

Socio-Economic Evaluation

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SUMMARY

Questionnaires covering information of socio-economic importance were completed during interviews with 260 rural and 248 urban Venda males. The data obtained are discussed and presented in tabular form. Indices for income available for food, clothing and fuel on a rate per head per day basis indicate that, theoretically, expenditure on food could be increased appreciably. Owing to the difference between the two groups in respect of the proportion of food and fuel that had to be bought, it was difficult to determine the relative socio-economic status of the two groups.

The socio-economic aspect plays a major role in a multi-disciplinary study, not so much in the assessment of the actual nutrition status, but in determining the possible influence of social and economic factors on the nutrition status.

In order to arrive at a reasonably easy and clear understanding of the economic status of a population group, it is necessary to determine an index of the rate of income per head per day (RHD), and to determine the relation of this index to the amount theoretically required daily by a person to enable him, in the community in which he lives, to afford the basic necessities for health and satisfactory clothing.

The RHD indicates the daily amount actually available for food, and for that matter, all the other essential needs of a person which are of monetary concern to him.¹ It is determined according to the formula:

$$\text{rate per head per day (RHD)} = \frac{a - (b+c+d+e+f)}{g \times 365}$$

where, over a period of 365 days,

a = the total gross income of the household;

b = the rent or interest and redemption on the dwelling;

c = income tax and poll-tax;

d = transport expenses to and from the place of work;

e = rates and taxes or levies on properties;

f = water and electricity expenses; and

g = the number of people in the household completely dependent on the income.

The comparison of the RHD of a rural Bantu population with that of an urban, westernized population is complicated by a difference in values as regards what constitutes a necessity. Custom and tradition play important roles in influencing these values. Traditionally some rural groups wear few clothes. The Venda men, for instance, wear western clothing usually of a cheap, though not, quality; many Venda women, on the other hand, wear only a drape of cloth round the loins, sometimes partially covering the breasts. Some food is grown by these people in small fields for which a nominal annual levy is paid, and some is collected from the veld. In contrast, urban Venda of both sexes wear western cloth-

ing, use western cosmetics and ways of transport, patronize western types of entertainment and need to buy all their food.

Information regarding income is not always reliable, and the reliability may be affected by the standard of education of the subjects. For example, the accuracy of the gross income figure is sometimes suspect, owing to possible unmentioned supplementation of the income by nefarious activities such as the illegal selling of beer. Also, in a rural community the value of home-produced food, home-made clay cooking-vessels and general culinary utensils which represent either indirect income or lower expenditure than in the cities, is difficult to assess among a generally poorly educated population. The information on expenditure is usually more reliable since in this case no scruples arise.

The size of the family, which greatly affects the RHD, is influenced by the marital customs of the test subjects. Among the Venda polygamy is permitted, as is fertilization of the wife of a sterile husband, at his request, by one of his selected male relatives;² likewise, a sterile woman can be exchanged for one of her fertile sisters.² Thus, direct dependants of a married man are always assured, in contrast to the situation among western (European) couples where children are often lacking.

METHOD

Information was obtained by intensive questioning as laid down by a standard questionnaire. The questionnaire was based on one initiated by the National Building Research Institute of the CSIR and further modified for surveys among the Indian, Coloured and Bantu school-children of Pretoria by this Institute during 1963 and 1964. Only minor culture-based modifications were necessary for the questionnaire to be applicable for the purpose of this survey among the Venda.

Four field-workers were employed for the rural survey and three for the urban. Of the 4 rural interviewers one was a White who was well versed in the Venda language and customs. Two were young Venda males and the fourth was a retired Venda school-principal.

The field-workers for the urban survey were well educated and belonged to the Research Division of the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council. Two were males, one a Venda and the other a Shangaan, and the third was a Tswana female social-worker.

In a survey of this nature it is necessary to use some of the results to describe the subjects in order to gain a background for understanding and interpreting them.

The ethnic affiliation of a Venda is determined by that of his father, irrespective of that of his mother. Adopting this criterion, all the fathers of the subjects of both samples were Venda. The mothers of 251 rural (96.5%)

and 239 urban (96.4%) subjects were of Venda origin. Only 6 mothers of rural subjects were of Shangaan-Tsonga, 2 of Sotho and one of Mulemba origin. The mother of one urban subject was a Sotho, 3 mothers were Tswana and two were Zulu. The remaining 3 mothers of urban subjects were Mulemba, Swazi and Ndebele.

From the above information it is apparent that both samples were ethnically very similar.

Of the rural subjects 123 (47.3%) were married, 133 (51.2%) were single, 3 were widowers and one was divorced. Among the urban subjects 226 (91.1%) were married and 22 (8.9%) were single. The lower percentage of married subjects in the country could be ascribed to the fact that the rural subjects were on the average considerably younger than the urban (Table I).

