

Recent Family Budget Enquiries : The Shanghai Family Budget Enquiry of 1929-1930

As a result of the increasing interest in everything relating to the standard of living of the people of the Far East a large number of family budget enquiries have been undertaken, particularly since the war. They have been conducted officially by public authorities or unofficially by private institutions or students, but for China especially they are of very varying value. Every new contribution to this important subject is greeted, therefore, with keen interest. Among recent enquiries a notable place is occupied by the study of the conditions of living of Shanghai workers during the period from April 1929 to March 1930, which has recently been published by the Shanghai Bureau of Social Affairs.¹ The enquiry was planned and conducted on modern lines and the results are presented and analysed in considerable detail. The main findings are summarised in the following pages ; the attempt has been made to present the results as far as possible in an internationally comparable manner, according to the plan generally followed by the Office in summarising similar enquiries.²

SCOPE AND METHODS

The enquiry covered a total of 305 carefully selected families, distributed over the various districts of the town so as to give a fair sample of the industrial distribution of the general factory population. The main industries represented in the enquiry were textiles, mechanical engineering, tobacco and match manufacture, and the printing trades. It was stipulated that the families included should consist of 3 to 7 persons (ideally, husband, wife, and two or three children) and that family earnings should vary between \$20 and \$60 per month.³

The data were compiled by means of account books for a whole year filled in by specially appointed agents who visited the families daily. All books were submitted once a week to the Bureau for inspection ; the entries were carefully checked and explanations asked in doubtful cases. In order to secure the full co-operation of the families, acknowledgments were granted in the form of gifts, advice, assistance, etc.

The results are analysed by income groups constituted on the basis of total family income ; on the other hand, figures of expenditure are also given per "adult male", the scale of conversion used being the

¹ CITY GOVERNMENT OF GREATER SHANGHAI, BUREAU OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS : *Standard of Living of Shanghai Labourers*. Shanghai, 1934.

² Cf. *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 5, Nov. 1933 : "Recent Family Budget Enquiries" ; and also Vol. XXX, No. 1, July 1934 (Belgium) : No. 2, Aug. 1934 (Finland) ; No. 6, Dec. 1934 (Merseyside, England) ; Vol. XXXI, No. 3, March 1935 (Czechoslovakia) ; No. 6, June 1935 (Sweden).

³ At the period of the enquiry the value of the silver dollar was 0.58 American dollar.

modified form of the Atwater scale adopted by the 1919-1920 enquiry of the Osaka Municipal Bureau of Labour Research.

The size and composition of the families covered is shown in table I. The total number of persons was 1,550 (including 140 boarders, or

TABLE I. ANALYSIS OF FAMILY COMPOSITION, BY INCOME GROUPS

Income group (per year)	Number of families	Average number of persons per family			Average number of equivalent adult males per family	Average number gainfully employed per family
		Family members	Boarders	Total		
\$						
200-300	62	3.95	0.18	4.13	2.85	1.82
300-400	95	4.17	0.36	4.53	3.09	1.93
400-500	80	4.89	0.56	5.45	3.61	2.19
500-600	31	5.19	0.94	6.13	4.02	2.42
600-700	25	5.92	0.56	6.48	4.23	2.28
700 and over	12	5.75	1.50	7.25	4.38	2.17
Total	305	4.62	0.47	5.09	3.42	2.06

less than 10 per cent.). The average number of persons per family is 5.09 ; the size of the family increases with income from 4.13 persons in the lowest to 7.25 in the highest group. The equivalent number of adult males per family is 3.42. The number of gainfully occupied persons per family increases with income except in the two highest income groups, and is on an average 2.06 persons per family.¹

INCOME

The various items of income are analysed in table II. The average current or "net" income per family is \$417.51 ; 87 per cent. of this sum is derived from earnings. The greatest single source is the earnings of the husband, amounting to 53 per cent. It is interesting to note that the relative importance of both these items tends to decrease as income advances. Current income from other sources amounts for all families to \$53, representing 13 per cent. of the total. The most important items in this group are income from boarders, the subletting of rooms, and gifts and presents. A further point of significance in judging the standards of living is the high proportion of total income of a non-current character, which amounts for all families to about a quarter of the total income.

