the store-owner prevents the customer from comparing prices as he/she could do in the larger supermarkets, and this again militates against economical housekeeping.

A variety of factors appear to prevent the greatest economy in the purchase of food. Apart from the fact that an average household often does not have the necessary resources to buy food in bulk and so economise, it also does not have the transport to get to town for everyday convenience purchases, nor perhaps the foresight necessary for restricted, but balanced, budgeting.

Clothing

As indicated above, residents of the township and villages tend to shop for shoes and clothing in Phalaborwa where possible. That this is often not practicable, however, is illustrated by the fact that all stores in the villages and Namakgale are general purpose, stocking a few items in each of a wide range of clothing and shoe requirements. Items tend to be more expensive, of less durable quality and far less fashionable than could be obtained in town. The paucity of varying sizes in the styles available means that someone shopping at these shops cannot be guaranteed a good fit. Nevertheless, it would seem that clothes are bought at these shops fairly frequently.

Many of the shops in the township and villages stocked

children's school uniforms. Apparently parents are expected to equip their school-going children with uniforms where they can. Where such basic requirements as good nutrition are not given sufficient attention, school clothes seem to be an unwarranted luxury. Yet this is an established pattern of buying and must be accepted as part of normal subsistence budgeting.

The following table illustrates and compares prices of various clothing items of equivalent quality.

TABLE 4 Comparative Prices of Clothing Goods of Equivalent Quality

Items	Phalaborwa	Namakgale Villages
Men's sports jacket	R13-R17	R29
Men's walking shoes	R10-R12	R3-R6*
Men's long sleeved shirt	R3-R4	R4-R6
Men's cotton underpants	R0,50-R0,60	R1,50-R2,00
Men's woollen pullover	R5-R7	R14
Women's cotton dress	R3-R6	R6-R10
Women's skirt	R2-R3	R5-R6
Women's woollen jersey	R4-R6	R7-R12
Women's cotton overall	R2-R3	R6
Women's full-length petticoat	R1-R2	R3-R5

* Poorer Quality

Phalaborwa has a far wider and more up-to-date selection of clothing items and, as the table shows, is also very much cheaper. An amount of money spent on an article in township shops could be far more effectively used in town on an article of superior quality. And this certainly seems to be the pattern of clothes and shoe buying among Africans in the area. Many shop assistants in town mentioned the fact that the majority of their African customers tended to buy longer-lasting, better quality clothing although this meant

a larger outlay. This tendency showed itself particularly clearly with the buying of men's shoes. While shoes are the only item in Table 4 that are cheaper in Namakgale than in Phalaborwa, still men preferred to buy the better quality in town. Women, subject perhaps more to the short-term changes in the fashion world, seemed more prepared to buy cheaper materials that would not last as long.

The differences in the display of goods in the township and village shops encourages further the move towards buying higher cost items in town. For instance, none of the out of town stores stocked men's suits, and only one of the township stores had women's coats; and then only a few.

The discrepancy between town and township prices is again most clearly illustrated in the very small items of clothing, like underwear. Cotton underpants for men cost over three times as much in Namakgale as in Phalaborwa; women's full-length petticoats cost double (see Table 4). It is perhaps unfortunate for the township and village shopkeepers that their market is turning elsewhere for larger, non-convenience goods, thus preventing them from expanding but on the other hand this trend does indicate an awareness in the African customers of longer-term economy buying.

Household Maintenance

Cleaning and washing items follow many of the trends indicated in the discussion of food buying habits. In most cases these are bought at local stores, very uneconomically, as the shopkeepers stock only small tins and bottles of each. Again, many families have neither the financial resources, the physical means nor the foresight to buy these items in bulk in Phalaborwa. Hence we find differences in prices in many goods, a few of which are tabulated below.

Table 5 Comparative Costs of Household Cleaning Equipment

Item	Phalaborwa	Namakgale	Villages
500 g Sunlight Soap	R0,19	R0,24	R0,24
2 kg Soap powder	,90	1,46½	,60
800 ml Floor Polish	,36	,60	N/A
50 ml Shoe Polish	,07	,11½	,09½
550 g Vim	,17	,22	N/A
375 ml Bleach	,09	,14	N/A
1 packet candles	,18	,20	,22

Sunlight Soap can most often be bought in township and village in the very small 125g bars (at 6c each). Soap powder was only available in one township shop per kilogram, elsewhere it had to be bought in 150 g boxes. Many commodities show this pattern; toothpaste for example, can be bought at most shops only in the tiny 20g tubes for 10c or 11c each. It can be seen from this, that although stocking of shops with small masses of goods does aid the shopkeeper, yet it makes the housekeeper's task far more expensive and difficult.

Two other points bear discussion. Firstly, the village houses with their dung floors are exempted from the expense faced by township dwellers of floor polish. Modernisation it seems, does pay a price in certain areas.

Secondly, the prices of candles indicates that there is no standard against which shopkeepers are forced to price their goods. In Phalaborwa a packet of candles costs 18c. In Namakgale, a similar packet costs 20c. In the villages, however, even further out of town than the township, one store priced its candles at 18c per packet (Phalaborwa's equivalent), and a second priced the packet at 24c. It seems that the customer is not only subject to the many problems outlined above, but to the vagaries of his/her shopkeeper's profiteering as well!

Furniture

Lastly, furniture items seem to show the trends indicated in the buying of clothes, with one difference. African customers tend to select fashionable rather than durable commodities at heavy expense, thereby embarking on a series of Hire Purchase agreements.

Coir mattresses, for example, are not sold at furniture shops at all. The customer prefers the more expensive, far more comfortable, inner-spring mattress. A kitchen/dining room set of Panelyte table and four chairs, ranging between R30 and R60, is rejected in favour of a higher quality dining room suite, costing well over R100,00.

This trend obviously is not followed by all the Africans in the Phalaborwa district. But it is a general and growing tendency noted by many furniture shop assistants.