Of the married subjects 74.8% of the rural and 48.2% of the urban subjects had one wife each, while 24.4% of the rural and 35.0% of the urban subjects had 2 wives each. Each of 12 urban subjects had 3 wives, two had 4 and two others had 5 wives each, whereas only one rural subject had 3 wives. On the whole the rural Venda thus had fewer wives than the urban subjects.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The data from the questionnaires were coded and transferred to punch-cards for processing by the IBM 360/65 computer of the National Research Institute for Mathematical Sciences (NRIMS) of the CSIR. The programme (BMD07D), developed by the Health Sciences Computing Faculty of the University of Los Angeles, USA, was used for calculating means, standard deviations, frequency distributions, analyses of variance tests, etc. Some t-tests were carried out to determine significant differences.

The age distribution of each sample is presented in Table I. Of the subjects, 117 (45%) rural and 163 urban (65.7%), respectively, knew their ages. The ages of the remaining subjects were estimated. The mean age of the rural subjects was 32.6 years and that of the urban subjects 40.6 years. The difference between the age distributions of the two samples was highly significant, and was due to a predominance of the age-group 18-32 years among the rural and of the age-group 36-56 years among the urban subjects.

In the rural sample 131 subjects (50.4%) and in the urban sample 179 (72.2%) were heads of households.

This marked difference in the percentages could have been due to the significant difference in the age of the two samples. Those who were not heads of families were single persons staying either on their own or with heads of families to whose incomes they might have contributed. Of the urban subjects, 22 (8.8%) were living singly in hostels.

Forty-seven (18.1%) rural subjects were permanently employed in the country, 125 (48.1%) were unemployed, 12 were scholars, 3 were on long leave from cities at the time of the survey, 4 did occasional jobs and 69 (26.5%) had never been employed.

Stayt² has indicated that it is customary for the rural Venda male not to work. The results of the present survey suggest that this custom is still observed to some degree. The income of households with no employed males came mainly from money sent by members working in the cities or from working wives.

Among the city subjects 243 (98.0%) were employed, three were unemployed and two were scholars.

The 47 permanently-employed rural subjects were all unskilled labourers, as were the 3 on long leave from the cities. In the urban sample 22 (8.9%) held administrative positions, 159 (64.1%) were unskilled labourers, one was a businessman, one a service renderer, 58 (23.4%) were semi-skilled, and 2 were skilled labourers. Two of the remaining 5 subjects were scholars and 3 were unemployed at the time of the survey.

The distribution of occupational spheres of the rural and the urban subjects is indicated in Table II. Government or semi-government institutions and mission hospitals were the main employers in the country, i.e. of 94.0% of the employed rural subjects. In the city, the South African Railways, commerce and industry were the main employers (total of 68.8%), followed by the financial institutions and the building industry which employed 10.7%.

Since the educational level attained by a subject may affect his type of work, and thus his income, the educational levels of the subjects in the two samples were established (Table III). Both samples contained relatively high percentages of uneducated people. Thus 39.2% of the rural and 29.4% of the urban subjects had no formal education. Of those who had formal schooling, the percentages in each educational category up to Standard I and those in Standard 4 and 6 were approximately the same for the two samples. A larger proportion of urban than

TABLE I. RURAL AND URBAN SUBJECTS

	Age in years																	Totals
	15-17	18-20	21-23	24-26	27-29	30-32	33-35	36-38	39-41	42-44	45-47	48-50	51-53	54-56	57-59	60-62	63-65	
Numbers:																		
Rural	2	47	49	23	14	22	6	11	15	9	12	24	5	12	4	3	2	260
Urban	1	8	11	11	11	13	9	25	30	27	27	36	15	24	—	—	—	248
Percentages:																		
Rural	0.8	18.0	18.8	8.9	5.4	8.5	2.3	4.2	5.8	3.5	4.6	9.2	1.9	4.6	1.5	1.2	0.8	
Urban	0.4	3.2	4.4	4.4	4.4	5.2	3.6	10.1	12.2	10.9	10.9	14.5	6.1	9.7	—	—	—	

TABLE II. OCCUPATIONAL SPHERES OF RURAL AND URBAN SUBJECTS

Occupational sphere	Rural	%	Urban	%
Government and semi-government	27	57.4	4	1.7
Commerce	—	—	31	12.8
Industry	1	2.0	80	32.8
Municipal services	—	—	3	1.2
South African Railways	—	—	56	23.0
General Post Office	—	—	6	2.5
Domestic	—	—	4	1.7
Mission hospital	17	36.2	—	—
Building industry	1	2.0	16	6.6
Financial	—	—	10	4.1
Banking	—	—	2	0.8
Research	—	—	1	0.4
Health services	—	—	1	0.4
Marketing and distribution	—	—	6	2.5
Motor industry	1	2.0	5	2.1
Transport	—	—	4	1.7
Newspaper and printing	—	—	3	1.2
Educational	—	—	3	1.2
Film industry	—	—	1	0.4
Other spheres	—	—	7	2.9

TABLE III. EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN SUBJECTS

Educational qualification	Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%
No formal education	102	39.2	73	29.4
Sub-standard A	5	1.9	5	2.0
Sub-standard B	18	6.9	18	7.3
Standard 1	20	7.7	17	6.8
Standard 2	24	9.2	33	13.3
Standard 3	22	8.5	26	10.5
Standard 4	23	8.9	22	8.9
Standard 5	17	6.5	27	10.9
Standard 6	26	10.0	26	10.5
Standard 7	3	1.2	—	—
Standard 8	—	—	1	0.4

rural subjects had obtained the levels of Standard 2, 3 and 5 education. Nevertheless for the subjects who had had formal education, the general level obtained was approximately the same for both areas.

