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INLICHTINGSAFDELING.

THE DRINKING PATTERN
OF THE BANTU
IN
SOUTH AFRICA

by
J. D. Miles

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THE DRINKING PATTERN OF THE BANTU IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY

J. D. MILES

1965

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FOREWORD

This report constitutes the second part in the series in which the drinking pattern of the various population groups in South Africa is examined.

The present survey among the Bantu was conducted before the new liquor licensing legislation (Act No. 72 of 1961) came into force. This report therefore contains many comparative data for a similar survey which will be conducted at a later date after the Bantu have been permitted to consume European liquor for some time.

I should like to express my thanks to all who have contributed to the successful completion of this survey, particularly to the officers of the Department of Bantu Education, who assisted in recruiting field workers, all the officers of the Bureau who made their contribution, particularly Drs. C. W. Wright and J. D. Venter under whose guidance the survey was planned and carried out.

Finally I wish to express my appreciation of the contribution made by the members of the ad hoc committee, namely Dr. J. A. Grobler, Prof. F. W. Blignaut and Prof. G. Cronjé.

P. M. Robbertse.
DIRECTOR

NATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 OBJECT

The drinking of alcoholic liquor in a particular cultural group is always interwoven with the other customs and practices of that particular group. Various functions in the community are fulfilled by the use of alcoholic liquor as such. In some population groups, such as the South African Bantu the drinking of certain fermented liquors also serves to supplement the material diet. In other population groups, again, the fact that small quantities of alcohol facilitate adaptation in social relationships, plays a decisive role. The consumption of alcoholic liquor in a group should therefore always be seen against the background of the particular scale of values of that cultural group. Ketil Bruun proceeds from the hypothesis that the consumption of alcoholic liquor in the group takes place because friction occurs in the social contact of the persons of a group and there arises a need to eliminate this friction (1, p. 9). This possibly controversial hypothesis, too, implies that the consumption of alcohol by a group can be represented as a specific value.

The sociologist who sets out to study the drinking of a group would therefore have to investigate, in addition to the so-called drinking pattern itself, the group values in regard to the consumption of liquor and the integration of drinking with the manners and customs of the particular cultural group. Because of the extremely wide potential scope of a study of this nature among the Bantu (on an aspect in regard to which there is no pioneer work in this country on which to build) the present study has been planned to assess only general sociological trends which, as such, have a bearing on the drinking pattern of the Bantu in South Africa. For this reason the emphasis has been on questions such as: What percentage of the Bantu in South Africa drink alcoholic liquor? To what degree and with what frequency is this liquor consumed? How, when and why are the various types of liquor consumed?

This study therefore aims at nothing more than a general survey on which a subsequent penetrating investigation can be based.

1.2 METHOD

1.2.1 The sample

As it would be superfluous in the present case to subject more than a small part of a total group to analytical measurement, use was made in the first place of a sampling method. It was necessary, however, that this sample should comply with the requirements for a statistically sound sample: a small but representative group which would reveal the same characteristics in respect of all important aspects as the large group, obtained by means of a selection procedure through which each person in the large group theoretically stands a chance of being selected for interviewing. The method employed by the Gallup Poll was regarded as the most suitable one for achieving this aim. This method of sampling has been used in the U. S. A. since 1936 to assess public opinion and has become famous particularly for its long history of accurate forecasts in the U. S. A. presidential and parliamentary elections. On the strength of satisfactory sampling results obtained with the Gallup Poll methods by the Bureau of Educational and Social Research of the Department of Education, Arts and Science among the White population in South Africa, ¹⁾

1) Venter, J. D.: The drinking pattern of the White people in South Africa.

TABLE 1.1

PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BANTU POPULATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NUMBER OF SAMPLE BATCHES SELECTED IN EACH PROVINCE OR TERRITORY

Province or territory	Urban areas			Rural areas		
	Population number	Number of sample batches	Number of subjects	Population number	Number of sample batches	Number of subjects
Cape Province	576,872	18	180	1,021,487	7	70
Natal	407,316	13	130	1,166,388	8	80
O. F. S.	332,550	10	100	734,136	5	50
Transvaal	1,933,515	59	590	2,656,116	18	180
Transkei	9,261	-	-	1,400,330	9	90
Zululand	13,236	-	-	513,229	3	30
TOTAL	3,272,750	100	1,000	7,491,686	50	500

*(3, pp. 30 - 42).

TABLE 1.2

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS IN DISTRICTS CHOSEN AT RANDOM

District	Number of subjects	
	Urban areas	Rural areas
Wynberg	60	-
De Aar	20	-
Kuruman	-	20
East London	60	20
Humansdorp	10	10
Queenstown	20	10
Worcester	10	10
Cape Province	180	70
Durban	120	-
Newcastle	10	30
Bergville	-	20
Umzinto	-	30
Natal	130	80
Bloemfontein	80	10
Thaba N'Chu	-	30
Odendaalsrus	20	10
O. F. S.	100	50
Pretoria	120	30
Johannesburg	340	-
Randfontein	40	-
Nelspruit	10	20
Benoni	60	-
Pietersburg	10	50
Groblersdal	-	40
Rustenburg	10	40
Transvaal	590	180
Butterworth	-	20
Engcobo	-	20
Libode	-	30
Mount Currie	-	20
Transkei	-	90
Hlabisa	-	10
Eshowe	-	20
Zululand	-	30
TOTAL	1,000	500

it was decided that a sample consisting of 1500 Bantu aged 15 years and older would suffice in order to obtain a reliable reflection of the drinking habits of the Bantu. This sample figure, however, remains essentially arbitrary, as this study is the first of its kind to be conducted among the Bantu in South Africa.

In drawing the sample it was assumed that the Bantu population in rural areas would reveal more homogeneity in regard to their drinking habits, for which reason only 500 persons from the Bantu areas and rural areas were selected as against the 1,000 persons from the urban areas. Because this sample is a batch or cluster sample, it was decided to select these 500 and 1,000 subjects in batches or clusters of 10 each. The sample units would therefore be batches of subjects. Units of 10 Bantu per cluster were regarded as adequate, both theoretically and practically.

On the basis of the distribution of the Bantu in rural and urban areas in the various provinces and territories¹⁾, the number of sample batches was selected to be representative of the population figures in respect of each area. (Compare Table 1.1.)

In an attempt to obtain a reliable image of the Bantu population of South Africa in both samples, a number of magisterial districts for inclusion in the survey were chosen at random in each province. (Compare Table 1.2)

Although the population figures for male and female Bantu are approximately equal (5,426,296 male and 5,338,140 female), more men were included in the sample covering the urban areas and more women in the sample in respect of the rural areas, because there are more male Bantu living in the urban areas and more female Bantu in the rural areas. (Compare Table 1.3.)

TABLE 1.3
THE TWO SAMPLE GROUPS ACCORDING TO SEX

Sex	Urban sample	Rural sample
Men	550	240
Women	450	260
TOTAL	1,000	500

The numbers of the census enumerator's districts within the selected magisterial districts with a population of more than 100 Bantu were noted, and the necessary number of enumerator's districts chosen at random. The maps of these selected enumerator's districts were obtained from the Bureau of Statistics and copied for use by the field workers.

On each map a number of starting points chosen at random for the "routes" was indicated, and the field worker was required to follow these in order to conduct his interviews until the desired number of subjects had been interviewed.

- 1) Compare the definition of "rural" and "urban" on page 7.
- 2) The data of the 1960 Census were used.

1. 2. 2 The questionnaire

A previously codified questionnaire was drawn up, (See Appendix 1, pp. 164.) Virtually the entire questionnaire could be answered by making crosses in the relevant answer squares beside each question. The questionnaire, which was originally drafted in Afrikaans and English, was translated into the Bantu languages. After conclusion of the survey the data on the questionnaires were transferred to punch cards and processed mechanically.

1. 2. 3 The survey

The survey took place during January to March 1962. The personal interview method was followed in regard to completing the questionnaires. Seven groups of Bantu field workers were recruited with the assistance of the Department of Bantu Education. In charge of each group was a White Professional Officer on the staff of the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research. The White field workers familiarised themselves thoroughly with the questionnaire itself beforehand and with the procedure to be followed in obtaining the subjects and the necessary data. Each field work leader was responsible for the survey in the particular area allocated to him. These persons spent a few days in training the locally recruited Bantu field workers thoroughly in the methods of interviewing (with particular reference to the habits and customs of each Bantu group, of which they naturally had a thorough knowledge), the procedure to be followed in the field work, and the purpose of the questionnaire itself. The recruited Bantu field workers were all over 25 years old - the majority being ex-teachers - and it was ensured that each of them had a thorough knowledge of at least one of the official languages (and a Bantu language), each had at least a Std. VI certificate plus training in teaching, and that none of them held strong views on drinking. Each field worker was required to conduct a number of test interviews after completing his training.

The White field work leader, who constantly accompanied his group of field workers to the prescribed survey areas, checked all the questionnaires immediately after completion. This thorough preparation and training of the field workers undoubtedly contributed to the fact that few persons were encountered who refused to furnish information.

1. 2. 4 Employment of the chi-square test

For every table in respect of which the chi-square value test could be applied according to the criteria of S. Siegal, the chi-square value was calculated and the level of significance determined. These values appear below the respective tables, but use has not been made of the null-hypothesis. In the discussion of the tables, use is made of percentage analyses only. The use of the concept "significant" in this report, therefore, does not refer to statistical significance; the term is used in its general meaning.

1. 3 DEFINITIONS

1. 3. 1 Alcoholic liquor, or liquor

In this report, the terms alcoholic liquor and liquor are used interchangeably and include all drinks containing more than 2% of alcohol by volume - that is, drinks regarded as intoxicating liquor under Act 30 of 1928 - and Bantu beer.

For the purposes of this study, alcoholic liquor has been classified as follows:

(a) Bantu beer

Bantu beer (or kaffir beer) is a liquor usually brewed by Bantu by the

fermentation of kaffircorn or other cereals. Act 30 of 1928 lays down that Bantu beer shall not contain more than 2% of alcohol by volume. In contrast with the legal stipulation, the percentage of alcohol was not applicable as norm here if a higher percentage of alcohol was achieved by means of a "natural" and prolonged process of fermentation. If, however, other "foreign" substances such as spirits, methylated spirits, stale sour brown bread, etc. were added in order by so doing to raise the alcohol content deliberately, the liquor consumed was classified as a "concoction".

The definition of Bantu beer in Act No. 30 of 1928 includes a variety of other nutritious fermented liquors, such as pineapple beer and honey beer, for instance. These drinks, however, must also comply with the required maximum of 2% alcohol by volume. Because this requirement is usually not complied with by the Bantu, particularly in the urban areas, owing to their addition of spirits and other substances, liquors of this type are usually regarded as "concoctions".