Conclusion

In conclusion then, it seems that where good quality goods are available they are preferred; that durables and clothing are preferred to the detriment of really adequate nutrition, but that a gradual change might be taking place in regard to a concern for young infants' diets. This imbalance can well be understood by a moment's consideration of the conspicuous consumption in our western urban culture.

These trends, and the relatively much higher prices in out of town stores have serious implications for the interpretation of the Poverty Datum Line. It is obvious that the poorer African people are, the more they are forced to buy small quantities of items at expensive nearby stores. This applies particularly to convenience items - food and household materials. The Poverty Datum Line assumes a very different pattern of purchasing than appears to be the case in Namakgale. It would seem that until bulk-buying

co-operatives are established, or shopkeepers in the township are encouraged through competition to lower prices, the Poverty Datum Line will not reflect the real minimum needs of African housekeeping.

A P P E N D I X

APPENDIX

TABLE 1 Mean Annual Distribution of Projected Needs for Clothing (Required and to be Replaced), Costed on a Minimum Basis for Adult Men among the Sample Categories.

Items		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
Sample Category and Income in Mean No* & Mean Cost**		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Trousers & Shorts	Req	6,4 (22,66)	5,6 (19,82)	5,5 (19,47)	5,6 (19,82)	8,4 (29,74)	8,7 (30,80)	8,1 (28,67)	7,6 (27,01)
	Repl	2,3 (8,14)	2,0 (7,08)	1,8 (6,37)	1,2 (4,25)	5,3 (18,76)	2,4 (8,50)	2,5 (8,85)	3,0 (10,66)
Shirts	Req	9,5 (18,53)	8,8 (17,16)	9,1 (17,75)	12,3 (23,99)	12,0 (23,40)	12,7 (24,77)	13,6 (26,52)	12,0 (23,33)
	Repl	4,8 (9,36)	4,1 (8,00)	4,3 (8,39)	3,7 (7,22)	7,0 (13,65)	4,7 (9,17)	5,4 (10,53)	5,2 (10,10)
Shoes	Req	3,7 (22,16)	4,0 (23,96)	4,9 (29,35)	6,5 (38,94)	4,0 (23,96)	5,0 (29,95)	5,0 (29,95)	4,9 (29,24)
	Repl	1,7 (10,18)	1,7 (10,18)	2,1 (12,58)	1,6 (9,58)	2,2 (13,18)	1,7 (10,18)	2,3 (13,78)	1,9 (11,14)
Jackets	Req	2,5 (32,50)	1,7 (22,10)	1,6 (20,80)	3,9 (50,70)	1,5 (19,50)	1,8 (23,40)	2,4 (31,20)	2,1 (27,63)
	Repl	1,0 (13,00)	0,7 (9,10)	0,7 (9,10)	0,9 (11,70)	0,6 (7,80)	0,5 (6,50)	1,2 (15,60)	0,7 (8,48)
Suits	Req	1,9 (36,08)	2,5 (47,48)	2,1 (39,88)	2,9 (55,07)	4,2 (79,76)	4,4 (83,56)	4,0 (75,96)	3,8 (71,65)
	Repl	0,6 (11,39)	0,7 (13,29)	0,7 (13,29)	0,5 (9,50)	1,1 (20,89)	1,8 (34,18)	1,2 (22,79)	1,2 (22,49)
Hats	Req	1,1 (5,51)	1,1 (5,51)	0,8 (4,01)	0,4 (2,00)	1,4 (7,01)	1,3 (6,51)	2,3 (11,52)	1,1 (5,70)
	Repl	0,4 (2,00)	0,4 (2,00)	0,4 (2,00)	0,2 (1,00)	0,4 (2,00)	0,4 (2,00)	1,5 (7,52)	0,4 (1,90)

/Table 1 continued ..

TABLE 1 (Contd.)

Sample Category and Income in R / Items / Mean No* / Mean Cost**		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Coats	Req	0,4 (4,52)	0,5 (5,66)	0,4 (4,52)	1,1 (12,44)	0,4 (4,52)	0,4 (4,52)	0,7 (7,92)	0,5 (6,17)
	Repl	0,1 (1,13)	0,2 (2,26)	0,2 (2,26)	0,2 (2,26)	0,3 (3,39)	0,1 (1,13)	0,3 (3,39)	0,2 (2,19)
Vest & Pants	Req	4,6 (4,37)	5,0 (4,75)	5,1 (4,85)	6,7 (6,37)	7,4 (7,03)	6,7 (6,37)	7,9 (7,51)	6,7 (6,38)
	Repl	2,4 (2,28)	2,3 (2,19)	2,4 (2,28)	3,0 (2,85)	5,3 (5,04)	4,4 (4,18)	4,3 (4,09)	4,1 (3,94)
Socks	Req	3,4 (1,36)	4,8 (1,92)	2,7 (1,08)	6,3 (2,52)	3,8 (1,52)	2,5 (1,00)	4,3 (1,72)	3,8 (1,53)
	Repl	2,9 (1,16)	2,1 (0,84)	1,3 (0,52)	3,0 (1,20)	2,1 (0,84)	1,9 (0,76)	2,7 (1,08)	2,2 (0,88)
Ties	Req	0,9 (0,89)	1,5 (1,49)	1,8 (1,78)	0,2 (0,20)	2,7 (2,67)	4,5 (4,46)	1,2 (1,19)	2,7 (2,66)
	Repl	0,5 (0,50)	0,5 (0,50)	0,5 (0,50)	0,1 (0,10)	3,3 (3,27)	0,5 (0,50)	0,7 (0,69)	1,3 (1,28)
Jerseys	Req	0,5 (3,00)	0,7 (4,19)	0,8 (4,79)	1,4 (8,39)	0,4 (2,40)	1,4 (8,39)	0,7 (4,19)	1,0 (5,94)
	Repl	0,3 (1,80)	0,2 (1,20)	0,4 (2,40)	0,5 (3,00)	0,1 (0,60)	0,5 (3,00)	0,3 (1,80)	0,3 (2,08)
Total Annual Projection in Rands and cents		151,48	154,24	148,25	220,44	201,51	223,73	226,35	207,22
Total Annual Replacement in Rands and cents		61,57	56,64	59,69	52,66	89,42	80,10	90,12	75,19

* Mean number of items required (req) and to be replaced (repl).