Total Income per Household

In order to arrive at the RHD for a subject, it was necessary to determine the gross total annual income of the household to which he belonged. The totals were derived from three major categories: wages, miscellaneous sources (allowances, assistance and lobola), and the selling of produce and livestock. The portion derived from wages included the wages of the head of the household, of those wives and children (and/or brothers) who worked, and

indirect income from the contribution to the rent by persons who hired only living space from the person in whose name the house was registered. The details of the income from wages are listed in Table IV. Wages represented 58.7% of the grand total income of the rural and 83.5% of that of the urban households.

Some members derived income from allowances, e.g. transport, financial assistance from pension schemes (mainly social welfare), relatives, bonuses and, especially in the country, from lobola. The different types of allowances and assistance are also enumerated in Table IV. The total income from this category amounted to 19.6% of the grand total in the case of the rural and to 13.7% in the case of the urban households. The third category, the selling of produce and livestock, accounted for 22.1% of the total rural income and 2.8% of the total urban income (Table V).

From the above figures it is clear that both groups derived the major portions of their incomes from wages, and that, in general, the heads of the households contributed the major portion of these wages. The rural heads contributed 24.4% and the urban heads 67.3% of the respective total incomes.

In both localities a major contribution to the income of the households was also made by children who were employed. The proportions of total income represented by these contributions were approximately the same for the two areas, being 12.7% and 10.5% for the rural and urban areas, respectively.

In both the rural and the urban areas the wife or wives of heads contributed approximately the same mean proportions to the total income, viz. 2.6% and 3.5% respectively, although in actual value the urban wives contributed about 6 times as much as the rural ones.

For obvious reasons the rural Venda had a much higher income from the selling of home-produce and livestock than the urban households (Table V). The proportions were respectively 22.1 and 2.8%. More than half of the income in this category came, in the case of urban households, from the sale of home-brewed beer or the resale of liquor.

An interesting source of income, although it did not yield much, was 'stockfels'. This word, coined by the Bantu themselves, indicates a social gathering at a private house to which people are invited. The guests have to pay an admission fee to the owner, often a considerable sum, depending on the type of drinks served and the extent to which nefarious carnal pleasures can be indulged in.

The grand totals of the rural and the urban households from the three major categories of income amounted to R52 778 and R226 338 per year in the rural and the urban areas respectively, or an average of R202.99 ± R212.50 and R912.65 ± R388.75 respectively per household.

The frequency distribution of the annual incomes per household is presented in Table VI and Fig. 1. It is evident that 115 (44.2%) of the rural households had total incomes of less than R150 per year and 112 (45.2%) had between R150 and R299. Thus altogether 89.4% had annual incomes of less than R300 per year. In contrast,

TABLE IV. ANNUAL TOTAL INCOME FROM WAGES AND MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS (EXCLUDING THAT FROM THE SELLING OF HOME PRODUCE AND LIVESTOCK) OF THE VENDA RURAL AND URBAN HOUSEHOLDS

Source of income	Venda rural sample				Venda urban sample			
	Combined income of all households (rand per year)	% of total annual income	Mean income per household (rand per year)	Standard deviation	Combined income of all households (rand per year)	% of total annual income	Mean income per household (rand per year)	Standard deviation
Salary/wages of head of household	12 872·0	24·4	49·51	± 104·17	152 360·0	67·3	614·36	± 230·83
Salary/wages of wife of head of household	1 393·0	2·6	5·36	± 30·74	7 863·0	3·5	31·71	± 102·22
Income from own business	—	—	—	—	2 503·0	1·1	10·9	± 95·58
Income from children working in cities	6 715·0	12·7	25·83	± 56·87	23 813·0	10·5	96·02	± 270·29
Income from head of household working in cities or on farms	8 493·0	16·1	32·67	± 84·19	—	—	—	—
Part-time jobs	1 324·0	2·5	5·09	± 15·74	2 476·0	1·1	9·98	± 65·56
Sub-total	30 797·0	58·3	118·45	—	189 015·0	83·5	762·17	—
Income from boarders and tenants	—	—	—	—	13 732·0	6·1	55·37	± 157·35
Pension moneys	718·0	1·4	2·76	± 17·94	280·0	0·1	1·13	± 10·89
Travelling allowances	44·0	—	0·17	± 2·73	—	—	—	—
Lobola fees	2 375·0	4·5	9·14	± 36·29	570·0	0·3	2·30	± 15·74
Financial assistance from relatives	1 038·0	2·0	3·99	± 49·95	210·0	—	0·85	± 12·71
Savings accounts (from previous year)	3 855·0	7·3	14·83	± 71·12	8 293·0	3·7	33·44	± 115·56
Christmas bonuses	—	—	—	—	5 999·0	2·7	24·19	± 27·03
Other minor sources	2 298·0	4·4	8·84	± 55·92	1 844·0	0·8	7·44	± 54·88
Sub-total	10 328·0	19·6	39·72	—	30 928·0	13·7	124·70	—
Total	R41 125·0	77·9%	R158·17	± 214·05	R219 943·0	97·2%	R886·87	± 384·12
Total annual income for all households	R52 778·00				R226 338·00			