EXPENDITURE

Table III contains figures on expenditure. On comparing current income (table II) with current expenditure, it is found that there is an

¹ During the period of the enquiry 55 persons, or 8.7 per cent. of the employed members, became unemployed.

TABLE II. ANALYSIS OF YEARLY INCOME PER FAMILY, BY SOURCE

Item	All families	Families with a yearly income of :											
		\$200-300		\$300-400		\$400-500		\$500-600		\$600-700		\$700 and over	
		62		95		80		31		25		12	
Number of families	305	\$	Per cent.	\$	Per cent.	\$	Per cent.	\$	Per cent.	\$	Per cent.	\$	Per cent.
I. Current income :	363.53	222.05	53.13	191.15	55.5	213.54	48.2	269.43	49.3	365.17	56.6	422.00	54.6
(a) Income from employment	52.50	52.50	12.6	59.92	17.4	55.61	12.5	39.93	7.3	30.99	4.8	28.66	3.7
Earnings of :	57.80	57.80	13.9	44.51	12.9	73.45	16.6	89.66	16.4	92.66	14.4	104.76	13.5
Husband	31.18	31.18	7.5	9.88	2.9	45.70	10.3	71.06	13.0	61.72	9.6	49.63	6.4
Wife	52.98	52.98	12.7	39.02	11.3	55.17	12.4	76.18	14.0	94.14	14.6	168.09	21.8
Children	7.90	7.90	1.9	1.23	0.5	6.04	1.7	10.88	2.0	21.07	3.3	14.52	1.9
Others	11.41	11.41	2.7	2.06	0.8	7.08	2.1	16.12	3.6	14.54	2.3	37.63	4.9
(b) Income from other sources	9.12	9.12	2.2	3.81	1.4	2.75	0.6	17.65	3.2	21.32	3.3	67.46	8.7
Sublet rooms	4.43	4.43	1.1	3.92	1.5	3.51	0.8	10.94	2.0	5.46	0.8	4.63	0.6
Boarders	2.74	2.74	0.6	4.82	1.8	3.67	0.8	2.45	0.5	0.03	—	—	—
Gifts and presents	17.38	17.38	4.2	5.22	1.9	20.09	4.5	15.71	2.9	31.72	4.9	43.45	5.7
Support from relatives and friends													
Pedlary													
Other items													
Total current income	416.51	266.33	100.0	344.48	100.0	443.47	100.0	546.26	100.0	644.68	100.0	773.1	100.0
II. Non-current income :													
Borrowings	66.98	66.98	45.2	59.65	44.8	52.71	40.1	70.44	54.5	144.03	50.2	76.08	33.2
Receipts from pawned articles	18.35	18.35	12.4	19.74	14.8	18.00	13.7	15.81	12.2	18.70	6.5	24.23	10.6
Receipts from "hui" funds ¹	51.47	51.47	34.8	45.80	34.3	47.78	36.3	33.74	26.1	101.47	35.4	101.50	44.2
Purchases on credit	10.10	10.10	6.8	7.55	5.7	11.18	8.5	8.29	6.4	20.37	7.1	26.70	11.6
Loans returned	1.12	1.12	0.8	0.48	0.4	1.82	1.4	0.97	0.8	2.42	0.8	1.00	0.4
Total non-current income	148.02	129.89	100.0	138.22	100.0	131.49	100.0	129.25	100.0	286.99	100.0	229.51	100.0
III. Gross income :													
Current income	416.51	416.51	73.8	344.48	72.1	443.47	77.1	546.26	80.9	644.68	89.2	773.14	77.1
Non-current income	148.02	148.02	26.2	138.22	27.9	131.49	22.9	129.25	19.1	286.99	30.8	229.51	22.9
Total gross income	564.53	564.53	100.0	477.70	100.0	574.96	100.0	675.51	100.0	931.67	100.0	1002.65	100.0

¹ "Hui" is a kind of voluntary mutual aid society.