(b) Intoxicating liquor

Intoxicating liquor includes all types of liquor, excluding Bantu beer, containing more than 2% of alcohol by volume. Here a differentiation is made between European liquor and concoctions.

(i) European liquor

European liquor includes alcoholic beverages which are associated with the culture of the White people and which at the date of this survey were not (legally) available to the majority of Bantu in South Africa. European liquor includes beer, wine and spirits.

Beer is an alcoholic beverage prepared by the fermentation of a mash, with the addition of hops to flavour it. Wine is an alcoholic beverage prepared by the alcoholic fermentation of the juice of fresh grapes (or other fruit). The term includes sweet, dry and sparkling wines. For the purposes of this survey all other fermented alcoholic beverages such as orange wine are also classified under "wine". Spirits are alcoholic beverages distilled from a variety of raw materials and include brandy (prepared by the distillation of wine), whisky (distilled from fermented grain), rum (distilled from sugar cane or molasses), gin, vodka and liqueurs.

(ii) Concoctions¹⁾

Concoctions is the collective name for a large variety of alcoholic liquors (thus containing more than 2% by volume of alcohol) which are brewed illicitly by Bantu people by a process of alcoholic fermentation and distillation from a great variety of raw materials. (Compare the definition under Bantu beer.)

1.3.2 Total abstainer and drinker

A total abstainer is a person who takes no liquor (alcoholic liquor or Bantu beer). The consumption of liquor for sacramental reasons is not taken into account.

A drinker is a person who drinks liquor, irrespective of the amount consumed by him.

1) In the preparation of Barberton, Skokiaan and similar types of liquor, cheap drinking spirits, methylated spirits, paraffin, copper sulphate and other substances are sometimes added in an attempt to increase the alcoholic content. In his comprehensive work on the diet of the Pedi, P. J. Quinn says of concoctions: ". Owing to a developed craving for alcohol, the indolence of the modern women to serve the laboriously prepared traditional article and the laws governing the brewing of beer, a tendency has developed towards the quickly brewed highly intoxicating concoctions. These concoctions are brewed primarily for their high alcoholic content and probably have little food value; to the contrary, they may be labelled poison." (11, p. 257).

1. 3. 3 Urban and rural areas

According to the Census Report on the 1951 Census (Volume 1) the term urban areas is used to denote 'those towns and villages which had some form of urban local government constituted under any law, such as municipal councils, village management boards, health committees, etc. and adjoining suburbs of 'the larger cities' and 'the larger towns'. By the term rural areas is meant 'the whole area outside the jurisdiction of the various urban areas this area consists chiefly of farms and Native reserves, but includes also the small villages, designated rural townships which are considered too small, or not sufficiently urbanized to be classified as urban'. (6, pp. V-VI).

1. 4 LEGAL ASPECTS OF DRINKING BY THE BANTU

At the time of this report, the liquor Amendment Act, Act No. 72 of 1961, was not yet in force. The legislation regulating the supply of liquor to the Bantu at the time of this survey will be discussed briefly. (7)

1. 4. 1 Bantu areas

(a) Transkei

Bantu beer could be brewed for home use. The consumption of all types of alcoholic liquor in this area is controlled by Proclamation 333 of 1949. European liquor could be obtained only by those Bantu who held letters of exemption, Bantu who practised a recognised profession, or Bantu owning immovable property to the value of more than R150.

(b) Other Bantu areas

Act 30 of 1928 was applicable to these areas. The permission of the local magistrate or Bantu Affairs Commissioner was necessary for the brewing of Bantu beer for home use. A permit from the magistrate or Bantu Affairs Commissioner concerned was necessary for beer drinking gatherings at which more than three members of another kraal would be present. European liquor could be obtained only by means of a letter of exemption or a liquor permit from the Minister or a letter of exemption or liquor permit valid for 12 months issued by the local magistrate or Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

1. 4. 2 White areas

(a) Urban areas

The legislation controlling the consumption of Bantu beer in urban areas was incorporated in the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945, as amended. This consolidation act made provision for the brewing and supply of Bantu beer under the following systems:

- (i) The home-brewing system operated within the Bantu residential area (location) and the permit system for home-brewing in the White urban area outside the Bantu residential area. This enabled the household to obtain authority for the brewing of Bantu beer (for the exclusive use of the household).
- (ii) Under the beer hall system the local authority could obtain permission to brew and sell Bantu beer at a Bantu beer hall in a specified urban area. On the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria, Bantu beer was also brewed and sold on State-controlled premises.

- (iii) Under a licensing system certain Bantu could be granted the right to brew Bantu beer on approved premises for sale to Bantu living in a specified area.

This Act authorised the Minister to prohibit the making or drinking or possession of Bantu beer if this was considered detrimental to the Bantu as a result of abuse or specific local conditions.

European liquor could be acquired in the following ways only:

- (i) Letter of exemption issued by Minister. Applicants were required to maintain a standard of living equal to that of White people. The quantity and the type of liquor in respect of which exemption was applied for, had to be suited to the applicant's personal needs according to his income and living standard.
- (ii) The letter of exemption issued by the local magistrate was valid for a period of 12 months. Here, too, the requirements in respect of living standard were decisive. A Minister of religion could also obtain liquor for sacramental purposes by this means.
- (iii) A letter of exemption could be obtained from a police officer (valid for 3 months) by a "foreign" native living temporarily within the Republic, if alcoholic liquor was legally available to him in his own country.
- (iv) If a person's health necessitated the consumption of alcoholic liquor, he or she was able to obtain it if a doctor certified that it was necessary.
- (v) In the Orange Free State, employers were permitted to supply alcoholic liquor to their male Bantu workers over 18 years old. (Compare the discussion under rural areas below.)

(b) Rural areas

The brewing of Bantu beer for home use is permitted here if permission could be obtained from the occupier or owner of the land concerned. In the Cape Province any adult farmer could supply $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints of Bantu beer free of charge every day to his male Bantu employees over 21 years old. Owners of mines and other undertakings could obtain permission from the Minister annually for the brewing of Bantu beer on the property concerned, for free issue to their Bantu employees living within a radius of one mile from the mine or undertaking.

European liquor could be obtained in the same ways as described under the urban areas. In the Cape Province an adult farmer could supply his Bantu workers over 21 years of age with $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints of unfortified wine daily free of charge. In the O. F. S. an employer was permitted to give his male employees over 18 years old one tot per day, which had to be consumed on the property concerned. Employers in the Transvaal and Natal, on the other hand, were not permitted to supply any alcoholic liquor to Bantu employees, either gratis or in part or full payment of wages.

1. 4. 3 Summary

With a few exceptions, which could affect only a small group of Bantu, the drinking and possession of all types of European liquor was illegal for the Bantu in South Africa. For many years the South African White people followed a policy of prohibition in respect of the Bantu. As long ago as 1883 a commission of inquiry in the Cape Colony recommended that the prohibition of all types of liquor be introduced in respect of the Bantu, with a system of exemption for certain Bantu (4, p.62). The following statement by this "Commission on Native Laws and Customs" was to have formed the basis for legislation to control the drinking of alcoholic liquor by the Bantu population:

"Para. 129 - The Commission has been deeply impressed with the emphatic and urgent representations contained in nearly all the evidence taken especially from the natives themselves, on the evils arising out of the sale and consumption of strong drinks. Those members of the Commission who, for the purpose of taking evidence, had occasion to visit the Border districts, were eye-witnesses of the mischief and misery which the multiplied facilities for the sale of spirits, by licensed 'canteens' in the neighbourhood of native locations are producing and if unchecked it can only have one result, and that is the entire destruction of that portion of the natives who acquire the taste for brandy" (4, p.62).

Since 1923, with the enactment of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 (Act No. 21 of 1923), provision has been made for the drinking of the traditional Bantu beer in all four provinces of the Republic. There was, therefore, a definite discrimination between Bantu beer and European liquor. The Bantu was entitled to drink his own traditional type of liquor, but because of their trusteeship the White legislators had moral scruples which prohibited them from exposing the Bantu to possible social disorganisation through the use of a type of liquor foreign to their culture and containing a high percentage of alcohol. In spite of the fact that it was possible for the White entrepreneur to derive considerable economic benefit from a larger sales area for his European liquor, the general moral welfare of the Bantu with their lower economic development was placed first.

With the passage of time large numbers of Bantu became established in and around the large industrial centres and in spite of the general availability of Bantu beer, the demand for European liquor increased. Because this demand could not be met legitimately, a growing illicit liquor trade developed. It was this state of affairs that caused public opinion to swing gradually, but especially after the Second World War (8, p.10), in favour of European liquor being made generally available to the Bantu to some extent. W.J.P. Carr rightly comments as follows in this regard: "A veritable army of men, Police, Municipal and State officials, was engaged on the fruitless task of trying to enforce prohibition and all that was happening was that more illicit liquor was finding its way into the Bantu areas and more liquor sellers were setting up in business. A number of courageous Police officers said publicly that the policy of prohibition had failed and that the Police force was being subjected to unnecessary odium because of the constant raiding that had to be resorted to in an effort to keep liquor out of Bantu townships" (8, p.10).

The Government decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry, under the chairmanship of Dr. A.I. Malan, to examine the "general distribution and selling prices of liquor". In its report, the Commission drew special attention to the fact that as a result of the illicit trade the Bantu were not only paying exorbitant prices for European liquor but were also often acquiring harmful concoctions in lieu of the (more expensive) European liquor. The Commission was convinced that the status and living conditions of the Bantu within their own

community had improved to such an extent that they would be able, to a greater extent than previously, to make proper use of European liquor. It was also emphasised that the general economic circumstances of the Bantu had improved so much during the previous fifty years that they were more able to afford the White man's types of liquor (10, p. 5).

The recommendations of this commission culminated in the Liquor Amendment Act, 1961 (Act No. 72 of 1961). The way has now been opened for the general supplying of European liquor to the Bantu, subject to provisions which may be imposed by the Minister of Justice. This Act, however, remains chiefly an experiment, the effects of which will have to be tested over a long period (9, column 8284).

CHAPTER 2

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE GROUPS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

It is necessary at the outset to discuss the general quantitative characteristics of the two sample groups. In order to obtain an image of the quantitative reliability of the samples, certain comparable characteristics of the total number of urban and rural Bantu (as reflected in the provisional tabulations of the 1960 Census) are compared with those of the samples.

2.2 DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO AGE

In Table 2.1 the distribution of the subjects according to age is compared with that of the total population.