the incomes of the urban households all exceeded R300 per year. The distribution curve indicates that 19·3% had incomes of R300 to R599, 41·5% of R600 to R899, and 19·9% of R900 to R1 199 per year, i.e. a total of 80·7% had incomes of R300 to R1 199 per year. It should be kept in mind, however, that the average rural household consisted of 5·86 and the average urban household of 7·50 individual household members. Adjusting the above figures proportionately, the distribution curve for urban households will show a shift to the left.

Essential Expenditure

In order to obtain an income, money has to be spent on certain obligatory items. These have been enumerated by Potgieter,¹ and are listed with the amount for each in Table VII. In rural areas the vast majority of families live in houses they have built themselves and which

consist of two or more mud-brick huts with thatched roofs, usually joined together with a walled-in open stoep (called a 'lapa' in Venda). The building style is traditional and is not only exceptionally picturesque but also well-suited to the climate and to outdoor living. Adherence to this style is also commendable from the financial point of view in that the materials are locally obtainable without cost. The accommodation is usually spacious.

In urban areas the Venda, like all Bantu, live in townships where they can only rent a house. Therefore, while very few rural households pay rent, the urban dwellers almost invariably do so. The average amount paid for rent by rural Venda is 14 cents per household per year, whereas urban Venda pay, on an average, R61·61 per year. These figures account for 0·1% and 8·0% of the total annual rural and urban expenditure, respectively.

On the other hand, rural Venda are required to pay an annual levy for the land they cultivate (usually one small plot per wife); this represents an average expense of

TABLE V. TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME OF ALL THE RURAL AND URBAN HOUSEHOLDS FROM THE SELLING OF HOME PRODUCE AND LIVESTOCK AND UNUSUAL SOURCES

Source of income	Venda rural sample				Venda urban sample			
	Combined income of all households (rand per year)	% of total annual income	Mean income per household (rand per year)	Standard deviation	Combined income of all households (rand per year)	% of total annual income	Mean income per household (rand per year)	Standard deviation
Selling of beer	6 871·0	13·0	26·43	± 38·24	3 581·0	1·6	14·44	± 69·10
Beer brew	40·0	0·1	0·15	± 2·48	—	—	—	—
Firewood	33·0	—	0·13	± 1·26	—	—	—	—
Manure	120·0	0·2	0·46	± 2·46	—	—	—	—
Livestock:								
Cattle	1 584·0	3·0	0·09	± 25·13	—	—	—	—
Sheep	6·0	—	0·02	± 0·37	—	—	—	—
Pigs	71·0	0·1	0·27	± 1·43	—	—	—	—
Milk	101·0	0·2	0·39	± 4·80	—	—	—	—
Poultry	148·0	0·3	0·57	± 3·52	—	—	—	—
Goats	226·0	0·5	0·87	± 5·34	—	—	—	—
Sub-total	2 136·0	4·1	8·21	—	—	—	—	—
Garden produce	508·0	1·0	1·96	—	—	—	—	—
Tobacco	502·0	1·0	1·93	± 7·43	—	—	—	—
Arts and crafts	1 026·0	2·1	3·95	± 11·95	—	—	—	—
Other minor sources	417·0	0·8	1·60	± 6·40	—	—	—	—
'Stockfels'	—	—	—	—	428·0	0·2	1·73	± 11·98
Illegal sources	—	—	—	—	1 683·0	0·7	6·79	± 70·40
Unspecified	—	—	—	—	703·0	0·3	2·84	± 24·16
Total	R11 653·0	22·1	R44·82	± 52·08	R 6 395·0	2·8	R25·79	± 128·43
Total annual income for all households	R52 778·00				R226 338·00			

TABLE VI. DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME OF RURAL AND URBAN HOUSEHOLDS

	Total annual income																			
	R 0 - 149	R 150 - 299	R 300 - 449	R 450 - 599	R 600 - 749	R 750 - 899	R 900 - 1 049	R 1 050 - 1 199	R 1 200 - 1 349	R 1 350 - 1 499	R 1 500 - 1 649	R 1 650 - 1 799	R 1 800 - 1 949	R 1 950 - 2 099	R 2 100 - 2 249	R 2 250 - 2 399	R 2 400 - 2 549	R 2 550 - 2 699	R 2 700 - 2 849	R 2 850 - 2 999
Rural sample	115	112	17	10	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Urban sample	—	—	8	40	61	42	26	23	17	12	3	4	8	2	—	1	—	—	—	1
Rural %	44·1	43·0	6·5	4·0	1·2	0·4	—	—	—	—	—	—	0·4	—	—	—	0·4	—	—	—
Urban %	—	—	3·2	16·1	24·6	16·9	10·6	9·3	6·9	4·8	1·2	1·6	3·2	0·8	—	0·4	—	—	—	0·4

R2·76 per household which is not incurred by the urban Venda. It is, however, more than compensated for by the benefit derived from the lands in the form of home-grown produce.