TABLE III. ANALYSIS OF YEARLY EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY, BY INCOME GROUPS

Item	All families	Families with a yearly income of :											
		\$200-300				\$300-400				\$400-500			
		62		95		80		31		25		12	
Number of families	305	\$	Per cent.	\$	Per cent.	\$	Per cent.	\$	Per cent.	\$	Per cent.	\$	Per cent.
I. Current expenditure :													
Food ¹	260.64	57.4		204.00	60.5	228.95	59.4	279.69	60.0	306.80	54.2	349.26	52.2
Housing ²	51.13	11.2		37.91	11.2	45.74	11.9	48.87	10.5	66.54	11.7	76.66	11.5
Clothing	34.01	7.5		20.80	6.2	24.69	6.4	34.65	7.4	47.96	8.5	59.18	8.9
Fuel and light	29.00	6.4		26.32	7.8	26.04	6.8	29.78	6.4	32.17	5.7	35.71	5.3
Miscellaneous	79.60	17.5		48.17	14.3	59.75	15.5	73.15	15.7	112.47	19.9	147.49	22.1
Total current expenditure	454.38	100.0		337.20	100.0	385.17	100.0	466.14	100.0	565.94	100.0	668.30	100.0
II. Savings, etc. :													
Repayment of debts	31.22	31.5		17.40	28.9	22.74	25.9	25.98	27.8	41.75	43.1	91.34	40.3
Redemption of articles pawned	8.36	8.4		3.45	5.7	9.26	10.6	9.12	9.8	8.06	8.3	11.25	4.9
"Hui" subscriptions ³	50.26	50.7		34.42	57.3	46.81	53.3	48.47	51.9	41.96	43.4	102.21	45.1
Payments of bills due	8.91	9.0		4.69	7.8	8.32	9.5	9.76	10.4	4.42	4.6	21.77	9.6
Lendings	0.37	0.4		0.17	0.3	0.63	0.7	0.03	0.1	0.58	0.6	0.20	0.1
Total savings, etc.	99.12	100.0		60.13	100.0	87.76	100.0	93.36	100.0	96.77	100.0	226.77	100.0
III. Gross payments :													
Current expenditure	454.38	80.5		337.20	85.1	385.17	80.6	466.14	81.1	565.94	83.8	668.30	71.7
Savings, etc.	99.12	17.6		60.13	15.2	87.76	18.4	93.36	16.2	96.77	14.3	226.77	24.4
Cash in hand	11.03	1.9		-1.11	-0.3	4.77	1.0	15.46	2.7	12.80	1.9	36.60	3.9
Total gross payments	564.43	100.0		396.22	100.0	477.70	100.0	574.96	100.0	675.51	100.0	931.67	100.0

¹ Including expenditure on wine, tobacco, etc.² Including expenditure on water, furniture and utensils, repairs.³ Cf. footnote ¹ to table II.

average deficit of \$37.87 for all families. It is about \$70 in the lowest income group and falls to about \$20 in the higher income groups. Of the families included in the study 101 show a surplus and 204 a deficit. The average surplus and deficit for these families are respectively \$60.80 and \$86.73. It appears from the statements of non-current income and expenditure that the deficits are financed mainly by borrowing, pawning, etc. The exorbitant rates of interest paid on these loans, and the inability of the families to refund them in full, naturally give rise to grave social problems.

