

A  
SOCIO - ECONOMIC STUDY  
OF  
PARKWOOD ESTATE  
CAPE FLATS ;

A thesis submitted by Phyllis Rabkin in  
fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of M.A. (Soc. Sc.) of the University  
of Cape Town , November , 1941.

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N O T E.

I wish to thank the Department of Public Health, Cape Town for granting me access to their files. I also wish to express my appreciation to those members of the Staff with whom I came in contact for their useful advice.

I am grateful to the people of Parkwood for, without their willing and friendly co-operation, this study could not have been done. It is a noteworthy fact that not one household refused to give the information that was asked.

My supervisor, Professor E. Batson, showed unfailing interest in this study. As Director of the Cape Town Social Survey he placed at my disposal preliminary statistics, and many definitions and methodological procedures adopted in that Survey. My grateful thanks are due to him for these kindnesses, and for his help and encouragement.

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Figures 1 & 2 represent photographs of  
typical dwellings found in Parkwood Estate.



Fig. 1.



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INTRODUCTION

Parkwood Estate in the municipality of Cape Town is part of the Wynberg Ward. It is bounded on the west by the Prince George Drive, an arterial road to the False Bay Suburbs, on the north by the Golf Links Estate and on the other side by farm lands not as yet sub-divided into plots.

Parkwood Estate, in spite of its pre-possessing name, is a typical "pondokkie settlement" on the Cape Flats, housing some 1,100 people, mainly Coloured. The Estate is forty-three acres in extent and has about 185 houses, making it one of the more densely populated areas in the vicinity. The dwellings are of very poor construction, consisting almost entirely of roughly built wood and iron structures.

The area is singularly deficient in municipal services, there being no system of sewerage and no provision for stormwater drainage. This latter municipal deficiency has meant that annual flooding is inevitable for the people of Parkwood but the seriousness of the consequences was only brought to the notice of the public in the winter of 1941 when the rains were particularly severe. The water level was so high that houses were rendered totally uninhabitable and two children in the district met their death through drowning. The conditions of life are backward, the roads are only tracks in the prevailing sandy littoral drift characteristic of the Cape Flats, the water supply is drawn from wells open to contamination, and the homes are illuminated at night by candlelight.

Although abutting on a main road and within a few hundred yards of the Cape Flats railway line,

Parkwood is poorly served with transport facilities. There are no regular bus or tram-routes along that part of the Prince George Drive, and the nearest railway stations - Southfield and Wetton - are a considerable distance from the Estate.

I visited this community almost daily during the months of April, May and June, 1940, at first merely conversing with the people, and then conducting a complete house-to-house survey. In this way, by visiting every household, I collected information as to the number of people in Parkwood; the age, sex and marital state of each individual; the occupation, the duration of employment and earnings of every working person; details of income from all sources; the cost of transport to and from work; the amount of rent paid by, and the accommodation of, each household. Many other details, such as the educational qualifications of the school-going child, or the number of children living away from home, were also obtained. All these facts were recorded on cards, one being allocated to each family. (See specimen card at the back).

By this method of direct inquiry, I obtained information which enabled me to determine the socio-economic position of the inhabitants of Parkwood. At the time of investigation, 70 per cent <sup>(1)</sup> of the households were in poverty, appreciably more than one-third overcrowded, <sup>(2)</sup> and the average weekly gross earnings of all the households £1.12.6d. (P.S.) <sup>(3)</sup> This should not be surprising when one learns that 80 per cent of the

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(1) According to the Poverty Datum line adopted. c.f. Chapter I.

(2) According to the low Occupancy standard adopted. c.f. Chapter III.

(3) (P.S.) is the abbreviation for Parkwood Survey - indicates that this information was obtained by personal inquiry.

working population were engaged in unskilled occupations, many of them working on a casual basis. (P.S.)

Parkwood was found to be a community which has a high birth rate, similar to the birth rate of the Coloured people of Cape Town, and a formidable mortality rate strikingly higher than that of the Coloured people of Cape Town. At the same time, I found that there were very few medical services available to the inhabitants, and none at all in the Estate itself. To draw up birth and mortality rates, it was necessary to consult the files at the Department of Public Health, Cape Town, for it was not possible to obtain all the required information by household enquiry. Although these facts apply specifically to Parkwood, their significance would be small if they did not permit of some generalization. In fact, one of the reasons for Parkwood being chosen for the subject of study was that it is a community typical of the many others scattered about the Cape Flats Area. The people have a homogeneous racial and cultural background, similar educational qualifications and similar occupations. They have the same physical environment, live in the same characteristic type of dwelling, suffer the same lack of municipal services and experience similar widespread poverty. Further, Parkwood may be regarded as the Middletown of the Cape Flats, in that it stands somewhere between the poorest and the better-off communities of the Area.

Anyone interested in the welfare and fate of the poorer sections of the Cape Town community and wishing to pursue a course of study would find that Parkwood has distinct advantages. It is in a sense, a self-contained, clearly defined community but at the

same time not an isolated community with problems peculiar to itself. Its problems are bound up with the problems of the outer community, for the inhabitants of Parkwood are in every way dependant on it for their livelihood, thus being subjected to the influences operative among the rest of the people of Cape Town. A pertinent example of the extent to which Parkwood is directly affected by extra-local events is the case of the sudden increase in employment for a number of the Parkwood men when War was declared; for this meant the militarization and enlargement of the neighbouring aerodrome and the subsequent demand for additional unskilled labour.

Further advantages which Parkwood offered as a subject for a community study was its size and the relative stability of its population. The size was a determining factor because I wished to make a complete enumeration of the area and also wished to do all the investigating personally; the stability of the population may be of considerable importance from the experimental point of view, for, should facilities for improvement be offered to Parkwood, one could return at a later date and with reasonable accuracy, according to adopted standards, measure the effect of the improvements made.

Since social problems are inextricably bound up with one another, a community study embracing many aspects of life seemed to me preferable, in this case, to concentration on one particular problem. This interconnection of social problems is specially striking where there is widespread poverty; for then, more than ever, one must guard against the danger of solving one problem only to create another of equal magnitude. One may cite as an example the effect of some sub-economic

housing schemes, which, though providing the tenants with adequate houses, increase their expenditure through higher rental, consequently reduce the amount spent on food, and thereby aggravate the problem of malnutrition.

I present the information in the following chapters with the feeling that any use that it may have lies in the facts which emerge from the investigation rather than in the few obvious recommendations which are made.

The lack of published sociological material in this country makes it imperative that more and more scientific research be undertaken. It is a truism that good intentions alone can effect little of practical value, if unsupported by a body of scientifically verified facts. "If men and women of all shades of opinion from extreme conservatism to extreme radicalism can find a common basis of secure knowledge to build on, the social changes of the future may be brought in larger measure under the control of social intelligence". (1)

P. Rabkin.

CHAPTER I.

POVERTY.

CHAPTER I.P O V E R T Y.Section I.

Seventy per cent of the households in Parkwood were found to be below the poverty line (P.S.); an economic position not only worse than that of the Cape Town European people but even strikingly more depressed than that of the Coloured people in Ward 7, the area known as "District 6" and generally considered as the slum of Cape Town. The widespread poverty of the Coloured people has, for a long time, been a vaguely recognised fact but the actual extent of poverty was only computed in 1939 by the Cape Town Social Survey. It was found, that while 28 per cent of all households in Cape Town were below the poverty line, 89 per cent of that poverty was constituted by Coloured families. Fifty-five per cent of the Coloured households in Ward 7 as compared with 70 per cent in Parkwood were found to be in poverty.

The results of the Parkwood Survey and the Cape Town Social Survey are strictly comparable as the poverty line employed in the Parkwood Survey was adopted from the Poverty Datum line determined by the Cape Town Social Survey. This standard is particularly suited to local conditions as a special investigation was made into prices and into the way of living of families in all socio-economic strata residing in the Cape Town municipality.

Poverty Datum Line:

From the amounts allowed for each item it will be seen that bare necessities only, have been included.

A family, having that income, which, according to the standard adopted is sufficient for its needs, is living just at the bare subsistence level. It is the very minimum income on which a family can maintain itself in health and decency according to the more or less recognised standards of Western society. This standard adopted is obviously a mere subsistence one for it does not allow for wastage of any kind nor, in fact, for any expenditure on pleasure. To keep one's family on that amount, calculated to be sufficient, according to the poverty line, it would be necessary for the housewife to have a knowledge of dietetics and be of a thrifty nature so that a balanced meal could be prepared at the lowest possible cost; it would be necessary that clothing bought, should be essentially utilitarian and well cared for; it would be necessary that all members of the family give every penny of their earnings to the family pool. It is not only difficult to imagine, but hardly fair to expect, a child of about twenty not to keep a little money to buy cigarettes, or, in the case of a girl, cosmetics of some sort.

This standard neither allows for such misfortune as illness, nor, in fact, the advent of a death in the family. This implies that burials are to be conducted by the State, something regarded by the average Coloured person with complete horror. Further, there is no allowance for items such as education, transport other than to work, for stationery or tobacco. "It is not a human standard of living. It admirably fulfils its purpose of stating the barest minimum upon which subsistence and health can theoretically be achieved under Western conditions. It does not in any sense describe even a minimum ideal."<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Cape Town Social Survey; Report No. SS 3, Page 1.

Section II.Details of the Poverty Datum Line.

Details of the Poverty Datum Line, as worked out by the Cape Town Social Survey, are set out in the appendix, A. Here, the main points only will be briefly outlined.

This Poverty Standard has taken into account the differential needs of persons of different ages and sex. The table below shows the actual weekly amount considered sufficient for each sex at the various age levels to maintain a minimum level of health and decency.

TABLE I.

Consumer Unit.	Weekly Allowance					Total
	Food	Clothing	Cleaning	Lighting	Fuel	
Child:	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	s.d.	
Under 5 yrs.	3/9	4	2	1	-	4/4
5-9 yrs.incl.	4/6	8	2	1	-	5/5
10-15 yrs.incl.	6/5	1/-	2	1	-	7/8
Men:						
16-64 yrs.incl.	7/6	1/10	2	1	-	9/7
65 yrs.or older	4/6	1/4	2	1	-	6/1
Woman:						
16-59 yrs.incl. <sup>x</sup>	6/5	1/4 <sup>x</sup>	2	1	-	8/- <sup>x</sup>
60 yrs.or older	4/6	1/-	2	1		5/9
Household	-	-	-	5	1/6	1/11

<sup>x</sup> Plus 8d. per an unmarried woman aged 16-29 incl. if an earner.

In the appendix Page I it is shown by what steps the above figures were arrived at and full details are given as to the food and clothing requirements.

Section III.

Section III.The Distribution of Poverty in Parkwood.

Working from the Poverty Datum Line, the households in Parkwood may first be broadly classified according to whether they were in poverty or not in poverty. Then those households in poverty may further be divided into:-

- (a) Those certainly below the Poverty Datum Line (Class - -)  
 (b) Those on the margin " " " " " (Class -)

The households classified as not in poverty may be divided into:-

- (c) Those on the margin above the Poverty Datum Line (Class +)  
 (d) Those certainly above the Poverty Datum Line (Class ++)

The terms used above are thus defined:-

(a) Households are classed "certainly below the Poverty Datum Line" when their income is more than 5/- short of the required income.

(b) Households are classed "on the margin below the Poverty Datum Line" when their income is within 5/- short of the required income.

(c) Households are classed "on the margin above the Poverty Datum Line" when their income exceeds the required income by less than 5/-.

(d) Households are classed "certainly above the Poverty Datum Line" when their income exceeds their required income by more than 5/-.

The table below shows the actual distribution of Poverty in Parkwood:-

TABLE 2.

Class.	No. of Households in each Class.	% of Households in each Class.
In Poverty - -	129	56) 70
" " -	31	14)
Not in Poverty +	15	7) 30
" " " ++	54	23)
<b>TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS:</b>	<b>229</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 2 shows that of all households in Parkwood, 70 per cent were in poverty and 81 per cent of these were "certainly below the Poverty Datum Line". Barely one quarter of the households in Parkwood were "certainly above the Poverty Datum Line".

Section IV.A Comparison of Poverty Standards.

A comparison will be made of the Poverty Datum Line with the two well known and oft quoted standards viz. Bowley's Bare Subsistence Standard and Rowntree's Standard of Human Needs.

According to Bowley's Standard 26/11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> (excluding rent) was necessary to maintain a family of 5, the children being of school going age or less, in physical efficiency. (England, 1933). Rowntree assessed 43/6d. per week (excluding rent) as necessary, he, allowing the family 8/- a week for "personal expenditure". (England 1937). Rowntree stated that he was guided a great deal by the findings of the Committee of the British Medical Association who adopted the scale of relative food requirements for men, women and children as set out by Cathcart and Murray. See table 3.

TABLE 3.Man-values at various ages. (B.M.A.)

Ages	Man-value
Adult male	1.00
Adult female	0.83
Child 1 and under 2 years	0.30
Child 2 and under 3 years	0.40
Child 3 and under 6 years	0.50
Child 6 and under 8 years	0.60
Child 8 and under 10 years	0.70
Child 10 and under 12 years	0.80
Child 12 and under 14 years	0.90
Old person (65 or over)	0.75

On this basis, a family of 6, (the children being of school going age or less) has a Man value of about 3.7. Assuming the family to consist of mother, father and children between the ages of 12-14 years, 6-8 years, 2-3 years respectively, the Man value is 3.73.

In order that the Poverty Datum Line adopted by the Parkwood Survey could be compared with both Bowley's and Rowntree's Standards, it was calculated that a family with ages amounting to approximately 3.73 man value, would need, according to the definition, 36/11d. a week (excluding rent). c.f. Table 1. The Poverty Datum Line allows therefore, an excess of approximately 10/- a week for the family over Bowley's Standard, and 6/7 less than the amount allowed by the Human Needs Standard.

The Poverty Datum Line, is, not however, as relatively generous as it appears, as the cost of living in South Africa has been higher than in England, particularly with regard to foodstuffs, which are subject to heavy indirect taxation. Further, the Poverty Datum Line was drawn up in 1939 at a time when prices were higher than in 1933 and 1937.

The following table shows the amount of expenditure which is allowed on the various items by Bowley's Bare Subsistence Standard, Rowntree's Human Needs Standard, and the Poverty Datum Line respectively.

TABLE 4.

Cost of Living for a Family consisting of Husband, Wife and Three children according to these three Standards:-

Items	Bowley's Bare Sub- sistence Standard 1933	Rowntree's Human Needs Standard 1936	Cape Town Social Survey Poverty Datum Line 1939
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Food	16 9	20 6	28 7
Clothing	4 1½	8 0	6 0 (1)
Fuel	3 1	4 4	2 4 (2)
Insurance	1 7	- -	- -
Sundries: Household	1 5	1 8	- -
Sundries: Personal	- -	9 0	- -
<b>Total</b>	<b>26 11½</b>	<b>43 6</b>	<b>36 11</b>

(1) This includes cleaning.

(2) This includes lighting.

Section V.Family Incomes in Parkwood.

Statistics show clearly that well over the majority of the people in Parkwood were in a <sup>depressed</sup> economic condition. As it is the income which is the chief determinant in the economic status of a household, the next step will be to analyse in detail the income of the households in Parkwood.

The following table exhibits the distribution of all households according to the gross weekly income of the household. The gross income of the household comprises the total income of every member of the family as well as income from any other source such as rent or social services.

TABLE No. 5 (P.S.)

Gross Income of H/H per week.	Total Number of Households.	% of Households in each group.
5/- and under	11	4.8
10/- and over 5/-	15	6.6
15/- " " 10/-	19	8.3
20/- " " 15/-	26	11.4
25/- " " 20/-	19	8.3
30/- " " 25/-	28	12.2
35/- " " 30/-	28	12.2
40/- " " 35/-	22	9.6
45/- " " 40/-	20	8.7
50/- " " 45/-	7	3.1
60/- " " 50/-	8	3.5
70/- " " 60/-	13	5.7
80/- " " 70/-	1	.4
90/- " " 80/-	4	1.7
100/- " " 90/-	2	.9
Over 100/-	6	2.6
<b>Total Households</b>	<b>229</b>	<b>say 100.0</b>

Over fifty per cent of the families in Parkwood had gross incomes ranging from nothing to 30/- per week and more than 70 per cent received incomes ranging from nothing to 40/- per week. Thirty per cent of the

families had incomes of 30/1 to 45/- per week. Only one-seventh of the families in Parkwood earned more than 50/- per week. The average income for all the households in Parkwood worked out at 32/7d. and the median income 29/5d.

Below, table 6 shows the distribution of all households according to the nett weekly income of the household. The nett income is obtained by subtracting from the gross income the rent and cost of transport to and from work.

TABLE No. 6 (P.S.)

<u>Nett Income per week.</u>	<u>Households</u>	
	<u>Shillings.</u>	<u>No.                      %</u>
5/- and under	10	4.4
10/- and over	20	8.7
15/- " " 10/-	23	10.0
20/- " " 15/-	26	11.4
25/- " " 20/-	28	12.2
30/- " " 25/-	25	10.9
35/- " " 30/-	23	10.0
40/- " " 35/-	21	9.2
45/- " " 40/-	16	7.0
50/- " " 45/-	6	2.6
60/- " " 50/-	13	5.7
70/- " " 60/-	5	2.2
80/- " " 70/-	2	0.9
90/- " " 80/-	3	1.3
100/- " " 90/-	3	1.3
100/- and over	5	2.2
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>229</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The average nett income per household was found to be 30/- per week. The small difference between the average nett and gross incomes seems to point to low rentals being paid and little money being spent on public transport. This was actually the position. The average for rent was low because most of the householders were buying their plot of ground

on the hire-purchase system, many paying only 10/- a month, and also because there were a number of householders who were living rent-free, usually married children staying with their parents. The average amount spent on transport was also small, both because of the poverty of the community and because of the poor transport facilities available to the community.

Section VI.The Relation of the Average Sized Family in Parkwood to the Poverty Standard.

Knowing the average nett income and the size of the average family, an attempt will be made to determine the economic standard of the average family in relation to the Poverty Datum Line. The average number of people per household was found to be 4.8, and the average nett income 30/- per week. As food is the main item of expenditure among people living at a low economic level, the 4.8 persons will be considered in relation to their man value with regard to food as set out by Cathcart and Murray's scale of relative requirements for men, women and children of different ages. C.f. table, 3.

Applying this scale to a family consisting of say:-

TABLE 7.

Persons	Man-value
Father	1.0
Mother	.83
Son aged 15 years	1.00
Child aged 11 years	.8
Child aged 8 years	.7
Child aged 3 years	<u>.5</u>
We obtain the TOTAL ..... say	4.83

According to the Poverty Datum Line this family, if it were not to be below the Poverty Datum Line, would need a nett income of 44/7d. that is, 14/7d. more per week than the average nett income.

Relation of Size of Household to Poverty Status.

A definite positive correlation between size of household and gross household earnings was found but there is ample evidence to show that in no way did the earnings increase with the size of family proportionately to the assessed needs of the family.

TABLE 8.

(P.S.)

No. of Persons in Household	Households			% in each group in Poverty
	No. in Poverty	No. not in Poverty	Total	
1	5	7	12	41.7
2	14	14	28	50.0
3	25	16	41	60.9
4	21	14	35	60.0
5	30	5	35	85.7
6	22	3	25	88.0
7	13	3	16	81.2
8	13	1	14	92.8
9 and over	<u>17</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>73.9</u>
	160	69	229	69.9

Table 8 not only shows that in every group of households, except the first one, the majority were in poverty but also that in the larger sized families there was a greater percentage of poverty. In every household group where there were more than 4 members the percentage of poverty was greater than the average, being as much as 93 in households with 8 members.

CHAPTER II.

VITAL STATISTICS.

CHAPTER II.VITAL STATISTICSSection I. Source of Statistical Information.

Since Parkwood does not form a separate entity for statistical records, the information needed for this chapter was obtained by the following methods:-

1. Original research.
2. Extracting information from a primary source.
3. Interpolating from Census figures.

1. Original Research.

By personal inquiry into every household (Parkwood Survey) a complete enumeration was obtained of all persons living in Parkwood. That is, the census method was employed to ascertain the mean population of Parkwood for the year June, 1939 - July, 1940.

2. Extracting Information from a Primary Source.

The total number of births and deaths, and the ages at death and causes of death had to be obtained by a very laborious method because separate vital statistics are not published for Parkwood. The method adopted was to consult the two general registers in which are recorded the daily births and deaths for the municipality of Cape Town. To obtain the absolute number of births registered and to enumerate those children born to mothers whose residential address was recorded as Parkwood Estate. For example, for the year 1939-1940 details of the fifty Parkwood births had to be extracted from the 10,137 births registered for the City of Cape

Town. This was repeated for the years 1935-1936, 1936-1937, 1937-1938, 1938-1939, and also for the year 1929-1930.

The same course was adopted to obtain the figures for mortality rates and information about the causes and ages of death.

### 3. Interpolating from Census Figures.

Since Parkwood was not a separate enumerator's area at the Census of 1936, no direct count of its population was recorded at the time. But analysis of the census figures together with information obtained by direct investigation made it possible to arrive at a reasonably reliable estimate of the Parkwood population for each of the years 1936-1939 inclusive.

Details of the method employed and the actual calculations are given in appendix B.

Section II.POPULATION.

The total population of Parkwood in January, 1940, was found to be, according to the Parkwood Survey, 1,103 persons. This population will be classified according to:-

- (a) Ethnic Group and Sex;
- (b) Age and Sex;

Finally a comparison will be drawn between the age and sex composition of the Coloured population in the Union and that of Parkwood.

(a)

TABLE 9.

Classification of Parkwood Population  
(1940) (I.C.) according to Ethnic Group and Sex. (P.S.)

Ethnic Group	Male	Female	Persons
Coloured	531	522	1053
Native	23	19	42
Asiatic	1	-	1
European	6	1	7
All Groups:	561	542	1103

The population of Parkwood was just over 95 per cent Coloured, about 4 per cent Native and less than 1 per cent European. Even if not from a strictly statistical point of view, Parkwood sociologically is a segregated Non-European community. As the population is mainly Coloured and the number of people belonging to the other races is too small to yield any significant vital statistics, the birth and death figures and corresponding rates will be quoted for all races.

