

TABLE X. ANALYSIS OF MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE IN FARMERS' HOUSEHOLDS

Item	All farmers		Independent farmers		Semi-dependent farmers		Tenant farmers	
	Yen	Per cent. of total expenditure	Yen	Per cent. of total expenditure	Yen	Per cent. of total expenditure	Yen	Per cent. of total expenditure
Sanitation	2.71	2.81	3.24	2.96	2.95	2.93	1.98	2.44
Rearing of children	0.37	0.38	0.43	0.39	0.39	0.39	0.31	0.38
Education	1.01	1.05	1.72	1.57	0.99	0.98	0.61	0.75
Daily journeys	1.15	1.19	1.37	1.25	1.25	1.24	0.87	1.07
Correspondence and transportation	0.16	0.17	0.25	0.23	0.16	0.16	0.12	0.15
Stationery	0.15	0.16	0.18	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.12	0.15
Taxes, rates, and other duties	1.31	1.36	2.24	2.04	1.33	1.32	0.68	0.84
Companionship (pre-sents, parties, etc.)	7.58	7.86	8.97	8.18	8.18	8.13	5.74	7.06
Culture and recreation	2.16	2.24	3.03	2.76	2.32	2.30	1.35	1.66
Travel	0.58	0.60	0.74	0.68	0.65	0.65	0.37	0.45
Hired labour	0.16	0.17	0.21	0.19	0.19	0.19	0.07	0.09
Other expenditure	6.05	6.28	6.31	5.75	7.05	7.01	4.29	5.28
Not defined	0.87	0.90	0.95	0.87	0.83	0.82	0.88	1.08
Total	24.26	25.17	30.54	27.03	26.45	26.28	17.39	21.40

The results of the enquiry into farmers' budgets, though they may not be strictly comparable with those of the enquiry into salaried workers' and wage earners' budgets, nevertheless seem to warrant the conclusion that the standard of living is lower among farmers than in the corresponding industrial classes. This is indicated not only by the smaller absolute incomes in the farmer class, but also by the distribution of expenditure. Among the farmers a relatively greater part of the total income is spent on the bare necessities of life, leaving a smaller part of the income for needs of a more secondary nature. A further reason for such a conclusion may be the greater difficulty of balancing the farmer's budget, though this in turn may be partly due to the greater difficulty of correctly ascertaining the farmers' income.

Labour Resources in South Africa

In November 1929 the Government of the Union of South Africa appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee to examine the supply of male adult labour suitable and available in the Union for various employments, the seasonal and permanent demand for such labour,

the approximate ruling rate of wages and cost of living, and generally the labour requirements of the Union and the possible sources of supply within the Union. The report of the Committee has recently been published.¹

THE LABOUR FORCE

The following table summarises the Committee's estimates of the total number of workers engaged in agriculture and in unskilled urban work at the end of 1929.

Occupational group	Europeans	Natives	Coloured ¹
Agriculture	152,977	375,716 ²	72,533
Mining	1,133	261,094	
Alluvial diggings	237	28,694	
Commerce, trades, industries	18,076	97,316	31,217
Domestic service	3,294	111,361	6,724
Local Government	2,669	27,221	5,995
Union and Provincial Government	5,517	27,564	1,414
Railways	13,911	33,626	7,558

¹ Peoples of mixed descent.

² Excluding native peasants.

The table shows that industries, commerce, domestic service, Government service, and the railways employed 587,000 natives, and agriculture 376,000. Translating these estimates for December 1929 into an estimate of the native population's annual contribution to the labour force, the first total of 587,000 remains valid. A very much greater number of individuals would pass through employment, but their total effort would only be equal to 587,000 "man-years" (i.e. natives each of whom works a full year). In the case of agriculture, however, a reduction requires to be made. The December figures include not only the natives who work all the year round, but also those who work only during certain seasons. The Committee estimates that the total should be reduced by a quarter, to convert the figure into man-years. The total native labour position in man-years is thus 587,000 for industries, etc., and 282,000 for agriculture, giving an aggregate of 869,000. This figure, however, is not provided by Union natives exclusively, and it is considered that there is probably a total of 225,000 non-Union natives regularly at work in the Union. With a deduction of this figure, the total number of man-years which the occupations of the Union derive from the native population is reduced to 644,000.