Only the urban households paid for water and electricity (R5·39 per year). Rural families have free use of water from open streams and spring and use candles and paraffin (included under fuels) for illumination (Table VII).

The employed rural Venda spends little on transport (R3·73 per household per year, mainly on bus fares and

bicycles), whereas the urban Venda household spends R34·47 per year on transport (Table VIII). The travelling expenses of the rural households are only slightly reduced by an average special allowance of R0·17 per year. None of the urban households disclosed any specific travel allowance. If such allowances exist they may be consolidated in their earnings.

The total essential expenditure of the rural Venda amounted to R2 714·50 and that of the urban Venda to R26 904·40 per year, i.e. an average of R10·44 and

R108·49 respectively per household. These expenses amounted to 1 cent per rural and 4 cents per urban Venda household member per day (Table VIII).

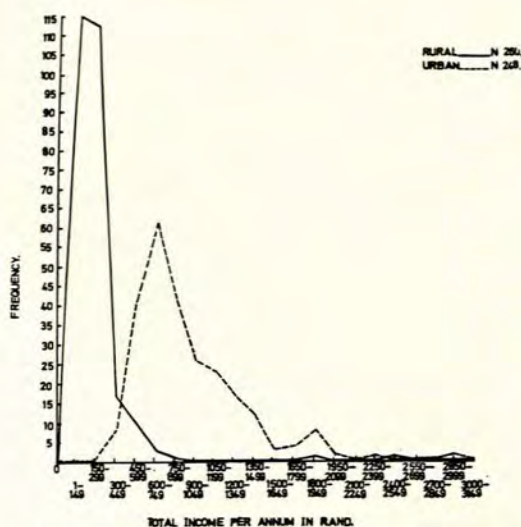


Fig. 1. Frequency distribution of total annual income for rural and urban households.

Constitution of Households

The members of a household included the mother and father or guardian, the children, relatives and boarders who were solely dependent on the total income, which for this purpose was pooled. The frequency distribution of the number of children per household is presented in Table IX. Rural families had an average of 1·40 ($\pm 2\cdot01$) and urban families an average of 3·84 ($\pm 2\cdot91$) children. The difference between the number of children per household in the two localities was highly significant.

The average number of household members in the rural households was 5·86 and in the urban households 7·50. Only a small percentage of the total number of test subjects were not Venda, indicating that in both localities the Venda seldom married or lived with ethnically different people.

Rate of Income per Head per Day (RHD)

From the above data, i.e. the total gross annual income, the total annual essential expenditure and the average number of members per household, it is possible to determine the rate of income per head per day, which represents the amount available daily for the subsistence

TABLE VII. TOTAL ANNUAL EXPENDITURE OF THE RURAL AND URBAN HOUSEHOLDS ON ESSENTIAL ITEMS

	Venda rural sample				Venda urban sample			
	Combined expenditure of all households (rand per year)	% of total annual expenditure	Mean expenditure per household (rand per year)	Standard deviation	Combined expenditure of all households (rand per year)	% of total annual expenditure	Mean expenditure per household (rand per year)	Standard deviation
Rent of house, room or hut group	37·0	—	0·14	$\pm 1\cdot97$	15 279·8	8·0	61·61	$\pm 13\cdot74$
Rates and taxes and levy on lands	716·2	1·8	2·76	$\pm 1\cdot90$	—	—	—	—
Water and electricity	—	—	—	—	1 336·9	0·7	5·39	$\pm 2\cdot04$
Income tax and personal tax	990·5	2·6	3·81	$\pm 1\cdot93$	1 739·0	0·8	7·01	$\pm 6\cdot19$
Transport:								
Own vehicle	—	—	—	—	1 034·9	0·5	4·18	$\pm 38\cdot27$
Bus	512·1	1·3	1·97	$\pm 4\cdot45$	1 081·8	0·6	4·36	$\pm 13\cdot97$
Train	151·7	0·4	0·58	$\pm 1\cdot87$	6 270·4	3·3	25·28	$\pm 16\cdot99$
Taxi	84·3	0·2	0·32	$\pm 1\cdot35$	157·1	0·1	0·63	$\pm 6\cdot09$
Bicycle	215·9	0·5	0·83	$\pm 3\cdot22$	4·5	—	0·02	$\pm 0\cdot29$
Lift-club	6·8	—	0·03	$\pm 0\cdot30$	—	—	—	—
Sub-total	970·8	2·4	3·73	—	8 548·7	4·5	34·47	—
Total	R2 714·5	6·8	R10·44	—	R26 904·4	14·0	R108·49	—
Total annual expenditure for all households	R40 198·90				R191 419·70			