(b) Distribution of Population according to  
Age and Sex.

January, 1940. ( )

(P.S.)

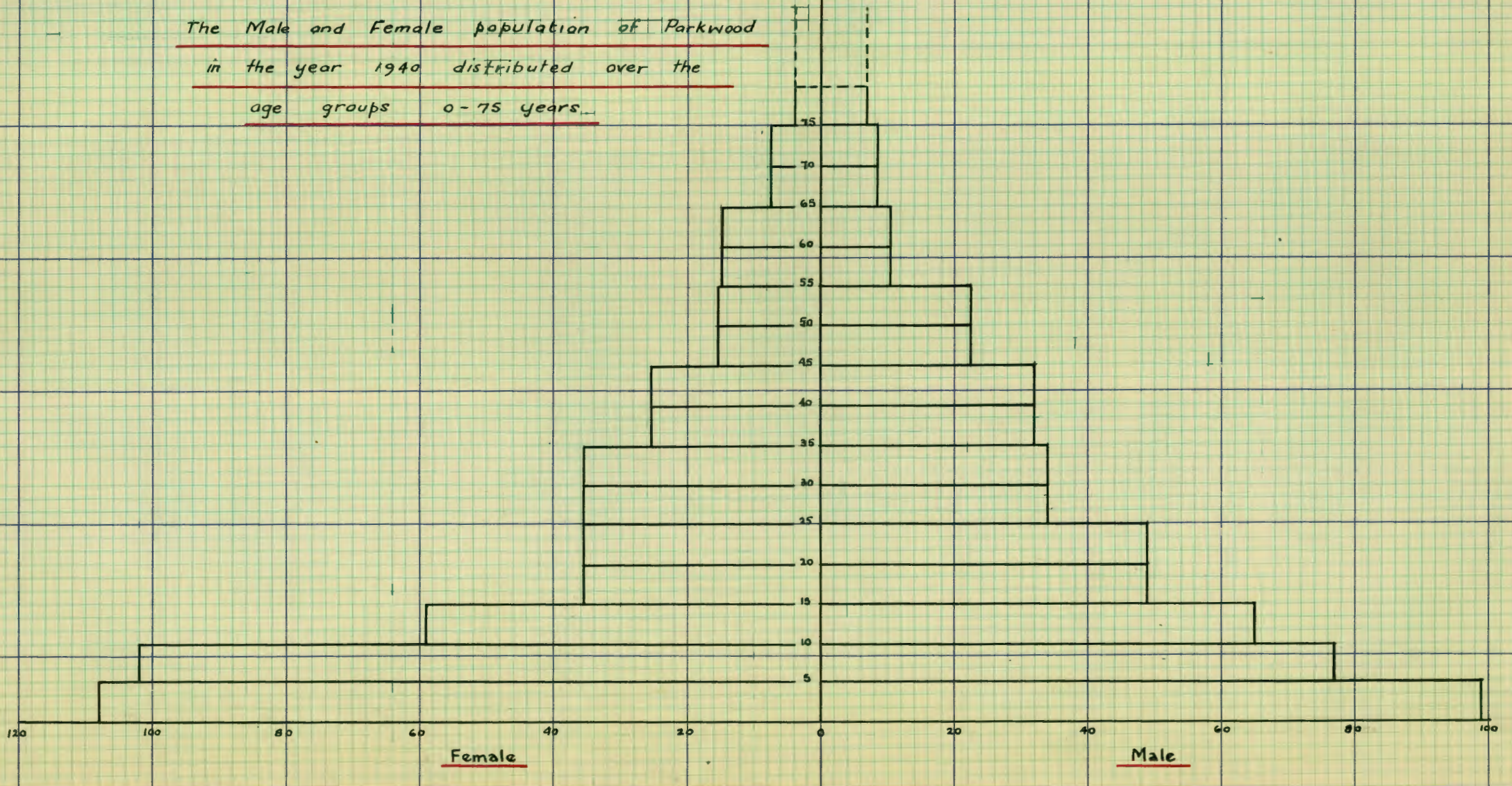
TABLE 10.

Age Groups (Years)	Males.		Females.		Persons. No. in each age group	
	No.	% in each age group	No.	% in each age group		
0 and under 5	99	47.8	108	52.2	207	
5 and under 10	77	43.0	102	57.0	179	
10 " "	15	65	52.4	59	47.6	124
15 " "	25	98	58.0	71	42.0	169
25 " "	35	68	48.9	71	51.1	139
35 " "	45	64	55.7	51	44.3	115
45 " "	55	45	59.2	31	40.8	76
55 " "	65	21	41.2	30	58.8	51
65 " "	75	17	53.1	15	46.9	32
75 and over	7	63.6	4	36.4	11	
ALL AGES:	561		542		1103	

The preceding table shows that in the first age group (0 - 5 years) there were more females than males. This is due not only to the higher male infant mortality rate but to the higher female birth rate.

At the ages between 10 and 55 years, there is a relative dearth of females. The explanation for this probably lies in the fact that so many of the women folk belonging to families in Parkwood were not included in the Survey because they were in regular domestic service and therefore not resident at Parkwood. This type of employment is most common in the age group 15 - 25 years, where the preponderance of males is very pronounced.

The Male and Female population of Parkwood  
in the year 1940 distributed over the  
age groups 0-75 years.



Comparison between Age and Sex Composition of the Coloured People in the Union and in Parkwood.

The sex and age composition of a community is of great significance. From the socio-economic aspect it is important because, generally, a relation can be established in a community between its demographic composition and poverty status. Further, in vital statistics, the demographic composition of a community is highly significant because of its marked effect on crude birth and death rates.

Comparative Summary.

The percentage age and sex distribution of the Coloured population of the Union according to the 1936 Census (1) and for the Parkwood Population in 1940 was as follows:-

TABLE 11.

Age Groups	All figures expressed as a % of Total Persons.					
	Males		Females		Total Persons	
	In the Union 1936	Park-wood 1940	In the Union 1936	Park-wood 1940	In the Union 1936	Park-wood 1940
0 and under 5	8.0	9.0	8.0	9.8	16.00	18.8
5 " " 10	7.2	7.0	7.2	9.3	14.30	16.3
10 " " 15	6.0	5.9	5.8	5.4	11.80	11.2
15 " " 25	9.2	8.9	9.8	6.5	18.9	15.3
25 " " 35	7.1	6.2	7.1	6.5	14.2	12.6
35 " " 45	5.0	5.8	4.7	4.6	9.7	10.4
45 " " 55	3.7	4.1	3.3	2.8	7.10	6.9
55 " " 65	2.2	1.9	1.9	2.7	4.1	4.6
65 " " 75	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.4	2.6	2.9
75 " over	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.4	1.1	1.00
	50.3	50.9	49.6	49.1	100.0	100.0

(1) The 1936 figures had to be used as they were the most recent.

Table 11 shows an excess in the first two age groups in Parkwood as compared with the Union. This suggests either

- (a) a higher birth rate;
- (b) a higher death rate;

or both.

It will be shown that the birth rate in Parkwood over the last five years has been very little higher than that of the Coloured people of Cape Town, <sup>(1)</sup> but that the death rate in Parkwood over the same period has been significantly higher. This tends to support the supposition that the peculiarities of the age composition in Parkwood are the consequence rather of a differentially high death rate than of an unusual birth rate.

There may be some further importance in the following facts:-

The youngest male age group 0-4 years in Parkwood shows an excess over that for the Union as a whole but not the second age group. While the youngest male age group in Parkwood was 13 per cent larger than the corresponding group in the Union population, the female population of Parkwood shows an excess of 22 per cent. When compared with the Union population, the second female group 5-9 years shows a still greater excess viz. 30 per cent. These differential excesses are probably a reflection of the sex-differential birth rate in Parkwood.

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(1) A comparison had to be made with the Cape Town Non-European birth rate because there is no corresponding rate for the Union. This is due to the lack of compulsory birth registration in many of the rural areas.

It is interesting to note that persons over 55 years of age were relatively more numerous in Parkwood than in the total Coloured population of the Union. It would be difficult to say whether this is due to a special age-incidence of the death rate in Parkwood or to conditions of migration into and emigration from Parkwood.

Further it will be seen that the population under 5 and over 55 years amounts to 27.3 per cent of the population of Parkwood and to only 23.7 per cent of the Coloured population of the Union. The significance of this in connection with the crude death rate of Parkwood is discussed under Section V of the present Chapter.

Section III.BIRTHS.

In the year 1939-1940 the estimated<sup>(1)</sup> birth rate of Parkwood was found to be very similar to that of the Non-Europeans of Cape Town, but more than double that of the Europeans. It was 45.3 births per thousand population. This represents a 12 per cent decrease over the birth rate of the previous year.<sup>(2)</sup>

The table below shows the birth rates per thousand population for five years for the inhabitants of Parkwood, and for the European and Non-European inhabitants of Cape Town excluding Langa.<sup>(3)</sup>

TABLE 12.

Years.	Cape Town Europeans.	Cape Town Non-Europeans.	Parkwood All Persons.
	Birth Rate	Birth Rate	Birth Rate
1935--1936	18.09	48.03	36.4
1936--1937	17.02	48.39	47.3
1937--1938	18.71	47.56	56.1
1938--1939	17.87	46.46	51.5
1939--1940	18.61	46.40	45.3

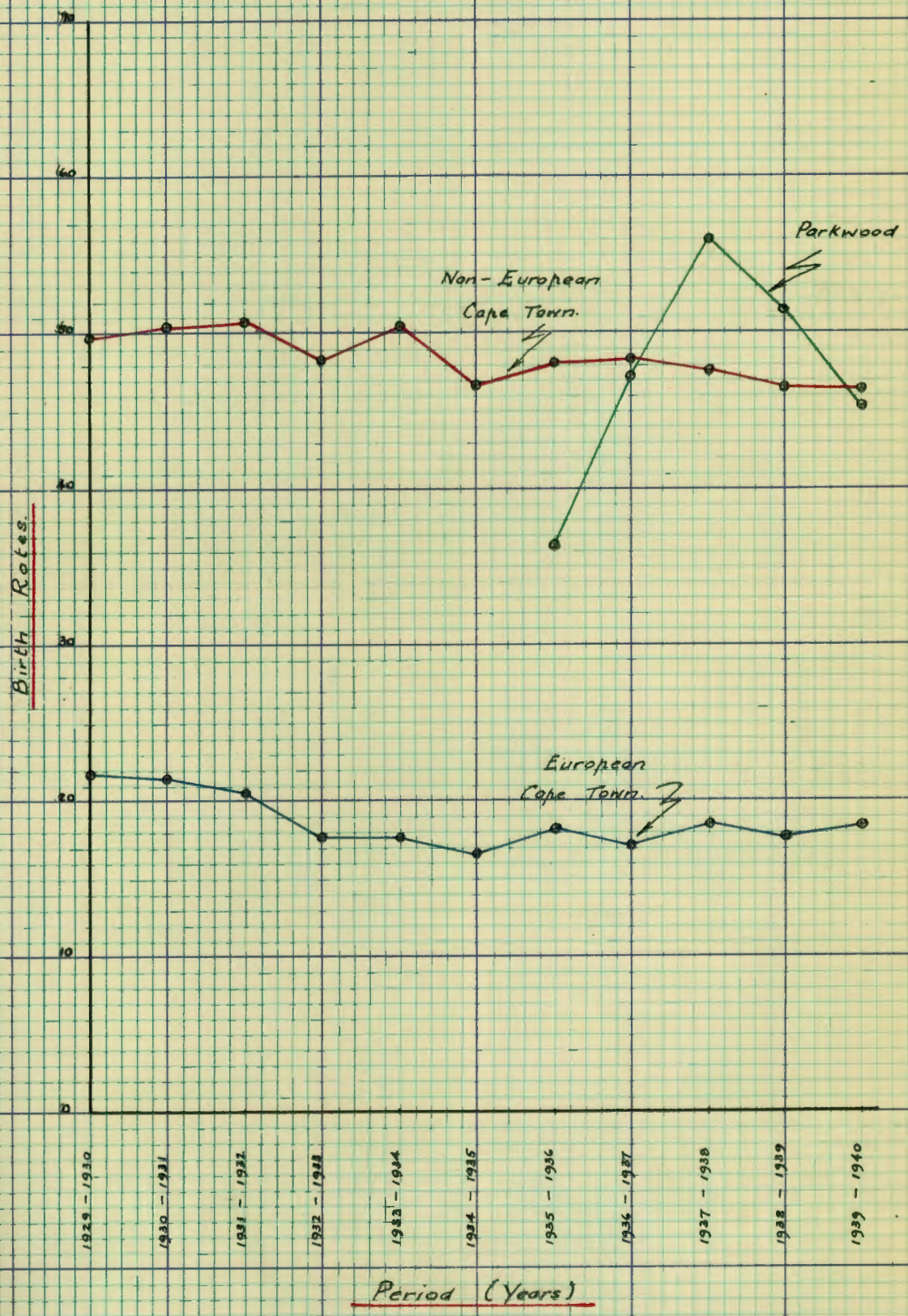
The information in the above table is set out graphically on the following page. Graph B very clearly illustrates the difference between the Cape Town European

(1) See methods 2 and 3, Section I of present Chapter.

(2) See appendix table I.A for absolute figures.

(3) Native Location.

Birth Rates per 1000 population over  
the period 1929 - 1940



birth rate and the two Non-European rates as well as the lack of significant difference between the Cape Town Non-European birth rate and that of Parkwood. The disparity between the Non-European and the European birth rate may be attributed largely to birth control being practised more widely among the Europeans.

NATURAL INCREASE.

TABLE 13.

The rate of Natural Increase  
For Parkwood, Europeans and Coloured Persons  
in Cape Town.

Years	Europeans. Rate per 1,000 pop.	Non-Europeans. Rate per 1,000 pop.	Parkwood. Rate per 1,000 pop.
1935--1936	7.41	24.29	- 2.2
1936--1937	7.34	28.90	20.0
1937--1938	8.38	24.09	24.0
1938--1939	8.16	25.00	26.7
1939--1940	9.20	26.52	12.7

The rate of natural increase of the population of Parkwood in 1939-1940 was not as great as the rate for the Non-Europeans of Cape Town but was no less than 1.4 times the European rate. Parkwood actually had an unusually low rate in the year 1939-1940, in fact a rate less than 50 per cent of the rate of the previous year. This was a reflection of both

- (a) a fall in the birth rate.
- (b) a rise in the death rate.

BIRTHS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SEX.TABLE 14.

Distribution of all births which took place in Parkwood during the period 1935-1940 according to sex and the proportion of male to female births.

Years.	Births		No. of Male to 100 Female Births
	Males	Females	
1935--1936	17	16	106
1936--1937	20	25	80
1937--1938.	29	27	107
1938--1939	24	30	80
1939--1940..	21	29	72
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>87</b>

The number of male births per 100 female births in 1939-1940 was found to be 72. In the previous year the ratio was 80 males to 100 females. Over the five years the average was 87 males to 100 females. This distribution is an unusual one, the general rule being that male births exceed female births. This unusual sex ratio of births was also found among the Cape Town Non-Europeans as a whole although not in so extreme a form as in Parkwood, the ratio for the Non-Europeans being 97 male to 100 female births. The same ratio was recorded in the previous year. The European birth rate for Cape Town in 1939-1940 did not exhibit a similar peculiarity, however, having the normal ratio of 104 males to 100 females born.

It is not possible to explain this phenomenon with complete certainty. It seems not improbable, however, that the usual number of males are conceived but a comparatively low number are born alive, since it is a

fact that the still-born rate and miscarriage rate among the Non-Europeans is very high, and biologists accept the view that the majority of miscarriages and still-born births are male.

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH RATE.

Parkwood has relatively a very high degree of illegitimacy the rate in 1938-1939 being 1.5 times as large as the Cape Town Non-European rate and seven times as large as the European.

TABLE 15.

Illegitimate Births in Parkwood  
During the Period  
1935-1940.

Years.	Total No. of Births.	No. of Illegitimate Births.	Illegitimate Births as a % of all Births.
1935--1936	33	10	30.3
1936--1937	45	26	57.7
1937--1938	56	17	30.3
1938--1939	54	19	35.1
1939--1940	50	15	30.0
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>36.5</b>

It may be pointed out that the high illegitimate birth rate does not necessarily indicate the existence of numerous structurally broken families in a community. In Parkwood there were many cases where the parents lived together and formed the basis of a stable family without complying with the formalities of a civil marriage.

SECTION IV.DEATHS.

Parkwood was found to have had a very high death rate, a rate in fact even significantly higher than that of the Non-European rate in Cape Town - 32.6 per thousand as against 19.9 per thousand in 1939-1940. In 1939-1940 the Parkwood death rate when compared with that of the Europeans in Cape Town was found to be 3.4 times as large. (1)

In the table below a comparison is made between the death rates of Parkwood and of the Europeans and Non-Europeans of Cape Town municipality (excluding Langa) (2) over the period of years 1935-1940.

TABLE 16.

Years	Death Rates		Per 1,000 Population
	Europeans Cape Town	Non-Europeans Cape Town	Parkwood
1935--1936	10.7	23.7	38.6
1936--1937	9.7	19.5	27.3
1937--1938	10.3	23.5	32.0
1938--1939	9.7	21.7	24.8
1939--1940	9.4	19.9	32.6

The death rate was higher than usual in 1939-1940 in Parkwood mainly because of a sudden rise in the infant mortality rate in that community. As infant deaths in Parkwood account for over 50 per cent of all deaths, a change in the infant mortality rate has a profound effect on the general death rate. This is seen clearly in Diagram 5 showing the absolute number of

(1) See appendix 2.A for absolute numbers.

(2) The Native Location.

deaths over the five years with the infant deaths differentiated. Further, the extent to which the infant deaths swamp all other deaths is illustrated by the fact that in table 20 showing causes of all deaths, diarrhoea and enteritis of especially high incidence among infants, is the second greatest cause of mortality.

Table 16 showing the death rates of Parkwood, the Europeans and the non-Europeans of Cape Town over the period of years 1935-1940 is represented in graph No. 2, which also includes the death rates for the Europeans and Non-Europeans of Cape Town for 1929-1930 and ensuing years till 1935-1936. These figures were not ascertained for Parkwood.

The graph shows the marked difference in level between the Cape Town European, Cape Town Non-European and Parkwood death rates. For all the years shown, the Parkwood death-rate was appreciably higher than the Cape Town Non-European death rate.

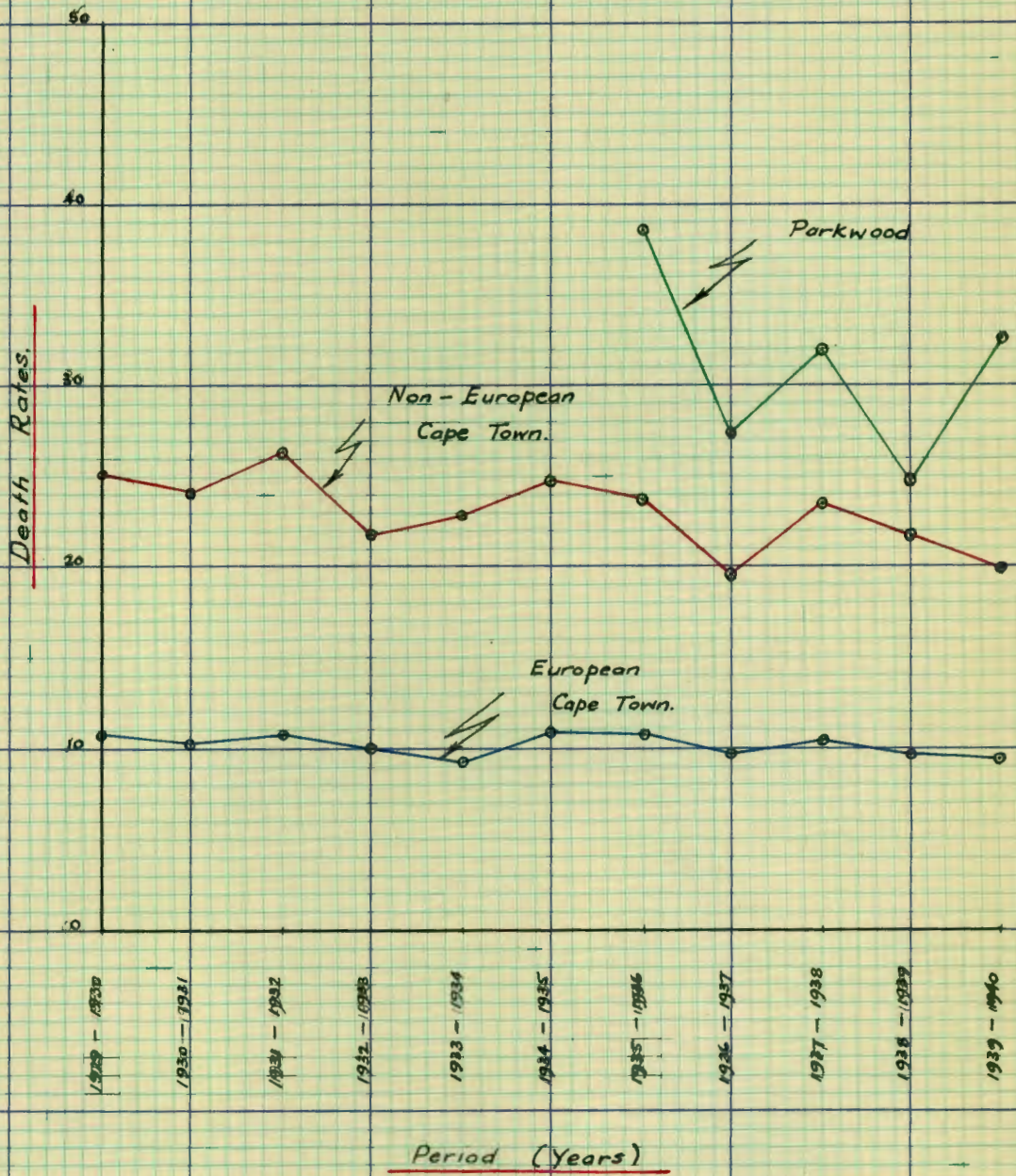
The curve representing the Non-European death rate of Cape Town shows a slight downward trend. The downward trend of the Cape Town European rate is so slight as to be hardly significant. The Parkwood death-rate, however, almost certainly shows a more decided decline than the European rate. (1) It is very likely that it will continue to fall, since there are reasons to suppose that the infant mortality rate, which has been falling over the five years, will continue to fall.