** Mean cost expressed as Rands in parenthesis.

TABLE 2 Mean Annual Distribution of Projected Needs for Clothing (Required and to be Replaced), Costed on a Minimum Basis for Adult Women Among the Sample Categories

Items / Sample Category and Income in R		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
Mean No* / Mean Cost**		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Skirts Sarongs	Req	4,4 (13,20)	5,2 (15,60)	2,3 (6,90)	5,1 (15,30)	4,4 (13,20)	7,5 (22,50)	5,0 (15,00)	5,6 (16,87)
	Repl	1,8 (5,40)	3,4 (10,20)	0,8 (2,40)	1,8 (5,40)	2,1 (6,30)	2,2 (6,60)	2,0 (6,00)	2,1 (6,30)
Blouses	Req	2,6 (5,17)	3,3 (6,57)	1,4 (2,79)	2,3 (4,58)	5,7 (11,34)	4,7 (9,35)	5,0 (9,95)	4,3 (8,52)
	Repl	1,4 (2,79)	2,4 (4,78)	0,7 (1,39)	1,7 (3,38)	2,8 (5,57)	1,5 (2,99)	2,4 (4,78)	2,0 (3,93)
Dresses	Req	9,0 (27,00)	6,0 (18,00)	8,6 (25,80)	11,4 (34,20)	9,9 (29,70)	9,3 (27,90)	8,6 (25,80)	9,6 (28,91)
	Repl	4,2 (12,60)	3,1 (9,30)	3,8 (11,40)	4,7 (14,10)	5,0 (15,00)	3,7 (11,10)	3,7 (11,10)	4,3 (12,81)
Doeks Hats	Req	2,8 (1,65)	3,5 (2,07)	3,1 (1,83)	6,0 (3,54)	3,1 (1,83)	3,2 (1,89)	3,8 (2,24)	3,7 (2,20)
	Repl	1,4 (0,83)	1,7 (1,00)	1,4 (0,83)	2,9 (1,71)	1,7 (1,00)	2,3 (1,36)	1,9 (1,12)	2,1 (1,26)
Shoes	Req	3,9 (7,76)	3,1 (6,17)	3,8 (7,56)	4,3 (8,56)	5,1 (10,15)	5,8 (11,54)	4,6 (9,15)	5,0 (9,92)
	Repl	2,1 (4,18)	1,5 (2,99)	1,7 (3,38)	1,9 (3,78)	2,8 (5,57)	1,9 (3,78)	2,3 (4,58)	2,2 (4,29)
Coats	Req	0,8 (2,14)	0,4 (1,07)	0,5 (1,34)	1,2 (3,20)	0,6 (1,60)	0,4 (1,07)	1,4 (3,74)	0,6 (1,73)
	Repl	0,4 (1,07)	0,2 (0,53)	0,2 (0,53)	0,5 (1,34)	0,3 (0,80)	0,1 (0,27)	0,6 (1,60)	0,3 (0,71)
Panties Petti-coats	Req	4,5 (3,96)	4,8 (4,22)	3,9 (3,43)	4,1 (3,61)	7,4 (6,51)	5,1 (4,49)	5,2 (4,58)	5,5 (4,87)
	Repl	2,5 (2,20)	3,4 (2,99)	2,4 (2,11)	3,6 (3,17)	5,9 (5,19)	4,1 (3,61)	4,2 (3,70)	4,4 (3,88)

/Table 2 continued ...

TABLE 2 (Contd.)

Sample Category and Income / Items in R Mean No* Mean Cost**		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Stockings	Req	2,7 (1,05)	1,3 (0,51)	2,4 (0,94)	0,5 (0,20)	3,5 (1,37)	4,8 (1,87)	0,4 (0,16)	3,1 (1,23)
	Repl	4,4 (1,72)	2,4 (0,94)	0,7 (0,27)	1,2 (0,47)	2,9 (1,13)	4,5 (1,76)	0,2 (0,08)	3,0 (1,18)
Wigs	Req	0,6 (1,65)	0,5 (1,38)	0,2 (0,55)	0,3 (0,83)	0,8 (2,20)	1,2 (3,30)	0,3 (0,83)	0,8 (2,18)
	Repl	0,2 (0,55)	0,2 (0,55)	0,1 (0,28)	0,1 (0,28)	0,4 (1,10)	0,4 (1,10)	0,2 (0,55)	0,3 (0,85)
Jerseys	Req	1,6 (3,84)	1,5 (3,60)	1,9 (4,56)	1,7 (4,08)	1,1 (2,64)	0,8 (1,92)	2,1 (5,04)	1,2 (2,86)
	Repl	0,9 (2,16)	0,9 (2,16)	0,9 (2,16)	0,7 (1,68)	0,8 (1,92)	0,2 (0,48)	0,9 (2,16)	0,6 (1,39)
Costumes	Req	0,6 (1,60)	1,4 (3,72)	0,9 (2,39)	0,6 (1,60)	1,3 (3,46)	1,2 (3,19)	1,0 (2,66)	1,1 (2,92)
	Repl	0,5 (1,33)	0,5 (1,33)	0,4 (1,06)	0,2 (0,53)	0,6 (1,60)	0,6 (1,60)	0,6 (1,60)	0,5 (1,35)
Bras Girdles	Req	0,4 (0,40)	0,2 (0,20)	2,0 (1,98)	2,1 (2,08)	3,7 (3,66)	0,5 (,50)	0,3 (0,30)	1,8 (1,80)
	Repl	0,3 (0,30)	0,2 (0,20)	0,7 (0,69)	2,5 (2,48)	2,1 (2,08)	0,3 (0,30)	0,2 (0,20)	1,3 (1,27)
Total Annual Cost of "Projected" Requirements in Rands & cents		69,42	63,11	60,07	81,78	87,66	89,52	79,45	84,01
Total Annual Cost of "Projected" Replacement in Rands & cents		35,13	36,97	26,50	38,32	47,26	34,95	37,47	39,22

* Mean number of items required (Req) and to be replaced (Repl).