TABLE 2.1
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS AND THE TOTAL
POPULATION ACCORDING TO AGE

Age ¹⁾	Urban sample		Age ¹⁾	Total urban population ²⁾	
	No.	%		No.	%
15 - 20 years	84	8.4	15 - 19 years	305,552	12.8
21 - 30 years	293	29.3	20 - 29 years	822,406	34.3
31 - 40 years	268	26.8	30 - 39 years	594,867	24.8
41 - 50 years	190	19.0	40 - 49 years	381,784	15.9
51 - 60 years	99	9.9	50 - 59 years	169,818	7.1
61 - 70 years	50	5.0	60 - 69 years	77,079	3.2
71 years and older	16	1.6	70 years and older	44,696	1.9
TOTAL	1,000	100.0	TOTAL	2,396,202	100.0

Age	Rural sample		Age	Total rural population ²⁾	
	No.	%		No.	%
15 - 20 years	21	4.2	15 - 19 years	729,948	18.3
21 - 30 years	128	25.6	20 - 29 years	1,006,120	25.3
31 - 40 years	132	26.4	30 - 39 years	777,054	19.5
41 - 50 years	105	21.0	40 - 49 years	619,937	15.5
51 - 60 years	61	12.2	50 - 59 years	404,989	10.1
61 - 70 years	41	8.2	60 - 69 years	265,848	6.7
71 years and older	12	2.4	70 years and older	181,605	4.6
TOTAL	500	100.0	TOTAL	3,985,501	100.0

1) The age intervals in the sample groups do not coincide exactly with those of the total population

2) 3, p. 30.

According to Table 2.1 the general trend in regard to age distribution in both samples corresponds with that of the total population groups, namely a rise in the percentage share from the age group 15 - 20 years to the group 21 - 30 years, and thereafter a gradual decline in the percentage share in each age group up to the group 71 years and older. (Compare Fig. 2.1.) The difference between the percentage share of each age group in the two samples and each corresponding age group in the total urban and rural population is slight.

The characteristic deviation in the percentage share in the youngest age group (15 - 20 years) of both samples must probably be attributed to the fact that the field workers found young people at home less often and older persons more often.

2.3

DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

In Table 2.2 the marital status of the subjects is compared with that of the total population.

It emerges from Table 2.2 that the married persons constitute a greater percentage in both samples than their percentage share in the total population: urban sample 64.6 per cent as against 53.3 per cent, and rural sample 71.2 per cent as against 56.1 per cent. The opposite was true in respect of the "unmarried" persons (those who had never yet been married). This higher and lower percentage representation of the married and "unmarried" persons respectively is linked with the inevitable consequence of the fact that in practice the field workers proportionately less often encountered younger (and "unmarried") persons in the sample households. For the rest, the samples reflect a characteristic agreement with the total population groups.

Pains have been taken to make these samples as representative as possible of the Bantu in South Africa. From the foregoing discussions it would appear that this attempt has succeeded to a great extent, and where the characteristics of the samples sometimes reveal certain deviations from those of the total population, these deviations are not so radical that the findings in regard to the trends in the Bantu drinking pattern need be doubted.

A few additional characteristics of the two sample groups are also discussed. These data, however, cannot be compared with those in respect of the total population, as the necessary conversion is lacking in the census figures or the census has utilised other groupings.

2.4

DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO INCOME

Table 2.3 is a tabulation of the income of the subjects.

TABLE 2.3
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS ACCORDING TO INCOME

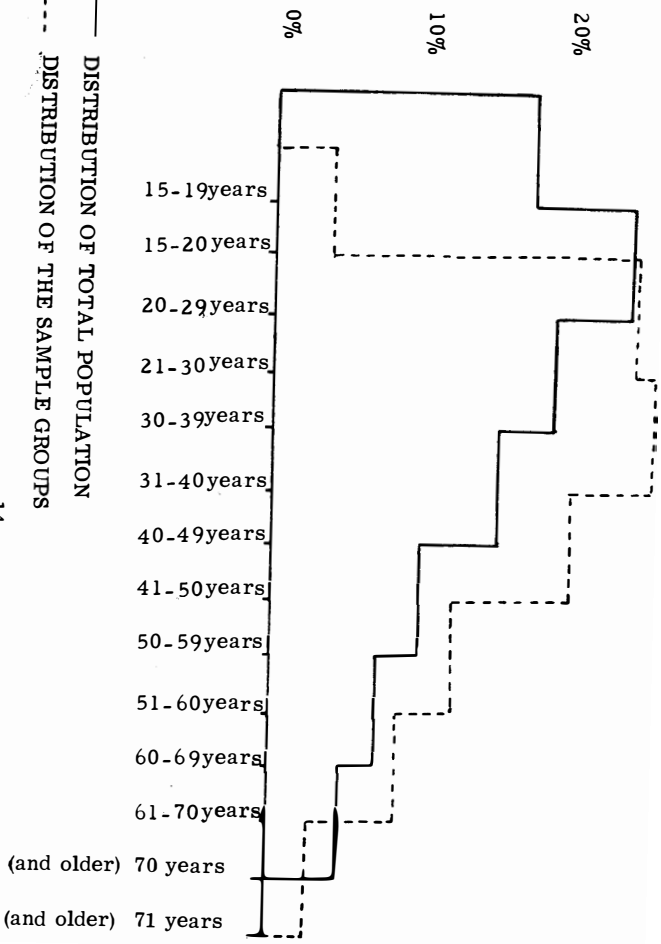
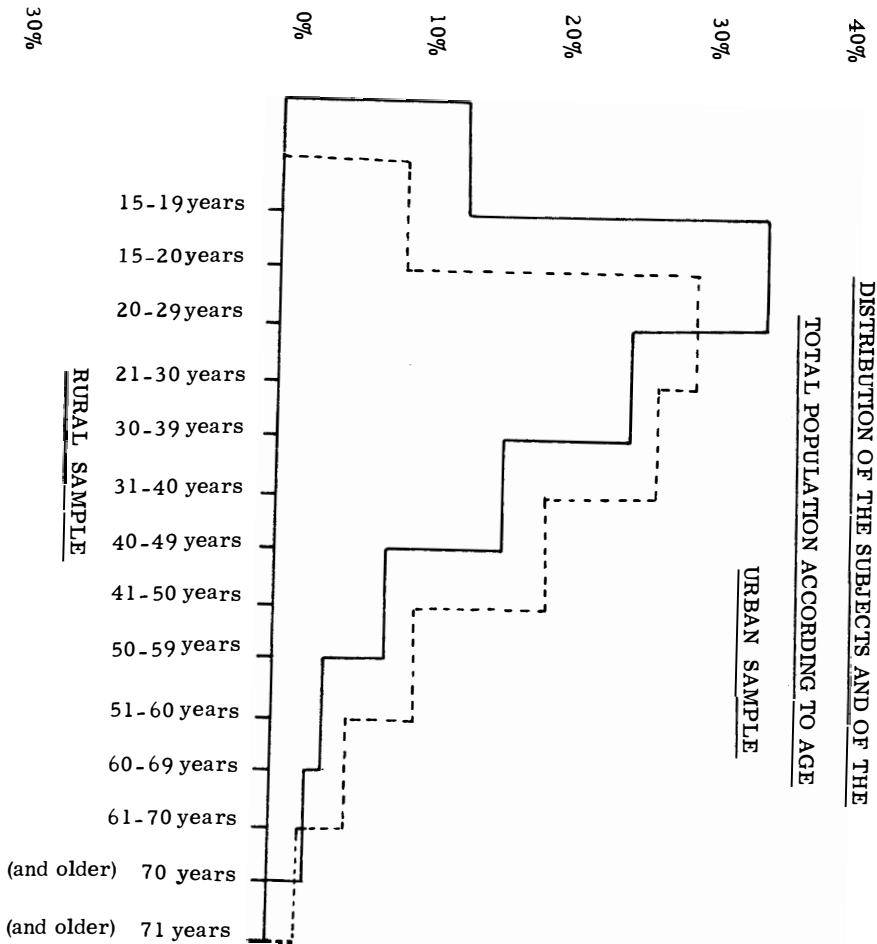
Income per month	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
None	43	4.3	64	12.8
R1 - 10	204	20.4	266	53.2
R11 - 20	274	27.4	102	20.4
R21 - 30	203	20.3)	31	6.2)
R31 - 40	151	15.1)	17	3.4)
R41 - 50	60	6.0)	7	1.4)
R51 - and over	65	6.5)	13	2.6)
TOTAL	1,000	100.0	500	100.0

1) This income includes income in kind

TABLE 2.2
MARITAL STATUS OF THE SUBJECTS AND THE TOTAL POPULATION

Marital status	Urban sample				Rural sample			
	Sample		Total population 15 years and older		Sample		Total population 15 years and older	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not yet married	265	26.5	917,496	38.4	88	17.6	1,290,933	32.5
Married according to recognised rites	646	64.6	1,271,647	53.3	356	71.2	2,226,488	56.1
Living together	26	2.6	53,383	2.2	13	2.6	67,988	1.7
Widow or widower	45	4.5	123,315	5.2	31	6.2	362,459	9.1
Divorced or deserted	18	1.8	21,646	0.9	12	2.4	22,182	0.2
TOTAL	1,000	100.0	2,387,487	100.0	500	100.0	3,970,050	100.0

FIGURE 2.1



DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE GROUPS

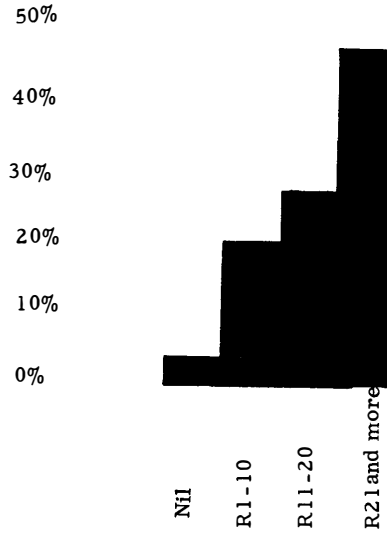
The income of the subjects tabulated in Table 2.3 represents family income. If the spouse of the subject was also a wage earner the spouse's income was therefore included. What strikes one immediately in Table 2.3 is the high proportion of the rural subjects earning between R1 - R10 per month (53.2%) - the highest single percentage. This proportion declines among the subjects in the sample as the income groups include persons with higher incomes, from 53.2 per cent among those earning between R1 - R10 per month to 20.4 per cent among those earning R11 - R20 per month and 13.6 per cent among those including subjects with an income exceeding R21 per month. (Compare Figure 2.2.) As against this, the urban sample has its largest single percentage (27.4%) composed of persons earning between R11 - R20 per month. The R1 - R10 per month group is here represented by 20.4 per cent subjects, while 47.9 per cent of the subjects earn more than R21 per month.

This difference in income distribution between the urban and the rural samples corresponds entirely with the hypothetically expected distribution if the occupational structure in South Africa is borne in mind.