¹ UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA : *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Labour Resources of the Union*. Pretoria, Govt. Printer, 1930. 30 pp.

LABOUR SHORTAGE

The Committee found that, with a few minor exceptions, there is no shortage of European labour, whether normal or seasonal, either in agriculture or in other occupations. In the case of the coloured peoples, on which the western and south-western portions of the Cape Provinces are largely dependent for their labour, the labour supply is no longer adequate, with the result that there has been a migration of native labour to the districts affected. As regards native labour, there is a distinct shortage in mining areas, and there are a number of districts in which agriculture suffers from either a normal or a seasonal shortage, or both.

In agriculture, the Committee states, a seasonal shortage is a world-wide phenomenon, which is more serious in countries where the uncertainty of the weather makes it imperative to gather the harvest in a relatively short time. In South Africa the increase both in the extent of land under cultivation and in the intensiveness of agriculture has gradually absorbed the developed labour supply. In spite of her large native population, therefore, South Africa is now faced with a seasonal labour problem similar to that of many other countries. At the same time, the occurrence of a normal shortage of agricultural labour in certain districts has resulted from changing agricultural conditions, which render the usual squatter system of labour increasingly uneconomical.

In mining there is both a normal and a seasonal shortage of labour. An analysis of the British South African native labour employed on the large gold mines shows a regular seasonal movement, the peaks and troughs occurring at approximately the same points year by year. The economic disadvantage to an industry like mining, with heavy overhead costs, which dependence on such an irregular supply entails, is considerable. If the labour force dwindles, the cost per ton of ore treated rises. As the cost per ton rises, the management is faced with the choice between working at a loss, or concentrating on the richer ore, or curtailing development. An adequate labour supply is essential not only to make possible the most economical mining, but also to derive the greatest possible quantity of gold from the mines. Figures accepted by the Committee showed that the normal requirements of the Rand mining industry had risen from 182,000 in 1924 to 207,000 in 1929. This last figure has never been reached by the number of natives actually in employment.¹ During 1929 there was a monthly shortage ranging from 5,200 natives in March to 20,400 in December. The Committee holds that any arrangements by which this shortage could be met without depleting the labour resources of agriculture and other industries would be of material benefit to the State.

¹ In September 1930, however, 207,000 natives were in employment on the Rand mines. (*Cape Times*, 8 Oct. 1930.)

THE NATIVE LABOUR SUPPLY

The total number of natives registered in the Union at the end of 1929 as taxpayers under the Natives Taxation and Development Act was 1,298,000. This number may be taken to represent the able-bodied males of 18 years of age and over. In agriculture particularly, and in certain other occupations, the young native between 15 and 18 is very useful, and the numbers of such who are in employment are included in the estimate of employed natives summarised in the above table. Information about the ages of natives is very untrustworthy. On the basis of such data as are available, however, it is estimated that the number of males between 15 and 18 is 160,000. There is therefore a potential labour force of 1,458,000 natives. If to this figure are added the 225,000 adult male natives in the Union from neighbouring territories, the fact that there is a labour shortage would seem difficult to substantiate.

The Tribal Natives

Nevertheless, it would be a cardinal fallacy to assume that a labour force of such dimensions is available. Misconceptions arise from the tendency to apply European psychology to the working of the native mind. Among Europeans the demand of the individual for the necessities of life, his desire for its amenities, his interest in his social status and in the welfare of his children, all combine to make him a worker all the year round. In the case of the tribal native, however, the necessities are few and simple, the amenities more limited still. The tribal native, numerically the most important source of native labour, is consequently not interested in accumulating capital other than in the form of cattle or land, and larger means do not enable him to enjoy a diversity of the products of civilisation like the European. Leisure, however, is to him a real constituent of welfare, and he accordingly only abandons his leisure when it is essential to earn money. Moreover, the native is not less attached to his home than the European, and has an equally strong dislike of prolonged periods of absence. The tribal native has to live away from his family when he goes to earn money on the mines or in urban centres, and in many cases also on farms. He therefore makes this temporary banishment as short as possible, and the extent to which he is available as a labourer is dictated by the amount of money he requires to pay taxes, to acquire stock, and to provide himself with European manufactures.