General Expenditure

Expenditure in a real sense (i.e. expenditure on consumption and other current items as normally understood in family budget enquiries) amounts to an average of \$454 per family. The percentage expenditure on food (including wine, etc.) is 57 per cent. for all families, falling from 60 per cent. in the lowest to 47 per cent. in the highest group. Rent amounts in all groups, regardless of the level of income, to about 11 per cent.; expenditure on fuel and light, which for all families accounts for about 6 per cent., ranges between about 5 and 8 per cent., falling with income; expenditure on clothing gradually rises with income from 6 to more than 10 per cent. The figure for miscellaneous expenditure is about 18 per cent. on an average; in the highest income groups it accounts for about a fourth of the total expenditure.

Food

Table IV gives some details of the food consumption of the average family; the classification, which is that usually employed by the Office, is as follows¹: bread and cereals; meat and fish; milk, milk products, etc.; vegetables and fruit; drinks and tobacco; meals taken outside the home; and miscellaneous foods. Figures of quantities consumed cannot be given for this classification.

A characteristic feature of this budget is the very high proportion of expenditure given to cereals; half the total food expenditure is for this group. The most important item, which in fact dominates the whole budget, is rice, which alone accounts for some 40 per cent. of the total. Milk and milk products are practically unknown; and the proportion of fats is extremely low. Meat and fish account for some 14 per cent. of the total, whilst vegetables and fruit reach a level of almost 18 per cent. Expenditure on drinks and tobacco is relatively high: more than 7 per cent. A further important item, as in most Eastern budgets, is condiments: 9.25 per cent.

In order to show the changes in food consumption as income advances, table V has been added. The original classification, which is retained in this table, differs in some respects from that in table IV and it is less suited as a basis for international comparisons; it gives, however, in broad outline an idea of the important changes in food habits as the standard of living rises.

¹ The original classification of the data is reproduced in table V.

TABLE IV. ANALYSIS OF YEARLY FOOD EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY AND PER UNIT OF CONSUMPTION

Food group	Yearly expenditure		Per cent. of total expenditure on food
	Per family	Per unit of consumption	
I. Bread, cereals :	\$	\$	
Rice	105.90	30.96	40.63
Wheat flour	3.68	1.08	1.41
Wheaten cake	5.27	1.54	2.02
Fresh noodle	2.66	0.78	1.02
Others	11.46	3.35	4.40
Total	128.97	37.71	49.48
II. Meat, fish	35.95	10.51	13.79
III. Milk, milk products, etc. :			
Milk, milk powder	0.80	0.24	0.31
Eggs, fresh and preserved	3.11	0.91	1.19
Lard, vegetable oils	1.38	0.40	0.53
Total	5.29	1.55	2.03
IV. Vegetables, fruit :			
Beans and vegetables	42.18	12.33	16.18
Fruit	3.50	1.02	1.35
Total	45.68	13.35	17.53
V. Drinks and tobacco	19.10	5.58	7.33
VI. Meals taken outside the home	1.28	0.37	0.49
VII. Miscellaneous :			
Condiments	24.10	7.05	9.25
Candies, etc.	0.28	0.09	0.10
Total	24.38	7.14	9.35
Grand total	260.65	76.21	100.00

The percentage expenditure on cereals is surprisingly insensitive to changes in income ; the relative expenditure is however slightly less in the higher income groups (it decreases from 56 to 49 per cent.). The same applies, broadly speaking, to the important group of beans and vegetables. On the other hand, there is a marked increase in the relative importance of the animal food group (which rises from 13 to 22 per cent.) and a less pronounced increase in the group of other foods ; whilst the relative expenditure on condiments shows a pronounced tendency to decrease.