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(1) A study of the infant mortality rate for each year suggests very strongly that the general death rate in Parkwood was even higher before 1935 than after.

Death Rates per 1000 population over

the period 1929 - 1940.



AGE AT DEATH.

The high infant mortality rate, the poverty and disease prevalent in Parkwood, are all reflected in the finding that 58 per cent of all deaths in Parkwood were under the age of five years. That was for the year 1939-1940. The average for the period 1935-1940 was still higher, viz. 68 per cent. Table 17 shows the average age and median age of death for each year over the five years. (1)

TABLE 17.

Period.	Average age at Death. Yrs.	Median Age at Death. Yrs.
1935--1936	12.8	.9
1936--1937	16.8	.4
1937--1938	10.3	.4
1938--1939	15.0	.6
1939--1940	15.4	2.00

The information in table 17 is set out in the following graph No.3. The gradual rise in the age of death is a reflection of the fall in the infant mortality rate over the five years.

(1) See appendix Table 3.A for absolute figures.

Section V.CAUSES OF MORTALITY.

"The circumstances under which life ends are of primary importance to the hygienist and the social investigator"  
Newsholm.

Bronchitis and pneumonia were the chief causes of mortality in Parkwood, for the Cape Town Europeans, heart and artery conditions; and for the Cape Town Non-Europeans, tuberculosis. These facts, on analysis, are both significant and revealing. That heart and artery conditions head the list of causes of death for the Cape Town Europeans but are of relative minor importance in respect to Parkwood and Cape Town Non-Europeans is a reflection on the destructive force of the widespread poverty operating among the Non-Europeans. Heart and artery conditions do not figure as important causes of death among Non-Europeans because the characteristic of such diseases is that they affect mainly the middle aged and old people, hence, not the Non-Europeans who do not as a rule live to an old age. That bronchitis, pneumonia and tuberculosis are the chief causes of mortality among the people of Parkwood and among the Non-Europeans of Cape Town is further indicative of the unfavourable conditions under which these communities exist. Still more significant however is the actual magnitude of the rate of these diseases as causes of mortality.

In the following tables the chief causes of death are set out for the European and Non-European population of Cape Town and for Parkwood according to the mean rate per 1,000 population for five years (1935-1940 inclusive).

Median and Average Age of death  
at Parkwood over the period  
1929 - 1940.

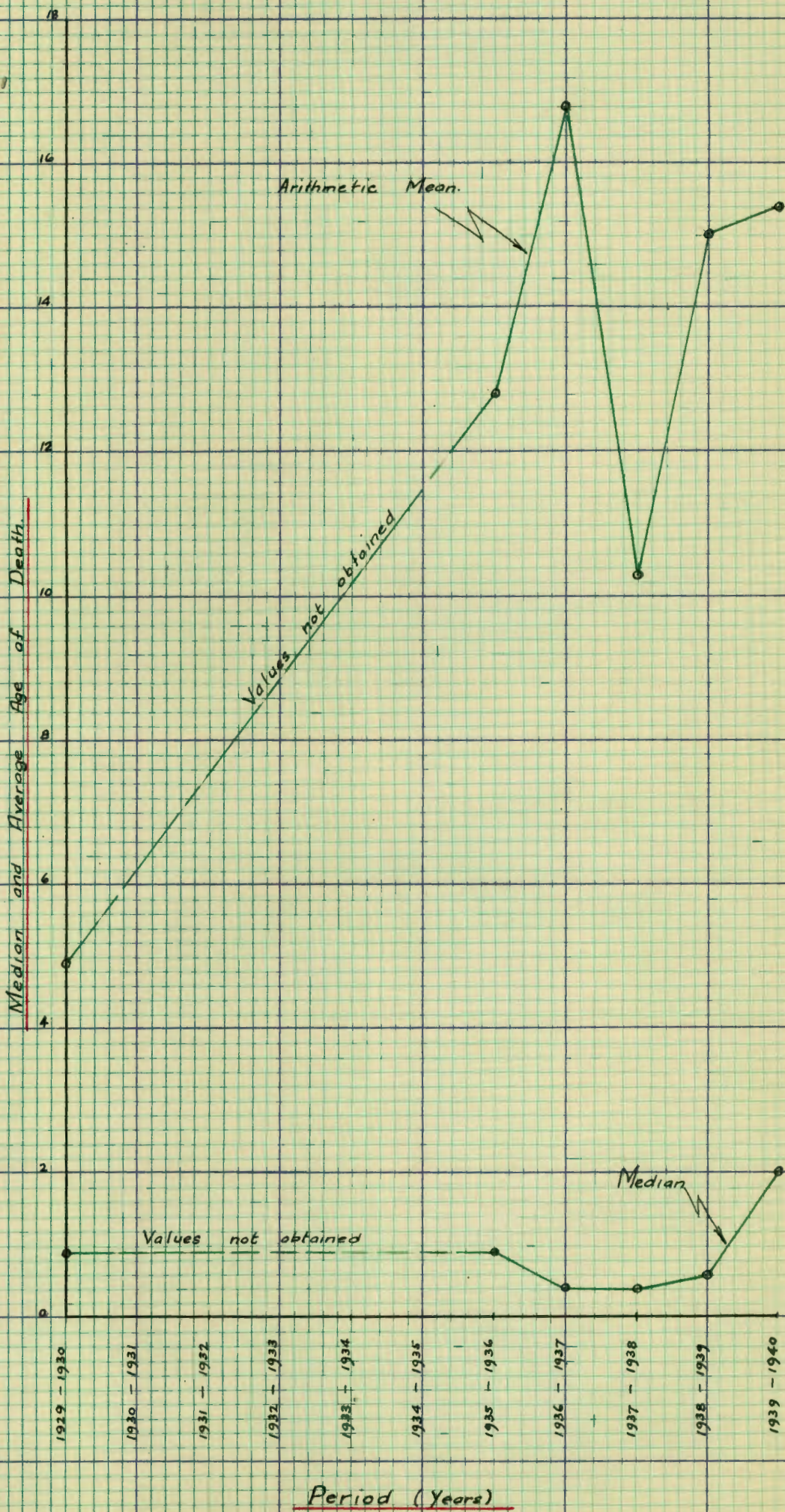


TABLE 18.

Europeans in Cape Town.	
Causes of Mortality:	Mean Rate per 1,000 Population
Heart and Arteries	3.39
Cancer	1.32
Tuberculosis	.75
Bronchitis and Pneumonia	.665
Nephritis	.47
Violence	.44
Congenital Malformation and diseases of early infancy	.40
Other causes	<u>2.54</u>
Total Causes	9.96

TABLE 19.

Non-Europeans in Cape Town.	
Causes of Mortality:	Mean Rate per 1,000 Population
Tuberculosis	4.48
Bronchitis and Pneumonia	4.15
Heart and Arteries	2.87
Diarrhoea and Enteritis	2.19
Congenital Malformation and diseases of early infancy	1.51
Cancer	.72
Violence	.66
Syphilis	.61
Other causes	<u>4.47</u>
Total Causes	21.66

Chief Causes of Mortality in Parkwood over the period 1935-1940.



TABLE 20.

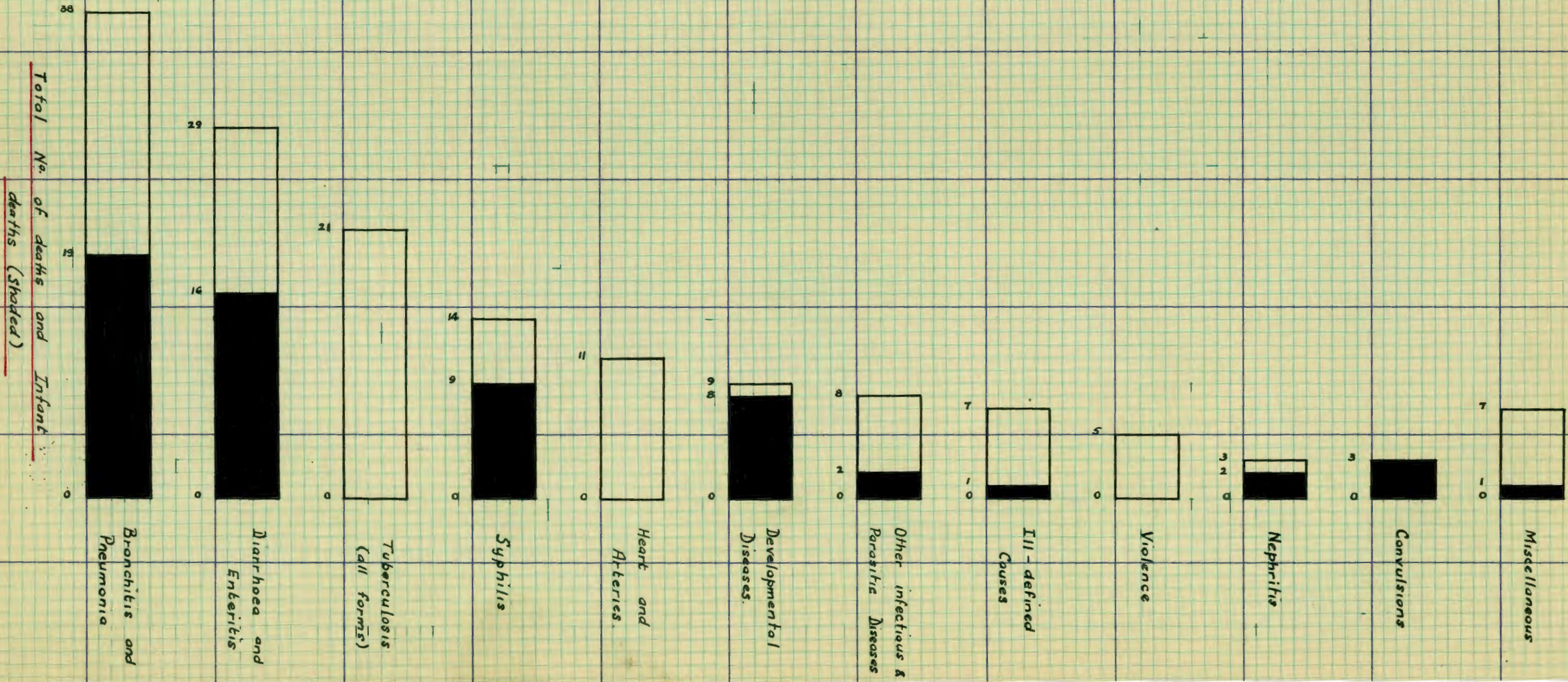
<u>PARKWOOD</u>	
Causes of Mortality:	Mean Rate per 1,000 Population
Bronchitis and Pneumonia	7.4
Diarrhoea and Enteritis	5.9
Tuberculosis	4.2
Syphilis	2.8
Heart and Arteries	2.0
Congenital malformation and early infancy diseases	2.0
Other infectious and parasitic diseases	1.6
<u>Other Causes</u>	<u>5.1</u>
Total Causes	<u>31.0</u>

The information in table 20 is illustrated in Diagram 4. Diagram 5 shows the total number of deaths in Parkwood over the five years with infant deaths differentiated from other deaths.

The histogram 6 clearly indicates the relative importance of each disease as a cause of death among the Parkwood community. In table 4.A in the appendix the deaths from each disease are expressed as a percentage of the total number and a detailed list of causes of death over the five years will be found in table 5.A, in the appendix.

The cancer mortality rate among the Cape Town Europeans was 1.8 times as large as it was among the Non-Europeans while among the Parkwood population it was insignificant. This is not surprising, as the average of death in Parkwood over the five years was found to be 14 years.

Chief Causes of Mortality in Parkwood over the period 1935-1940.



The Parkwood and the Cape Town Non-European tuberculosis death rate was found to be more than six times as large as that of the Cape Town Europeans. The existence of tuberculosis is closely linked with poverty. Tuberculosis is a disease which is prevalent where there are bad housing conditions and insufficient food. Its spread is further facilitated if medical attention is not obtained in the early stages and where there is difficulty in isolating the infectious case. The Public Health authorities of the municipality of Cape Town are fighting hard with the limited facilities at their disposal to combat the disease. A full-time tuberculosis officer has been appointed and the urgent need for adequate hospital accommodation is now being realised.

In Parkwood, in addition to poverty which is by far the most formidable factor there are other factors with which to contend, namely, ignorance and superstition. In many cases people were not aware that a careless tubercular person is a menace to the occupants of the household and the neighbours.

When the house-to-house investigation was conducted, special enquiries were not made as to whether there was a tubercular person in the household but I learnt incidentally of three tuberculars who refused hospital treatment. They were staying at home sharing bedrooms with other members of the family. The reasons given for not going to hospital were flimsy. One girl said that her mother who had suffered from tuberculosis was dead, so she wished to stay at home with her father and sister. She was confined to bed, so the neighbours

came with their babies and sat with her to keep her company. The other reasons given by the other two were: "People go to hospital to die"; "Do not like hospital".

I met one person who had been at Nelspoort Sanatorium for eight months. He had been advised to build a room for himself away from his family. (He and his wife and children had been living together with his mother and brothers). He carried out instructions, built an outside room, moved into it, but took his wife and two children with him.

With regard to syphilis the same factors are present; on the one hand, poverty with its concomitant ignorance, and on the other hand, lack of adequate medical services. The mortality rate for syphilis in Parkwood was <sup>twenty-seven</sup> times as large as the European rate and nearly five times as large as the Non-European rate.

When considering this differential syphilis mortality rate both the superior social status of the European and the stigma attached to syphilis must be taken into account. It is held that a doctor will refrain, if this is at all possible, from giving a death certification of syphilis for a European patient. With <sup>regard to</sup> Coloured people I have heard the view expressed by medical persons conversant with the problem that doctors, being aware of the extent of the syphilis incidence among the Coloured people, tend to attribute some deaths to syphilis, particularly when dealing with an infant, without ascertaining whether the parent or child have a positive Wasserman reaction.

However, in spite of this fact, there is an important counteracting factor which leads to the under-

statement of syphilis death causation, namely "the hidden hand of syphilis". Newsholme, in his book "Vital Statistics", writes:- "It would be erroneous to assume that a system of secret certification of causes of death would remove more than a portion of the difficulty implied in the present position". He refers to Osler's statement that syphilis is more destructive of life than tuberculosis, cancer, or pneumonia, which rank highest in mortality tables. This is because syphilis may be the primary cause for patients subsequently dying of meningitis, cerebral haemorrhage, cancer of the tongue, prematurity, heart and other diseases.

In Parkwood, because the syphilis death rate was so high and because 64.3 per cent of all deaths from syphilis were concentrated under the age of one year, the inference may be drawn that there are many members of the community suffering from the disease who do not undergo treatment. Infants would not have died from congenital syphilis had the mothers undergone treatment during the period of pregnancy.

I believe that in the case of this disease, ignorance as in the case of tuberculosis is in part responsible for the high mortality rate. Syphilis has four distinct stages with intermittent periods of quiescence. During these periods the ignorant sufferer is apt to consider himself cured and may therefore fail to take any remedial measures.

The principle of following up those who come to the municipal clinics but do not continue to the end of the treatment should, in the long run, cause a decline in the syphilis mortality rate. The number of

defaulters from Parkwood would certainly decline if a clinic were to be built in the community itself.

With the exception of syphilis, the statistics for the causes of death of Europeans are more accurate than those for Non-Europeans, which, in turn, are probably more accurate than those for Parkwood. The European community being the well-to-do section of Cape Town are able to afford medical attention. In most cases, the doctor has seen the patient a number of times before he dies, and can accurately state the cause of mortality. Among the Non-Europeans, however, mainly because of poverty and partly because of ignorance, medical aid is very often sought only when the patient is seriously ill; in fact, usually just before death. The case is often a complicated one and diagnosis at this stage of the illness without an adequate case history is very difficult. For this reason, the cause stated on the death certificate may not be quite accurate. This point is illustrated by the fact that in 1939-1940, the number of "ill-defined or unknown" causes of death was six times as great in the Non-European population than European.

But as has been said, the most significant fact lies in the high death rates in all diseases among the Non-Europeans and among the people of the Parkwood as compared with the rates for Europeans. This contrast is due in part to the difference in the age composition of the two populations. The Non-European population, particularly the population of Parkwood, has a greater proportion of young children than the European population has. This is important because bronchitis and pneumonia, diarrhoea and enteritis, whooping cough

and the conditions in the "congenital" category chiefly affect young children. But even when the age factor is taken into account the rates among the Non-Europeans and the people in Parkwood are high. This is seen when a comparison is made between the infant mortality rates of Europeans, Non-Europeans and Parkwood. This rate is free from the distortion caused by difference in age composition.

Section VI.INFANT DEATHS.

In the year 1939-1940 the infant mortality rate for Parkwood was found to be 180 per 1,000 births. This formidable rate was appreciably more than four times the Cape Town European rate.

The infant mortality rate for Parkwood for 1939-1940 was higher than the previous year. The Non-European rate (123.91 per 1,000 births) also rose, but only slightly. The European infant mortality showed a decline.

The table below compares between the rates for Europeans, and Non-Europeans of Cape Town and the population of Parkwood for the five years.

TABLE 21.

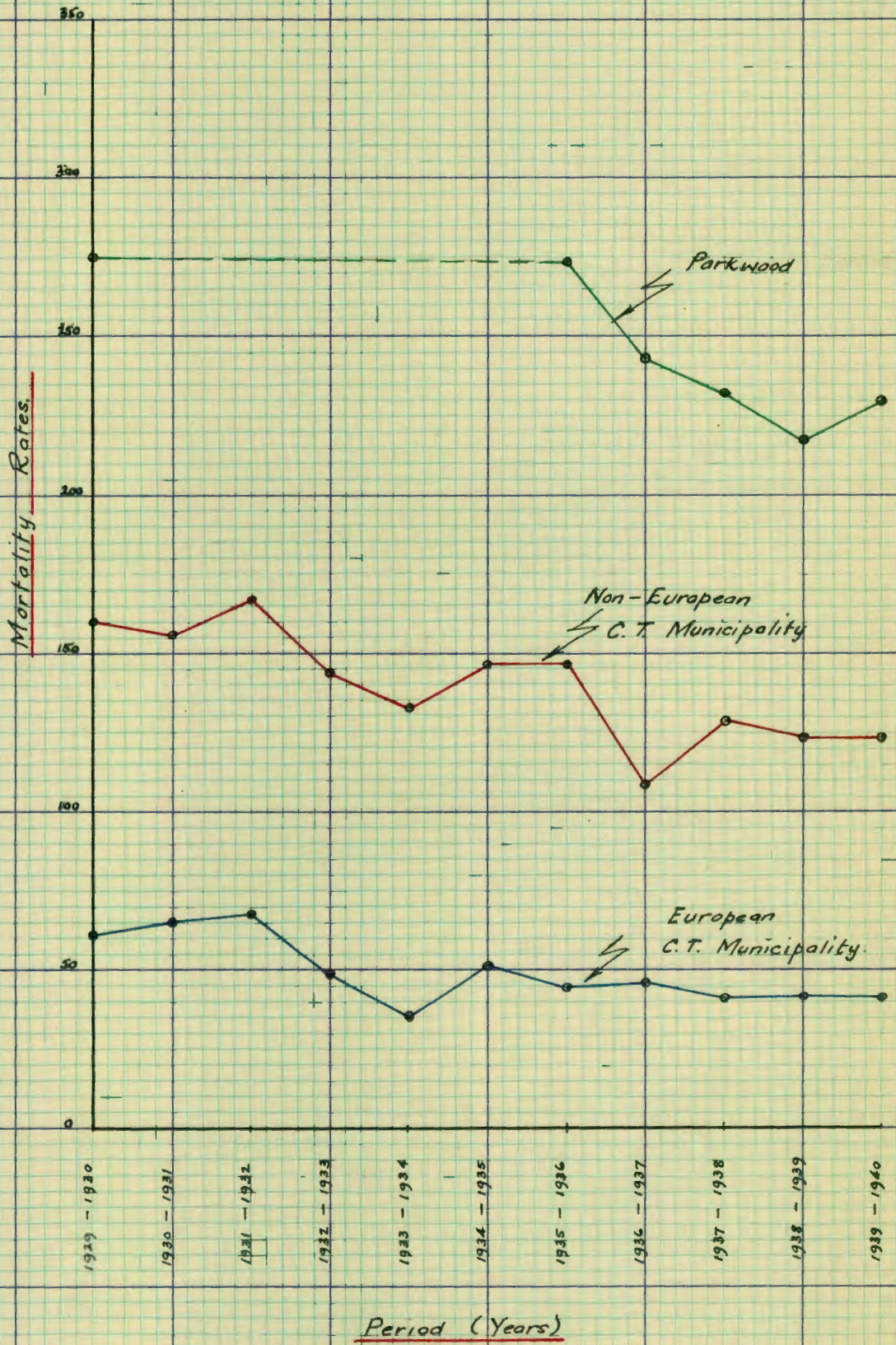
Years	Infant deaths per 1,000 Births		
	Cape Town Europeans	Cape Town Non-Europeans	Parkwood
1929--1930	60.7	160.0	275.0
1935--1936	45.1	145.7	272.7
1936--1937	47.2	108.9	244.4
1937--1938	41.0	128.9	232.1
1938--1939	42.1	123.6	166.6
1939--1940	41.0	123.9	180.0

The above tabulated information will for the purpose of further clarity, be represented in graph 6.