** Mean cost expressed as Rands in parenthesis.

TABLE 3 Mean Annual Distribution of Projected Needs for Clothing (Required and to be Replaced), Costed on a Minimum Basis for Boys Under 10 Years Among the Sample Categories.

Items / Sample Category and Income in R — Mean No* / Mean Cost‡		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Shirts	Req	6,1 (3,60)	6,1 (3,60)	7,5 (4,43)	9,1 (5,37)	9,2 (5,43)	6,7 (3,95)	5,8 (3,42)	7,9 (4,65)
	Repl	3,6 (2,12)	3,2 (1,89)	3,5 (2,07)	6,1 (3,60)	6,4 (3,78)	5,4 (3,19)	2,8 (1,65)	5,54 (3,27)
Trousers	Req	4,9 (5,19)	3,9 (4,13)	4,0 (4,24)	4,8 (5,09)	6,8 (7,21)	3,6 (3,82)	4,7 (4,98)	4,90 (5,19)
	Repl	2,4 (2,54)	1,9 (2,01)	1,8 (1,91)	3,7 (3,92)	3,8 (4,03)	2,0 (2,12)	2,3 (2,44)	2,88 (3,05)
Shoes	Req	2,9 (5,22)	3,3 (5,94)	3,0 (5,40)	2,5 (4,50)	3,7 (6,66)	4,0 (7,20)	3,2 (5,76)	3,50 (6,29)
	Repl	1,9 (3,42)	2,0 (3,60)	1,6 (2,88)	1,9 (3,42)	2,6 (4,68)	2,1 (3,78)	1,7 (3,06)	2,18 (3,92)
Vest & Pants	Req	1,7 (0,49)	3,6 (1,04)	1,3 (0,38)	5,6 (1,62)	3,6 (1,04)	0,6 (0,17)	5,7 (1,65)	2,81 (0,81)
	Repl	1,3 (0,38)	2,8 (0,81)	0,9 (0,26)	6,8 (1,97)	3,9 (1,13)	0,5 (0,15)	4,7 (1,36)	3,0 (0,87)
Jackets	Req	0,7 (2,73)	1,1 (4,29)	1,0 (3,90)	1,5 (5,85)	1,6 (6,24)	0,8 (3,12)	1,2 (4,68)	1,21 (4,72)
	Repl	0,5 (1,95)	0,8 (3,12)	0,5 (1,95)	0,6 (2,34)	0,9 (3,51)	0,4 (1,56)	0,6 (2,34)	0,63 (2,44)
Socks	Req	2,2 (0,26)	1,9 (0,23)	1,9 (0,23)	2,2 (0,26)	2,6 (0,31)	2,8 (0,34)	2,2 (0,26)	2,51 (0,30)
	Repl	1,3 (0,16)	1,0 (0,12)	1,3 (0,16)	2,9 (0,35)	2,9 (0,35)	2,4 (0,29)	1,3 (0,16)	2,47 (0,30)
Hats Caps	Req	0,5 (0,75)	0,7 (1,05)	0,7 (1,05)	0,9 (1,35)	0,6 (0,90)	1,2 (1,80)	1,9 (2,85)	0,90 (1,35)
	Repl	0,2 (0,30)	0,4 (0,60)	0,2 (0,30)	0,5 (0,75)	0,4 (0,60)	0,5 (0,75)	0,9 (1,35)	0,45 (0,68)

/Table 3 continued ...

TABLE 3 (Contd.)

Sample Category and Income in R / Items Mean No* Mean Cost**		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Suits	Req	0,1 (0,57)	0,9 (5,13)	0,3 (1,71)	0,9 (5,13)	0,8 (4,56)	2,4 (13,68)	1,1 (6,27)	1,37 (7,78)
	Repl	0,1 (0,57)	0,4 (2,28)	0,7 (3,99)	0,2 (1,14)	0,6 (3,42)	1,2 (6,84)	0,4 (2,28)	0,71 (4,06)
Jerseys	Req	0,6 (1,08)	1,4 (2,52)	0,7 (1,26)	1,4 (2,52)	1,3 (2,34)	1,1 (1,98)	0,8 (1,44)	1,20 (2,17)
	Repl	0,3 (0,54)	0,8 (1,44)	0,3 (0,54)	0,7 (1,26)	0,6 (1,08)	0,5 (0,90)	0,4 (0,72)	0,57 (1,03)
Coats	Req	0,6 (2,03)	0,6 (2,03)	0,8 (2,71)	1,5 (5,09)	0,3 (1,02)	0,7 (2,37)	1,4 (4,75)	0,74 (2,50)
	Repl	0,6 (2,03)	0,3 (1,02)	0,4 (1,36)	0,6 (2,03)	0,1 (0,34)	0,3 (1,02)	0,6 (2,03)	0,31 (1,06)
Shorts	Req	2,4 (2,18)	2,1 (1,91)	2,7 (2,46)	1,1 (1,00)	2,3 (2,09)	3,5 (3,19)	2,6 (2,37)	2,51 (2,29)
	Repl	1,4 (1,27)	1,3 (1,18)	1,4 (1,27)	0,5 (0,46)	1,6 (1,46)	2,5 (2,28)	1,9 (1,73)	1,69 (1,54)
Ties	Req	-	0,2 (0,06)	0,2 (0,06)	0,1 (0,03)	-	0,2 (0,06)	-	0,11 (0,03)
	Repl	-	0,1 (0,03)	0,05 (0,02)	0,1 (0,06)	-	0,2 (0,06)	-	0,10 (0,03)
Total Annual Cost of "Projected" Requirements in Rands & cents		24,10	31,93	27,83	37,81	37,80	41,68	38,43	38,08
Total Annual Cost of "Projected" Replacement in Rands & cents		15,28	18,10	16,71	21,27	24,38	22,94	19,12	22,25

* Mean number of items required (Req) and to be replaced (Repl).