TABLE V. ANALYSIS OF YEARLY EXPENDITURE ON FOOD PER UNIT OF CONSUMPTION, BY INCOME GROUPS

Food group	All fam- ilies	Families with a yearly income of :					
		\$200- 300	\$300- 400	\$400- 500	\$500- 600	\$600- 700	\$700 and over
Amounts							
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Cereals and products	37.71	37.58	35.77	39.12	37.60	39.45	38.77
Beans and vegetables	12.33	12.01	12.27	12.39	12.73	11.89	13.67
Meat, fish and eggs ¹	11.66	8.76	10.80	11.18	13.31	15.56	17.31
Condiments ²	7.45	7.68	7.59	7.77	6.91	6.81	6.89
Other foods ³	1.48	1.14	1.41	1.19	1.48	2.22	3.10
Total ⁴	70.63	67.18	67.83	71.65	72.04	75.92	79.74
Percentages							
	53.4	55.9	52.7	54.6	52.2	52.0	48.6
Cereals and products	17.5	17.9	18.1	17.3	17.7	15.6	17.1
Beans and vegetables	16.5	13.1	15.9	15.6	18.5	20.5	21.7
Meat, fish and eggs ¹	10.5	11.4	11.2	10.8	9.6	9.0	8.7
Condiments ²	2.1	1.7	2.1	1.7	2.0	2.9	3.9
Other foods ³							
Total ⁴	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Including milk and milk products.² Including lard and vegetable oils.³ Including fruit, sweets, etc.⁴ Excluding drinks and tobacco ; the figures therefore differ from those in previous tables*Nutritive Properties of the Diet*

The enquiry contains an analysis of the nutritive properties of the diet. Some of the main results are summarised in table VI.

The number of calories per adult male per day is about 3,000 ; 75 per cent. of the energy is supplied by cereals, mainly rice. The quantity of proteins is about 80 grammes per day ; only about 10 per cent. is of animal origin, cereals being the main source of supply. The low proportion of animal proteins in the diet constitutes perhaps the most striking difference between Eastern and Western food standards. The intake of fat is low : less than 50 grammes per adult male per day. More than 90 per cent. of the supply of carbohydrates (560 grammes) is derived from cereals.

Broadly speaking, therefore, it may be said that the quality of the diet is low. The amount of proteins barely meets the physiological minimum requirements ; that of fats is clearly insufficient ; the proportion of carbohydrates is too high. In consequence, the diet is also deficient in calcium and phosphorus as well as in the vitamins A and D.

TABLE VI. ANALYSIS OF THE NUTRITIVE PROPERTIES OF THE FOOD CONSUMED PER UNIT OF CONSUMPTION PER DAY

Food group	Calorific value		Proteins		Fats		Carbohydrates	
	Cal- ories	Per cent.	Gram- mes	Per cent.	Gram- mes	Per cent.	Gram- mes	Per cent.
Rice and wheat	2,248	74.7	50.0	60.6	2.8	5.8	505.6	90.3
Beans and bean products	213	7.1	15.1	18.4	4.9	10.1	27.1	4.8
Vegetables	93	3.1	4.4	5.3	0.6	1.2	17.5	3.1
Meat and fish	120	4.0	8.5	10.3	9.4	19.4	0.3	0.1
Eggs and milk	8	0.3	0.7	0.9	0.6	1.1	—	—
Oil, sauce, and sugar	300	10.0	2.7	3.3	29.4	60.2	6.2	1.1
Others	26	0.9	1.0	1.3	1.1	2.1	3.1	0.6
Total	3,008	100.0	82.5	100.0	48.8	100.0	559.8	100.0

Housing

Information on the character of the dwellings occupied by the workers is very scarce in most Chinese family budget enquiries. The present enquiry forms somewhat of an exception and the information given is therefore summarised in some detail. Table VII analyses the