Analysis of this graph reveals three facts which seem worthy of discussion. They are:-

- (a) The high rate of infant mortality in Parkwood.

Infant Mortality Rates per 1000 births  
over the period  
1929 - 1940.



- (b) The decisive decline in the Parkwood infant mortality rate as compared with the other two communities.
- (c) The decided downward trend of the infant mortality rates.
- (a) The high rate of infant mortality in Parkwood.

This may be attributed in the main, to the poverty of the community and to the characteristic of the diseases which cause infant deaths.

The two greatest causes of death were bronchitis and pneumonia. These are acute diseases, diseases where mortality depends very largely on the promptness with which medical aid is sought and the standard of the nursing skill available. A community with almost three-quarters of its members being below "the bread line" can neither afford to call in doctors nor employ trained nurses. Further, it should not be surprising that bronchitis and pneumonia loom large as causes of mortality when one considers, apart from other factors, the very nature of the homes found in Parkwood. Practically every dwelling is a rough wood and iron structure affording inadequate shelter and constantly exposing the occupants to the mercy of the elements particularly the incessant winter rain.

The next most frequent causes of death were the nutritional diseases, particularly diarrhoea. In this case, mortality may be said to be due to injudicious feeding further aggravated by insanitary and unhygienic surroundings. It must be remembered that not only is no water laid on in Parkwood, but there is no system of sewerage at all, conditions which literally breed disease.

The third greatest cause of infant deaths in

Parkwood were those diseases falling under the heading of development diseases. (1) Of these, prematurity took the greatest toll. Prematurity may be caused by:-

- (a) tuberculosis.
- (b) syphilis.
- (c) underfeeding and general ill-health of mother.

The next cause of death, in order of magnitude, was congenital syphilis.

All of the diseases which have been mentioned are ones which society is able through the advance of science to exercise a large amount of control. But also they are diseases which thrive in a community where there is marked poverty and therefore ignorance; where there is little opportunity to be hygienic and where there is lack of financial means to resort to medical aid when necessary. Hence the high incidence rates in Parkwood.

- (b) The decisive decline in the Parkwood infant mortality rate as compared with the rates for the other two communities.

Over the period 1935-1940 the percentage fall in the infant mortality rate in Parkwood was 34.0 as compared with 15.0 for the Cape Town Non-Europeans and 9.1 for the Cape Town Europeans. To go as far back as 1929, the Parkwood rate still shows the greatest decline but it is not as marked. It is interesting to note that the few medical services that have been extended to Parkwood were established only about 1929.

The large fall in the infant mortality rate in Parkwood may be explained in this way - the mortality rate was very high owing to the prevalence of those

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(1) Developmental diseases include prematurity, injury at birth and other diseases peculiar to early infancy.

diseases which are characteristic of poor areas. These diseases may be controlled, so when reforms are made, even though slight, there will be an obvious fall in the rate. This has been the case in Parkwood.

On the other hand, it is an established fact that when a certain level of improvement has been reached, there will be little further progress, unless new and radical changes are made. This applies generally to the Europeans in South Africa and to a far lesser degree, to some of the urban Non-European communities. The Non-Europeans living in Ward 7, Cape Town, may be cited as an example. Unlike the community living in Parkwood, they have a number of child welfare and other clinics, including the Free Dispensary, close at hand, and thus they are able to get advice on infant feeding and other matters. To effect a really steep decline in the infant mortality rate, therefore, other factors must be controlled. These include bad housing, lack of education, and in fact, all of the factors present where poverty exists.

- (c) Discussion of the downward trend of all the rates and the reasons which helped to effect it.

In spite of the high infant mortality rate of the Cape Town Non-European community as a whole, and Parkwood in particular, there is one mildly encouraging fact, and that is:- in all the three cases there was a decided downward trend. Much of this is due to the efforts made by the municipality of Cape Town. The facilities for free medical care, particularly child and maternal welfare, had been extended through a

number of agencies and are being continually increased.

The fall in the infant mortality rate in Parkwood may be partially attributed to the following services which have been made available to the community, At Wynberg, which, however is more than 2 miles from Parkwood.

#### 1. ANTE-NATAL CLINIC.

This clinic has been held at the Wynberg Town Hall once a week since the year 1930. Pregnant mothers are invited to attend and are examined by a doctor. If an abnormal delivery is expected, attempts are made to gain admission for the mother to one of the few maternity homes available for Non-European women. In necessitous cases the mother and her children of pre-school age are supplied with free dinners and milk. A very important part of the work is anti-venereal treatment given especially for the prevention of congenital syphilis.

This clinic, however, is an out-patient clinic and the great majority of the women in Parkwood are confined in their own homes attended by midwives of a varying degree of training. The Cape Coloured Commission Report makes the comment that much "chronic invalidity and other ills" have been caused by unskilled or unqualified midwives. It reports "it must be apparent that very little is done to assist nature, and a great deal allowed to be done which is detrimental to the mothers and infants. ... There is the avoidable toll of damaged eyes to children, often leading to blindness which can be directly attributed to the neglect and ignorance of the unqualified midwives". This state of affairs has however, improved because of the Health

number of agencies and are being continually increased.

The fall in the infant mortality rate in Parkwood may be partially attributed to the following services which have been made available to the community, at Wynberg, which, however is more than 2 miles from Parkwood.

#### 1. ANTE-NATAL CLINIC.

This clinic has been held at the Wynberg Town Hall once a week since the year 1930. Pregnant mothers are invited to attend and are examined by a doctor. If an abnormal delivery is expected, attempts are made to gain admission for the mother to one of the few maternity homes available for Non-European women. In necessitous cases the mother and her children of pre-school age are supplied with free dinners and milk. A very important part of the work is anti-venereal treatment given especially for the prevention of congenital syphilis.

This clinic, however, is an out-patient clinic and the great majority of the women in Parkwood are confined in their own homes attended by midwives of a varying degree of training. The Cape Coloured Commission Report makes the comment that much "chronic invalidity and other ills" have been caused by unskilled or unqualified midwives. It reports "it must be apparent that very little is done to assist nature, and a great deal allowed to be done which is detrimental to the mothers and infants. ... There is the avoidable toll of damaged eyes to children, often leading to blindness which can be directly attributed to the neglect and ignorance of the unqualified midwives". This state of affairs has however, improved because of the Health

Department's supervision over practising midwives. The City Council has a list of all midwives, certificated and uncertificated, practising in the municipal area. No person whose name is not on the list may practise. In 1938-1939 for the first time, extern confinements attended by certificated midwives were greater in number than those attended by uncertificated midwives. In these cases where the mother has been attended at confinement by uncertificated persons a health visitor attends as soon as possible. If a certificated midwife has been engaged then the mother and infant are visited after the tenth day. Advice is given about the care and feeding of the baby and the mother is invited to attend the child welfare centre as soon as she is fit to do so. The work of the prenatal clinic is further supplemented by the health visitor who gives advice and assistance to expectant mothers known to the department. Visits are made in cases of illness such as puerperal fever, ophthalmia, pneumonia etc.

## 2. CHILD WELFARE CLINIC.

Since 1928 a clinic has been held twice weekly for Coloured people at the Wynberg Town Hall. The work of the clinic is described as being "primarily preventive and educational". Minor ailments are treated, but cases of illness are referred to the nearest hospital.

Recommendations.

These social services which have been extended to the Non-Europeans in the municipality of Cape Town and therefore to Parkwood have without doubt helped to reduce the infant mortality rate in particular and have added to the health of the community as a whole. But the position in Parkwood would be much better if the facilities which now exist were extended and made more accessible. The position with regard to expectant mothers has also improved, but even in this connection the latest report of the Medical Officer of Health of the municipality of Cape Town states<sup>(1)</sup>: "In outlying parts of the municipality where extern midwifery for indigent persons is not available, there have been many confinements where no midwife was in attendance. ... There is a need for the provision of full or assisted midwifery services in certain outlying parts". Parkwood is an outlying part of the municipality.

The Report of the Cape Coloured Commission discusses the subject of home visits by nurses. It considers that such a practice is an extremely beneficial one, and should be further extended.

The matter is summed up in the following way:-

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(1) Annual report of the Medical Officer of Health, for the year ended 30th June, 1939. P. 17.

"the children are brought up in a haphazard elementary fashion as far as feeding and hygienic principles are concerned. A doctor is not consulted unless the child is seriously ill. Then the child is carried to the consulting room where a diagnosis is made and medicine is given. Because of poverty there is rarely a follow up by the doctor to see whether progress is being made or whether the instructions given were understood and carried out." For this reason, the Commission states that, "any work that is undertaken to improve the home conditions and home environment, to educate the parents in the care and feeding of the infants and the young child, will prove of even greater value to this class of community than the proximity of a medical practitioner who is only consulted when the child is very ill". (1)

There is one important drawback in all the clinical services offered to Parkwood, <sup>viz,</sup> their lack of ready accessibility. Parkwood is two miles away from the nearest urban centre and there is no means of public transport between the two points. But even if this were organized, the situation would not be improved. A community with more than 70 per cent of its inhabitants in poverty will prefer to walk rather than spend extra money on transport. In the winter months when the rainfall is heavy, it is not wise to oblige mothers to bring their children to the clinic and thus incur serious risk of illness. Very often one mother has three children of pre-school age. She cannot carry them all, and the distance is too far for the young child to walk. One of the requisites of a clinic, therefore, is that it must be in the centre of the community which it serves. There are, however,

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(1) Paragraph 543.

many "pendokkie communities" like Parkwood which are also urgently in need of increased medical facilities. Bearing this in mind, I make the suggestion that a travelling clinic be introduced to visit all the outlying parts of the municipality of Cape Town. At each settlement a shed which need only be a modest structure, could be erected where the patients could wait their turn to be examined or advised. This suggestion of introducing a travelling clinic is, however, a minimum one and a temporary one. Obviously a properly erected welfare centre with full-time doctors and nurses in attendance would be more satisfactory. The need for it is commented upon in the latest<sup>(1)</sup> Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health of the municipality of Cape Town.<sup>(1)</sup> It is reported that in the Claremont area there are large numbers of poor families who did not attend the centre in Station Road, owing to the distance. To overcome this difficulty two rooms of a cottage near at hand were rented and a clinic was held once a week. It was found that "in the short time since regular welfare sessions have been instituted in this neighbourhood there has been a notable improvement in the physical condition of the pre-school children and infants in the district. From the rapid growth of this little branch clinic it is obvious that an adequate centre in this neighbourhood is urgently necessary, where not only weekly consultations may be held but where daily dinners for indigent mothers and children may also be available". This might well be applied to Parkwood.

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(1) Page 5.

Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the City of Cape Town for the year ended 30th June, 1939.

CHAPTER III.

O C C U P A T I O N S.

CHAPTER 111.O C C U P A T I O N SSection 1.NO. OF OCCUPIED PEOPLE ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX.

The main occupation of the adult male living in Western Society is to work for his own support and that of his family. This is the basis of the economy of the Western world. The family, not the individual, is the unit, and the head, normally an adult male, is regarded as the one on whom the burden of support falls. But the importance of getting a living is so great that it by no means concerns only the head of the family.

Parkwood has 1103 inhabitants, 397 of whom may be classified as "gainfully occupied" i.e. working for some money reward. (P.S.) That is, 36 people of every 100 living in the Area are occupied with getting the living of the entire group. This rate, however, (which shows that just a little over 1/3 of the people are occupied) is somewhat misleading, since it is a crude rate, uncorrected for the age-composition of the population. Moreover, the age-composition of the population of Parkwood, is, as has been pointed out before, unusual. It has a relative excess of young people, and the age group 0 - 5 years, is particularly large. (1. see footnote.) To obtain a more representative figure, therefore, it would be advisable to exclude the large number of persons who are too young to work, and then classify the remainder as occupied or unoccupied. Fourteen years will be taken as the age up to which a person is not reckoned as belonging to the population of working age. There

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1. See Page 22 Chapter on vital statistics.

are some children under the age of 14 years who work, but these constitute only one per cent of the occupied persons. In this way, 471 children<sup>(1)</sup> under 14 years or 43 per cent of the total population, are excluded. Of the remaining 632 persons, 397 are occupied, i.e. 63 of every 100 persons of working age are gainfully employed.

Further analysis shows that the occupied include 76 per cent of all females of working age. The distribution of the workers according to sex is as follows:- of the total number of workers, 287 are males and 110 are females; i.e. 72 per cent of all workers are males. According to the Cape Town Social Survey, this sex distribution is similar to that which is found among the Coloured people in Ward 7. (Ward 7 is mainly a Coloured area). There, 69 per cent of the sample of all workers were males.<sup>(2)</sup>

It is interesting to classify all workers as heads of families and non-heads, and thus show how the onus of maintaining the family is shared between heads and subsidiary earners. In Parkwood there were 229 households, in 198 of which the head of the household was gainfully employed. But the total number of workers in all the households was 397. In other words, in Parkwood there were as many subsidiary earners as chief earners.

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1. This figure excludes the six children who were under 14 years and working.
  2. Preliminary figures supplied by the Director of the Cape Town Social Survey.

13 per cent of all heads were unoccupied, the most important reasons for this being old age<sup>(1)</sup> and sickness. The absolute number unoccupied was 31, 18 of whom were above pensionable age, 8 were incapacitated through illness, and the remaining 5 were females who were keeping house for the other members of the household.

In Ward 7 the proportion of chief earners to subsidiary earners was found to be similar to that in Parkwood. In the former, the chief earners constituted 47 per cent of all workers, and in the latter 50 per cent.

The sex distribution of the heads and non-heads of households who were gainfully employed in Parkwood was as follows:-

(a) Heads of Households. 5 per cent of the occupied heads of households were females.

(b) Occupied Non Heads of Households. 99 were males and 100 were females.

It will, however, be shown later that, although there were as many females as male subsidiary earners, the earnings of the females were insignificant as compared with those of the males.

The Number and proportion occupied at different ages.

In Table 22 the occupied part of the population of Parkwood is analysed by age and sex.

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1. Over pensionable age, i.e. 65 years for males and 60 years for females.

TABLE 22.

(P.S.)

<u>AGE GROUP OCCUPIED MALES (P.S.)</u>		
Years	Number	Percentage of total male workers.
Under 14	3	1.0
14 - 15	13	4.5
16 - 24	78	27.2
25 - 44	125	43.6
45 - 69	66	23.0
70 and over	<u>2</u>	<u>0.7</u>
	<u>287</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The Occupied Males:

Table 22 shows that a little over 40 per cent of all occupied males were in the prime of life i.e. between 25 - 44 years of age. As the population of Parkwood was a young one, and as the children began working at an early age, male workers under 25 years constituted almost 1/3 of the total number of male earners. A little less than a quarter were past middle age (i.e. over 45 years.)

TABLE 23.

(P.S.)

(1) AGE GROUP	(2) NO. OF OCCUPIED MALES IN EACH AGE GROUP	(3) TOTAL NO. OF MALES IN EACH AGE GROUP	(4) (2) AS A PERCENTAGE OF (3)	(P.S.)
14 - 15	13	19	68.4	
16 - 24	78	85	91.7	
25 - 44	125	132	94.6	
45 - 69	66	76	86.8	
70 and over	<u>2</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14.2</u>	
Total	284*	326	87.11	

\* The occupied juveniles under 14 years only, 3 in number, were omitted.

From Table 23 it may be seen that among male juveniles, in the age group of 14 and 15 years 68 per cent were occupied. Between the ages of 16 - 44 the occupied proportion was over 90 per cent. There was still a large proportion working in the age group 44 - 69 years, but in the age group 70 and over only 14 per cent were recorded as occupied.

The Occupied Females:

TABLE 24.

(1) AGE GROUP YEARS	(2) NO. OF OCCUPIED FEMALES IN EACH AGE GROUP.	(3) OCCUPIED FEMALES IN EACH AGE GROUP EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL OCCUPIED FEMALES.	(P.S.)
Under 13	3	2.7	
14 - 15	6	5.5	
16 - 24	22	20.0	
25 - 44	48	43.6	
45 - 69	29	26.3	
70 and over	<u>2</u>	<u>1.8</u>	
	<u>110</u>	Say <u>100.</u>	

The comparative figures for the various age groups of occupied females reveal a wide divergence from the common assumption that the number of female workers fall off considerably after the average age of marriage has been reached. The numbers actually increase from the 16 - 24 year age group to the 24 - 44 year age group.

From Table 24 it may be seen that 20 per cent of all female workers were in the age group 16 - 24 years and in the next age group, which has a greater proportion of married women, the percentage was 44. The fact that there was a larger proportion of women working in the age group 25 - 44 years than in the previous group is still more strikingly apparent in Table 25 where the number of female workers in each age group is expressed as a percentage of total number of females in each age group.

TABLE 25.

AGE GROUP YEARS	NO. OF OCCUPIED FEMALES	TOTAL NO. OF FEMALES	PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED FEMALES OF TOTAL NO. OF FEMALES IN EACH AGE GROUP.	(P.S.)
14 - 15	6	14	42.9	
16 - 24	22	66	33.3	
25 - 44	48	122	39.3	
45 - 69	29	70	41.4	
70 and over	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>20.0</u>	
Total	107	282	37.9	

Now that the total number of females in each age group has been taken into account the percentage occupied shows an increase not only in the age group 25 - 44 but in the group 45 - 69 years as well.

There appear to be two explanations for this unusual situation:-

(a) Domestic work is practically the only occupation of the women of Parkwood. Most of the unmarried females in the age group 16 - 24 years who worked were resident at their place of

employment thereby being excluded for the purpose of the Survey from the population of Parkwood. The majority of the unmarried females who remained at home were those who did not wish or were not able to work. The married women who were included in this age group, in most cases did not find it necessary to work as the size of the family was still small.

(b) In the following age groups (25 - 44 and 45 - 69 years) there was a preponderance of married women, approximately 40 per cent of whom work. But on account of their household duties they were generally unable to leave their homes for any considerable length of time. They were, therefore, occupied in charring, washing, etc. This meant that they returned to their homes after their day's work, and, as permanent residents in Parkwood, were included in the Survey.

Comparison between the percentage of occupied Males and Females to total Male and Female population respectively.

In every age group except the last (70 years and over) the proportion of occupied males to the total number of males was higher than that of the females. In fact, in the age groups 16 - 24 and 45 - 69 the proportion of occupied males is well over twice the proportion of occupied females. The reversed position in the last age group is not significant because of the smallness of the numbers in the group as a whole.

To some extent, however, the greater proportion of male workers, may be accounted for by the following:-

- (a) A large number of women workers were not included in the Survey because they resided at their place of employment.
- (b) Most of the women who were classified as "unoccupied" because they did not go out to work, were those engaged at home as housewives.

Section 11OCCUPIED PERSONS GRADED ACCORDING TO TYPE OF WORK.

Parkwood is a semi-rural community. Conditions of life may be described as almost primitive in that the dwellings are rough home-made wood-and-iron structures; there is no sanitation and no water laid on, and in many of the homes there are no stoves, cooking being done in the outside over an open fire. But the means of obtaining the necessaries of life are far removed from the direct methods characteristic of genuinely primitive communities. All the workers living in Parkwood are cogs in the wheel of capitalism: they depend on the roundabout method of production for their means of livelihood.

In modern industrial society there are many and diverse ways of earning a living. Parkwood is no exception to the rule but it is possible to group the occupations of its inhabitants under the following headings:-

- (a) Unskilled
- (b) Semi skilled-manual
- (c) Skilled-manual
- (d) Non-manual employment
- (e) Independent business.

The unskilled occupations included an overwhelming majority of the workers - 81 per cent of the total working population. The semi-skilled constituted 15 per cent of all workers, the skilled 3 per cent and the remaining 1 per cent were distributed between the last two classes.

In Ward 7 also, the occupied persons were found to be, in the main, either unskilled or semi-

skilled,<sup>(1)</sup> the former type of work accounting for 41 per cent of all workers and the latter 46 per cent. The proportion of skilled workers, independent business people, and non-manual employees was small being 5, 4 and 2 per cent respectively. In each of these cases, however, the proportions were larger than in Parkwood.

Description of the Occupations:

Unskilled Manual Labour of the Male Workers.

Most of the male workers in the unskilled class termed themselves "general labourers." Their description included miscellaneous types of employment such as the loading and unloading of lorries at large wholesale business concerns; road and drainage construction for the municipality; cleaning, polishing and construction work at the Government Aerodrome; the removal of furniture; street cleaning and garbage removing for the municipality. The docks, the Railway Administration and building contractors employed a number of workers, mainly on a casual or temporary basis. More permanent employment, though unskilled, was afforded by the winery and timber factory nearby.

A number of families were engaged in hawking firewood, vegetables, fruit or flowers. The term "family" was used here because it is usual for all the members of working age to work together to sell their products. The general procedure adopted, was to buy the products from a farm nearby for the sum

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1. Preliminary results supplied by the Director of the Cape Town Social Survey.

of £1. 0. 0. or £2. 0. 0. and then sell them in the hope of receiving a nett profit of from 15/- to 30/-. Many of the flower-sellers travel to town and sell their flowers at the stalls in Adderley Street. Others, buy a horse and cart on the hire purchase plan and conduct business in the manner characteristic of the Cape Town hawkers, namely, to knock at the doors of private homes in the hope that their products are needed, or to ride through the streets loudly extolling the quality of the products and wait to be stopped by those who wish to buy.

A number of juveniles who were not able to obtain better positions worked as caddies on the golf course bordering Parkwood.

Another group of unskilled workers were the farm labourers.

These occupations have indicated the type of work undertaken by the majority of the unskilled male workers in Parkwood. The remaining types of work done were odd jobs such as:- night watchman, bar boy, table boy, garage hand, tram cleaner, etc.

#### Semi-skilled Manual Labour of the Male Workers.

Included in the semi-skilled trades, there were a number of gardeners most of whom were casually employed by owners of the large homes and grounds in the suburbs of Claremont, Kenilworth and Wynberg. Some of the gardeners had regular employment for twice or thrice a week but for the remaining days of the week they had to go out and seek employment. The other workers classified as semi-skilled, were

lorry-drivers, waiters, plumbers and painters with a doubtful amount of training.