** Mean cost expressed as Rands in parenthesis.

TABLE 4 Mean Annual Distribution of Projected Needs for Clothing (Required and to be Replaced), Costed on a Minimum Basis for Girls Under 10 Years Among the Sample Categories.

Items / Sample Category and Income in R — Mean No* / Mean Cost**		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Dresses	Req	7,1 (8,09)	6,6 (7,52)	6,8 (7,75)	7,0 (7,98)	9,0 (10,26)	8,3 (9,46)	6,7 (7,64)	8,04 (9,17)
	Repl	4,1 (4,67)	3,8 (4,33)	3,0 (3,42)	3,8 (4,33)	5,2 (5,93)	4,4 (5,02)	2,8 (3,19)	4,40 (5,02)
Vest & Pants	Req	4,1 (1,21)	4,1 (1,21)	3,6 (1,07)	5,1 (1,51)	7,3 (2,16)	4,7 (1,39)	4,4 (1,30)	5,47 (1,62)
	Repl	3,1 (0,92)	3,0 (0,89)	3,1 (0,92)	5,2 (1,54)	6,7 (1,98)	3,0 (0,89)	3,9 (1,15)	4,58 (1,36)
Petti-coats	Req	2,8 (1,05)	2,3 (0,86)	1,7 (0,64)	4,7 (1,77)	1,9 (0,71)	3,6 (1,35)	2,9 (1,09)	3,10 (1,16)
	Repl	1,0 (0,38)	1,7 (0,64)	1,5 (0,56)	3,9 (1,47)	1,5 (0,56)	2,4 (0,90)	2,9 (1,09)	2,31 (0,87)
Shoes	Req	2,9 (2,20)	3,1 (2,36)	3,3 (2,51)	3,0 (2,28)	4,0 (3,04)	3,9 (2,96)	3,3 (2,51)	3,65 (2,77)
	Repl	1,8 (1,37)	1,8 (1,37)	2,3 (1,75)	1,8 (1,37)	2,5 (1,90)	2,0 (1,52)	1,8 (1,37)	2,11 (1,60)
Hat Beret	Req	0,4 (0,09)	0,8 (0,18)	1,2 (0,26)	1,4 (0,31)	0,8 (0,18)	2,0 (0,44)	1,4 (0,31)	1,36 (0,30)
	Repl	0,3 (0,07)	0,5 (0,11)	0,4 (0,09)	2,1 (0,46)	0,3 (0,07)	1,0 (0,22)	0,7 (0,15)	0,92 (0,20)
Jersey	Req	2,4 (2,18)	2,2 (2,00)	2,1 (1,91)	2,0 (1,82)	1,7 (1,55)	2,8 (2,55)	2,2 (2,00)	2,22 (2,03)
	Repl	1,4 (1,27)	1,1 (1,00)	1,2 (1,09)	1,1 (1,00)	0,9 (0,82)	1,0 (0,91)	1,0 (0,91)	1,01 (0,92)
Socks, Stock-ings	Req	1,6 (0,24)	2,1 (0,32)	1,2 (0,18)	2,2 (0,33)	3,3 (0,50)	3,4 (0,51)	2,8 (0,42)	2,92 (0,44)
	Repl	1,1 (0,17)	1,6 (0,24)	1,0 (0,15)	2,1 (0,32)	4,6 (0,69)	3,1 (0,47)	1,7 (0,26)	3,12 (0,47)

/Table 4 continued ...

TABLE 4 (Contd.)

Sample Category and Income in R / Items Mean No* Mean Cost**		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Uniform Gym dresses	Req	0,6 (0,68)	0,2 (0,23)	0,8 (0,91)	0,1 (0,11)	0,7 (0,80)	0,7 (0,80)	0,6 (0,68)	0,55 (0,63)
	Repl	0,4 (0,46)	0,1 (0,11)	0,5 (0,57)	0,1 (0,11)	0,5 (0,57)	0,7 (0,80)	0,3 (0,34)	0,46 (0,53)
Costumes	Req	0,1 (0,10)	0,1 (0,10)	0,1 (0,10)	0,4 (0,40)	0,6 (0,61)	0,5 (0,51)	-	0,45 (0,46)
	Repl	0,1 (0,10)	0,1 (0,10)	0,3 (0,30)	0,1 (0,10)	0,4 (0,40)	0,4 (0,40)	-	0,31 (0,31)
Coats	Req	0,3 (0,30)	0,5 (0,51)	0,4 (0,40)	0,4 (0,40)	0,5 (0,51)	0,4 (0,40)	0,4 (0,40)	0,43 (0,44)
	Repl	0,2 (0,20)	0,2 (0,20)	0,2 (0,20)	0,2 (0,20)	0,2 (0,20)	0,1 (0,10)	0,2 (0,20)	0,16 (0,16)
Skirts, Sarongs	Req	0,4 (0,46)	1,5 (1,71)	1,5 (1,71)	0,3 (0,34)	1,2 (1,37)	1,3 (1,48)	2,9 (3,31)	1,10 (1,26)
	Repl	0,2 (0,23)	0,9 (1,03)	0,6 (0,68)	0,2 (0,23)	0,9 (1,03)	0,5 (0,57)	1,0 (1,14)	0,59 (0,68)
Blouses	Req	1,2 (0,91)	1,3 (0,99)	1,2 (0,91)	0,3 (0,23)	2,2 (1,67)	1,1 (0,84)	3,4 (2,58)	1,34 (1,02)
	Repl	0,9 (0,68)	0,8 (0,61)	0,4 (0,30)	0,2 (0,15)	1,4 (1,06)	0,5 (0,38)	1,6 (1,22)	0,76 (0,58)
Total Annual Cost of "Projected" Requirements in Rands & cents		17,51	17,99	18,35	17,48	23,36	22,69	22,24	21,30
Total Annual Cost of "Projected" Replacement in Rands & cents		10,52	10,63	10,03	11,28	15,21	12,18	11,02	12,70

* Mean number of items required (Req) and to be replaced (Repl).