Natives on European Farms

Numerically the natives on European farms constitute the next most important source of native labour. They obtain for their customary labour more or less what the natives in the reserves derive from their rights to the soil. They have the same limited needs for

earning cash, and this cash they can at times earn from their landlords, so that they have no need to leave their homes for this purpose. In large parts of the country the farmer depends on the squatter for his normal labour. Generally speaking, young native boys work on the farms, a certain quota of adult male labour must be supplied, and the women are liable for domestic tasks. In exchange for this, the head of the kraal obtains ground on which he builds his huts, land on which he produces his grain for food and drink, and grazing for his animals. In Natal and certain parts of the Eastern Transvaal, six months' labour must be supplied in return for these privileges. In other parts of the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State, 90 days' labour a year is customary. Along the eastern border of the Orange Free State many squatters work all the year round, the employer in such cases paying the personal tax and a small wage in addition to the privileges mentioned above. In these cases some farmers demand five days' work a week. In Natal the general rule would seem to be for the farmer to exact the six months' period of labour at a stretch. In some parts of the Union, however, where 90 days' labour is required, the times for performing this labour would seem to be at the option of the employer, which, it has been pointed out, is a system wasteful of labour, in that it prevents these natives, even when they have no work to do, from going elsewhere to earn money.

The position in the case of tribal and squatter labour is therefore different from that in which poorer Europeans and coloured people find themselves of having to work all the year round. The tribal natives and those living on European farms may be living at a lower standard, but it has the advantage of being a customary standard. The greater diversity of articles of consumption which makes it necessary for the European and coloured people to work all the year round does not yet appeal to the bulk of the natives. For this they substitute a certain amount of leisure and the fulfilment of tribal life.

The Detribalised Natives

The third group of natives consists of those who have become urban dwellers and have lost their tribal rights and bonds. In many respects they are much worse off than the other two groups. They neither have the home and lands of the tribal native nor have they the advantage of a system which supplies them with housing, food, fuel, and drink in exchange for three to six months' labour a year. Moreover, the people who have these advantages are in competition with them in the labour market, so that the customary rate of wages is largely determined by what these natives will take. The detribalised native has therefore been forced down to the level of subsistence. He is forced to work twelve months in the year, and even then finds that his wage is not adequate to meet his liabilities.

However, the detribalised native is numerically a minor factor in the labour situation in South Africa. The Committee, on a conservative basis, estimates the number of detribalised adult native

males at 85,000. The considerations outlined regarding the position of the natives in the reserves and on European farms serve to show why, although the potential native force is 1,458,000, the actual force is only 644,000.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOUR SUPPLY

The tribal native is only available as a wage labourer to the extent to which economic necessity forces him. At the present time this economic necessity is only active to a limited extent. In bad seasons it increases; in good seasons it diminishes. An industry like mining, which requires a steady flow of labourers, must therefore continue to be subject to the disturbing influence of this state of affairs to the extent to which it continues to be dependent on a labour supply of this nature. In these circumstances, improvement in the position can only be the result of a slow process of stimulating the demands for employment by raising the standard of living of the tribal natives. This development is also desirable with a view to the improvement of the position of the detribalised native. At the present moment the weight of adverse circumstances resulting from the competition of the tribal natives is such as to beset all efforts for the improvement of his economic position with very great drawbacks.

The ultimate solution, it would seem, is therefore to be found in a gradual development of the needs of the large bulk of the native population. The Committee, however, also draws attention to the increase in labour resources which would result from certain specific developments — in particular, the more economical use of native males as house boys, the development of female domestic service among both natives and Europeans, a decline in absenteeism among landlords, a stricter enforcement of the squatter laws limiting the number of native families allowed to reside on farms, and the opening up of recruiting in certain districts where it is at present prohibited. It also draws attention to the surplus of European labour and expresses the opinion that it would be of value to introduce European labour wherever possible, thus setting free non-European labour for work in which there is a pressing demand for it.