In the summer months, the number of semi-skilled workers increase because farmers, particularly from Constantia, employ men, women and children from Parkwood as grape-pickers and packers.

Skilled Manual Labour of Male Workers:

The few skilled workers found in Parkwood were distributed in the following trades:- Harness-making, carpentry, mattress-making, metal-work, engine-shunting.

Female Workers.

The female workers of Parkwood were almost exclusively domestic servants, those doing washing and charring were classified as unskilled workers and those doing cooking and other types of housework were classified as semi-skilled. There was one midwife who lived in Parkwood, but because of her advanced age was not able to accept many cases.

Apart from domestic work, the only other occupation was hawking flowers and vegetables or helping to pick grapes in the summer months. It is interesting to note that not one woman worked as a factory hand.

Section III.THE RELATION OF OCCUPATIONAL GRADE TO AGE.

The table below shows the relation of occupational grade to age for the male workers in Parkwood. The number of males in the various occupations is expressed as a percentage of the total number in each age group.

TABLE 26.

(P.S.)

OCCUPIED MALES							
Age Group Years	No.	% In each Age Group.					TOTAL
		Unskilled Work	Semi-skilled Work	Skilled Work	Non-Manual Work	Independent Business	
Under 14	3	66.6	33.3	-	-	-	100
14-15	13	92.3	7.6	-	-	-	100
16-24	78	88.5	10.3	-	1.2	-	100
25-44	125	79.2	15.2	4.8	-	.8	100
45-69	66	75.8	13.6	7.6	3.0	-	100
70 & over	2	50.0	50.0	-	-	-	100
All Age Groups	287	81.2	13.6	3.8	1.0	.3	100

The first and the last age groups are too small for reliable statistical analysis and therefore will not be commented upon. The percentage of unskilled workers was highest in the 14-15 year age group and dropped with each successive age group. The proportion of semi-skilled workers, on the other hand, increased with successive age group.

The situation is rather more complicated than

would appear at first sight. The obvious deduction to make from table 26 would be that a continuous process of unskilled becoming semi-skilled was taking place from age group to age group. This, however, was not the case because a number of those classified as semi-skilled workers were gardeners who belonged to a previous generation of immigrants from the country districts and whose environment and training had therefore been purely rural. In other words, they had always been gardeners (semi-skilled according to definition)<sup>(1)</sup> and had not risen from the unskilled class. In the same way there is no reason to suppose that the unskilled workers in the younger age groups would graduate into the semi-skilled class. This, however, does not indicate economic retrogression for although gardeners are in a higher occupational grade, the low wages and the irregular nature of their work often render them economically worse off than unskilled workers.

As far as skilled workers are concerned, there were none below the age of 25 years while the proportion of skilled workers increased from the age group 24-44 to the 45-69 age group. The absolute number of skilled workers in all age groups was so small (total 11 persons) that it would be both difficult and futile, at this stage, to attempt to gauge the amount of progress, if any, from lower occupational age groups (See Section on "Occupational Mobility")

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(1) They were defined as semi-skilled to fit in with the general classification that was adopted.

TABLE 27.

(PS.)

Age Group Years	No. in each Age Group.	OCCUPIED FEMALES			TOTAL
		Percentage in each Age Group			
		Unskilled Work	Semi-skilled work	Non-Manual Work	
Under 14	3	33.3	66.6	-	100
14-15	6	83.3	16.6	-	100
16-24	22	77.3	22.7	-	100
25-44	48	81.3	18.7	-	100
45-69	29	82.8	13.8	3.4	100
70 -	2	50.0	50.0	-	100
All Age Groups	110	79.1	20.0	0.9	100

Here too, the first and last age groups will not be taken into consideration because of the smallness of numbers. The above table shows that the percentage of working women for any given occupation differs only slightly from age group to age group e.g. unskilled (83, 77, 81 and 82 per cent).

This relative stability is due to the fact that women in Parkwood at all ages were engaged in one main occupation, namely, domestic work. The only exceptions being the one midwife and the young girls who worked in the vineyards during the grape season.

The domestic workers fall into the two sub-classes, namely the unskilled, which include the women who do washing and charring and the semi-skilled which include the women who do general housework and cooking. As 80 per cent have been classed as unskilled it would

appear that nearly the whole female working population in Parkwood was engaged in charring and washing. Here again, however, it must be remembered that the figures are artificially high because the majority of the females belonging to families who live in Parkwood and engaged in regular domestic service did not reside in the settlement and were therefore not included in the Survey.

Section IV.RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EARNINGS AND OCCUPATIONAL GRADE:

In a community such as Parkwood where the standard of living is, in the main, below subsistence level the dominating aspect of any occupation is the payment received. As might be expected, analysis shows that there is a clear relationship between the grade of occupation and rate of remuneration. In order to determine the nature of this relationship the following table was drawn up for each group of occupation expressing the percentage of occupied male heads of households receiving a given wage over a range extending from "under 5/- a week" to "over £4.10.0d."

TABLE 28.

(P.S.)

Gross Income of head per week	OCCUPIED MALE HEADS				
	Unskilled Work %	Semi- Skilled Work %	Skilled Work %	Non-Manual Work %	Independent Business %
0 - 14/11	28	42	46	-	-
15/- £1.9.11.	35	39	9	-	-
£1.10.-. - £2.4.11	33	13	9	-	-
£2.5.-. -. £4.10.-.	4	6	36	100 <sup>(1)</sup>	100 <sup>(1)</sup>
All Male Heads	100	100	100	100	100

At the lowest wage level (0 - 14/11d) there were 28 per cent unskilled workers, 42 per cent semi-skilled and 46 per cent skilled. This distribution was unexpected but the peculiarity (which will be discussed presently) does not extend to the other groups. For these groups,

(1) These percentages have little significance as the absolute numbers are so small.

the figures were as follows:-

GROUP 2 (15/- to 29/11) 35 per cent unskilled, 39 per cent semi-skilled and 9 per cent skilled

GROUP 3 (£1.10.0d. to £2.4.11d) 33 per cent unskilled, 13 per cent semi-skilled and 36 per cent skilled.

GROUP 4 (£2.5.0d to over £4.10.0d) 4 per cent unskilled, 6 per cent semi-skilled and 36 per cent skilled,

or to use a broader classification it was found that in the semi-skilled occupations, 81 per cent of the workers earned less than £1.10.0d; in the unskilled the corresponding percentage was 63 and in the skilled 55. In other words the semi-skilled class earned the least, the unskilled came next and the skilled were the comparatively well-to-do. The casual nature of their work and the low rate of remuneration were responsible for the depressed economic status of the semi-skilled workers.

The extreme variation of earnings within the skilled occupations may be attributed to the fact that the rate of pay for work done was adequate but that the work itself was scarce. From Parkwood however general conclusions can hardly be drawn owing to the paucity of the number of skilled workers. Those occupied male heads in the skilled trades who earned very little were those who worked independently e.g. small carpenters, a tin-smith, upholsterer, etc. They said that in the winter months (the time when the investigation was made) they were often unemployed for months. It is possible that these people were not sufficiently qualified to obtain well-paid regular employment.

Without paying attention to small differences and taking into consideration the natural rise in level, the distribution within each occupation remained much

the same when the households were analysed according to occupational status of head and the gross earnings of the whole household instead of the earnings of the head.

TABLE 29:

(P.S.)

Gross Income of House- hold per week	O C C U P I E D			H E A D S	
	Unskilled Work %	Semi- Skilled Work %	Skilled Work %	Non- Manual Work %	Independent Business %
0 - 14/11d.	15)	12)	9)	-	-
15/- to £1.9.11d.	31)83	35)76	27)54	-	-
£1.10.-. to £2.4.11d.	37)	29)	18)	-	-
£2.5.-. to £3.11.11.	11	19	27	-	-
£4.-.-. and over	4	3	18	100 <sup>(1)</sup>	100 <sup>(1)</sup>
All occu- pied heads	say 100	say 100	say 100	100	100

Those households whose head was in a skilled occupation had, as might be expected, the highest income. The difference between the unskilled and semi-skilled is insignificant.

#### FEMALE EARNINGS:

From the table below it may be seen that more than a quarter of all occupied females earn 2/6 and under a week and 80 per cent earn 10/- and under. Their income is small because many of the women who do washing and charring, work only once or twice a week. The

(1) These percentages have little significance as the absolute numbers are so small.

majority of women therefore, may not be regarded as the breadwinners; their function was rather to supplement the low wages of the adult male earner.

TABLE 30.

(P.S.)

Money earned per week	No. of occupied females.
2/6 and under	30
5/- " "	11
7/6 " "	24
10/- " "	24
12/6 " "	12
15/- " "	6
17/6 " "	1
£1 " "	1
£1.10.- " "	<u>1</u>
	110

It must be remembered, however, that the actual size of income of a household does not per se indicate the family's economic status for it does not take into account the relation of income to the assessed needs of the constituent members. A truer index of economic status is obtained by evaluating income in accordance with the poverty line adopted for the purpose of the Survey. The poverty standard takes into account the number, age and sex of the members of the family who share the income (See Chapter I).

Below all households of which the head was occupied are classed according to the

- (a) occupation of the head of the household
- (b) poverty status of the household

TABLE 31.

(P.S.)

Type of Occupation	O C C U P I E D		M A L E		H E A D S	
	Below Poverty Datum Line		Above Poverty Datum Line		Total	
	No.	% of Total in each occupation	No.	% of Total in each occupation	%	
Unskilled	104	67.5	50	32.5	100	
Semi-skilled	23	74.2	8	25.8	100	
Skilled	6	54.5	5	44.5	100	
Non-manual	-	-	1	100.0 <sup>(1)</sup>	100	
Independent business	-	-	1	100.0 <sup>(1)</sup>	100	
All occupied heads (male)	133	67.2	65	32.8	100	

Seven out of four point 74.2 per cent of the households where the head was semi-skilled were below the Poverty Datum Line. The corresponding percentage for unskilled households was 67.5 and for skilled 54.5. There was only one bookkeeper and one independent business man. In both cases, they were well above the bare subsistence level.

It will be observed that 50 households (32.5 per cent) where the heads were in the unskilled occupations were above the Poverty Datum Line. Further examination revealed that of these 50 households, 26 had a municipal employee among their occupied members. (In 23 cases, this municipal employee was the head of the household). (P.S.) This suggests that being

(1) These percentages have little significance as the absolute numbers are so small.

employed by the municipality has some special economic significance. To determine how true this might be, an analysis was made of all families where there was at least one municipal employee. 34 such families were found. In 30 of these, the head was the employee in question. Their poverty status was as follows:-

Below the Poverty Datum Line.	Above the Poverty Datum Line	Total.
8	26	34

It may be seen that over 75 per cent of these households were above the Poverty Datum Line. This raises the question: why should this percentage have been more than twice as great as the general per centage for unskilled workers? Was it because the households which included municipal workers had a favourable family composition? From the table below it may be seen that the average size of these households was actually above the average for all households in Parkwood (5.4 as against 4.8 persons per household)

Distribution of households with at least one member a municipal worker according to size of household:

TABLE 32.

(P.S.)

Size of Household Persons	No. of Households where there is at least one municipal employee.
1	1
2	4
3	8
4	5
5	1
6	1
7	5
8	2
9	5
10	-
11	2
<b>Total Households</b>	<b>34</b>

Further analysis shows that of those households which were above the Poverty Datum Line the size was very close to the average (4.7 against 4.8) while of those households which were below the Poverty Datum Line the size of the family was well above the average (7.4 persons per household).

TABLE 33.

(P.S.)

No. of Persons in Household.	Households with at least one municipal employee.		Total
	Not in Poverty.	In Poverty	
1	1	1	2
2	4	-	4
3	7	-	7
4	5	-	5
5	1	-	1
6	1	-	1
7	2	3	5
8	1	1	2
9	3	2	5
10	-	-	-
11	1	1	2
All Households	26	8	34

This relatively high economic status of those households which include at least one municipal worker may be attributed to the fact that the municipality of Cape Town pays a regular wage of £2 or £2.4.0. or £2.8.0. a week, depending on the length of employment. In this way the municipality has given a lead to the city by paying a wage which gives the employee and his family a reasonable chance of living above the bare subsistence level.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY.

The occupational mobility in Parkwood shall be discussed as follows:-

(a) Unskilled occupations.

There were 154 households whose heads were unskilled workers. These households had a total of 41 occupied sons, and of these 41 sons, 40 were unskilled workers; the remaining one was an office boy. This last case was clearly an exception to the general rule.

(b) Semi-skilled occupations.

There were 31 households whose heads were semi-skilled workers. In 14 cases the head was a gardener. Altogether there were a total of 12 working sons, all unskilled workers.

(c) Skilled occupations.

In the 11 households where the heads were engaged in skilled work, there was a total of only 4 occupied sons. These were all learning the trades of their fathers. In each case the father himself was training them, which suggests that they were not likely to acquire a very high degree of skill in their particular trade.

It is clear from the above data that there was in general comparatively little occupational mobility in Parkwood. Only in the semi-skilled grade was there any perceptible change and that was in a downward direction which did not, in most cases however represent economic retrogression.

CHAPTER IV.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH POVERTY.

CHAPTER IV.FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH POVERTY

More than 70 per cent of the people of Parkwood were found to be living in poverty. <sup>(1)</sup> (P.S.) In an attempt to find the chief factors associated with this widespread poverty a detailed analysis of the families investigated, was made on the lines of the Merseyside Survey. <sup>(2)</sup> Their classification is a division of the families according to the number of adult male earners. <sup>(3)</sup> The five main economic classes are:-

- CLASS 1. No earner at all.
- CLASS 2. No adult male earner.
- CLASS 3. One adult male earner
- CLASS 4. One adult male earner with subsidiary earners.
- CLASS 5. Two or more adult male earners with or without subsidiary earners.

The Merseyside Survey method was adopted both because of the useful and clear classification and because it affords a basis of comparison which has, in fact, been used in other surveys, e.g. "Standard of Living in Bristol". <sup>(4)</sup>

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- (1) c.f. Chapter I on Poverty.
  - (2) The Social Survey of Merseyside was published in 1934, edited by D. Caradog Jones, the School of Social Science and Administration, University of Liverpool. The greater part of the material was collected during the period of 1929-1932.
  - (3) In the Merseyside Survey an adult was taken to be one of age 22 years and upwards. In Parkwood an adult was taken to be one of age 21 years and upwards (legal definition).
  - (4) "The Standard of Living in Bristol" was published in 1938 and edited by Tout.

The Merseyside Survey makes the comment that the families in Class 1 (no earner at all) are generally dependent on social services. This was definitely the case in Parkwood. There were only 10 such cases but of these, 8 families received social service incomes in the form of old age pensions, poor relief or pensions for a particular disability. In the remaining 2 cases, a relative was giving financial support.

In Class 2 (no adult male earner) the families were mainly dependent on one or more women and less often on juveniles. Most times the male head was physically disabled. In the remaining cases the family generally consisted of a widow living with her minor children

In Class 3 (one adult male earner) the father was most commonly the earner. In fact, 86 of the families in this economic class of the 88 were dependent on the father. In the remaining two cases, the father was incapacitated and the adult son worked.

In Class 4 the subsidiary worker was, in most cases, the wife.

In Class 5 the two adult male earners were usually father and son.

The table below shows the absolute number of families in each economic class and their poverty status, including degrees of poverty.

..... TABLE 34

TABLE 34.

(P.S.)

Poverty Status. <sup>(1)</sup>	TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS					
	ECONOMIC CLASS					TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	5	
Certainly above P.D.L. <sup>(2)</sup>	-	1	30	14	9	54
On the margin above P.D.L.	-	1	5	7	2	15
<b>TOTAL Not in Poverty</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>69</b>
On the margin below P.D.L.	4	6	13	7	1	31
Certainly below P.D.L.	6	17	40	54	12	129
<b>TOTAL In Poverty</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>160</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL.</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>229</b>

The percentage distribution above and below the poverty line of the families in each class was:-

TABLE 35.

(P.S.)

CLASS	1	2	3	4	5
In poverty	100	92	60	74	54
Not in poverty	0	8	40	26	46
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

(1) c.f. Chapter I for Definition.

(2) Poverty Datum Line.

It will be seen that the proportion of families in poverty was greatest where there was no earner at all, and lowest where there were at least two male earners. The apparently anomalous position of having a greater percentage of poverty in the class where there were subsidiary workers together with one adult male, than in the class where there was only one adult male earner, may be explained in this way. In Parkwood the main occupation, in fact almost the sole occupation, of the occupied women was washing and charring. As this is hard work, and the actual place of employment is necessarily far and the remuneration small, the women tends to take on this work only when the husband's earnings are irregular or poorly paid. When he finds regular employment she usually ceases working. It will be seen later that Class 3 had a high proportion of casual workers compared with other economic classes; therefore in spite of the subsidiary earners there was more poverty.

It is not only the presence of a male earner which determines whether the family is likely to be in poverty or not but also the type of work the male earner does. The families in Class 3 and 4 have been further sub-divided in the following way:-

- CLASS 3. (1) Adult male earner in regular employment.
- (2) Adult male earner in casual employment.
- (3) Adult male earner unemployed.

Because of the presence of more than one adult male earner the families in Class 5 have been divided as follows:-

- CLASS 5.**
- (1) All adult male earners in regular employment
  - (2) All adult male earners in casual employment
  - (3) All adult male earners un- (1)  
employed
  - (4) All adult male earners either casually employed or unemployed
  - (5) At least one regular worker and at least one casual or unemployed male adult.

The biggest economic Class was 3 (1) where there was a husband in regular work with dependent wife and children. (See Table 34). The next biggest group was Class 3 (2) where the adult male worker was casually employed. Classes 3 (1) and 4 (1) accounted for over 40 per cent of all the families investigated. Next came families with one adult male earner in casual employment, followed by the two Classes I and II where there was no earner or no adult male earner.

**TABLE 36.**

<u>CLASS</u>	<u>A D U L T M A L E E A R N E R S</u>		
	No. in Regular Work	No. Casually Employed or Unemployed	TOTAL
Households with:-			
(a) One adult male earner	61	27	88
(b) One adult male earner with subsidiary workers	36	46	82
(c) More than one adult male earner with or without subsidiary workers	25	27	52
All adult male earners	122	100	222

(1) None in Parkwood.

The number of adult male earners engaged in casual work or unemployed was high as can be seen at a glance from table 36, <sup>(1)</sup> the percentage being 45.

TABLE 37.

No. and percentage in different economic classes and no. and percentage found to be below the Poverty Datum Line.

Economic Class	Class No.	Total Households	No. in Poverty	% in each Class in Poverty
No earner	1	10	10	100.0
No adult male earner	2	25	23	92.0
One adult male earner in regular work with				
(a) no other earner	3(1)	61	32	52.5
(b) subsidiary earners	4(1)	36	19	52.8
More than one adult male earner all in regular work	5(1)	7	2	28.6
One adult male earner who is				
(a) casually employed	3(2)	58	49	84.5
(b) unemployed	3(3)	15	14	93.3
More than one adult male earner				
(a) all casually employed	5(2)	2	1	50.0
(b) either casual or unemployed	5(4)	7	7	100.0
(c) at least one in regular employment and at least one casually employed or unemployed	5(5)	8	3	37.5
Total Households.		229	160	71.1

(1) In table 36, the basis of classification was the total number of adult male earners instead of the total number of families. It was necessary to adopt this method because there were some families (Class 5(5)) who had at least one adult male earner in regular work as well as at least one in casual work or unemployed. This is a departure from the classification used by the Merseyside Survey because their method was not as accurate, in that they placed those families in Class 5 with one adult male earner in regular employment in the "regular workers" class and the other adult male earners in the family remained unclassified.

The purpose of table 37 above and table 38 below is to show the effect upon the poverty status of the family exerted by:-

- (a) the kind of work performed by adult male earners
- (b) the absence of adult male earners.

TABLE 38.

The table below shows the percentage of families below the Poverty Datum Line in the different economic classes. (P.S.)

Economic Class	Class No.	% of all Households.	% of all Households in Poverty.
No earner	1	4.4.	6.2
No adult male earner	2	10.9	14.4
One adult male in regular work with			
(a) No other earner	3(1)	26.6	20.0
(b) subsidiary earners	4(1)	15.7	11.9
More than 1 adult male earner all in regular work	5(1)	3.1	1.3
One adult male earner			
(a) casually employed	3(2)	25.3	30.6
(b) unemployed	3(3)	6.5	8.7
More than one adult male earner			
(a) all casually employed	5(2)	.9	.6
(b) all either casual or unemployed	5(4)	3.1	4.4.
(c) at least one in regular employment and at least one casually employed or unemployed	5(5)	<u>3.5</u>	<u>1.9</u>
Total Households		100.0	100.0

- (a) Families with no earner or no adult male earner:  
Class 1. 2.

All the families without any earner at all were in poverty. They constituted a small group, forming

4.4 per cent of all households investigated but account for 6.2 per cent of all poverty.

The above statistics tend to show that the people living in Parkwood have to depend on the earnings of their own labour if they wish to avoid poverty. This generally applies to the bulk of people living in Western Civilised Society. The results of the Merseyside Survey and the University of Bristol Social Survey add weight to the above statement. Their results may be compared with the Parkwood figures because in all three cases the same classification was used. In the Merseyside Survey, Class 1 formed 6.2 per cent of all the families sampled but accounted for no less than 17.8 per cent of the families below the poverty line. Of all the families sampled 16.1 per cent were in poverty but practically one half of the families lacking any earner were in poverty. In the Bristol Social Survey the class where there was no earner formed 10.7 per cent of all families investigated but accounted for 23.2 per cent of families below the needs standard.

In Class 2 where there was no adult male earner in Parkwood the position was much the same. It is a bigger class (10.9 per cent of all households) and accounted for 14.4 per cent of all the households in poverty. 92.0 per cent of all the households in this class were in poverty. In both the other surveys, the proportion of families in poverty in this class was greater than its proportion of all families investigated.

(b) Families with one or more adult male earner in regular employment: Class 3(1), 4(1) 5(1), 5(5).