** Mean cost expressed as Rands in parenthesis.

TABLE 5 Description and Minimum Monthly Cost Per Sample Family of Alternative Menus for Each of the Three Daily Meals

Alternative Menus for Breakfast

MENU 1

	R	c	OR		R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2		Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Bread (÷2)	1	23,4		Porridge (÷3)	1	34,8
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3		Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Margarine (÷2)	0	71,0		Salt (÷3)	0	06,9
	2	43,9			1	91,2

MENU 2

	R	c	OR		R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2		Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Bread (÷2)	1	23,4		Porridge (÷3)	1	34,8
Butter (x1)	2	13,4		Butter (x1)	2	13,4
Milk (÷2)	6	23,6		Milk (÷2)	6	23,6
Jam (x1)	0	98,1		Jam (x1)	0	98,1
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3		Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
				Salt (÷3)	0	06,9
	11	08			11	26,3

MENU 3

	R	c	OR		R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2		Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Bread (÷2)	1	23,4		Porridge (÷3)	1	34,8
Butter (x1)	2	13,4		Butter (x1)	2	13,4
Milk (÷2)	6	23,6		Milk (÷2)	6	23,6
Jam (x1)	0	98,1		Jam (x1)	0	98,1
Meat (÷2)	2	92,7		Meat (÷3)	1	95,3
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3		Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Oil (÷3)	0	18,7		Oil (÷3)	0	18,7
				Salt (÷3)	0	06,9
	14	19,4			13	40,3

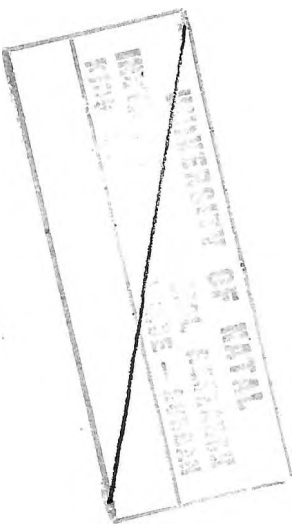
Alternative Menus for Lunch

MENU 1

	R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Porridge (÷2)	2	07,5
Meat (÷2)	2	92,7
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Salt (÷2)	0	10,0
Oil (÷2)	0	28,2
	5	87,9

MENU 2

	R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Porridge (÷2)	2	07,5
Meat (÷2)	2	92,7
Vegetables (x1)	5	40,4
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Salt (÷2)	0	10,0
Oil (÷2)	0	28,2
	11	28,3



MENU 3

	R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Porridge (÷2)	2	07,5
Meat (÷2)	2	92,7
Vegetables (x1)	5	40,4
Sweet (x1)	0	98,1
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Salt (÷2)	0	10,0
Oil (÷2)	0	28,2
	12	26,4

Alternative Menus for Dinner

MENU 1

	R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Bread (÷2)	1	23,4
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Margarine (÷2)	0	71,0
	2	43,9

OR

	R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Porridge (÷3)	1	34,8
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Salt (÷3)	0	06,9
	1	91,2

MENU 2

	R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Bread (÷2)	1	23,4
Meat (÷2)	2	92,7
Milk (÷2)	6	23,6
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Margarine (÷2)	0	71,0
Oil (÷2)	0	28,2
Salt (÷2)	0	10,0
	11	98,4

OR

	R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Porridge (÷2)	2	07,5
Meat (÷2)	2	92,7
Milk (÷2)	6	23,6
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Oil (÷2)	0	28,2
Salt (÷2)	0	10,0
	12	11,5

MENU 3

	R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Bread (÷2)	1	23,4
Meat (÷2)	2	92,7
Milk (÷2)	6	23,6
Vegetables/ Sweet (x1)	3	19,3
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Margarine (÷2)	0	71,0
Oil (÷2)	0	28,2
Salt (÷2)	0	10,0
	15	17,7

OR

	R	c
Tea (÷3)	0	26,2
Porridge (÷2)	2	07,5
Meat (÷2)	2	92,7
Milk (÷2)	6	23,6
Vegetables/ Sweet (x1)	3	19,3
Sugar (÷3)	0	23,3
Oil (÷2)	0	28,2
Salt (÷2)	0	10,0
	15	30,8

TABLE 6 Mean Annual Distribution of Projected Needs for Household Effects and Utensils (Required and to be Replaced) Costed on a Minimum Basis for Families Among the Sample Categories.

Items / Sample Category and Income in R — Mean No* / Mean Cost**		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Pots	Req	4,1 (7,18)	4,5 (7,88)	4,5 (7,88)	6,1 (10,68)	5,9 (10,33)	6,3 (11,03)	4,2 (7,35)	5,9 (10,27)
	Repl	1,7 (2,98)	1,8 (3,15)	2,0 (3,50)	2,2 (3,85)	2,3 (4,03)	2,5 (4,38)	1,1 (1,93)	2,3 (3,98)
Pans	Req	3,7 (3,15)	3,9 (3,32)	3,8 (3,23)	4,4 (3,74)	4,4 (3,74)	3,1 (2,64)	5,6 (4,76)	3,9 (3,30)
	Repl	1,9 (1,62)	1,8 (1,53)	2,1 (1,79)	2,2 (1,87)	1,7 (1,45)	1,6 (1,36)	1,8 (1,53)	1,8 (1,52)
Plates	Req	12,1 (7,14)	8,0 (4,72)	6,2 (3,66)	10,3 (6,08)	8,8 (5,19)	11,1 (6,55)	15,1 (8,91)	10,0 (5,88)
	Repl	4,0 (2,36)	2,7 (1,59)	2,9 (1,71)	2,1 (1,24)	4,0 (2,36)	5,8 (3,42)	3,8 (2,24)	4,2 (2,45)
Cups	Req	10,6 (2,01)	8,1 (1,54)	6,2 (1,18)	11,5 (2,19)	15,0 (2,85)	8,7 (1,65)	16,2 (3,08)	11,2 (2,13)
	Repl	4,3 (0,82)	2,6 (0,49)	2,7 (0,51)	3,2 (0,61)	8,4 (1,60)	5,0 (0,95)	3,1 (0,59)	5,4 (1,03)
Spoons	Req	11,1 (3,44)	9,8 (3,04)	9,8 (3,04)	12,5 (3,88)	3,6 (1,12)	8,4 (2,60)	9,8 (3,04)	8,0 (2,47)
	Repl	3,1 (0,96)	3,0 (0,93)	5,3 (1,64)	3,4 (1,05)	1,1 (0,34)	2,8 (0,87)	1,7 (0,53)	2,5 (0,77)
Knives & Forks	Req	8,3 (2,74)	2,8 (0,92)	8,1 (2,67)	9,1 (3,00)	6,6 (2,18)	6,2 (2,05)	8,4 (2,77)	6,8 (2,26)
	Repl	1,9 (0,63)	0,7 (0,23)	3,7 (1,22)	2,1 (0,69)	2,8 (0,92)	1,9 (0,63)	1,6 (0,53)	2,2 (0,71)
Beds	Req	2,1 (55,65)	2,6 (68,90)	2,1 (55,65)	3,1 (82,15)	2,4 (63,60)	2,4 (63,60)	2,8 (74,20)	2,5 (67,14)
	Repl	0,3 (7,95)	0,5 (13,25)	0,5 (13,25)	0,26 (6,89)	0,4 (10,60)	0,5 (13,25)	0,3 (7,95)	0,4 (10,99)