FIGURE 2.2

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS ACCORDING TO INCOME

URBAN SAMPLE



RURAL SAMPLE

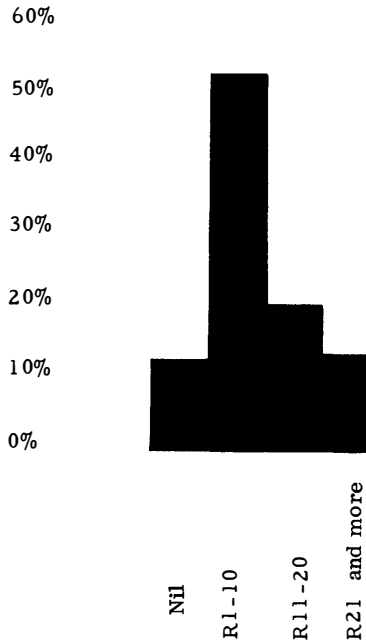


TABLE 2.4
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Farm labourers (agricultural workers), e. g. farm foremen, foresters, tractor drivers, etc.	18	1.8	99	19.8
Mineworkers who do not practice an "educated" occupation but are mainly labourers	13	1.3	5	1.0
Other labourers, e. g. in factories, railways, building trade, etc.	178	17.8	25	5.0
Professional, technical and allied occupations, e. g. doctors, ministers of religion, teachers, attorneys, chemists, accountants, interpreters, nurses, agricultural supervisors, etc.	29	2.9	12	2.4
Other "educated" occupations, e. g. administrative officials, supervisors, hair-dressers, clerks, messengers, etc.	50	5.0	2	0.4
Persons connected with delivery and transport services, e. g. drivers of taxis, lorries, private cars, buses, motorised cycles; delivery by means of bicycles, animal-drawn vehicles, etc.	52	5.2	3	0.6
Full-time students and scholars	15	1.5	3	0.6
Domestic and garden servants, e. g. domestic servants, gardeners, laundry and ironing servants, etc. employed by the Railways, hotels, etc.	329	32.9	80	16.0
Persons owning private business undertakings, e. g. traders (including hawkers), taxi owners, shoe repairers, house painters, etc.	30	3.0	7	1.4
Persons who make a living <u>mainly</u> from their own farming operations (excluding farm labourers and foremen) e. g. cattle farmers, agricultural farmers, etc.	1	0.1	63	12.6
Persons who are not economically active, e. g. pensioners, persons whose families provide for them, persons who have private means or some other source of income	23	2.3	2	0.4
Security services, e. g. policemen, prison warders and persons employed by the Defence Force, and also night watchmen, fire-fighters, fire-beaters, traffic inspectors, etc.	36	3.6	5	1.0

OCCUPATION	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Full-time housewives who do not work for other people for gain	185	18.5	163	32.6
Unemployed at the time of interview	38	3.8	31	6.2
Perform other work not mentioned above	3	0.3	0	0.0
TOTAL	1,000	100.0	500	100.0

2.5 DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

In Table 2.4 the occupational trends in respect of the two samples also correspond with a hypothetically expected trend. In the urban sample the domestic and garden servant group predominate with the highest single percentage (32.9%), followed by the housewives (18.5%) and the labourer groups (17.8%). In the rural sample the housewives group predominates with the highest single percentage, namely 32.6%. Then follow the farm labourer group (19.8%), the domestic and garden servants group (16.0%), and the farmer group (12.6%).

2.6 DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

Table 2.5 indicates the distribution of the subjects according to domicile.

TABLE 2.5
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

Domicile	Urban sample	
	No.	%
Spread through White town areas	67	6.7
Bantu residential areas within White town areas	85	8.5
Spread through White city areas	269	26.9
Bantu residential areas within White city areas	536	53.6
Compounds within White town and White city areas	43	4.3
TOTAL	1,000	100.0
Domicile	Rural sample	
	No.	%
Bantu area	279	55.8
White farm	201	40.2
Compound within White area	20	4.0
TOTAL	500	100.0

The highest single proportion in the urban sample is represented by the inhabitants of Bantu residential areas within White city areas (53.6%), while 26.9 per cent of the subjects live spread out in White city areas. Those living in White town areas are represented by 15.2 per cent, and the compound dwellers by 4.3 per cent. In the rural sample, 96.0 per cent of the subjects live either on a White farm (40.2%) or in a Bantu area (55.8%). The remainder (4.0%) live in compounds in rural White areas.

2.7 THE EDUCATIONAL STANDARD OF THE SUBJECTS

Table 2.6 is a tabulation of the educational standard of the subjects in the two samples. It emerges from this table that there is a characteristic difference in the distribution according to educational standard of the two samples. Whereas 53.2 per cent of the subjects in the rural sample had not passed any standard at school, this was the case in respect of only 28.0 per cent of the subjects in the urban sample. As against this, 35.1 per cent of the subjects in the urban sample state that they have passed Std. V or a higher standard, as against the 13.8 per cent of the subjects in the rural sample. (Compare Fig. 2.3.)

2.8 THE ETHNIC GROUPS TO WHICH THE SUBJECTS BELONG

The ethnic groups to which the various subjects belong are tabulated in Table 2.7.

TABLE 2.7
THE ETHNIC GROUPS TO WHICH THE SUBJECTS BELONG

Ethnic group	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Xhosa	249	24.9	146	29.2
Zulu	231	23.1	111	22.2
Ndebele	53	5.3	35	7.0
North-Sotho (Sepedi)	104	10.4	77	15.4
Tswana	145	14.5	69	13.8
South-Sotho (Sotho)	116	11.6	29	5.8
Tsonga (Shangaan)	30	3.0	6	1.2
Venda	20	2.0	4	0.8
Swazi	29	2.9	21	4.2
Other groups not mentioned above	23	2.3	2	0.4
TOTAL	1,000	100.0	500	100.0

It emerges from Table 2.7 that the Xhosa and Zulu groups constitute the largest single percentage units in both samples, namely 24.9 and 23.1 per cent respectively in the urban sample and 29.2 and 22.2 per cent respectively in the rural sample. Then follow the South-Sotho and Tswana groups with 11.6 and 14.5 per cent in the urban sample and the North-Sotho and Tswana groups with 15.4 per cent and 13.8 per cent respectively in the rural sample.

TABLE 2.6
EDUCATIONAL STANDARD OF THE SUBJECTS

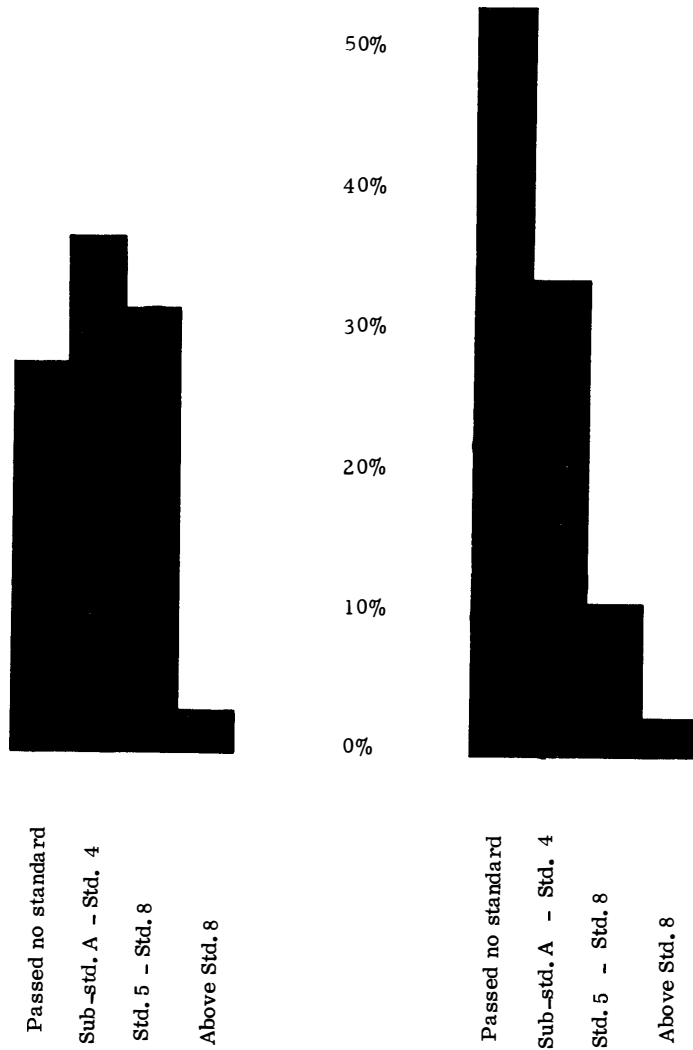
Educational standard	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Never attended school	267	26.7)	254	50.8)
Attended school but passed no standard	13	1.3)	12	2.4)
Passed Sub-standards A or B	40	4.0)	38	7.6)
Passed Std. I or II	156	15.6)	67	13.4)
Passed Std. III or IV	173	17.3)	65	13.0)
Passed Std. V or VI	216	21.6)	41	8.2)
Passed Form I	38	3.8)	7	1.4)
Passed Form I and hold in addition a technical or a teacher's certificate or an agricultural certificate or similar certificate	12	1.2)	4	0.2)
Passed Form II	26	2.6)	1	0.2)
Passed Form III (this includes all the various Junior Certificates)	27	2.7)	2	0.4)
Passed Form III and also hold a technical or a teacher's certificate or an agricultural certificate or a similar certificate	19	1.9)	5	1.0)
Passed Form IV	3	0.3)	0	0.0)
Passed Form V (this includes all the various matriculation certificates)	6	0.6)	2	0.4)
Passed Form V and also hold a technical certificate or a teacher's certificate or an agricultural certificate or a similar certificate or some other qualification other than a university degree	4	0.4)	1	0.2)
Hold a university degree	0	0.0)	1	0.2)
TOTAL	1,000	100.0	500	100.0

FIGURE 2.3

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD OF THE SUBJECTS

URBAN

RURAL



The official languages which the subjects are able to speak are tabulated in Table 2, 8

TABLE 2, 8
OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY THE SUBJECTS

Official languages which the subjects can speak	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Afrikaans only	156	15.6	117	23.4
English only	218	21.8	71	14.2
Afrikaans and English	473	47.3	67	13.4
Neither of the two official languages	154	15.3	245	49.0
TOTAL	1,000	100.0	500	100.0

The data in Table 2, 8 indicate characteristic differences between the urban and the rural subjects. Whereas only 15.3 per cent of the subjects in the urban areas are unable to speak Afrikaans or English at all, this is true of nearly half (49.0%) of the subjects in the rural sample. On the other hand, approximately half (47.3%) of the subjects in the urban areas are able to speak both Afrikaans and English, as against the 13.4 per cent of the rural sample. The subjects in the rural sample who are able to speak Afrikaans but not English are represented by 23.4 per cent of the total number of subjects. In the urban sample, the group able to speak English but not Afrikaans is represented by a greater percentage than in the rural sample, namely 21.8 per cent as against 14.2 per cent.