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I have included Class 5(5) (Class where there

is at least one adult male in regular employment and at least one in casual work or unemployed). These four classes formed almost half of all the households in Parkwood.

The relatively better economic position of those families where there was an adult male worker in regular work is reflected in the two preceding tables. Table 37 shows that these were the classes where the percentage of householders in poverty was least. Table 38 shows that these classes constituted 48.9 per cent of all the households investigated but formed 35.1 per cent of all households in poverty. It is the only example where the share of economic classes in the total amount of poverty was less than proportionate to their share in the total population. In Merseyside these classes (61.8 per cent of all families sampled) constituted but 5.5 per cent of the total of families which were below the poverty line.

Arising from the comparison of the Parkwood figures with the Merseyside Survey figures are two very important facts. They are:-

- (a) There was a very much smaller percentage of adult male earners in Parkwood in regular work.
- (b) The amount of poverty in Merseyside in the classes which have regular adult male earners in the family was practically negligible. In Parkwood it was 35 per cent.

The Merseyside Survey, after analysing its figures, states that the inference is, that the present day destitution is not normally due to the lowness of wage rates. Poverty usually comes to a man not because

he is underpaid but because he is underworked. In Parkwood it may be stated that poverty usually comes to a man either because he is underworked or, when in regular work, underpaid. This fact is further commented upon in the discussion under the next heading.

(c) (1) Families with one adult male earner casually employed or unemployed.  
(Class 3(2), 3(3)).

(11) Families with more than one adult male earner where both were casually employed or at least one was unemployed. (Class 5(2), 5(4)).

These classes together constituted 35.8 per cent of the population but accounted for only 4.3 per cent of the total households in poverty. In the Merseyside Survey this whole class represents 21.8 per cent of all the families sampled but contributed 63.2 per cent to the total families below the poverty line. In Merseyside the position was clear.- When a man had regular work his family had approximately a 95 per cent chance to be above the poverty line. When the male adult earner was casually employed or unemployed then the family has less than a 40 per cent chance of not being in poverty. In Parkwood there was not this definite distinction between the economic position of the families where there was an adult male fully employed and where there was an adult male in casual work or unemployed. If the adult male was in regular work then the chance that he would not be in poverty was about 65 per cent and if he was not in regular employment, then the family's chance of not being in poverty was 53 per cent.

CLASS 5(5).

This Class where there was more than one

adult male worker and at least one in regular work, and at least one unemployed or in casual work was included in this table but it must be noted that there are two opposite factors present in one family and it is not possible to separate the influence of one from the other.

Relative Rates of Unemployment and Casual Work.

To avoid having some male earners unclassified the adult male earners were considered as the unit and not the household. The table below shows the distribution of all adult male earners who were not in regular employment in their economic class according to whether they were unemployed or casually employed at the time of investigation.

TABLE 39.

ALL ADULT MALE EARNERS NOT IN REGULAR EMPLOYMENT.

<u>CASUAL</u>	<u>UNEMPLOYED</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
75	25	100

The number of adult male earners who were casually employed was exactly three times as great as the number unemployed. The position was different in both Merseyside and Bristol according to the respective local surveys. The figures are not strictly comparable for in this case a different classification was used for Parkwood but nevertheless in each case the figures, no matter how they are expressed, clearly indicate the situation. In Merseyside the percentage of families

where the chief earner was unemployed was 10.1 and where he was casually employed was 11.7. In the Bristol Survey it is stated that casual work was not an important cause of poverty but that unemployment was one of the two important factors associated with poverty.

This, however, does not mean that in Parkwood unemployment was an unimportant factor connected with poverty. More than 70 per cent of the population of Parkwood was below the poverty line and although the number of adult male earners doing casual work was much greater than the number unemployed, unemployment in Parkwood compared to other places has a high incidence. In Merseyside which is known as a "depressed area" the percentage of families where the chief earner was unemployed was 10.1 of all families sampled. In Parkwood 10.1 per cent of all adult male earners and 13.3 per cent of all earners were unemployed.

In Parkwood therefore the chief factor associated with poverty were:-

- (a) The absence of an adult male earner.
- (b) The unemployment of an adult male earner and the subsidiary earners.
- (c) The mainly casual type of work done by the adult male earner.
- (d) The low wages earned by many adult male earners even in regular employment.

CHAPTER V.

HOUSING.

Figures 3, 4 & 5 represent photographs of typical dwellings found in Parkwood Estate.



Fig 3



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

CHAPTER V.HOUSINGSection I.

"The housing conditions taken as a whole under which the Coloured communities throughout the Union are living to-day, (1) can only be described as deplorable".

Parkwood is a "pondokkie" settlement, the dwellings being home-made, single storied wood and iron structures, often with the earth as a floor. Some of the dwellings have windows but the majority have apertures which are stuffed with paper and sacking when the weather is cold. In many instances, cooking is done over an open fire in an uncovered wind break, but there are quite a number of pondokkies which have a room partitioned off which is used as a kitchen. Most of the houses are very barely furnished; the hire purchase system of buying furniture, so widespread among the urban Coloured population, has not, on the whole, been adopted in Parkwood. It is seldom that each person has his individual bed, in fact it is not considered unusual to sleep on the floor.

A few of the inhabitants own wells which supply the community with the necessary water, the owners charging the consumers a small monthly fee. Not one of the homes have adequate facilities for washing, let alone a bathroom.

There is no sanitary service whatsoever. The inhabitants themselves have, in some cases, erected small out-houses containing paraffin tins.

From every aspect, the housing conditions in Parkwood are deplorable. Structurally, the homes are unsatisfactory, for they provide little protection

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(1) Report on the Cape Coloured Commission, Paragraph 674.

against the weather, and of necessity have improper ventilation and insufficient light. The lack of sanitary arrangements and the existence of wells open to contamination are both conducive to disease and the spread of disease. Such dreary, drab living conditions must indeed have a depressing effect on the health and spirit of the people of Parkwood.

An Estate Company which owns the area "Parkwood Estate", has divided the land into plots and is selling them on the hire-purchase system for a price varying from £40 to £60. The buyers of the land usually build their own homes so they have to pay for the land only, the usual monthly instalment being between 10s. and 12s. after paying a deposit of £1.

At the time of investigation, about half of the households were living on land they were buying, 42 per cent were paying rent and the remaining 7 per cent were living rent free. A few Parkwood inhabitants were buying more than one plot and renting it. A number of families had paid the purchase price for the land, but it was not theirs as they could not afford to pay the high transfer fees which amounted to about £17. Those who were living rent free, were usually married children staying with their parents, or occasionally they were aged persons living with kindly friends.

The rentals paid were low in comparison with the rentals paid by the Coloured people in Ward 7. In table 40 it will be seen that 10s. to 15s. was the monthly rental of more than half of those households who were classified as "paying rent".

TABLE 40

(P.S.)

Monthly Rent Shillings	HOUSEHOLDS PAYING RENT	
	No.	%
0 and under 5	3	3.3
5 " " 10	16	16.5
10 " " 15	54	55.7
15 " " 20	12	12.3
20 " " 25	9	9.3
25 " " 30	2	2.1
30 " " 35	1	1.0
Total Households	97	100.0

When one considers the disadvantages of living in Parkwood, then it is realised that it is the low rental only, which is the attracting feature. For who would rent a dwelling which is only a shelter in good weather? Who would live in a place where there is no lighting or sewerage or where there is no drainage system to prevent the partial flooding which occurs every winter? Who would live in a place which lacks public transport facilities and which has no local amusement places whatever? Clearly, only those who have no choice.

Section II.OVERCROWDING.

At the time of investigation there were 229 households but only 179 occupied dwellings. This, in itself, may in no way be taken as an indication of overcrowding, because on the one hand, a single individual may have constituted a family, according to the definition adopted, while on the other hand, lodgers boarding with a family were included as members of the household. The only way to find out whether the accommodation of the homes were adequate was to apply a standard, admittedly arbitrary, and see whether it meets the requirements as set out.

Two types of standards were adopted, an Occupancy standard and a Bedroom standard.

I. The Occupancy Standard.

So that this type of standard might be employed, the members of the household were first reduced to equivalent-adult units in accordance with the "Manchester Standard"<sup>(1)</sup> i.e. persons aged 10 or over were counted as one unit, and persons under 10 as half a unit. Two alternative standards were then employed to test the adequacy of the rooms available for occupation viz. a low standard and a higher standard.

- (a) The Merseyside Average Occupancy Standard (low).
- (b) The British Overcrowding Census Standard (higher.)

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(1) Drawn up by the Manchester Public Health Committee 1921.

- (a) Merseyside Occupancy Standard allows  
 in one room the maximum of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  persons  
 in two rooms the maximum of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  persons  
 in three rooms the maximum of 4 persons  
 in four rooms the maximum of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  persons  
 in five rooms the maximum of 8-10 persons  
 in six rooms the maximum of  $10-12\frac{1}{2}$  persons
- (b) The British Overcrowding Census Standard allows:  
 in one room the maximum of 2 persons  
 in two rooms the maximum of 3 persons  
 in three rooms the maximum of 5 persons  
 in four rooms the maximum of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  persons  
 in five rooms the maximum of 10 persons  
 in six rooms the maximum of 12 persons

## II. The Bedroom Standards.

(a) High Bedroom Standard<sup>(1)</sup> is based on the following rules:-

- (i) a separate bedroom shall be available for each married couple to be shared at most with children of either or both sexes aged less than seven.
- (ii) excepting husband and wife, no two persons of opposite sex who are both over seven shall occupy the same bedroom.

(b) Middle Bedroom Standard<sup>(2)</sup> requires the

- (i) segregation of persons of opposite sex over ten years of age unless living together as husband and wife.

(c) Low Bedroom Standard<sup>(3)</sup> requires the

- (i) separation of persons of opposite sexes over twelve years of age unless living together as husband and wife.

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(1) Definitions adopted from the Cape Town Social Survey.

(2) " " " " " " " "

(3) " " " " " " " "

As it is difficult to give one single definition for the term "bedroom", the following three definitions, one high, one middle and one low:

- (a) a bedroom is defined as any room used exclusively for sleeping
- (b) a bedroom is defined as any room used for sleeping, but not necessarily exclusively for sleeping.
- (c) a "potential bedroom" is defined as any room in the house

were adopted and applied to the two overcrowding standards.

Both the Occupancy and the Bedroom standards measure overcrowding only in terms of persons per room or per bedroom. They do not take into account the square footage of floor space per person or the cubic footage of breathing space per person. This is important when the overcrowding status of the Parkwood households is compared with households in other areas, particularly in urban areas. It will be seen, for instance, that the overcrowding among the Coloured people in Ward 7, Cape Town, was found to be only slightly less than the overcrowding among the people at Parkwood. But it must be realised that in Parkwood, "a room" was often only a small compartment partitioned off by sacking.

#### I. The Occupancy Standard:

According to the low standard, viz. the Merseyside, it was found that 36.7 per cent of all households in Parkwood were overcrowded. According to the high standard, viz. the British Overcrowding

Census Standard 45.0 per cent were overcrowded. In Ward 7 among the Coloured People 34 per cent of all households were found, according to the low standard, overcrowded. (1) The tables below show the extent of overcrowding which existed in Parkwood according to the three Bedroom Standards.

II. (a) Applying the definition that "a bedroom is any room used exclusively for sleeping".

TABLE 41

Standard	Households %
Fails low	46.8
Fails middle	52.0
Fails high	63.8
Fails none	36.2

Employing both the strict definition (a) of a bedroom and the high Bedroom Standard, 63.8 per cent of all households in Parkwood were found to be overcrowded.

(b) Applying the definition that "a bedroom is any room used for sleeping, but not exclusively for sleeping".

TABLE 42.

Standard	Households %
Fails low	20.1
Fails middle	25.8
Fails high	38.0
Fails none	62.0

(1) Figure supplied by the Director of the Cape Town Social Survey.

This table shows that when a room may be used for both sleeping and living purposes and yet be counted as a bedroom the proportion of households was only 38.0 per cent as compared with 63.8, per cent (the proportion overcrowded according to definition (a)).

(c) Applying the definition that "a 'potential bedroom' is any room in the house"

TABLE 43

Standard	Households %
Fails low	9.7
Fails middle	12.3
Fails high	18.8
Fails none	81.2

When any room in the house may be used for sleeping purposes, 18.8 per cent of the households were overcrowded according to the high Standard. Only 9.7 per cent may be classified as overcrowded, according to the low standard requirements.

To sum up:- From these three tables, 41, 42 and 43 it may be seen that when the most lenient definition (c) of a bedroom is applied to the low Standard, only 9.7 per cent of the households in Parkwood were found to be overcrowded; if the middle definition (b) for a bedroom was applied to the low Standard, 20.1 per cent were found to be overcrowded and finally, when the strictest bedroom definition (a) was applied to the low Standard as much as 46.8 per cent were found to be overcrowded.

The high Bedroom Standard, viz. Bedroom Standard A, will be applied to the three definitions

of a bedroom. It was found that according to the strict bedroom definition (a), 63.8 per cent of the households were overcrowded; using the middle bedroom definition (b) 38.0 per cent were overcrowded; and only 18.8 per cent were overcrowded using the lenient bedroom definition (c).

Thus the tables show that when the high Bedroom Standard is applied to the strict bedroom definition (a) 63.8 per cent of the households are classified as overcrowded, and when the low Bedroom Standard is applied to the lenient bedroom definition (c) only 9.7 per cent of the households are classified as overcrowded.

Table 44 shows the extent of overcrowding according to the low Occupancy and Bedroom Standards.

TABLE 44.

Standard	Households %
Fails Bedroom but not Occupancy	4.8
Fails Occupancy but not Bedroom	21.0
Fails both Bedroom and Occupancy	15.3
Fails neither Bedroom nor Occupancy	<u>58.9</u>
All Households	100.0

15.3 per cent failed both the low standards while 59 per cent failed neither.

Section III.POVERTY AND OVERCROWDING.

It is regarded as an accepted fact that poverty and overcrowding are closely linked. It is true that overcrowding may be found in relatively well-to-do areas but this is generally unusual. Temporary circumstances such as a housing shortage or an increase in the size of the family may give rise to it. Should overcrowding exist, however, among the higher income groups, it is improbable that the proportion of houses overcrowded would be as high as it is among lower income groups such as Parkwood.

To find out who were the families overcrowded and what their poverty status was, all the households in Parkwood will again be divided into economic classes, this time, showing for each class, the proportion according to the low Occupancy Standard, overcrowded and in poverty.

Relation of Poverty and Overcrowding to Economic Class.

For the purpose of analysis the economic classes <sup>(1)</sup> have been reduced to three broad groups, as follows:-

1. Households with no adult male earner.
2. Households with one or more adult male earner in regular employment.
3. Households with one or more adult male earner in casual employment or unemployed.

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(1) c.f. Chapter IV Page 73.

Table 45 will show the proportion of households overcrowded in each economic class and the proportion below the poverty line.

TABLE 45.

(P.S.)

Group	Economic Class	Class No.	% in each class in poverty.	% in each Class overcrowded.
1.	No earner	1	100.0	20.0
	No adult Male earner	2	92.0	28.0
2.	One adult male earner in regular work, with			
	(a) no other earners	3(1)	52.5	32.8
	(b) subsidiary earners	4(1)	52.8	41.7
	More than one adult male earner			
	(a) all in regular work	5(1)	28.6	57.1
	(b) at least one in regular work	5(5)	37.5	62.5
3.	One adult male earner who is			
	(a) casually employed	3(2)	84.5	39.6
	(b) unemployed	3(3)	93.3	22.2
	More than one adult male earner			
	(a) all casually employed	5(2)	(1) 50.0 <sup>(1)</sup>	(1) ---
	(b) all casually employed or unemployed	5(4)	100.0	42.8

The following table, table 46, shows the extent of poverty and overcrowding in each class as expressed as a percentage of the total amount of poverty and overcrowding respectively. From these tables it is possible to see at a glance which particular economic class experiences a high or low degree of poverty and overcrowding.

(1) The absolute figures in this Class were too small to have any statistical significance.

TABLE 46.

(P.S.)

Group	Economic Class	Class No.	% of all households in poverty	% of all households overcrowded
1.	No earner	1	6.3	2.4
	No adult male earner	2	14.4	8.3
2.	One adult male earner in regular work, with			
	(a) no other earners	3(1)	20.0	23.8
	(b) subsidiary earners	4(1)	11.9	17.9
	More than one adult male earner			
	(a) all in regular work	5(1)	1.3	4.8
	(b) at least one in regular work	5(5)	11.8	5.9
3.	One adult male earner who is			
	(a) casually employed	3(2)	30.6	27.3
	(b) unemployed	3(3)	8.8	5.9
	More than one adult male earner			
	(a) all casually employed	5(2)	.6 <sup>(1)</sup>	--- <sup>(1)</sup>
	(b) all casually employed or unemployed	5(4)	<u>4.4</u>	<u>3.6</u>
TOTAL economic Classes			say 100	say 100

(1) Households with no adult male earner  
(Class No. 1 and 2.)

This group includes the class with no earner at all, in which every household was in poverty but only 20.0 per cent overcrowded. This class accounted for 6.3 per cent of all poverty but only 2.4 per cent of all overcrowding.

This position was much the same in Class 2 (no adult male earner) where 92.0 per cent of the households were in poverty, a proportion higher than the pro-

(1) The absolute figures in this class were too small to have any statistical significance.

portion for all households while the proportion overcrowded was less than the proportion for all households, namely, 28.0 per cent in contrast with 36.7 per cent.

These facts show that in this group the households were almost invariably in poverty and relatively seldom overcrowded.

- (2) Households with one or more adult male earner in regular employment (Class No.3(1), 4(1), 5(1) and 5(5)).

This group formed 48.9 per cent of all households in Parkwood, accounted for 35.0 per cent of all households in poverty and 52.4 per cent of all households overcrowded. This group was in the best economic position and worst position in relation to overcrowding. Table 45 shows that in this group the class with the single adult male earner in regular work and no subsidiary earner was the only class where the proportion of overcrowded households (32.8 per cent) was less than the average for all households (36.7 per cent). In the class where there was one adult male earner in regular work with a subsidiary earner, the proportion of households overcrowded was 41.7 per cent and where there was more than one male adult earner, and all were in regular employment, 57.1 per cent of the households were overcrowded.

In this group there appears to be a direct negative association between poverty and overcrowding.

The degree of negative association between poverty and overcrowding in this group was discovered to be still higher in Merseyside. It was found that this group contributed only 5.5 per cent to the total

poverty and as much as 54 per cent to the total overcrowding.

- (3) Households with one or more adult male earner, who was either casually employed or unemployed. Class No. 3(2), 3(3), 5(2), 5(4).

This group contributed 44.4 per cent to total poverty and 36.8 per cent to the total overcrowding in Parkwood. In Merseyside the relative amount of overcrowding and poverty was more marked; there it was found that this group accounted for 63.2 per cent of the households in poverty and 34.8 per cent of the households who were overcrowded.

This analysis shows that poverty and overcrowding are associated but not invariably. Table 47 which shows the extent of overcrowding, firstly, among those families in poverty and secondly, among those families not in poverty, will further illustrate this point.

TABLE 47.

(P.S.)

CLASS	HOUSEHOLDS		TOTAL
	% Overcrowded in each Class	% Not overcrowded in each Class	
In Poverty	40.0	60.0	100
Not in Poverty	29.0	71.0	100

In Parkwood 60 per cent of those households in poverty were not overcrowded, and 71 per cent of those households not in poverty were not overcrowded. In the Cape Town Social Survey the association between poverty

and overcrowding was found to be higher than in Parkwood. Using Udny Yule's coefficient of association, the association in Parkwood was found to be 25 per cent while in Ward 7 it was found to be 60 per cent. (1)

These facts together with the results of the analysis of the households in their economic classes, suggest that there are factors, other than poverty which determine the overcrowding status of a family. From Table 45 it can be seen that there was relatively little overcrowding in households where there was no adult male earner and that there was much overcrowding where there were two or more adult male earners. The former, were made up of a number of small households, usually consisting of pensionable couples, while the latter included many large sized families. The actual number of persons in a household appears to be, as might be expected an important determining factor in overcrowding.

Table 48 shows the households distributed according to the size of household and the overcrowding status (low Occupancy Standard).

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(1) Cape Town Social Survey - preliminary results.

TABLE 48

(P.S.)

No. of Persons in Household.	<u>HOUSEHOLDS</u> % Overcrowded in each Group
1	-
2	10.7
3	4.9
4	46.7
5	34.3
6	56.0
7	50.0
8	78.6
9	73.3
10 and over	87.5

In the group one person per household, there was obviously no overcrowding. In the group, two persons to a household, there was 10.7 per cent overcrowding. It may appear strange that there should be any overcrowding at all, but this arises from the joint occupancy of one room by two families. In the group, three persons to a household, the proportion overcrowded was low, the most common family structure in this group was a mother, father and young child who, according to the overcrowding standard adopted, need but one room. There is no evidence to account for the lesser degree of overcrowding among the families with five members than among families with four members, but, it seems probable, that the pressure on a growing family to enlarge the dwelling is not felt until the family consists of five members.

From table 48 emerges the important fact that in all the municipal groups with more than five members the proportion of overcrowding was much greater than the average for all households. Those household groups with six or more members, together constituted only 34.0 per cent of all households in Parkwood but 60.7 per cent of all overcrowding. Arising out of the analysis of the relation of overcrowding to poverty in the various economic classes, and, the relation of the size of household to overcrowding, are certain general conclusions. In Parkwood it was found that:-

- (a) poverty and overcrowding were associated but not invariably.
- (b) large sized families and overcrowding were almost invariably associated.
- (c) there was much poverty and relatively little over-crowding in the economic classes which contained households with no earner or no adult male earner.
- (d) there was less poverty than overcrowding in households where there were more than one adult male earner in regular employment, or one adult male earner with subsidiary earners.
- (e) there was comparatively little of both overcrowding and poverty where there was one adult male earner in regular work and no subsidiary earners. The family in this class usually consisted of a father, mother and two or three young children.
- (f) in households where there were one or more adult male earners either casually employed or unemployed the proportion overcrowded was about average, while the proportion in poverty was far above the average figure.