/Table 6 continued ...

TABLE 6 (Contd.)

Items / Sample Category and Income in R		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
Mean No* / Mean Cost**		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Wardrobes	Req	0,7 (30,10)	1,2 (51,60)	0,6 (25,80)	1,4 (60,20)	0,9 (38,70)	0,6 (25,80)	1,1 (47,30)	0,9 (38,41)
	Repl	0,09 (3,87)	0,14 (6,02)	0,07 (3,01)	0,1 (4,30)	0,17 (7,31)	0,2 (8,60)	0,1 (4,30)	0,16 (6,81)
Dressing Table	Req	0,2 (2,39)	0,4 (4,78)	0,25 (2,99)	0,5 (5,98)	0,4 (4,78)	0,3 (3,59)	0,4 (4,78)	0,4 (4,45)
	Repl	0,02 (0,24)	0,03 (0,36)	0,03 (0,36)	0,04 (0,48)	0,07 (0,84)	0,08 (0,96)	0,03 (0,36)	0,06 (0,74)
Table	Req	1,2 (55,20)	1,1 (50,60)	1,1 (50,60)	1,2 (55,20)	0,8 (36,80)	1,3 (59,80)	1,3 (59,80)	1,1 (50,83)
	Repl	0,18 (8,28)	0,1 (4,60)	0,2 (9,20)	0,1 (4,60)	0,15 (6,90)	0,2 (9,20)	0,1 (4,60)	0,16 (7,23)
Chairs	Req	4,7 (17,63)	4,3 (16,13)	4,6 (17,25)	4,4 (16,50)	3,0 (11,25)	5,5 (20,63)	5,4 (20,25)	4,4 (16,47)
	Repl	0,6 (2,25)	0,5 (1,88)	0,8 (3,00)	0,4 (1,50)	0,6 (2,25)	1,0 (3,75)	0,5 (1,88)	0,7 (2,64)
Sideboard	Req	0,6 (26,40)	0,5 (22,00)	0,3 (13,20)	0,7 (30,80)	0,4 (17,60)	0,5 (22,00)	0,6 (26,40)	0,5 (22,19)
	Repl	0,09 (3,96)	0,04 (1,76)	0,03 (1,32)	0,07 (3,08)	0,06 (2,64)	0,09 (3,96)	0,1 (4,40)	0,07 (3,11)
Stove	Req	0,5 (27,50)	0,5 (27,50)	0,4 (22,00)	0,9 (49,50)	0,4 (22,00)	0,4 (22,00)	0,4 (22,00)	0,5 (27,75)
	Repl	0,08 (4,40)	0,07 (3,85)	0,04 (2,20)	0,07 (3,85)	0,09 (4,95)	0,05 (2,75)	0,04 (2,20)	0,07 (3,72)
Carpet	Req	0,4 (15,20)	0,5 (19,00)	0,4 (15,20)	0,7 (26,60)	0,4 (15,20)	0,3 (11,40)	0,4 (15,20)	0,4 (16,26)
	Repl	0,07 (2,66)	0,05 (1,90)	0,07 (2,66)	0,05 (1,90)	0,09 (3,42)	0,04 (1,52)	0,04 (1,52)	0,06 (2,18)

/Table 6 continued ...

TABLE 6 (Contd.)