2.10 QUALITATIVE RELIABILITY

The Bantu field workers were thoroughly schooled beforehand in the interpretation of the questionnaire and also in interviewing. Moreover, the nature of the questions was such that answers could be cross-checked by the field worker and by the supervisor. The background of the survey was described briefly to the field workers. Strong emphasis was laid on the fact that this survey actually had nothing to do with the abuse of alcohol. The field workers were also given a standard example of the manner in which acquaintance should be made with the subjects, and a sketch of the background of the survey.

It was emphasised that the survey would actually be a form of census on drinking. Field workers accordingly often showed the relevant area map to the subjects in order to explain the "anonymous" method of sampling to them.

Notwithstanding all these precautions against mistrust and prejudice among the subjects, it would be too far-fetched to assume that the data collected is accurate throughout. A fear was often encountered, particularly among subjects in the Bantu residential areas of the(White) cities,

that the "strange" Bantu field worker, often having a higher standard of living than the subject, might abuse the information requested, particularly that regarding "illegal" concoctions, by conveying such information to the local authorities. (Compare the similar problem in the survey by W. J. O. Jeppe; 4, p. vii.)

The tendency to obtain a lighter consumption pattern than the true one by means of a representative survey employing a questionnaire, however, has been accepted hypothetically by various investigators. (Compare the observation by W. H. Beaven, 5, p. 5.)

CHAPTER 3

TOTAL ABSTAINERS AND DRINKERS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the proportion of drinkers is compared with the proportion of total abstainers in the urban and the rural samples. Various general characteristics of the two sample groups, such as sex, age, occupation, educational standard, income, marital status, ethnical group and domicile, are compared with the factor of drinking and total abstinence in order to determine trends of correlation.

3.2 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING

It emerges from Table 3.1 that in the urban as well as the rural sample approximately two-thirds of the Bantu consume liquor, the proportions being 64.6 and 63.2 per cent respectively. It would appear that the factor of urbanisation of the Bantu generally causes no change in the percentage of Bantu who take liquor. Fig. 3.1 is a graphic representation of drinking in the sample groups.

3.3 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO SEX

From Table 3.1, in which total abstinence and drinking are correlated with the sex of the subject, it is observed that the percentages of both men and women who take liquor correspond to a large extent in the two samples. The rural men, however, include a somewhat higher proportion of drinkers than do the urban men, the figures being 84.6 per cent as against 80.4 per cent. The women of the urban areas, on the other hand, include a slightly higher proportion of drinkers than the women of the rural areas, 45.3 per cent as against 43.5 per cent. Whereas at least four-fifths of the men take liquor, therefore, less than half of the women do so.

It is not easy to take the customs of all ethnic groups into consideration when called upon to explain the fact that a higher percentage of men than of women consume alcoholic liquor. Traditionally, it would appear to be the task of the women to prepare Bantu beer and to serve it to the men. Women therefore drink their beer separately from the men and are apparently not prohibited from consuming this type of liquor. In the White city areas joint drinking apparently occurs frequently. A very obvious hypothesis is that married women are in general less inclined, and frequently forbidden by their husbands, to give information to strangers during their husbands' absence. (Compare the problems in the survey by W.J.O. Jeppe, 4, p.vii.) As a result, the field workers may sometimes have obtained incorrect information from the women.

3.4 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO AGE

Table 3.2 is a tabulation of total abstinence and drinking in various age groups. This Table indicates a very marked trend: as the age of the age group rises, there is a rise in the percentage of drinkers up to the middle-aged group, i.e. 41 to 50 years, after which it shows a slight fall. In both the rural and the urban samples, the age group 41 to 50 years includes the highest single percentage of drinkers, namely 78.1 per cent and 73.7 per cent respectively.

TABLE 3.1
TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO SEX

Sex	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Men	108	19.6	442	80.4	550	100.0	37	15.4	203	84.6	240	100.0
Women	246	54.7	204	45.3	450	100.0	147	56.5	113	43.5	260	100.0
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0

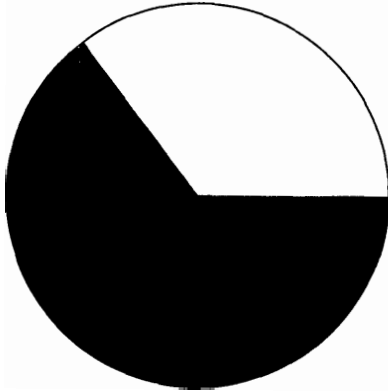
$X^2 = 131.2815$; $p < .1\%$

$X^2 = 88.9795$; $p < .1\%$

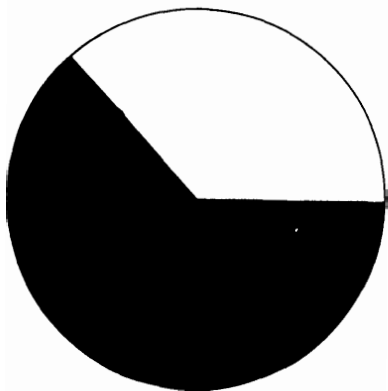
FIGURE 3.1

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING IN THE TWO
SAMPLE GROUPS

URBAN SAMPLE



RURAL SAMPLE



■ Drinkers
□ Total abstainers

TABLE 3.2

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO AGE

Age	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15 - 20 years	39	46.4	45	53.6	84	100.0	16	76.2	5	23.8	21	100.0
21 - 30 years	129	44.0	164	56.0	293	100.0	63	49.2	65	50.8	128	100.0
31 - 40 years	82	30.5	187	69.5	269	100.0	51	38.9	80	61.1	131	100.0
41 - 50 years	50	26.3	140	73.7	190	100.0	23	21.9	82	78.1	105	100.0
51 - 60 years	31	31.6	67	68.4	98	100.0	14	22.6	48	77.4	62	100.0
61 years and older	23	34.8	43	65.2	66	100.0	17	32.1	36	67.9	53	100.0
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0

$$X^2 = 24.3210; p < .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 38.6689; p < .1\%$$

A very interesting phenomenon is discernible if the data in respect of the rural sample are compared with those of the urban group. Although the percentage of drinkers is approximately the same in both total groups, 63.2 and 64.6 per cent respectively, the percentage of drinkers in the younger age groups (the groups aged between 15 and 40 years) and particularly in the age group 15 to 20 years, is notably lower in the rural sample than in the urban group (rural sample, 23.8%, 50.8% and 61.1%, as against the urban sample, 53.6%, 56.0% and 69.5%). If the two groups of drinkers among persons over 40 years old are compared, we find the opposite trend.

According to this table, therefore, it would appear that drinking is the prerogative of age, and that this privilege is respected to a greater degree in the country than in the cities. The fact that such a small percentage of subjects in the age group 15 - 20 years of the rural sample are drinkers, appears to have some connection with inter alia the dependence of the young rural Bantu on the patriarchal home. It appears to be the custom, until a relatively late age, to hand over to the family any moneys earned. There is accordingly very little money for buying liquor. The young urban Bantu apparently enjoys a greater measure of freedom in the spending of his income.

3.5 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

In regard to the data in Table 3.3, the urban and rural samples correspond in respect of three occupational groups, namely:

- 3.5.1 The labourer group (this includes farm labourers, e.g. farm foremen, farm labourers, foresters, tractor drivers, mineworkers, fishermen and other industrial labourers such as factory, building and railway workers). In both samples this group showed a considerably higher percentage of drinkers than the grand total of the subjects: urban sample 83.0 per cent as against 64.6 per cent, and the rural sample 82.2 per cent as against 63.2 per cent.
- 3.5.2 The group not economically active (this consists mainly of full-time house-wives not employed by others for gain, but also a small number of full-time students, scholars and pensioners.) This group contains a considerably smaller percentage of drinkers than the total group because it naturally includes many women and persons who are not in gainful employment. In the urban sample, 44.8 per cent are drinkers, and in the rural sample 42.9 per cent, as against the total groups' 64.6 per cent and 63.2 per cent respectively.
- 3.5.3 The group including persons connected with delivery and transport services (e.g. persons performing delivery duties and the drivers of taxis, lorries, private cars, buses and motorised cycles), domestic and garden servants (e.g. domestic servants, gardeners, laundry and ironing servants and waiters), persons in the security services (e.g. policemen, prison warders, military personnel, night watchmen, firemen, fire-beaters, traffic inspectors, etc.). This group includes, in respect of both the urban and the rural sample, approximately the same percentage of drinkers as the total group: urban sample 62.3 per cent, and rural sample 63.6 per cent. A very probable reason for this similarity between the percentages of drinkers is the extreme heterogeneity of this occupational group. The small numbers in the occupations constituting this group, however, necessitated such classification.

TABLE 3.3
TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

Occupation	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Labourers; farm, mining and other industrial workers; fishermen	36	17.0	176	83.0	212	100.0	23	17.8	106	82.2	129	100.0
Persons in professional technical and other "educated" occupations	22	27.9	57	72.1	79	100.0	6	42.9	8	57.1	14	100.0
Persons connected with delivery, transport and security services, and domestic and garden servants	155	37.2	262	62.3	417	100.0	32	36.4	56	63.6	88	100.0
Full-time students, scholars, and housewives and persons not economically active	123	55.2	100	44.8	223	100.0	96	57.1	72	42.9	168	100.0
Private entrepreneurs, e.g. traders and independent farmers	11	35.5	20	64.5	31	100.0	10	14.3	60	85.7	70	100.0
Unemployed	7	18.4	31	81.6	38	100.0	17	54.8	14	45.2	31	100.0
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0

$$X^2 = 76.8460; p < 1\%$$

$$X^2 = 69.6756; p < 1\%$$

3.5.4

As regards the other three occupational groups, it is noteworthy that great differences exist between the two sample groups in respect of their proportion of drinkers.

- (a) The occupational group which, according to White criteria enjoys the highest status, namely the professional and semi-professional group (this includes medical practitioners, ministers of religion, teachers, attorneys, chemists, accountants, interpreters, nurses, agricultural supervisors, administrative officials, clerks, etc.) contains a considerably larger percentage of drinkers in the urban sample than the percentage for the entire sample group (72.1%), while in the rural sample this group yields a characteristically lower percentage of drinkers than the total group (57.1%). It must be borne in mind, however, that the numbers in the latter sample group are dangerously low.
- (b) The unemployed persons include a very high percentage of drinkers (81.6% as against the 64.6% of the entire group) in comparison with the rural sample, whereas this group again has a markedly smaller percentage of drinkers than the total group, namely 45.2 per cent as against the total group's 63.2 per cent.
- (c) The group consisting of private entrepreneurs. In the rural sample these are almost exclusively persons who earn their living from their own farming enterprises - farm labourers and farm foremen are, therefore, excluded; in the urban sample on the other hand, this group consists of traders (including hawkers) taxi-owners, shoe repairers, house painters, etc. This occupational group has a very much larger proportion of drinkers (85.7 per cent as against the total sample's 63.2 per cent) than the urban sample, in which the percentage of drinkers is almost identical with that of the total group (64.5 per cent) as against 64.6%. It must be remembered, however, that this occupational group contains, in the latter case, owners of undertakings which are essentially socio-economically heterogeneous.