WORKING CONDITIONS

The Committee emphasises, as stated above, the necessity of increasing the desires of natives for the amenities of life and the acquisition to a greater extent of European manufactures. It points out that while the native is in the service of the European his comfort should be assured. Such matters as accommodation and food are of little less importance than the due payment of wages. It is not uncommon to find that houses, when supplied, are of poor quality, that the rations consist almost exclusively of mealie meal porridge, and that no provision is made for beds or bunks. It is no argument to say that what is supplied accords with what the native enjoys at home. Even if

this were true, the object is to induce him to leave his home, and the greater the comfort he has during the time he is at work, the more the need for that comfort becomes impressed upon him, so tending to make him a more permanent worker. The Committee therefore considers that the improvement of labour conditions, especially as regards housing, and the sympathetic handling of natives in employment, would tend to remove sentiments which at present retard the development of the labour supply.

WAGES

An interesting part of the Committee's report deals with the present wage position. The Committee found it extremely difficult to give any estimate at all of rates of earnings in agriculture. It points out that the figures, representing, in terms of currency, the consideration received by farm labourers for their work, are never directly comparable with the wage rates of labourers in towns. In addition, in South Africa, a large part of the European agricultural labour required is provided by the *bywoner* system. Under this system the *bywoner* lives on the farm, where he enjoys certain rights, such as housing, grazing for a given number of animals, and the use of certain lands. In return for these rights he renders a certain amount of labour, or gives the farmer a certain proportion of his crops, or both.

In view of these circumstances and of the varying conditions of the *bywoner* contract, the Committee found it impossible to learn how much income *bywoners* actually received. An attempt was, however, made to determine the value of the privileges which a *bywoner* family enjoys in return for the work required by the farmer, and this figure was estimated at £75 per annum. It does not include the value of the *bywoner's* share of the crops grown by him nor the produce of his animals. Stated by itself, the Committee says, it is of little value, as it gives something less than the full income of the *bywoner* and something more than the full cost to the farmer of such labour as the *bywoner* provides.

Similar information was obtained with regard to the income of a native squatter's family. For this class the conclusion was reached that the benefit given by the farmer amounted to between £30 and £40 per annum. In addition the native squatter has other sources of income, which, however, vary so much with circumstances and localities that the Committee held that it was not wise to hazard an estimate of the income of a farm native.

The Government Mining Engineer in his Report for 1928 stated that the average earnings of native labourers on the Witwatersrand coal mines was 2s. 3d. per shift, and that, in addition, they were provided with free quarters and food estimated to cost 11¹/₄d. per shift worked. The Committee, however, estimated the value to the native of food and quarters at 1s. 5d. per shift.

In industrial occupations the following figures were supplied to the Committee by the Office of Statistics, showing the average daily and

weekly rates of pay in 1928 for native and coloured workers engaged in unskilled work :

District	Per day s. d.	Per week s. d.
Cape Peninsula	2 10	25 7
Port Elizabeth	3 3	23 7
East London	2 10	20 5
Kimberley	2 9	19 11
Pietermaritzburg	2 8	18 2
Durban	2 11	19 6
Pretoria	2 1	18 9
Witwatersrand	2 2	21 0
Bloemfontein	2 3	19 4
General average	2 5	21 2

Coloured labourers in the Cape Peninsula received an average of 5s. a day or 30s. 6d. a week, and in Port Elizabeth 4s. a day or 26s. 2d. per week.

Earnings and Hours in the Catering Trade in Great Britain in 1929

An enquiry was made by the British Ministry of Labour in October and November 1929 respecting the remuneration and hours of employment of persons employed in the catering trade, in order to ascertain whether there was a case for issuing a special Order to bring this trade under the Trade Boards Acts. As regards licensed and non-licensed hotels, public-houses, licensed restaurants, and proprietary clubs, a detailed investigation into the conditions of employment was carried out. In the light refreshment and dining room (non-licensed) branch of the trade only a supplementary enquiry was held to ascertain the extent to which conditions had changed since 1925, when a detailed investigation into conditions in that branch was undertaken.

The results of the enquiry have recently been published.¹ The report indicates the method and scope of the enquiry in each section of the trade considered, and contains a short summary of the information obtained concerning the number of workers covered by the effective returns received; the remuneration of the workers, including cash wages, value of board and lodging, value of meals provided for workers living out, tips, and other allowances; and hours of employment; followed by statistical tables in which particulars are given for each of the principal sections of the trade for the various groups of workers affected.

¹ GREAT BRITAIN. MINISTRY OF LABOUR. *Report on an Enquiry into Remuneration, Hours of Employment, etc., in the Catering Trade in Great Britain in 1929.* London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1930. 207 pp.