Overcrowding not associated with poverty.

Table 49 shows the distribution of households not in poverty according to their overcrowding status. (Low Occupancy Standard).

TABLE 49.

(P.S.)

CLASS	HOUSEHOLDS NOT IN POVERTY %
Overcrowded	29.0
Not Overcrowded	<u>71.0</u>
Total	100.0

Twenty-nine per cent of these households not in poverty, were overcrowded. An attempt will be made to find out what the reasons may have been for the failure of these households to remedy the overcrowded position. The first point to consider is what proportion of these households were able to afford better accommodation than they actually had. The full circumstances of each household, particularly information about expenditure, is not known, so the matter can only be approached theoretically by examining in detail the economic position of each overcrowded household above the poverty line. If a family is not in poverty it does not necessarily mean that it can afford better accommodation, hence a more searching criterion of ability to pay for better accommodation shall be adopted, which is as follows:-<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) Modified Merseyside Survey criterion.

(1) Neither public assistance nor any recorded charitable assistance should be included in arriving at the income of the family.

(2) Nett income (i.e. gross income less rent and cost of travel to and from work) should exceed "income needed to reach poverty line standard" by a margin of at least 10/-, before the question of ability to pay a higher rent is considered.

(3) If the nett income is at least 25 per cent above the minimum standard it is estimated that the family could probably afford better accommodation.

Applying this standard to those households not in poverty yet overcrowded in Parkwood, the following figures result:-

TABLE 50.

(P.S.)

Total number of households not in poverty yet overcrowded	20
Number of households where nett income does not exceed by 10/- the income needed to reach poverty line standard	11
Number of households where nett income exceeds the income needed to reach the poverty line standard by at least 25 per cent	9

Less than half of those families not in poverty yet overcrowded were able, according to the standards employed, to remedy their position. But further analysis of the economic circumstances of those households which according to the standard adopted, were able to afford better accommodation, revealed that their present economic status might be temporary. Although they were

households which have an income at least 25 per cent above poverty line at the time of investigation, almost half were liable at any time to have that margin substantially reduced. This uncertainty of income in the latter cases was due to the fact that not all the earning members of the household were in regular employment. The total earnings of the family, therefore, tended to fluctuate, and those families were not necessarily permanently in the "able to afford better accommodation" class.

The position, however, is further complicated by the fact that in Parkwood about 50 per cent of the families do not pay rent per room or house as is the custom of the urban working class population, but buy a plot or two of land on the hire purchase system, and build their own dwelling with the labour of the family itself. When a family moves into Parkwood its members build a house the size they think will satisfy their immediate requirements. A community which has 70 per cent of its households in poverty would not be likely to have many families who can afford to build for the future. When the family increases and the various members feel the need for altering and enlarging the dwelling, they may decide to build an extra room. This, however, involves more work and immediate expense than renting an extra room or moving to a new house.

Although the overcrowding of the households under discussion was not associated with poverty, in only a negligible number of cases could the households readily lay hands on the money immediately required for the erection of additional rooms. In Parkwood, therefore, the most decisive factor against improving living

conditions was the low and irregular earnings of the people which prevented them from putting aside part of their income for such purposes.

Section IV.THE POSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN RECEIPT OF SOCIAL SERVICE INCOME IN RELATION TO OVERCROWDING.

Twenty-seven per cent of those households receiving Social Service Income were overcrowded, a proportion less than the average for all households in Parkwood (37 per cent) and lesser still than the average for all households in poverty (40 per cent). Prima facie, this appears strange - a group of households 97 per cent of which were in poverty had comparatively little overcrowding. A further analysis, however, explains this apparent anomaly. First, it must be remembered that in Parkwood the association between poverty and overcrowding was only 24 per cent (using Udny Yule's Co-efficient of Association). Secondly, it was found that the size of the household was an important determining factor in overcrowding. From this point of view the households receiving Social Service Income had a significant and favourable size distribution. Forty-four per cent of these households had no more than three members to a household and it was found that households with one, two or three members had lower percentages of overcrowding than any of the groups of larger families. When considering all the households in Parkwood it was found that those households with eight or more members accounted for more overcrowding than any other group. Those households with eight or more members to a family constituted 16 per cent of all households in Parkwood, 27 per cent of all households not receiving Social Service Income and 12 per cent of all households receiving Social Service Income.

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Table 51 illustrates the above information.  
It shows the percentage distribution of

- (a) All households in Parkwood
- (b) The households which received Social Service Income according to the size of the household.

TABLE 51.

(P.S.)

No. of Persons in Household	HOUSEHOLDS	
	All in Parkwood % in each group	All receiving Social Service Income % in each group.
1	5.2)	12.0)
2	12.2)	16.0)
3	17.5)	16.0)
4	15.3	9.0
5	15.3	18.0
6	10.9	16.0
7	7.0	3.0
8	6.1)	6.0)
9	6.6)	6.0)
10	3.5)	- )
TOTAL	say 100	say 100

CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATION.

CHAPTER VI.  
E D U C A T I O N

Parkwood is a typical "pondokkie" settlement, but it contains one solid concrete structure, the school. The school was opened early in 1938, and may not even be classed as a complete elementary school for it consists of only two sub-standards and four standards. (1)

The school was established as a result of the efforts of the Methodist Church with the co-operation of the Union Department of Education. As is the rule with all Mission schools, the Church authorities are responsible for providing the building while the Departmental aid is provided in the following forms:-

- (a) In respect of the building erected or purchased by the Church, annual grants at the rate of 5 per cent on the cost of erection or purchase, or 6/6 per 12½ sq. ft. of classroom floor space, whichever is the lesser.

For the Parkwood school, the 5 per cent basis yielded the lesser amount. The building and the land cost approximately £1,200.

- (b) Payment of teachers' salaries.  
(c) 50 per cent reduction on the cost of all books issued to the children.

The local community contribute towards the upkeep of the school at the rate of half per cent per annum on the cost of the building. Since the Church

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(1) "In all provinces the elementary school consists of eight years, two sub-standards and six standards". Bulletin of Education - Statistics for the Union of South Africa 1940. P.15.

authorities took the initiative in building the school the premises are used as a church on Sundays. All money from church collections is placed in a fund to help pay the half per cent. The balance is made up by money raised at the annual bazaar and concert, conducted by the school children and the rest of the local community.

Before 1938, there were no educational facilities at all in Parkwood, so that the establishment of the local school aroused enthusiasm. 107 Children were enrolled as soon as it was opened. Today the roll contains approximately 190 children, which is very near the maximum number the school can accommodate. It appears as if in the near future prospective pupils will have to be refused admission for there are still a number of children (estimated at 22 per cent<sup>(1)</sup> of the age group 6 years to 14 years inclusive) who do not attend school.

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(1) The house-to-house investigation included an enquiry into the educational status of the children. This was during the grape season, and a number of children were recorded "as not at school" who were still on the school register and intended to resume their education. These children were not included in the total of school attenders as calculated from the house-to-house investigation. Later in the year the school register contained a total of 16 more children than had been recorded as school attenders. Working on the assumption that half the number of children who had been working returned to school, I estimate the number of bona fide pupils at the local school in the first half of the year to be 182. The number of the age group 6-14 years inclusive attending other schools was 22. The total number of children in this age group was 263; the proportion not attending school was thus calculated to be 22 per cent.

The age group 6-14 years inclusive was chosen for the following reasons.

(a) 6 Years as the lower limit.

It is quite a common practice among the Coloured children as it is among the European children to commence school before the age of 7 years. In the Report of the Cape Coloured Commission a table was presented showing the distribution by ages and standards of Coloured pupils in Primary Schools in the Cape Province. The table showed that there were, 3,943 school-going Coloured children under the age of 7 years<sup>(1)</sup>

In Parkwood 20 of the 45 children of 6 years of age attended school.

(b) 14 Years as the Upper limit.

According to the figures published in the Report of the Cape Coloured Commission, the median age for Std. IV for the Coloured children in the Cape Province was 13.36 years.<sup>(2)</sup> For Parkwood 14 years was chosen as the upper limit because the school has been established only recently and the ages for the corresponding standard are found to be above the average for the Cape Province.

The Parkwood school is essentially a local school. It is situated in the heart of the settlement. It is attended by no children from any area other than Parkwood.

(1) Vide page 146. Report of the Cape Coloured Commission.

(2) Vide page 148. " " " " "

There were, however, 24 children who for various reasons attended schools outside the community. In some cases the reasons were that the children began attending schools before the establishment of the local school. The other cases, for religious reasons the parents preferred the children to attend a particular denominational school. The remaining children were those who continued their education beyond Standard IV.

In Parkwood, the progress of school children is considerably retarded by irregular attendance. The Cape Coloured Commission Report showed that the median age for Coloured children in any given standard in the Cape Province in 1935 was invariably higher than that of European children.<sup>(1)</sup> The Commission considered that it was irregular attendance together with other factors such as large classes, inadequate supply of books, that gave rise to the age difference. Both these factors operate in Parkwood. The children are frequently kept at home to mind the baby or cook the food because there is nobody else in charge. There is no doubt that children sometimes stay away from school for quite trivial reasons, especially as the detrimental effect of repeated absence on a child's progress is not generally realised by parents. But the major reasons for prolonged absence from school is economic.

This is clearly seen during the months of November to March or April when grapes are in season. During these months the farmers within 6 or 7 miles of Parkwood require a large number of extra workers to pick

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(1) Vide page 148. Report of the Cape Coloured Commission.

and pack the grapes. The Principal of the school estimated that about 20 pupils, that is over 10 per cent of the total number of pupils left school in the season 1939-1940 to go and work for various periods between November and March. As 70 per cent of the households were in poverty, it is clear that there was a strong inducement for parents to send their children to work in the fields and augment the family income by 7/6d. to 10/- per week. Not all of these children return to school.

In Parkwood there were six children, three male and three female, who had continued their education after Std. IV. (P.S.) Five of the children were in Standard V and the remaining one in Std. VIII. This number is strikingly small, and its smallness may be accounted for by two main reasons closely related:-

- (1) The nearest secondary school, Livingstone High School is about 5 miles distant.
- (2) 70 per cent of the households in Parkwood had incomes below subsistence level so that the train fares were an unattainable luxury.

These impediments to further education could be considerably reduced by extending the local school to at least Std. VI and preferably VIII. Parents would be more willing to allow their children to continue their education if local facilities were provided.

The importance of extending the educational facilities at the local school should be emphasised. There is, in the first place, the economic aspect. Elementary education up to Std. IV automatically excludes the majority of the younger generation from all occupations but that of unskilled work. To enter a

skilled trade the minimum education required is Std. VI certificate; to become a teacher (the most common profession among the Coloured Population) the candidate must have passed Std. VIII. The education provided in Parkwood thus at best permits entry to regular unskilled work and leads more frequently to casual and blind-alley work (hawking, acting as delivery boys, seasonal grape-picking).

For the female workers it means restriction to charring, domestic work, or grape-picking. It is true that in any case there are few opportunities for Coloured girls to enter skilled trades or the professions, but the limited education given them hardly fits them even for factory work.

As might be expected, serious social and moral effects have arisen from this economic situation. An analysis of the occupational status of adult sons whose fathers were working revealed the significant fact that the distribution of occupations was the same as that of the fathers. (80 per cent of the male heads of families were in the unskilled trades). In other words, the working population of Parkwood comprised a caste of unskilled workers mainly casual. This is largely due to lack of educational opportunity to rise in the socio-economic scale.

The mere fact of school attendance, apart from the economic opportunities provided by education, acts as moral discipline, especially in such a backward community as that of Parkwood. Teachers and parents testify to the appreciable improvement in the general behaviour of the children since the school was set up and that there is now less hooliganism; fighting and

rowdiness, which means in the end a higher level of social morality.

Finally, there is the all important "character-forming" function of education. The intrinsic value of knowledge (however elementary) coupled with the economic and social value of the Std. VI certificate, go very far in increasing self-respect, integrity, and moral responsibility.

The educational level of any particular community is, it must be remembered, not only a local problem: "considered merely from the point of view of expenditure, it (education) is by far the greatest government undertaking, and under the democratic system it is in the human sense, pre-eminently the factor that determines the future of the country and the nation."<sup>(1)</sup>

It would be in the moral, and economic interests of Parkwood itself, and of a wider community, if

- (a) the number of standards in the school in Parkwood were extended to at least VI but preferably Std. VIII.
- (b) the number of teachers and classrooms were so increased that each teacher had a maximum of 40 pupils, instead of more than 60, as at present.

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(1) U.G. 51, 1938. Report of Union Department of Education.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL SERVICE INCOME.

CHAPTER VII.S O C I A L S E R V I C E I N C O M E

Charity is a time-honoured custom. When no source of income is available to a person, society accepts the responsibility of providing means of subsistence. This has been an accepted practice for many centuries. In fact, the care of the sick and the needy may be regarded as the oldest public social service. Even before there was any deliberate organization for the destitute, there was always provision.

Professors Queen and Harper<sup>(1)</sup> in an historical survey trace the development of social work from the beginning to its graduation into professional service. They recognise seven stages, the first stage and the oldest form of social work being that of simple neighbourliness. It is as old as society itself and Man is inherently a social animal. "No matter how far we go in culture there is Society. In a sense, indeed, Society antedates the individual."<sup>(2)</sup>

Simple neighbourliness was practised when people lived together in primary groups, when they spent their whole lives together in small isolated communities. If, therefore, misfortune befell an individual who lived in a primitive settlement, he was helped, as a matter of course, by his neighbours.

With the expansion of trade and the increase of population social life became more complicated. The simple, haphazard method of giving assistance to the needy no longer sufficed. Organization was necessary.

(1) American Charities and Social Work.  
Warner, Queen and Harper.

(2) Anthropology by A. A. Goldenweiser.

The method of dealing with those in need passed through many stages of development. There was first the period of indiscriminate benevolent aid followed by an era of repressive legislation which, in turn, was largely superseded by a wave of middle-class philanthropy and humanitarianism. It was, however, only in the present century that social work began to be organized on scientific lines. It was only in this century that it began to be realised that the problem of poverty was a problem of economics and not of ethics; that emphasis should be placed on the particular factor associated with the person's destitution rather than the destitution status of the person. It was found out, more often than not, that it was the social institution which was at fault and not the character of the person. It was urged, therefore, that specialised services such as health, education and mental hygiene be introduced and made available to members of all social and economic classes. This was to be made a practical possibility by the introduction of social case work, which represents "both historically and analytically the introduction into social work of the scientific mode of thought".<sup>(1)</sup>

Side by side with the change of attitude towards the procedure and scope of social work was a parallel change of objective.

Opinion as to what the aim of social work should be, has advanced far from the times when the main function of charity organizations was regarded as the granting of minimum relief to avoid death from

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(1) Phillip Klein Social Case Work Encyclopaedia  
Social Sciences.

starvation. The Union Department of Social Welfare defines the fundamental aim of social work as "the social adjustment of the individual in the community so as to ensure the realisation in every citizen of his fullest potentialities for social and individual good. The particular concern of social work is the socially maladjusted person and its methods include the prevention of maladjustment through the removal of causes, and the treatment of the social degenerate with a view to his re-establishment on an independent basis in the community".

If this objective is to be achieved, social work must make provision for the maintenance, stimulus and habilitation of the individual concerned. (1) That relief aiming at mere maintenance has long been considered inadequate is reflected in numerous reports written on the subject of poverty and social services in South Africa. (2), (3), (4), (5)

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- (1) The Social Services: Discrimination and counteraction. Article by Prof. E. Batson in Race Relations Vol. 7 No.2.
- (2) "A paradox of poor relief that has become a common plan of social work is that relief aiming only at maintenance may lead to deterioration. Vide "The Human resources of South Africa: Sociological aspects: with special reference to preventative measures through Social Work". S.A. Journal of Science Vol. XXXVI Page 527 Dec. 1939 by Prof. E. Batson.
- (3) A programme directed towards these ends is a far cry from the mere mitigation of the material effects of poverty. c.f. Report of the Department of Social Welfare V.G. 15 1940.
- (4) Kimberley Conference.
- (5) Carnegie Report.

In the light of the above discussion it will be interesting to analyse the effect of the social services on the socio-economic status of those households in Parkwood which receive such income.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS RECEIVING SOCIAL SERVICE INCOME.

In Parkwood 33 households were recorded as receiving social service incomes (P.S.), 32 of them below the poverty line when the extra income was not included. (1)

The table below shows the socio-economic distribution excluding the social service income of those households which received such income.

TABLE 52.

(P.S.)

Class	No. of Households which receive Social Service Income
Certainly below the Poverty Datum Line	30
On the margin below the Poverty Datum Line	2
On the margin above the Poverty Datum Line	-
Certainly above the Poverty Datum Line	1
Total Households	33

It can be seen at a glance that almost all the

(1) In this case the social service income (in the form of an Old Age pension) was granted to one particular member of the family who had no other means, but when all the members had pooled their resources the household was found not to be in poverty.

households were not only in poverty but "certainly in poverty".

The following table will show how small was the change in economic position with the inclusion of the social service income.

TABLE 53.

(P.S.)

Class	No. of households which received social service income
Certainly below the Poverty Datum Line	21
On the margin below the Poverty Datum Line	9
On the margin above the Poverty Datum Line	1
Certainly above the Poverty Datum Line	2
Total Households	33

Of the two households which have been raised above the poverty line, only one had an adequate income. In this particular household, two members received Old Age pensions

Excluding the social service income, 91 per cent of the families were certainly in poverty. With the inclusion of the extra income 64 per cent of the households were certainly in poverty.

From the above figures, it appears as if the effect of social services is rather to lessen the degree of poverty than to remedy the poverty status.

THE AMOUNT OF SOCIAL SERVICE INCOMES GRANTED IN RELATION TO THE EXTENT OF POVERTY WHICH EXISTS IN PARKWOOD.

Seventy per cent of the households were found to be in poverty. Fourteen per cent of all households had at least one member in receipt of social service income. The proportion of households in poverty receiving such income was 20 per cent.

The above information is expressed in tabular form below:-

TABLE 54.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(P.S.) (3) as a % of (2)
(a) All households	229	33	14%
(b) Households in poverty including Social Service Income	160	30	20%
(b) as % of (a)	70%	97%	-

TYPES OF SOCIAL SERVICE INCOMES GRANTED TO PARKWOOD INHABITANTS:

These social services were extended to the following number of households living in Parkwood:-

TABLE 55.

Type of Social Service	(P.S.) No. of Households
Old Age Pension	28
Board of Aid Grant	3
Blind Pension	1
Board of Aid and Blind Pension	<u>1</u>
Total	33

The above table regards the household as the recipient unit. The grant from the Board of Aid was specifically a family grant but in the other cases the grants were to individuals. The following table shows the number of persons receiving social service income:

TABLE 56.

	(P.S.)
Old Age Pension	37
Blind Pension	<u>2</u>
Total	39

The position in Parkwood with regard to the subject of "Social Services" may be summarized as follows:-

- (a) of all the households 70 per cent were in poverty and 14 per cent received social service income
- (b) the greater proportion of households in receipt of social service income had not been assured the basic conditions for human existence.

The above conclusions have many interesting issues of more general interest, a discussion of which will be found in Appendix C.

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

The predominant feature of Parkwood Estate is the widespread poverty with its host of concomitant factors. This community with more than 70 per cent of its inhabitants living below the "bread-line" has to face life enduring such disabilities as:-

low wages  
 irregular work  
 unskilled occupations  
 sub-standard housing  
 overcrowding  
 inadequate medical facilities  
 formidable disease incidence rates  
 lack of educational facilities  
 lack of hygienic drainage and  
 sewerage systems

Analysis of this list suggests that the problem of want may be dealt with in two ways, different, yet often operative together. The responsibility for many of these disabilities, lies entirely with the authorities concerned, whether these be municipal, provincial or governmental; yet the remedial measures attempted by those authorities can achieve little success without the active co-operation of the people themselves.

There are certain obvious examples where it is within the scope of governing bodies to exercise their authority for the promotion of better living conditions in Parkwood. Parkwood is within the municipal area, and the inhabitants have therefore the right to ask for certain essential services, such as some sort of sewerage system and the installation of storm water drainage without which annual flooding is inevitable.

Further, in view of the fact that it is the declared policy of the Health Department of Cape Town that every effort should be made to reduce the mortality and disease incidence rates of the Coloured people, the Parkwood inhabitants have the right to ask for the extension of medical and nursing services, which, to be more effective, should be rendered within the community itself. The theory that the Coloured people are physically weaker because they spring from an inferior racial stock and hence cannot benefit fully from increased medical and nursing aid has no scientific basis whatever. There is a plethora of evidence to show that the high mortality rates do not arise from any organic inferiority of a particular economic, racial, or cultural group but are rather produced by those conditions of life co-existent with poverty. (1), (2), (3)

There is no doubt that the increased application of medical science will measurably reduce the higher mortality rates of those belonging to the lower income groups. The failure to apply technical achievements of modern medicine to those groups who need it most is one example of the type of cultural lag characteristic of our society; it is in fact one of the many examples where there is maladjustment between scientific inventions and social institutions. But even then the problem in

- 
- (1) Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, Cape Town, 1938. "Poverty today is the principal cause of ill-health in our population".
  - (2) Newsholme "Vital Statistics". "Nothing is more certain than the statement that the removal of poverty would effect an enormous reduction of disease".
  - (3) Report of the Cape Coloured Commission, 1934. "It has been shown in other countries that there are striking differences between the death rates of the well-to-do and those of the poorest class".

Parkwood, as in similar communities, goes far beyond that of the availability of medical care; for where there is poverty, not only is it difficult to pay for medical advice but also the means to obtain the necessary food requirements as well as the means to secure adequate housing are insufficient. All these factors are vital in determining the health of the individual. It is thus poverty, or, to be more explicit, poverty expressed in terms of low earnings, that is the root of the problem.