3.6

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

The distribution of total abstinence and drinking according to educational standard is tabulated in Table 3.4. In the rural sample group a marked trend is discernible: as the educational standard of the educational group rises, the percentage of total abstainers increases up to the group with a Std. III or Std. IV certificate. The highest single proportion of drinkers (71.7%) is found in the group who have never been to school. In the urban sample it is a similar increase, but here it is less consistent. In both sample groups, however, the percentage of drinkers in relation to the total group declines as the educational group includes persons with a higher educational standard than a Std. II certificate.

As will appear from the distribution indicated by tables in later chapters, the drinkers with a higher educational level prefer and consume inter alia more European liquor than the total group (Tables 6.5 and 5.5). If this drinking preference of the higher educational groups can be made applicable to the drinkers and the total abstainers in the two sample groups, the "unobtainability"¹⁾ of White liquor may be an important reason for the greater incidence of total abstinence among those subjects with a higher

1) "Unobtainable" for legal and/or economic reasons.

TABLE 3.4

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Standard passed	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never attended school	89	33.3	178	66.7	267	100.0	72	28.3	182	71.7	254	100.0
Passed no standard, or passed Sub-standard A or B	15	28.3	38	71.7	53	100.0	18	36.0	32	64.0	50	100.0
Standard I or II	44	28.2	112	71.8	156	100.0	25	37.3	42	62.7	67	100.0
Standard III or IV	68	39.3	105	60.7	173	100.0	35	53.8	30	46.2	65	100.0
Standard V or VI	79	36.6	137	63.4	216	100.0	22	53.7	19	46.3	41	100.0
Form I to V, or university degree	59	43.7	76	56.3	135	100.0	12	52.2	11	47.8	23	100.0
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0

$$X^2 = 10.5527; 10\% > p > 5\%$$

$$X^2 = 23.2944; p < .1\%$$

educational standard than among the total group²⁾, since the type of liquor they like is not obtainable, while the obtainable type of liquor does not appeal to their taste.

3.7 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO INCOME

Total abstinence and drinking are correlated with the subject's family income in Table 3.5. The general trends in the two sample groups are entirely different. Whereas the lowest income group, consisting of persons with an income of R10 or less per month, has a higher percentage of total abstainers in the urban sample than in the total group (41.3 per cent as against 35.4 per cent), in the case of the rural sample subjects in the highest income groups, namely those with an income exceeding R30 per month, are the ones who reveal a higher proportion of total abstainers than the total group (59.5% as against 36.8%). The highest income group in the urban sample accordingly also includes more drinkers than the total group (67.0% as against 64.6%). In the rural sample the relationship between income and the factor of drinking shows considerably greater consistency: the proportion of drinkers declines consistently as the family income of the various income groups increases: (65.2%, 64.7% and 40.5% respectively). In the urban sample we find exactly the opposite trend.

At the time of this survey European liquor was more easily obtainable through illicit channels in urban areas than in rural ones, with the result that persons with a high income could easily obtain the type of liquor which they preferred. (Compare the distribution in Tables 6.6 and 5.7.) A factor which may apparently also have a bearing on this distribution is that the person with a high income in the rural sample is also the person with a high educational standard, while this is apparently not the case in respect of persons in the urban sample. At this stage, however, no adequate explanation can be given for this phenomenon without further research.

3.8 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Table 3.6 is a tabulation of total abstinence and drinking according to marital status. According to Table 3.6 the unmarried persons (i. e. persons who at the time of the survey had not yet been married) in both the urban and the rural groups included a lower proportion of drinkers than the total group; in the urban group 59.6 per cent of the unmarried persons drink alcoholic liquor, as against 64.6 per cent of the total sample group. This difference is more marked in the rural sample since 52.3 per cent of the unmarried people take alcohol, as against the 63.2 per cent of the total group embracing persons of all the marital status groups. As against this, the married persons in both groups yield a slightly higher percentage of drinkers than the total sample group.

In view of the distribution in Table 3.2, an explanation is readily available here: the unmarried persons are naturally the younger persons, who, according to this table, include fewer drinkers than the higher age groups. It will be observed that the ranks of the divorced persons, deserted persons and widows/widowers in both samples include a higher proportion of drinkers than the total sample. It would be dangerous, however, to draw inferences here, as this group is sociologically extremely heterogeneous.

3.9 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

The data of Table 3.7, in which total abstinence and drinking are correlated with the ethnic group of the subjects, may be divided into three categories, namely:

2) It was also found during the survey that many of the "educated" Bantu found the taste and smell of Bantu beer repugnant.

TABLE 3.5

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO INCOME

Monthly income	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
R10 - and less	102	41.3	145	58.7	247	100.0	115	34.8	215	65.2	330	100.0
R11 - R30	161	33.8	316	66.2	477	100.0	47	35.3	86	64.7	133	100.0
R31 and over	91	33.0	185	67.0	276	100.0	22	59.5	15	40.5	37	100.0
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0

 $X^2 = 5.0324; 10\% > p > 5\%$
 $X^2 = 8.8310; 2\% > p > 1\%$

TABLE 3.6

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Still unmarried	107	40.4	158	59.6	265	100.0	42	47.7	46	52.3	88	100.0
Married according to recognised rites	216	33.4	430	66.6	646	100.0	127	35.7	229	64.3	356	100.0
Living together, divorced or widow/widower	31	34.8	58	65.2	89	100.0	15	26.8	41	73.2	56	100.0
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0

$$X^2 = 3.9725; 20\% > p > 10\%$$

$$X^2 = 7.1267; 5\% > p > 2\%$$

TABLE 3.7

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

Ethnic group	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Xhosa	111	44.6	138	55.4	249	100.0	50	34.2	96	65.8	146	100.0
Zulu	89	38.5	142	61.5	231	100.0	44	39.6	67	60.4	111	100.0
Ndebele	21	39.6	32	60.4	53	100.0	9	25.7	26	74.3	35	100.0
North Sotho (Sepedi)	31	29.8	73	70.2	104	100.0	32	41.6	45	58.4	77	100.0
Tswana	39	26.9	106	73.1	145	100.0	26	37.7	43	62.3	69	100.0
South Sotho (Sotho)	34	29.3	82	70.7	116	100.0	7	24.1	22	75.9	29	100.0
Swazi	10	34.5	19	65.5	29	100.0	10	47.6	11	52.4	21	100.0
Other groups	19	26.0	54	74.0	73	100.0	6	50.0	6	50.0	12	100.0
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0

$$X^2 = 21.2772; 1\% > p > 1\%$$

$$X^2 = 7.3713; 50\% > p > 30\%$$

- (a) The ethnic groups yielding a higher proportion of drinkers than the sample as a whole; in the urban sample: the "Other" group (that is, Tsonga, Venda, etc.) 74.0%, Tswanas (73.1%), South-Sothos (70.7%) and North-Sothos (70.2%). In the rural sample: the South-Sothos (75.9%) and the Ndebele (74.3%).
- (b) The ethnic groups having more or less the same proportion (that is, not more than 5% above or below the total group) of drinkers than the total sample. In the urban sample: the Swazis (65.5%), the Zulu (61.5%) and the Ndebele (60.4%). In the rural sample: the Xhosa (65.8%), the Tswana (62.3%), the Zulu 60.4% and the North-Sotho (58.4%).
- (c) The groups containing a lower proportion of drinkers than the sample. In the urban sample: the Xhosa (55.4%); in the rural sample: the Swazi (52.4%) and the "Other" group (50.0%).

From this distribution it appears that the South-Sotho yield a higher proportion of drinkers in both the sample groups, while the Zulus have a higher percentage of total abstainers in both the urban and the rural samples.

3.10 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO PROFICIENCY IN SPEAKING THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

In Table 3.8 total abstinence and drinking are correlated with the proficiency of the subjects in speaking the two official languages. In both the urban and the rural samples it is found that

- (a) the Bantu whose ability to speak a European language is limited to Afrikaans include a higher proportion of drinkers, namely 66.0 and 73.5 per cent respectively;
- (b) the Bantu whose ability to speak a European language is limited to English include a considerably lower proportion of drinkers (51.4% and 52.1%) than in the total group, for which the figures are 64.6 and 63.2 per cent respectively. Although the chi-square test reveals a significant relationship between the variables, there is, however, no question here of a trend corresponding with the degree of "literacy", since although the group able to speak both Afrikaans and English for instance reveals, of all the groups, the highest percentage of drinkers in the urban group (69.6%), the group able to speak neither of the official languages here reveals the second highest percentage of drinkers, namely 66.7%. The same holds good in respect of the rural group, where these two "literacy groups" have virtually the same proportion of drinkers, namely 62.7 and 61.6 per cent respectively.

3.11 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

Table 3.9 is a tabulation of total abstinence and drinking according to domicile. No general trend connected with urbanity or rurality can be inferred from Table 3.9. A striking feature is the particularly high percentage of drinkers yielded by the compound dwellers in both samples; urban sample 86.0 per cent, and rural sample 80.0 per cent. The fact that compound dwellers usually consist of men only, who in many cases receive their Bantu beer free of charge, probably has some bearing on this distribution.

TABLE 3.8

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO PROFICIENCY IN SPEAKING THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Official languages spoken	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Afrikaans only	53	34.0	103	66.0	156	100.0	31	26.5	86	73.5	117	100.0
English only	106	48.6	112	51.4	218	100.0	34	47.9	37	52.1	71	100.0
Afrikaans and English	144	30.4	329	69.6	473	100.0	25	37.3	42	62.7	67	100.0
Neither Afrikaans nor English	51	33.3	102	66.7	153	100.0	94	38.4	151	61.6	245	100.0
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0

$$X^2 = 22.1748; p < 0.1\%$$

$$X^2 = 9.3605; 5\% > p > 2\%$$

TABLE 3.9

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

Domicile	Urban sample						Domicile	Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total			Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage		No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Spread in White town area	22	32.8	45	67.2	67	100.0	Bantu area	116	41.6	163	58.4	279	100.0
Bantu residential area within White town area	27	31.8	58	68.2	85	100.0	White farm	64	31.8	137	68.2	201	100.0
Bantu residential area within White city area	186	34.7	350	65.3	536	100.0	Compound in White area	4	20.0	16	80.0	20	100.0
Compound	6	14.0	37	86.0	43	100.0	TOTAL	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0
Spread in White city area	113	42.0	156	58.0	269	100.0							
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0							

$$X^2 = 11.1413; 2\% > p > 1\%$$

$$X^2 = 14.5823; 1\% > p > 0.1\%$$

It emerges further that Bantu living in White town areas yield a higher percentage of drinkers than those subjects living in White city areas, the figures being 67.2 per cent and 68.2 per cent; and 65.3 per cent and 58.0 per cent respectively. It would seem that the city dwellers were more exposed to constant strain and tensions in regard to matters concerning liquor and fear of prosecution as a result of illicit brewing and drinking and therefore were more sceptical towards the survey and probably declared more often that they were total abstainers even though they do actually take liquor.