TABLE VII. ANALYSIS OF SIZE OF DWELLINGS AND YEARLY RENTALS, BY INCOME GROUPS

Item	All fam- ilies	Families with a yearly income of :					
		\$200- 300	\$300- 400	\$400- 500	\$500- 600	\$600- 700	\$700 and over
Number of families	305	62	92	80	31	25	12
Average number of rooms per family	1.65	1.26	1.53	1.70	1.81	2.28	2.58
Average number of "standard" rooms per family ¹	1.41	1.02	1.26	1.40	1.84	1.88	2.61
Average number of "adult males" per standard room ²	2.33	2.75	2.33	2.50	2.04	2.18	1.55
Average rent per family (\$)	37.83	28.16	34.23	36.59	40.29	54.83	59.43
Average rent per room (\$)	22.93	22.35	22.37	21.52	27.23	24.05	23.03
Average rent per standard room (\$)	26.97	26.07	24.23	27.10	26.50	29.48	25.24
Average rent per "adult male" (\$)	11.06	9.88	11.08	10.14	12.26	12.96	13.41
Expenditure on :							
Water (\$)	7.66	7.04	7.22	7.36	8.78	8.71	11.28
Furniture and utensils (\$)	4.55	2.63	3.72	3.95	7.35	7.00	12.58
Repairs (\$)	1.09	0.08	0.57	0.97	1.12	6.12	0.90

¹ The "standard room" (or *chien*) has a cubic content of about 32 m³.

² Excluding boarders.

available data on the size of dwellings and the rents paid by the different income groups.

The average number of rooms per family is 1.65, or, reduced to a "standard" room, 1.41. The number of standard rooms per family increases with income from 1.0 in the lowest income group to 2.6 in the highest. The figures reflect a state of serious overcrowding, the average number of "adult males" per standard room for all families being no less than 2.3. As is to be expected, the density of habitation is highest among the poorer families and decreases with income. It is found also that the rent paid per standard room remains nearly constant, regardless of income, while the average rent per "adult male" naturally increases with income owing to the greater size of the dwellings in the higher income groups.

The high figure of expenditure on water (\$7.66 for all families) is explained by the fact that in the working-class families hot or boiled water and drinking water are usually bought from hot-water shops. Furniture and utensils amount on an average to \$4.55 per family, the figure increasing rapidly with income. Expenditure on repairs, finally, is practically non-existent in the lowest income groups and increases in an irregular fashion with income.

Information on the quality of the dwellings is summarised in table VIII. The houses occupied are classified as follows : (a) relatively

TABLE VIII. ANALYSIS OF THE CHARACTER OF THE DWELLINGS OCCUPIED,
BY MAIN TYPES OF DWELLING

Item	Type of dwelling			
	Two-storey houses	One-storey houses	Straw huts	All houses
Number of families	185	103	17	305
Average window area (m ²)	0.20	0.09	0.01	0.16
Floors :				
Wood	162	28	—	190
Cement	23	18	—	41
Mud	—	57	17	74
Water supply :				
Tap water	157	50	—	207
Wells	24	18	1	43
Creeks	4	35	16	55
Dwellings with kitchen	157	20	1	178
Dwellings without kitchen	28	83	16	127

satisfactory two-storey buildings ; (b) one-storey buildings, mainly bungalows, of inferior structure ; (c) straw huts. Of the families covered by the enquiry about 60, 34, and 6 per cent. respectively live in these various types. The window area of the dwellings is very small, and most of the huts have no windows at all. About 62 per cent. of the

Throughout, the quantities purchased are small and are mainly of the cheapest grades, and, it is added, "what constitutes the total clothing expenditure of an average workman in a year's time is hardly sufficient for a decent pair of boots".

An inventory was taken of the total stocks of clothing in the possession of 24 families; the average value per family was \$116.64. The value of articles shared by all members of the family amounted to 16.8 per cent. of the total; the belongings of the husband, wife, sons, and daughters accounted for 34.8, 21.5, 14.4, and 10.2 per cent. respectively.

Miscellaneous Expenditure

An analysis of miscellaneous expenditure is given in table X.