Extended medical services are essential for Parkwood but their effectiveness will necessarily be reduced, not because of the inherently physical inferiority of the inhabitants, but because more than 70 per cent live in poverty, and £1.12.6d. was found to be the average weekly gross income per household. The low earnings of the Parkwood workers are closely related to their occupational status. Over 80 per cent of the working people in Parkwood were in unskilled positions, mainly employed on a casual basis. It is a fact, however, that the majority of the Coloured people in Cape Town are semi-skilled or unskilled workers. It is also a fact that most of them are not qualified to undertake any other work; hence the unskilled occupations are overcrowded, and the already low wages are further depressed. The relative ignorance and illiteracy found among the Coloured people which determines their economic status is a direct outcome of the ethnically discriminating educational policy of the Government. The lack of educational qualifications automatically excludes the bulk of the Coloured people and almost all the Parkwood people from entering even a skilled trade

and certainly from taking up clerical work or the professions.

The situation, unfortunately, is not as simple as it appears, for it is not lack of education alone which is retarding the progress of the Coloured people, but the prejudice, both insidious and direct, which operates against them. There is the "civilised labour policy", which makes no mention of ethnic groups but which has its intent only thinly veiled; there is the white labour policy, enforced by the Department of Railways and Harbours, which discriminates against the Coloured man even in unskilled grades; there is the policy of the Government undefined yet operative, not to employ, as a rule, a Coloured person in any position other than unskilled; there is the theory of differential wages accepted by both Government Departments and private employees and practised in all spheres of work, unskilled, skilled and even in the teaching profession. These are formidable barriers for the Coloured people to face in their struggle for economic advancement, and the prejudice of generations cannot be expected to disappear for the asking. The initial effort/<sup>however</sup> must come from the people themselves. The first step is to equip themselves with those qualifications which will make them capable of accepting more responsible work. While it is essential that the repressive legislation directed against the Coloured people be wiped off the Statute Books, there will be no material progress unless the people are in a position to take advantage of the opportunities which might be granted. The Parkwood people, must, therefore, be given adequate local facilities to

educate themselves if they are ever to lift themselves out of their desperate poverty. It would be a reasonably simple matter, yet capable of yielding significant results, to establish a school up to the eighth standard, with proper accommodation and well-trained staff.

Irrespective of whether education were compulsory or not, prolonged school attendance on the part of the Parkwood children would demand considerable sacrifice from almost all their parents. But with encouragement from the school, the parents would soon realise that this was the beginning of their rehabilitation. The help from the school, however, must not be restricted to sympathy and encouragement but must include such practical aids as the issuing of free books, the provision of free milk and meals, and the extension of scholarships.

It would clearly be to the advantage of the youth in Parkwood that stress be laid on manual work for the boys and hygiene and domestic science for the girls. This does not mean that the Parkwood children would be receiving an inferior type of education but simply that their education would be adapted to their needs. It was found that there was only one man in Parkwood engaged in non-manual labour, and there seems to be no evidence that the next generation will experience any radical change in their occupations. The school, therefore, will have achieved much if it does no more than stimulate the youth to make a determined effort to raise themselves from their unskilled and ill-paid positions.

Apathy, lack of ambition, ignorance and alcoholism - factors often found among the economically depressed classes - must be combated with patience and sympathetic guidance. A place like Parkwood, devoid of amusements and amenities would benefit appreciably by the establishment of a settlement house which would undertake the organization of communal centres such as boys clubs, mothers sewing and knitting classes and a library. An important part of the work of a settlement house would be the establishment and supervision of a creche, the need for which is imperative when one realises that 76 per cent of the females of working age were occupied, the majority of whom were married women with children.

The Social Agencies which grant aid to a few of the needy households in Parkwood could work in close collaboration with the social workers in the settlement house and with the workers in the medical clinic which was recommended as essential for Parkwood.

In view of the fact that it was found that the high birth rate in Parkwood was a factor associated with poverty, the clinic would do invaluable work if it undertook education in birth control. The ethical basis for birth control may be taken as established. It can be argued that it is more irreligious to bring a child into the world and let it suffer distress, hunger, and cold, than to prevent the conception of the child. If in almost every sphere of human activity civilised man has attempted to control his life as far as possible by the use of foresight and planning, there seems to be no cogent reason why intelligence and science should not be applied to the fundamental problem of determining life.

The problem of housing is a difficult one for the solution commonly suggested, that of sub-economic housing, may raise a new problem as serious as the one it attempts to solve. Sub-economic housing would help only if the rent of the houses were not higher than that paid at present by the Parkwood people. Otherwise it would be better to leave them in their "pondokkies" rather than compel them to reduce the amount spent on food, their main item of expenditure.

The neglect of the Parkwood community brings one to the far wider question of the general attitude of the authorities to the Coloured community. The attitude adopted is one which far too often regards the European and Coloured communities as two separate and independent groups. This attitude is reflected in the numerous social and economic measures to be found in our Statute Books, in our provincial ordinances and municipal laws and bye-laws. This relationship between the two communities is regarded by many as axiomatic, the wisdom and fairness of which is not to be questioned. Nevertheless it is one which does not accord with the facts, for while there may be segregation in the social sphere, the Coloured section of Cape Town is an integral part of the community. A policy that disregards the fundamental truth that the two ethnic groups are inter-independent and seeks to isolate the problems of the Coloured people from those of the Europeans is bound in the long run, to be to the disadvantage of the European people themselves.

All these measures, therefore, suggested specifically for the people of Parkwood and capable of extension to the Coloured community as a whole, would ultimately benefit not only the Coloured people but the European section of the community as well.

As Booker T. Washington in his famous address to the white Southerners in America said:- "Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We (the negroes) shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic".

Even if the Coloured section is regarded merely as a reservoir of labour (which is certainly not a very humane motive) it is clear that all efforts must be exerted to lift them out of their poverty. That South Africa is impoverishing itself by squandering its human resources and that it is false economy to leave the Coloured people in their depressed condition, was implied by General Smuts in his recent address at Bloemfontein:-<sup>(1)</sup> "At last, our full man power of all races, colours and of both sexes was fully employed in a great constructive task. ... At last we shall have learned the lesson that we cannot afford to waste our human resources."

South Africa will not enjoy the development of which it is capable while there are hundreds of communities like Parkwood, dotted over the country. The extent of the poverty in South Africa is vast, and it is even held that in spite of the few efforts made by the Government, the Non-Europeans are losing ground. It is indeed later than we think ----- but not too late to think.

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(1) At the opening of the third Union Congress of the United Party (October 22nd, 1941).

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A.

THE CAPE TOWN

POVERTY DATUM LINE

By a well-established convention, based largely on the work of Bowley, the necessaries for the "minimum level of health and decency" are reckoned to include the following, and only the following:-

Food -- that quantity and variety which, taking into account age, sex, and sometimes occupation, will provide for each member of the household the calorific, protein, fat, and vitamin content, and the palatability, calculated by dieticians to be necessary for health, taking into account the established food customs of the Western World.

Housing -- see below.

Transportation of earners only between home and work.

Clothing -- the minimum for protection of health and conformity with Western custom.

Fuel and lighting -- the minimum compatible with health and conformity with Western customs.

Cleaning materials -- soap for personal and household use.

Dieticians have come to a considerable measure of agreement concerning the amount and variety of food that is necessary for health in persons accustomed to Western ways of living. A commonly-accepted standard is that an adequate diet must provide, per equivalent male adult, a daily intake of:

3,400 calories  
100 grams protein  
100 grams fat

as well as minerals and "protective" elements. Minimum dietaries are calculated by ascertaining the cheapest

combination of foodstuffs that will provide these elements, given ruling food prices and food habits.

The six groups of food-items for which the calculations have been made are the following:

1. Animal foodstuffs for at least 50 per cent. of the required protein -- meat, fish, bacon, milk, etc.
2. Cereals and pulse to make up the balance of the required protein -- bread, flour, peas, beans, barley, oatmeal, rice, etc.
3. Fats to make up the balance of the required fat -- tail fat, vegetable fat, butter, etc.
4. Sugars to make up the required calorific content.
5. Fruit and green vegetables to ensure adequate vitamin content
6. Tea and/or coffee, of no food value, but to provide stimulant.

While we thus have a more or less independent physiological basis for our estimates of the share of food in the Poverty Datum Line, we are driven to base our estimates of the share of clothing upon social considerations alone. Custom and decency determine the minima of expenditure upon clothing, not health. Here again the Cape Town Survey followed orthodox tradition in ascertaining actual local distributions of expenditure among persons of very limited means, comparing the prices paid by such persons with the (sometimes lower) prices at which standard articles of clothing were obtainable in local shops, and estimating, again on the basis of actual family budgets, the length of time which such standard articles could be made to last.)

The allowance for fuel has been based on the assumption that the cooking and room-heating would be done by wood at a cost of one shilling per week in summer and two shillings per week in winter.

(111)

The allowance for lighting has been based on (a) a minimum consumption in the one-roomed dwelling of 1 lb. of candles per week or of one kilowatt-hour of electricity per week with allowance for lamp renewals, plus (b) an additional allowance of one penny per week for each person in the household beyond the first.

The allowance for cleaning materials has been calculated at 2d per head per week.

APPENDIX B.

The population of Parkwood in the year 1936 was ascertained by the following steps:-

(a) Divide the Enumerator's Area which included Parkwood into its four well-defined sections viz:

Parkwood Estate

Golf Estate (uninhabited)

Part of Southfield Estate  
(inhabited by Europeans)

A few plots inhabited by a few Coloured families.

(b) Regard as the maximum population for Parkwood the figure given for Coloured persons for the whole Enumerator's Area, i.e. 972.

(c) Obtain minimum figure for the 1936 population by subtracting from the Coloured population living in Parkwood in 1940 the number of Coloured people who had moved into Parkwood together with the number representing the Coloured natural increase. The number of Coloured people who moved in since 1936 was 216.

The natural increase during 1936-1940 was found to be 80.

Hence the minimum population was found to be 757.

(d) Revise the maximum figure by subtracting from it an estimate for the number of Coloured people living in the Enumerator's Area but not in Parkwood, i.e. 100  
Revised maximum figure, say, 875.

(e) Revise the minimum figure by adding to it the probable number of people who had lived in Parkwood in 1936 but who had moved out some time between that year and 1940. The estimate was arbitrarily taken as 50 per cent of the number of people who had moved in, hence the revised minimum figure was 865.

(f) Take the mean between the revised maximum and revised minimum and thus obtain the final estimate for the Coloured population in Parkwood in 1936, i.e. 870

(g) Calculate the annual rate of increase between 1936 and 1940:

Let  $r$  = annual rate of increase.

$P_{1940}$  = population in 1940

$P_{1936}$  = population in 1936

Then  $P_{1936} \times (1+r)^4 = P_{1940}$

$$(1+r)^4 = \frac{1053}{870}$$

$$(1+r) = 1.049$$

$$r = 0.049, \text{ or } 4.9\%$$

(h) By geometrical interpolation obtain the estimated Coloured population of Parkwood for the years 1936-1937, 1937-1938, and 1938-1939:

$$\frac{z}{870} = 1.049$$

$$z = 1.049 \times 870$$

$$= 912.4 \text{ --- Coloured Population 1936-1937}$$

$$\frac{x}{912.4} = 1.049$$

$$x = 1.049 \times 912.4$$

$$x = 957 \text{ --- Coloured Population 1937-1938}$$

Similarly:-

$$1003 \text{ --- Coloured Population 1938-1939}$$

$$1053 \text{ --- Coloured Population 1939-1940}$$

(i) Use the above method to obtain population figures for European, Asiatics, and Natives for the years 1936-1940 inclusive.

Native, European and Asiatic Population of Parkwood:

1940	50
Since 1936, people who moved in	17
Natural increase	2
<u>Minimum Population</u>	31 ---
No. who moved out since 1936 (estimate)	9
Revised figure	39
<u>Population in 1936</u> (Mean between 31 and 40)	36 ---

Let  $r = 1.086$

The total population of Parkwood over the period of five years is:-

	<u>Mixed</u> (1)	<u>Coloured.</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
1935-1936	36	870	906
1936-1937	39	912	951
1937-1938	42	957	999
1938-1939	46	1003	1049
1939-1940	50	1053	<u>1103</u>
	<b>Total Population:</b>		<b>5008</b>

(1) European, Asiatic, Native.

## APPENDIX C.

The conclusions drawn in Chapter VII raise these questions:-

(1) Whether the granting of social services income is an effective means of reducing poverty?

This question may be dealt with briefly. The effectiveness of social services is greatly limited because South Africa, as a whole, is a poor country. The size of the national dividend is such that if it were to be divided among the total population, each person would scarcely receive the subsistence minimum. When poverty is as widespread as it is in South Africa then more fundamental methods than the granting of social services must be applied.

(2) Although social services in themselves do not remedy the greater proportion of poverty, are they being granted to those who need them most?

(3) Does the amount of social services granted to an individual or household, always fall short of that amount calculated<sup>(1)</sup> to buy the bare necessities of life?

To deal with question 2:-

The absolute number of social services available to the Non-European people in South Africa is far less than the number available to the European people. This difference in availability is pointed out in the First Report of the Department of Social Welfare (U.G.16 p.20 1940). Here it is recorded that as a result of a survey of the principal welfare organizations of the Union conducted in 1938 by the above-mentioned Department it was found that 75 per cent of the 400

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(1) According to the poverty line adopted.

organizations investigated restricted themselves to work among Europeans and 8 per cent to work among Non-Europeans. In Cape Town, where the Non-European is considered to be in a relatively fortunate position, it was found that similar discrimination is practised by the Non-Governmental social welfare organizations.<sup>(1)</sup> There are 103 such organizations and only 38.5 per cent are available to the Non-Europeans.

In view of the fact that less social services are available to that section of the community which is 80 per cent of the total population and bears a greater proportion of the total poverty,<sup>(2)</sup> the answer to question (2) is self-evident.

- 
- (1) During 1939 a Survey was undertaken by the Department of Social Science of the University of Cape Town of all private and semi-private agencies operating within the Cape Division.
- (2) The poverty incidence of the Union as a whole has not yet been computed. The position in Cape Town, however, has been ascertained (Social Survey of Cape Town). The preliminary figures on a household basis, show that 89 per cent of the total amount of poverty was borne by the Non-Europeans. There is no reason to believe that the distribution in Cape Town is any way extraordinary as compared with other large towns.

Question 3.

A study of the conditions under which the main social services in the Union are to be administered reveals the following fact:-

A Non-European is either

- (a) Not entitled to receive anything<sup>(1)</sup>
- (b) entitled to receive help but has<sup>(2)</sup>  
to be poorer than the European  
to qualify
- (c) entitled to receive help but in<sup>(3)</sup>  
all cases the maximum he may  
receive is lower than the maxi-  
mum the European may receive.

From the above, the conclusion may be drawn that where a social service remedies the poverty status of the recipient, then that recipient is probably a European.

From the analysis of the main social services in the Union, the position may be summed up as follows: where granted, the social services generally assure the subsistence minimum except when in the case of Non-Europeans.

It appears therefore, that in South Africa the widely accepted dictum that the minimum object of poor relief is to provide maintenance applies to Europeans only. The well worn argument that the conventional standard of living of the Non-European people is lower than that of the Europeans is not relevant here. The poverty line adopted is a bare

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(1) Vide Invalidity Pension Scheme.

(2) Vide Old Age Pension, Blind Pension.

(3) Vide Old Age Pension, Blind Pension, Child Welfare maintenance Grants.

(iv)

subsistence one. It has yet to be shown that a Non-European person without endangering his health could do with less food and without endangering his freedom could do with less clothes and shelter.

APPENDIX D.

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED BY THE PARKWOOD SURVEY:

(1) A HOUSEHOLD or a Family is a group of persons, or even one single person, having independent occupation of a room, tenement, flat or house. Lodgers, visitors, and resident servants are NOT SEPARATE households. But sub-tenant households are separate households and must have separate cards. A HOUSEHOLD is thus a group with a common food bill and a common rent bill.

(2) HEAD: The Head of the Household is, generally, the father of the family. This rule cannot apply when the father is dead or when he is living away from the household. Where there are two or more fathers in the Household the person responsible for paying the rent is to be taken by the investigator as the head of the Household.

Lodgers, visitors, and servants are never the Head.

Difficulties of definition may arise when the father (or other member of the family) lives away from the household, either permanently, or for periods. In such cases the investigator decides whether or not he really forms part of the household as an economic and domestic group.

If the mother is a widow she is the head unless she is a non-wage earner and has an adult son who is a wage earner.

(3) OCCUPATION IN FULL: All persons who habitually work for wages or profit one full day or more per week were entered as wage-earners.

(4) CHILDREN OF SCHOOL-GOING AGE: are those children between the ages of 6-14 years inclusive.

APPENDIX TABLE I.A.

BIRTHS: distribution by years and months.

Months	N o. o f B I R T H S					Total
	1939-40	1938-39	1937-38	1936-37	1935-36	
July	3	10	3	5	4	25
August	5	0	0	5	3	13
September	7	1	11	2	4	25
October	4	5	10	2	4	25
November	9	3	7	5	5	29
December	3	1	1	1	2	8
January	5	11	5	4	2	27
February	5	2	2	3	2	14
March	2	6	3	4	2	17
April	1	1	6	3	2	13
May	5	9	2	0	3	19
June	1	5	6	11	0	23
	50	54	56	45	33	238

TABLE II. A.

Number of Deaths in Parkwood over the Period 1935-1940  
inclusive.

Year	No. of Deaths.
1935-36	35
1936-37	26
1937-38	32
1938-39	26
1939-40	<u>36</u>
Total Deaths	155

Distribution of deaths according to age at death  
for the year 1929-1930 and 1935-1940 inclusive.

TABLE III. A.

Group Years	NUMBER of DEATHS					
	1927-30	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40
0-1	11	19	11	13	9	9
1-2	4	6	5	8	7	9
2-5	1	-	1	4	2	3
5-10	-	-	1	-	-	1
10-15	-	-	1	-	-	1
15-25	2	2	1	2	-	5
25-35	-	1	-	2	2	1
35-45	1	3	1	-	2	3
45-55	-	2	-	1	2	1
55-65	-	-	2	-	1	1
65-75	-	2	2	1	1	1
75-85	-	-	1	1	-	1
TOTAL	19	35	26	32	26	36
AVERAGE	4.9	12.8	16.8	10.3	15.0	15.4
MEDIAN	2.0	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.9	0.9

Table showing all the causes of mortality over the period 1935-1940 inclusive, expressed as absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total number of deaths.

TABLE IV.A.

Diseases	Number	% of Total Deaths
1. Bronchitis and pneumonia	38	24.5
2. Diarrhoea and Enteritis	29	18.7
3. Tuberculosis (all forms)	21	13.5
4. Syphilis	14	9.0
5. Heart and arteries	11	7.1
6. Developmental Diseases	9	5.8
7. Other infectious and parasitic diseases	8	5.2
8. Ill-defined causes	7	4.5
9. Violence	5	3.2
10. Nephritis	3	1.9
11. Convulsions	3	1.9
12. Miscellaneous	<u>7</u>	<u>4.5</u>
	155	say 100

Causes of mortality over the year 1929-1930 and the years 1935-1940 inclusive classified according to the standard adopted by the Department of Health, Cape Town.

TABLE V. A.

Code No.	Diseases	<u>1939</u> <u>1940</u>	<u>1938</u> <u>1939</u>	<u>1937</u> <u>1938</u>	<u>1936</u> <u>1937</u>	<u>1935</u> <u>1936</u>	<u>1929</u> <u>1930</u>	Total
<b>Section I. <u>Infectious and Parasitic Diseases</u></b>								
010	Whooping Cough	-	3	-	-	2	-	5
030	(T.B. of (Respiratory System	8	2	2	4	3	1	20
032	T.B. (T.B. of (intestines (and peri-tonitis	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
033	(T.B. of Spine	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
039	(Miliary T.B.	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
042	Syphilis	5	-	2	2	5	4	18
057	Other diseases due to parasitic worms	-	0	-	1	1	1	3
061	Mumps	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total		13	6	4	9	11	7	50
<b>Section II. <u>Malignant and other tumours.</u></b>								
101, 107	Cancer	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
<b>Section III. <u>Rheumatism, diseases of nutrition, of endocrine glands.</u></b>								
165	Status lymphatic	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
<b>Section IV. <u>Diseases of the Nervous System and Sense Organs.</u></b>								
301	Meningitis	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
310	Epilepsy	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
311	Infantile Convulsions (under 5 years)	1	1	1	-	-	2	5
Total		3	1	2	-	-	2	8

TABLE V.A (Continued)

Code No.	Diseases	<u>1939</u> 1940	<u>1938</u> 1939	<u>1937</u> 1938	<u>1936</u> 1937	<u>1935</u> 1936	<u>1929</u> 1930	Total
<b>Section VII <u>Diseases of the Circulatory System.</u></b>								
350-359	Heart Diseases	2	2	1	2	3	1	11
<b>Section VIII <u>Diseases of the Respiratory System</u></b>								
402-403	Bronchitis	2	3	2	2	2	1	12
404	Broncho-pneumonia	6	3	7	1	5	-	22
405-406	Pneumonia	-	-	-	1	3	2	6
<b>Total</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Section IX <u>Diseases of the Digestive System</u></b>								
456-457	Diarrhoea	5	4	4	8	8	3	32
<b>Section X <u>Non-venereal diseases of the genito-urinary system and annexa.</u></b>								
500-501	Nephritis	-	1	2	-	-	1	4
503	Pyelitis	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Section XI <u>Diseases of Pregnancy and Puerperal State.</u></b>								
556	Eclampsia	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
<b>Section XIV <u>Congenital Malformations.</u></b>								
703	Mal-development	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
<b>Section XV <u>Diseases of Early Infancy</u></b>								
750-753	Diseases peculiar to early infancy and others	2	-	5	1	1	-	9
<b>Section XVII <u>Death from Violence.</u></b>								
876-881	Accidents	3	-	1	-	1	-	5
<b>Section XVIII <u>Ill-defined Diseases.</u></b>								
951	No cause stated	5	2	1	1	-	-	9
<b>Total Deaths</b>		<b>36</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>174</b>