TABLE VIII. SELF-EXPLANATORY PRESENTATION OF THE RATE PER HEAD PER DAY CALCULATIONS

Description	Rural Venda				Urban Venda			
	Sub-total (rand per year)	Percent- age of total	Mean per house- hold (rand per year)	Average per head per day	Sub- total (rand per year)	Percent- age of total	Mean per house- hold (rand per year)	Average per head per day
Total annual income								
Wages (Table IV)	30 797.0	58.3	118.45	0.06	189 015.0	83.5	762.17	0.27
Miscellaneous items (Table IV)	10 328.0	19.6	39.72	0.02	30 928.0	13.7	124.70	0.05
Livestock (Table V)	2 136.0	4.1	8.21	—	—	—	—	—
Garden produce (Table V)	508.0	1.0	1.96	—	—	—	—	—
Other sources (Table V)	9 009.0	17.0	34.65	0.02	6 395.0	2.8	25.78	0.01
Grand total of in- come	52 778.0	100.0	202.99	0.10	226 338.0	100.0	912.66	0.33
Essential expenditure								
Housing and taxes (Table VII)	1 743.7	64.2	6.71	0.01	18 355.7	68.2	74.01	0.03
Transport (Table VII)	970.8	35.8	3.73	—	8 548.7	31.8	34.48	0.01
Grand total for es- sential expendi- ture	2 714.5	100.0	10.44	0.01	26 904.4	100.0	108.49	0.04
Net income (after deduc- tion of essential expenses)	R50 063.5	—	R192.55	R0.09	R199 433.6	—	R804.17	R0.29

TABLE IX. DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY FOR RURAL AND URBAN SAMPLES

No. of children per family	Rural families		Urban families	
	No.	%	No.	%
0	148	56.8	54	21.8
1	23	8.9	13	5.2
2	23	8.9	16	6.5
3	20	7.7	27	10.9
4	18	6.9	30	12.1
5	17	6.5	39	15.7
6	3	1.2	25	10.1
7	5	1.9	20	8.1
8	3	1.2	9	3.6
9	—	—	7	2.8
10	—	—	2	0.8
11	—	—	5	2.0
12	—	—	1	0.4

needs of each member of the household. The totals of the income and the essential expenditure are presented in Table VIII. The difference between the two figures represents the *net total annual income*. In the case of the rural households it was R50 063.50 and for the urban

sample R199 433.60. When these amounts are divided by the relevant number of households, it appears that the net average annual income of the rural households was R192.55 and of the urban households R804.17.

When each of the latter figures is divided by the average number of members per household in the relevant sample, i.e. the rural annual household average is divided by 5.86 times the number of days in a year, and the urban annual household average by 7.50×365 , the resulting figures represent the mean RHD for each community. *The rural Venda had an average RHD of 9 cents and the urban members of the tribe 29 cents* (Table VIII).

The RHD fluctuated markedly among the households of each group (Table X). It can be seen that the RHD for 66.5% of the rural households was below 9 cents, for 23.5% from 10 to 19 cents, and for only 10.0% was it 20 cents or more. For the urban households the figures of the corresponding ranges of RHD were 0.4, 16.1 and 83.5% respectively. The results are further presented graphically in Fig. 2.

In 1958 Irving³ estimated that, on a conservative basis, a family in a city requires an RHD of 20 cents to subsist. However, he maintained that an amount in the region of 50 cents would be more realistic. According to the more conservative criterion the income of 16.5% of the Venda urban households were inadequate to ensure a satisfactory

TABLE X. DISTRIBUTION OF RATE PER HEAD PER DAY INDICES

	Rate per head per day indices in rands and cents																						
	R0.00 - 0.09	R0.10 - 0.19	R0.20 - 0.29	R0.30 - 0.39	R0.40 - 0.49	R0.50 - 0.59	R0.60 - 0.69	R0.70 - 0.79	R0.80 - 0.89	R0.90 - 0.99	R1.00 - 1.09	R1.10 - 1.19	R1.20 - 1.29	R1.30 - 1.39	R1.40 - 1.49	R1.50 - 1.59	R1.60 - 1.69	R1.70 - 1.79	R1.80 - 1.89	R1.90 - 1.99	R2.00 - 2.09	R2.10 - 2.19	
Rural sample	173	61	19	2	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Urban sample	1	40	79	45	26	8	10	5	5	6	2	3	4	—	7	2	1	1	1	—	—	1	1
Rural %	66.5	23.5	7.3	0.8	1.5	0.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Urban %	0.4	16.1	31.9	18.2	10.6	3.2	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.4	0.8	1.2	1.6	—	2.8	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.4	—	0.4	0.4	