Items / Sample Category and Income in R		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
Mean No* Mean Cost**		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Kitchen Cupboard	Req	0,3 (10,50)	0,4 (14,00)	0,4 (14,00)	0,7 (24,50)	0,4 (14,00)	0,4 (14,00)	0,4 (14,00)	0,45 (15,92)
	Repl	0,05 (1,75)	0,05 (1,75)	0,07 (2,45)	0,05 (1,75)	0,09 (3,15)	0,05 (1,75)	0,08 (2,80)	0,06 (2,22)
Lounge Chairs	Req	0,14 (2,45)	0,9 (15,75)	0,8 (14,00)	0,2 (3,50)	0,9 (15,75)	0,7 (12,25)	0,4 (7,00)	0,66 (34,33)
	Repl	0,01 (0,18)	0,1 (1,75)	0,07 (1,23)	-	0,2 (3,50)	0,1 (1,75)	0,08 (1,40)	0,11 (1,88)
Lounge Sofa	Req	0,07 (4,83)	0,3 (20,70)	0,25 (17,25)	0,1 (6,90)	0,4 (27,60)	0,4 (27,60)	0,2 (13,80)	0,32 (21,97)
	Repl	0,01 (0,69)	0,02 (1,38)	0,04 (2,76)	-	0,1 (6,90)	0,07 (4,83)	0,04 (2,76)	0,06 (4,10)
Bedroom Suite	Req	0,2 (21,59)	0,4 (43,18)	0,2 (21,59)	0,5 (53,98)	0,4 (43,18)	0,3 (32,39)	0,4 (43,18)	0,37 (39,98)
	Repl	0,02 (2,16)	0,03 (3,24)	0,03 (3,24)	0,04 (4,32)	0,07 (7,56)	0,08 (8,64)	0,04 (4,32)	0,06 (6,70)
Dining Suite	Req	0,5 (52,50)	0,5 (52,50)	0,3 (31,50)	0,7 (73,50)	0,4 (42,00)	0,5 (52,50)	0,4 (42,00)	0,5 (52,32)
	Repl	0,07 (7,35)	0,04 (4,20)	0,05 (5,25)	0,07 (7,35)	0,06 (6,30)	0,07 (7,35)	0,05 (5,25)	0,06 (6,72)
Lounge Suite	Req	0,07 (7,28)	0,3 (31,20)	0,2 (20,80)	0,1 (10,40)	0,4 (41,60)	0,4 (41,60)	0,2 (20,80)	0,32 (32,91)
	Repl	0,01 (1,04)	0,03 (3,12)	0,04 (4,16)	-	0,1 (10,40)	0,07 (7,28)	0,04 (4,16)	0,06 (6,25)
Fridge	Req	0,14 (24,50)	-	0,05 (8,75)	0,1 (17,50)	0,13 (22,75)	-	-	0,06 (11,32)
	Repl	0,03 (5,25)	-	-	0,02 (3,50)	0,03 (5,25)	-	-	0,01 (2,42)

/Table 6 continued ....

TABLE 6 (Contd.)

Items / Sample Category and Income in R — Mean No* / Mean Cost**		Low Earners			High Earners		Non-PMC	Villages	Weighted Arithmetic Mean
		0-54	55-64	65-74	75-84	85 Plus	40-77	45-81	
Radio-gram	Req	-	0,06 (7,74)	0,05 (6,45)	0,2 (25,80)	0,13 (16,77)	0,2 (25,80)	0,2 (25,80)	0,16 (20,49)
	Repl	-	0,01 (1,29)	0,01 (1,29)	0,04 (5,16)	0,08 (10,32)	0,03 (3,87)	0,08 (10,32)	0,05 (5,84)
Kettle (Stove)	Req	0,07 (0,12)	0,4 (0,70)	0,1 (0,18)	-	0,25 (0,44)	0,2 (0,35)	-	0,18 (0,31)
	Repl	0,07 (0,12)	0,15 (0,26)	0,03 (0,05)	-	0,04 (0,07)	0,09 (0,16)	-	0,06 (0,10)
Total Annual Cost of "Projected" Requirements in Rands & cents		379,50	467,70	358,87	572,58	459,43	461,83	466,42	499,36
Total Annual Cost of "Projected" Replacement in Rands & cents		61,52	58,53	65,80	57,99	103,06	91,23	65,57	84,11

* Mean number of items required (Req) and to be replaced (Repl).

** Mean cost expressed as Rands in parenthesis.

POSTSCRIPT

Reference to Page 10 (sample categories) in the text of the report will show that PMC African employees comprise a 90% component in the sample survey; further, that they reflect income categories (intervals) that range from R0-R74, R75-R84 to a category of R85 plus. (It was for these two reasons together with a non-PMC employed component that sample means were weighted in the report). Since the empirical research for this report was completed (July 1973), PMC has revised its wage structure for African employees. Below is a tabulation of the distribution of monthly remuneration for African daily paid workers of the company. (Note: This does not include African salaried staff).

Distribution of Mean Gross Monthly Earnings of African Daily Paid Workers at the Palabora Mining Company as at March, 1974.

Wage Group	Number of Employees in Group	Basic Rate Per Shift		Service Rate Per Shift Per Annum		Mean Gross Monthly* Earnings	
		R	c	R	c	R	c
A	625	3	00	0	10	99	51
B	1063	3	75	0	10	128	51
C	236	4	50	0	15	160	89
D	257	5	50	0	15	172	49
E	4	6	50	0	15	233	74
N = 2185		Weighted Mean = R127,49					

* Gross monthly earnings include basic wage, week day overtime (time and a half), Sunday overtime (double time), and other earnings, e.g. holiday pay.

It is immediately apparent that the distribution above represents a somewhat changed scale of remuneration compared with the income

basis used for the original sample. Further, this radically alters, for PMC employees, distribution by income about PDL and EML measures.

In the first instance the weighted mean gross monthly remuneration of PMC African daily paid workers (R127,49) exceeds mean monthly remuneration of our original sample (R68,73 : text page 12) by over R58. Clearly, this relatively high rate of remuneration for Africans employed by PMC requires comment. In the text of the report a mean secondary PDL established in a previous report, of R66,72 and a consequent EML of R100,08 was utilised. On the basis of these figures and our sample as at July 1973 the following judgements were made (text pages 12-13) :

(i) 62% of the original sample received less than the mean monthly remuneration calculated;

(ii) 55% of the original sample received an income which was less than the Secondary PDL;

(iii) only 8% of the original sample received an income greater than the calculated EML.

Returning to the tabulation of amended PMC wages, these may be compared with our PDL and EML (needless to say, had the original sample been drawn after PMC wage changes, the mean monthly remuneration reported earlier would have been much higher) :

(i) No employee at PMC receives less than the PDL measure of R66,72 (a minimum basic rate of R3,00 per shift x 26 shifts = R78,00).

(ii) Expressed as a mean, 28.6% of African daily paid workers receive less than the EML measure of R100,08. Put more positively, 71.4% receive more than the calculated EML.

(iii) Further, our figure of R108,05, calculated on a minimum basis, based on some aspirations reflected in the survey results (text page 55) is comfortably exceeded by the

PMC mean monthly wage and, expressed as an average, by ± 70% of PMC African daily paid workers.