3.12 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO MOBILITY GROUPS

Table 3.10 is a tabulation of total abstinence and drinking according to mobility. In this table a fairly clear trend can be observed in the rural sample as regards the influence of external circumstances of "westernisation" and/or detribalisation on drinking. The group who had never been in a Bantu area during the preceding five years, includes, of all the domicile groups, the highest percentage of drinkers (76.9%); the group which during the preceding five years had lived longer in a White area than in a Bantu area, yielded the second highest percentage (64.4%); the group which had lived longer in a Bantu area than a White area, the second lowest percentage (61.5%) while the group which had never been in a White area during the preceding five years yielded the lowest percentage of drinkers (54.8%). The only indication of this trend in the urban group is the high percentage of drinkers found in this sample in the group which during the preceding five years had lived longer in a White than in a Bantu area (67.0%).

According to the distribution in this table it would appear that the proportion of drinkers increases as contact with the home in the Bantu area decreases. If the distribution in the preceding table is borne in mind, however, it would appear that it is not so much the degree of urbanisation that correlates with a higher percentage of drinkers, but rather the degree of loss of contact with the Bantu homeland, irrespective of whether or not urbanisation is involved.

3.13 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO FAMILIARITY WITH EUROPEAN LIQUOR

In Table 3.11 total abstinence and drinking are correlated with the subject's experience of European liquor. From this table it appears that a higher proportion of Bantu in the urban sample have already partaken of European liquor at some time in their lives than is the case among the Bantu of the rural sample (53.9 per cent as against 40.8 per cent). As far as the drinkers themselves are concerned, it appears from a comparison of the two samples that a higher percentage of the drinkers in the urban sample (82.8%) had already become acquainted with European liquor than was the case in regard to drinkers in the rural sample (63.6%).

It emerges clearly that the consumption of European liquor by the Bantu is primarily dependent on the degree of availability.

3.14 ATTITUDE OF TOTAL ABSTAINERS AND DRINKERS TOWARDS EUROPEAN LIQUOR BEING MADE AVAILABLE TO THE BANTU

Table 3.12 is a tabulation of the attitudes of total abstainers and drinkers towards European liquor being made available to the Bantu. It emerges from this table that approximately two-thirds of the persons in the two sample groups welcome the idea of European liquor being made available to the Bantu (urban sample 68.3% and rural sample 60.8%). As against this, 24.5 per cent of the urban sample and 27.8 per cent of the rural sample

TABLE 3.10

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO MOBILITY

Mobility during previous five years	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Never entered White area	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	45.2	46	54.8	84	100.0
Lived in Bantu area longer than in White area	24	38.7	38	61.3	62	100.0	79	38.5	126	61.5	205	100.0
Lived in White area longer than in Bantu area	187	33.0	380	67.0	567	100.0	52	35.6	94	64.4	146	100.0
Never entered Bantu area	143	38.5	228	61.5	371	100.0	15	23.1	50	76.9	65	100.0
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0

$$X^2 = 3.3524; 20\% > p > 10\%$$

$$X^2 = 8.1886; 5\% > p > 2\%$$

TABLE 3.11

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO FAMILIARITY WITH EUROPEAN LIQUOR

Experience of European liquor	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	Per- centage	No.	Per- centage	No.	Per- centage	No.	Per- centage	No.	Per- centage	No.	Per- centage
Never having taken European liquor	350	98.9	111	17.2	461	46.1	181	98.4	115	36.4	296	59.2
Having taken Euro- pean liquor	4	1.1	535	82.8	539	53.9	3	1.6	201	63.6	204	40.8
TOTAL	354	100.0	646	100.0	1,000	100.0	184	100.0	316	100.0	500	100.0

TABLE 3.12

ATTITUDE OF TOTAL ABSTAINERS AND DRINKERS TOWARDS EUROPEAN LIQUOR BEING MADE AVAILABLE TO THE BANTU

Attitude in regard to European liquor being made avail- able to Bantu	Urban sample					Rural sample						
	Total abstainers		Drinkers			Total	Total abstainers		Drinkers			Total
	No.	Percen- tage	No.	Percen- tage	No.		Percen- tage	No.	Percen- tage	No.	Percen- tage	
In favour	160	45.2	523	81.0	683	68.3	71	38.6	233	73.7	304	60.8
Not in favour	146	41.2	99	15.3	245	24.5	82	44.6	57	18.0	139	27.8
Don't know	48	13.6	24	3.7	72	7.2	31	16.8	26	8.2	57	11.4
TOTAL	354	100.0	646	100.0	1,000	100.0	184	100.0	316	100.0	500	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 136.3007; P < 0.1\%$$

$$\chi^2 = 60.6425; P < 0.1\%$$

are not in favour of it, and 7.2 per cent of the urban sample and 11.4 per cent of the rural sample are uncertain in regard to its desirability. It will therefore appear that the larger portion of the Bantu in the urban sample are in favour of the release of European liquor.

In regard to the drinkers, too, it is observed that a higher proportion of this group in the urban sample are in favour of European liquor being available than is the case among drinkers in the rural sample (81.0 per cent as against 73.7%). More of the total abstainers in the urban sample, too, are in favour of European liquor being made available to the Bantu than is the case among this group in the rural sample (45.2% as against 38.6%). It will also be observed that the total abstainers in the urban sample include an even larger proportion of persons in favour of free access to European liquor than of persons who are against it (45.2% as against 41.2%).

A possible explanation may lie in the differences in the drinking pattern of the two sample groups: the rural sample group are, of course, traditionally more given to the use of Bantu beer. To the tribal Bantu, the making and drinking of distilled liquor with a high alcoholic content are unknown.

3.15 TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OR TERRITORY

The distribution of total abstinence and drinking in the various provinces or territories is tabulated in Table 3.13. It emerges from this table that in both samples the Bantu inhabitants of the Orange Free State include an appreciably higher proportion of drinkers than the total group, (urban sample 79.0%, as against 64.6%, and rural sample 70.0% as against 63.2%). The inhabitants of the Cape Province and Zululand also yield an appreciably higher proportion of drinkers in the rural sample than in the total group. As the Zulus of Zululand include a higher proportion of drinkers than the total group, it is apparently the preponderance of Zulus in the rural area of Natal that is responsible for the fact that the rural Zulus have a lower percentage of drinkers than the total group (Table 3.7).

3.16 SUMMARY

- 3.16.1 Approximately two-thirds of the Bantu are drinkers.
- 3.16.2 While four-fifths of the men are drinkers, only slightly more than two-fifths of the women consume alcoholic liquor.
- 3.16.3 The percentage of drinkers increases with the age of the age group until the middle-aged group is reached, namely 41-50 years.
- 3.16.4 The younger age groups in the sample of the urban Bantu population contains a higher proportion of drinkers than the rural population, while the higher age groups of the latter have a higher proportion of drinkers than the urban sample.
- 3.16.5 Occupational groups containing a higher proportion of drinkers than the total group, are
 - (a) the labourer group in both samples,
 - (b) the professional and semi-professional group in the urban sample;
 - (c) the group conducting their own undertakings in the rural sample.
- 3.16.6 The percentage of drinkers is lower than for the total group according to the extent to which the educational group includes persons with a higher educational standard than Std. II.

TABLE 3.13

TOTAL ABSTINENCE AND DRINKING ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OR TERRITORY

Province or territory	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total		Total abstainers		Drinkers		Total	
	No.	Per- cent- age	No.	Per- cent- age	No.	Per- cent- age	No.	Per- cent- age	No.	Per- cent- age	No.	Per- cent- age
Cape Province	88	48.9	92	51.1	180	100.0	19	27.1	51	72.9	70	100.0
Natal	45	34.6	85	65.3	130	100.0	35	43.7	45	56.3	80	100.0
O. F. S.	21	21.0	79	79.0	100	100.0	15	30.0	35	70.0	50	100.0
Transvaal	200	33.9	390	66.1	590	100.0	73	40.6	107	59.4	180	100.0
Transkei	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	36.7	57	63.3	90	100.0
Zululand	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	30.0	21	70.0	30	100.0
TOTAL	354	35.4	646	64.6	1,000	100.0	184	36.8	316	63.2	500	100.0

$$X^2 = 24.0059; P < 0.1\%$$

$$X^2 = 7.1512; 30\% > P > 20\%$$

- 3. 16. 7 The trends in regard to the relationship between family income and drinking are directly opposed in the two sample groups; whereas the percentage of drinkers tends to increase as the income of each group rises in the urban sample, it declines consistently in the rural sample.
- 3. 16. 8 Although a higher proportion of the unmarried persons than expected are total abstainers, the married persons included a higher percentage of drinkers than expected.
- 3. 16. 9 The South-Sotho include a higher proportion of drinkers than the total group, and the Zulus a lower proportion.
- 3. 16. 10 The group of Bantu whose ability to speak the official languages is limited to Afrikaans includes a higher proportion of drinkers than the total group, and the group able to speak English but not Afrikaans includes a lower percentage than the total group.
- 3. 16. 11 Those living in compounds, towns and on farms include a higher proportion of drinkers than the total group.
- 3. 16. 12 In the rural sample there is a marked decline in the percentage of drinkers as the period of contact with the Bantu area increases. The longer the period during which the domicile group has lived in a White area, the higher the percentage of drinkers that group will contain irrespective of whether urbanisation is involved or not.
- 3. 16. 13 A higher percentage of Bantu in the urban sample than in the rural one had already tasted European liquor at some time during their lives.
- 3. 16. 14 Approximately two-thirds of the Bantu in both samples welcome the idea of European liquor being made available to the Bantu. The Bantu of the urban sample appear to include a higher proportion of persons in favour of European liquor being made available.
- 3. 16. 15 The Bantu of the Orange Free State and Zululand, and of the rural group of the Cape Province, appear to include a higher proportion of drinkers than the total group.
- 3. 16. 16 The following factors appear to be associated clearly with a high proportion of drinkers: Member of the male sex; age between 40 and 50 years; an educational standard below Std. II; a high income in the urban group and a low income in the rural group; married status and a considerable degree of availability of European liquor.