TABLE XI. TOTAL ANNUAL EXPENDITURE OF VENDA RURAL AND URBAN SAMPLES ON FOOD, CLOTHING AND FUEL NEEDED FOR SUBSISTENCE

	Venda rural sample				Venda urban sample			
	Combined expenditure of all households (rand per year)	% of total annual expenditure	Mean expenditure per household (rand per year)	Standard deviation	Combined expenditure of all households (rand per year)	% of total annual expenditure	Mean expenditure per household (rand per year)	Standard deviation
Food:								
Maize meal	12 790.6	31.8	49.20	± 47.49	8 698.7	4.5	35.08	± 18.04
Vegetables	1 134.2	2.8	4.36	± 6.85	9 288.3	4.9	37.45	± 29.19
Groceries	1 374.4	3.4	5.29	± 11.14	23 229.7	12.1	93.67	± 51.92
Milk and dairy products	369.1	0.9	1.42	± 4.17	3 325.4	1.7	13.41	± 16.30
Meat	2 316.6	5.8	8.91	± 9.67	27 946.3	14.6	112.68	± 52.87
Bread	1 213.9	3.0	4.67	± 9.51	6 840.7	3.6	27.58	± 12.89
Fruit	304.6	0.8	1.17	± 3.26	2 226.2	1.2	8.98	± 14.05
Bantu and traditional beer	1 295.2	3.2	4.98	± 7.10	3 660.9	1.9	14.76	± 22.31
Sub-total	20 798.6	51.7	80.00	—	85 216.2	44.5	343.61	—
Clothing:								
Adult males	3 728.0	9.3	14.34	± 12.60	14 326.0	7.5	57.76	± 61.11
Adult females	3 680.0	9.2	14.15	± 26.85	8 969.0	4.7	36.17	± 32.53
Children	3 410.0	8.4	13.12	± 27.00	8 665.0	4.5	34.94	± 33.95
Sub-total	10 818.0	26.9	41.61	—	31 960.0	16.7	128.87	—
Fuel	969.2	2.4	3.73	± 3.71	10 109.8	5.3	40.77	± 22.46
Total	R32 585.8	81.0	R125.34	—	R127 286.0	66.5	R513.25	—
Total annual expenditure for all households	R40 198.90				R191 419.70			

existence. Consideration of the corresponding figures for the rural area causes doubt to arise concerning the applicability of the more conservative one. Considering the general picture in the homeland and the satisfactory standard of clothing, however, it appears that the major over-all deficiency of the subjects was high quality protein—an essential which most subjects needed to buy.

Irving's research was done on Coloured households.³ Watts, however, maintained that these figures are theo-

retically applicable to any racial group.⁴ Potgieter supports this approach.¹

Expenditure on Food, Clothing and Fuels

Food, clothing and fuel are regarded as the bare requirements for subsistence.⁴ Expenditure by rural households under these headings averaged R125, while the

TABLE XII. TOTAL ANNUAL EXPENDITURE OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS ON SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE RURAL AND URBAN SAMPLES

Sources of expenditure	Venda rural sample				Venda urban sample			
	Combined expenditure of all households (rand per year)	% of total annual expenditure	Mean expenditure per household (rand per year)	Standard deviation	Combined expenditure of all households (rand per year)	% of total annual expenditure	Mean expenditure per household (rand per year)	Standard deviation
Hire purchase payment	—	—	—	—	696·7	0·4	2·81	± 13·05
Medical expenses	1 043·2	2·6	4·01	± 9·66	2 287·9	1·2	9·23	± 18·64
Insurance and burial fees	264·6	0·7	1·02	± 0·82	2 647·5	1·4	10·68	± 14·75
Entertainment	671·7	1·7	2·58	± 5·68	2 899·1	1·5	11·69	± 22·28
Education	768·4	1·9	2·96	± 4·20	3 464·0	1·8	13·97	± 21·81
Lobola	894·0	2·2	3·44	± 16·99	2 075·7	1·1	8·37	± 29·41
Savings for 1968 unspent	904·8	2·3	3·48	± 22·98	6 721·0	3·5	27·10	± 51·72
Other minor expenses	256·7	0·6	0·98	± 6·60	996·5	0·6	4·02	± 53·32
Support of families in Bantu homelands	—	—	—	—	9 243·6	4·8	37·27	± 47·04
Beer and liquor	95·2	0·2	0·37	± 3·33	6 197·3	3·2	24·98	± 85·67
Total	R4 898·6	12·2	R18·84	—	R37 229·3	19·5	R150·12	—
Total annual expenditure for all households	R40 198·90				R191 419·70			

TABLE XIII. TOTAL ANNUAL ACCOUNTABLE EXPENDITURE OF RURAL HOUSEHOLDS

	Total annual expenditure																					
	R 0 - 149	R 150 - 299	R 300 - 449	R 450 - 599	R 600 - 749	R 750 - 899	R 900 - 1 049	R 1 050 - 1 199	R 1 200 - 1 349	R 1 350 - 1 499	R 1 500 - 1 649	R 1 650 - 1 799	R 1 800 - 1 949	R 1 950 - 2 099	R 2 100 - 2 249	R 2 250 - 2 399	R 2 400 - 2 549	R 2 550 - 2 699	R 2 700 - 2 849	R 2 850 - 2 999	R 3 000 - 3 149	
Rural sample	161	88	8	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Urban sample	—	2	10	51	78	54	22	19	1	1	7	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rural %	61·8	33·9	3·1	0·4	—	—	0·4	—	—	—	—	0·4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Urban %	—	0·8	4·0	20·6	31·5	21·8	8·8	7·7	0·4	0·4	2·8	—	0·4	0·4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0·4

corresponding amount spent by urban households was R513 per year. These amounts represent expenditure of 8 and 19 cents per person per day for rural and urban households, respectively (Table XI).