TABLE X. ANALYSIS OF YEARLY MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY, BY INCOME GROUPS

Item	All fam- ilies	Families with a yearly income of :					
		\$200- 300	\$300- 400	\$400- 500	\$500- 600	\$600- 700	\$700 and over
Amounts							
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Rates and contributions	0.72	0.37	0.42	0.92	0.91	1.43	1.64
Sanitary and medical ex- penses	13.92	9.64	11.44	15.33	15.60	22.74	23.56
Religious worship	5.32	3.48	4.03	5.45	7.16	10.34	8.85
Education	1.45	0.36	0.65	2.21	1.92	1.88	6.34
Social intercourse	10.54	5.95	8.33	8.93	16.45	24.06	18.94
Amusements	2.40	0.63	2.72	1.03	5.16	5.12	5.34
Communications	5.37	3.41	4.33	5.15	7.46	7.77	14.72
Occasional expenses	22.64	15.53	12.12	17.52	38.53	36.83	106.32
Other items ¹	17.24	8.80	15.72	16.61	19.28	37.33	30.00
Total ²	79.60	48.17	59.76	73.15	112.47	147.50	215.71
Percentages							
Rates and contributions	0.9	0.8	0.7	1.3	0.8	1.0	0.8
Sanitary and medical ex- penses	17.5	20.0	19.1	21.0	13.9	15.4	10.9
Religious worship	6.7	7.2	6.8	7.5	6.4	7.0	4.1
Education	1.8	0.7	1.1	3.0	1.7	1.3	2.9
Social intercourse	13.2	12.4	13.9	12.2	14.6	16.3	8.8
Amusements	3.0	1.3	4.6	1.4	4.6	3.5	2.5
Communications	6.8	7.1	7.2	7.0	6.6	5.3	6.8
Occasional expenses	28.4	32.2	20.3	23.9	34.3	24.9	49.3
Other items ¹	21.7	18.3	26.3	22.7	17.1	25.3	13.9
Total ²	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Including savings (average of \$0.18 per family), interest on debts (\$5.73), and expenditure on ornaments (\$0.83).

² Excluding expenditure on wine and cigarettes (here included with food) and on water, furniture and utensils, and repairs (included with housing).

Rates and contributions amount in all income groups to about 1 per cent. of the total miscellaneous expenditure. *Sanitary and medical* expenditure amounts for all groups to about 18 per cent.; although the sums expended increase very considerably with income, the relative expenditure falls from 20 per cent. in the lowest to 11 per cent. in the highest income group. Expenditure on *religious worship* ranges between 4 and more than 7 per cent. Expenditure for *educational* purposes is almost negligible, being less than 2 per cent. for all families. Expenditure for *social* purposes—presents, dinners on festival days, etc.—is a relatively important group, amounting for all families to more than 13 per cent. of the total. *Amusements and communications* (including travelling) are two relatively unimportant items. *Occasional expenses*—ranging between 20 and nearly 50 per cent.—are the most important item of miscellaneous expenditure. They include remittances to relatives, purchase of properties, expenditure for births, weddings, funerals, etc. During the period of enquiry 50 families incurred expenditure for wedding and birthday celebrations, amounting to an average of \$56 per family; 63 families expended an average of \$38 on funerals; and 23 families an average of \$2.32 (!) in connection with births.

Correspondence :

Collective Agreements in France

*A summary of a report presented by Mr. Pierre Laroque and adopted by the French National Economic Council at its sitting of 30 November 1934*¹ was published in the *International Labour Review* for May 1935 (pp. 700-714) under the title "Collective Agreements in France". On page 63 of the report the author, speaking of the attitude of the trade unions to collective agreements, expressed himself as follows: "However, all the workers' organisations have not taken up the same attitude in regard to collective agreements. The General Confederation of United Labour is, in fact, opposed to these agreements, as it is to every form of collaboration between employers and workers: a militant revolutionary body, it refuses to assume any engagement which might possibly hamper it in the pursuit of its chosen aim." This passage was summarised as follows on page 703 of the Review: "However, all the workers' organisations have not taken up the same attitude in regard to collective agreements. The General Confederation of United Labour is, in fact, opposed to collective agreements."

This statement has provoked a protest from the General Confederation of United Labour, which on 11 June addressed to the Director of the International Labour Office the letter reproduced below.

¹ CONSEIL NATIONAL ÉCONOMIQUE : *Les conventions collectives de travail*. Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1934.