The total annual expenditure on food by the average rural household amounted to R80·00, while the average urban household spent as much as R343·61 per year on food. It should be kept in mind, however, that the rural Venda normally obtain most of their food from their own lands or from the veld. Food is usually bought or bartered only when their own crops have been insufficient. In addition, many food items were found to be more expensive in the urban environment. For instance, meat could be obtained at 20c/lb from butchers in the rural area

during the period of the survey, while the same quality meat was sold at 35c/lb in the urban area.

The food items purchased included maize meal, vegetables, groceries, dairy products, meat, bread, fruit and Bantu beer. Maize meal was the major food item bought by the rural group and the average rural household spent R49·20 per year on this commodity in comparison with R35·08 per year for the average urban household. In addition, approximately 300 lb of home-grown maize was available per household per year in the rural community.

Annual expenditure on clothes averaged R41·61 per year for rural and R128·87 for urban households. This marked difference could be ascribed to the fact that the

urban Venda worked and moved in a western environment. The rural Venda dressed plainly but, as a rule, neatly, with most women, who are renowned for their personal cleanliness, dressing in the traditional manner. Thus the difference in expenditure on clothing is to a great extent an indication of custom and of environmental demands, rather than of neatness or dress sense. Although the appearance of the subjects from both areas was generally neat, the urban women were better dressed than those in the homeland. Neither groups appeared to underspend as far as clothing was concerned.

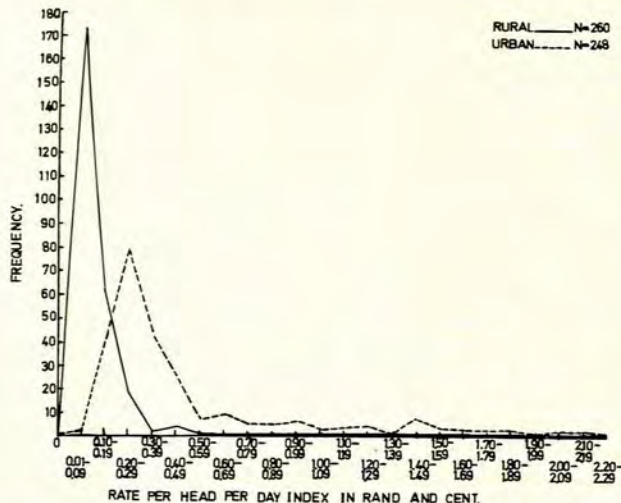


Fig. 2. Frequency distribution of rate per head per day indices for rural and urban households.

Average households in both samples tended to underspend on their basic subsistence needs. Rural Venda, having 9 cents per person per day available (Table VIII), spent only 6 cents per person per day on their subsistence needs, one cent on essential items and 2 cents on social security. Urban Venda, having an average of 29 cents per person per day available, spent 19 cents on subsistence needs, 4 cents on other essential items and 6 cents on social security. The presence of malnutrition might have been due, to some extent, to the motivations of the subjects in respect of expenditure. It would appear that expenditure on high-quality protective goods was unnecessarily low and that available income was not used to best advantage from a nutritional viewpoint. This was the case with Venda from both areas.

There was a marked difference between the two areas in respect of expenditure on fuel. This is to be expected since wood and other combustible material is generally available in the country. Thus, rural households cook mainly on open fires, whereas most of the urban Venda use coal-burning stoves. Furthermore, as Johannesburg is much colder in winter than Vendaland, which lies further north and is generally north of the Tropic of Capricorn and lower in altitude, more fuel for heating is needed in the city.

The total of these subsistence items amounted in the case of the rural Venda to R32 585.80, an average of R125.34 per household annually, and R127 286.00 for the urban, an average of R513.25 per household per year. Calculated per head per day, the figures were 6 and 19 cents, respectively.

The annual expenditure on social security is presented in Table XII. Table XIII contains the distribution of total annual expenditure of the rural and urban households in the two samples.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the transition from the rural to the urban environment is improving the socio-economic status of the Venda. This was proved by the higher income and expenditure patterns and RHD-indices of the urban Venda. Only in the educational sphere were the rural and urban samples equal. These differences should, however, be viewed cautiously. Due to a difference in age structures, the two samples are not absolutely comparable.

The comparison of nutrition status also is not easy. Though the rural Venda, on the average, had a much lower RHD-index than his urban counterpart, he, nevertheless, could supplement the food he had bought with home grown and veld products and livestock to a far greater extent than could the urban Venda. Whereas the rural Venda had 9 cents per person per day, they spent only 6 cents on their subsistence needs, Urban Venda, having 29 cents, spent only 19 cents on subsistence. Thus both the rural and urban Venda, in their expenditure patterns, were motivated by other needs besides nutritional.

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