CHAPTER 4

REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER AND PREFERENCE FOR EUROPEAN LIQUOR

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Among the questions which the field workers were required to ask the subject was his reason for drinking mainly Bantu beer. It is naturally to be expected that the reply to such a question in particular should be affected by the particular rationalisation process of the subject. The extent to which the data surrounding this question are reliable, can therefore not be determined. The field workers were instructed merely to put the question to the subject, without reading to him all the possibilities on the questionnaire, with the result that the field workers were unable to determine to what extent the motive given by the subject differed from the real motive. This chapter also deals with the distribution of the main reasons for the preference of European liquor to Bantu beer by some drinkers. The premise in this chapter is that European liquor and Bantu beer in the two sample groups are consumed primarily for different reasons.

4.2 REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER IN THE TWO SAMPLE GROUPS

Figure 4.1 is a graphic representation of the reasons for drinking Bantu beer in the two sample groups. The main motives for drinking Bantu beer have been grouped under four headings, namely physiologically orientated reasons (because they like the taste, because it is a food, because it is healthy, because it has a strong taste, because it quenches thirst, etc.), ceremonial reasons (because it is customary to drink it on occasions such as weddings, tribal ceremonies, funerals, etc; because the parents drink it; because Bantu beer is consumed for the ancestral spirits), psychological-individual reasons (to obtain relief from worries, to become cheerful, to obtain more courage, to escape from fear, to escape from the feeling of inferiority) and "other reasons".

Figure 4.1 indicates the overwhelming extent to which the subjects in both samples regard physiologically orientated reasons as the main motive for their drinking Bantu beer. (For the percentage distribution, see Table 4.1: urban sample, 77.0% and rural sample 81.3%). In both samples ceremonial reasons are responsible for the second highest single proportion - 12.5% and 11.9% respectively. Then follow the psychological-individual reasons with 7.4 and 3.7 per cent, and "other" reasons with 3.0 per cent and 3.1 per cent.

The importance of Bantu beer as a food in the drinking structure of the Bantu forms the basis of the preponderance of physiologically orientated reasons.

4.3 REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO SEX

From the distribution in Table 4.1, in which the motives for drinking Bantu beer are tabulated according to sex, it emerges clearly that there are no differences between the motivational trends of the men and the women.

4.4 REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

No trends can be inferred from Table 4.2, which is a tabulation of the motives for drinking Bantu beer according to age group. The numbers

TABLE 4.1
REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO SEX

Sex	Urban sample								Rural sample											
	Physiologi- cally orien- tated reasons		Cere- monial reasons		Psychologi- cal -indivi- dual reasons		Other reasons		Total		Physiologi- cally orien- tated reasons		Cere- monial reasons		Psychologi- cal -indivi- dual reasons		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Men	291	76.8	47	12.4	30	7.9	11	2.9	379	100.0	156	81.2	23	12.0	6	3.1	7	3.6	192	100.0
Women	114	77.5	19	12.9	9	6.1	5	3.4	147	100.0	84	81.5	12	11.6	5	4.9	2	1.9	103	100.0
TOTAL	405	77.0	66	12.5	39	7.4	16	3.0	526	100.0	240	81.3	35	11.9	11	3.7	9	3.1	295	100.0

$\chi^2 = 0.5774; 95\% > p > 90\%$

$\chi^2 = 1.1826; 80\% > p > 70\%$

FIGURE 4.1

REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER IN RESPECT OF THE TWO

URBAN SAMPLE SAMPLE GROUPS RURAL SAMPLE

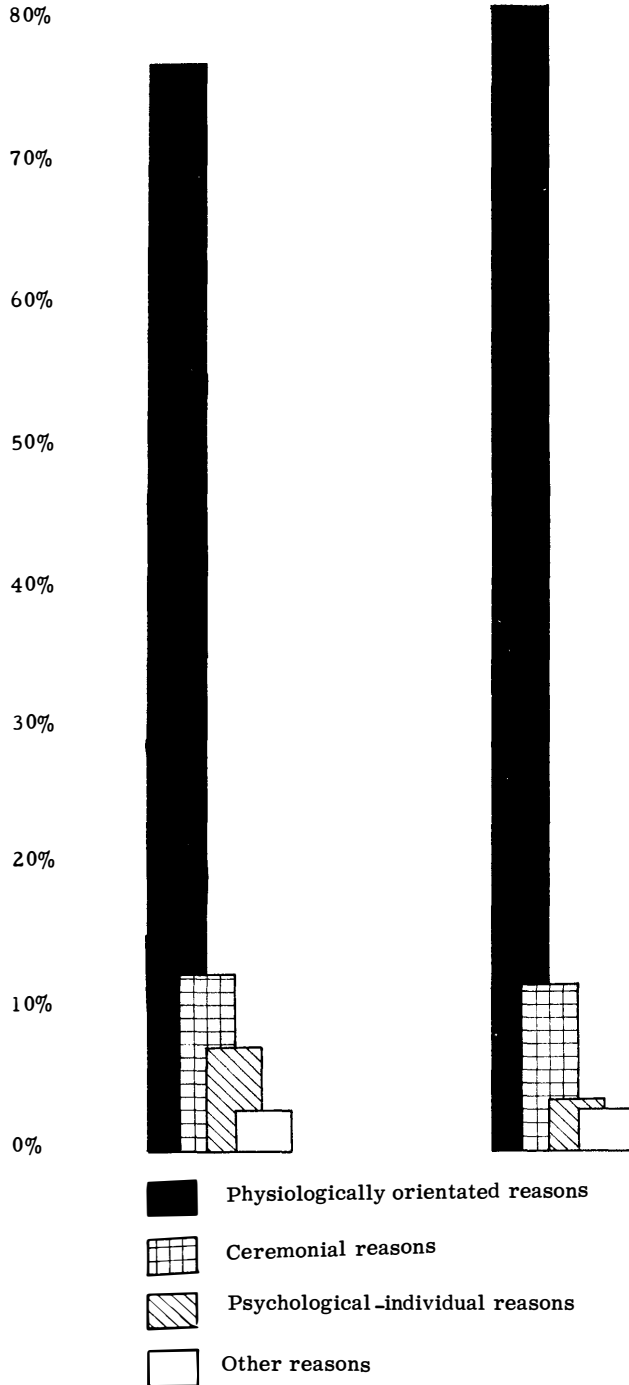


TABLE 4.2

REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO AGE

Age	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Physiologi- cally orientat- ed reasons		Cere- monial reasons		Psychologi- cal -indivi- dual reasons		Other reasons		Total		Physiologi- cally orientat- ed reasons		Cere- monial reasons		Psychological -individual reasons		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15 - 30 years	114	74.0	15	9.7	13	8.4	12	7.8	154	100.0	56	84.8	4	6.1	4	6.1	2	3.0	66	100.0
31 - 50 years	219	78.8	35	12.6	21	7.6	3	1.1	278	100.0	117	78.0	22	14.7	5	3.3	6	4.0	150	100.0
51 years & older	72	76.6	16	17.0	5	5.3	1	1.1	94	100.0	67	84.8	9	11.4	2	2.5	1	1.3	79	100.0
TOTAL	405	77.0	66	12.5	39	7.4	16	3.0	526	100.0	240	81.3	35	11.9	11	3.7	9	3.1	295	100.0

involved in the rural sample are moreover very low for any reliable inferences. It would appear, however, that in the urban sample there is a consistent increase in the number of persons who drink Bantu beer mainly for ceremonial reasons as the age of the age group rises, from 9.7 per cent in the age group 15 - 30 years to 12.6 per cent in the group 31 - 50 years and 17.0 per cent in the age group 51 years and older. As regards psychological-individual reasons, a diametrically opposed increase in percentage is found in both samples: as the age of the age group falls, there is a rise in the percentage of persons who drink Bantu beer for mainly psychological-individual reasons.

The fact that the ceremonial reasons become increasingly important as the age rises, is probably connected with the fact that the older person feels himself more closely bound to the tribal traditions than do the younger Bantu.

4.5 REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Table 4.3 is a tabulation of the motives for drinking Bantu beer according to educational standard. From the distribution it appears that there is probably no connection between educational standard and drinking motive among the Bantu.

4.6 REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO INCOME

Table 4.4 is a tabulation of the motives for drinking Bantu beer according to income. No clear trends can be inferred from this table. It is interesting, however, that the highest income group (those earning more than R31 per month) of the urban sample includes a higher proportion of drinkers than the total group which regard ceremonial reasons as their main motive for drinking Bantu beer.

From this it can least of all be inferred that the highest income group should be more bound by tradition. It will appear later (see Table 5.7) that the highest income group actually includes a higher proportion of persons who drink European liquor than is to be expected. It would therefore perhaps be more realistic to assume that this income group probably prefer European liquor for reasons other than ceremonial ones (see Table 4.10), but that when they drink Bantu beer they drink it mainly for ceremonial reasons - Bantu beer is indeed traditionally associated with tribal customs.

4.7 REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

The main motive for drinking Bantu beer is correlated with marital status in Table 4.5. This table reveals interesting similarities between the two samples, although the numbers, particularly in the rural sample, are here, too, sometimes rather small for analysis. In both samples the married persons reveal a higher percentage of persons who drink Bantu beer mainly for physiologically-orientated reasons than does the total group: urban sample 79.1 per cent as against 77.0 per cent, and rural sample 83.4 per cent as against 81.3 per cent, while those persons not yet married on the other hand include a higher percentage than does the total group of persons who drink Bantu beer mainly for psychological-individual reasons: urban sample 10.8 per cent as against 7.4 per cent, rural sample 6.7 per cent as against 3.7 per cent.

This distribution obviously has a connection with that discussed in paragraph 4.4, since the subjects in the younger age group, which naturally includes a high percentage of unmarried persons, drink Bantu beer for mainly psychological-individual reasons to a greater extent than expected.

4.8 REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO QUANTITY CONSUMED

Table 4.6 is a tabulation of the motives for drinking Bantu beer according to the quantity consumed. From the data in this table it appears that as the number of Bantu beer units consumed during the seven days preceding the survey increases, a higher proportion of the subjects drink

TABLE 4.3

REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Educa- tional standard	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Physiologi- cally orientat- ed reasons		Cere- monial reasons		Psychological -individual reasons		Other reasons		Total		Physiologi- cally orientat- ed reasons		Cere- monial reasons		Psychologi- cal -indi- dual reasons		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never atten- ded school	124	76.5	20	12.3	15	9.3	3	1.9	162	100.0	145	81.0	22	12.3	6	3.4	6	3.4	179	100.0
School atten- dance in Sub- Std. A to passed Std. IV	168	77.8	31	14.3	7	3.2	10	4.6	216	100.0	77	82.8	11	11.8	3	3.2	2	2.2	93	100.0
Passed Std. V to possession of a univer- sity degree	113	76.3	15	10.1	17	11.5	3	2.0	148	100.0	18	78.3	2	8.7	2	8.7	1	4.3	23	100.0
TOTAL	405	77.0	66	12.5	39	7.4	16	3.0	526	100.0	240	81.3	35	11.9	11	3.7	9	3.1	295	100.0

TABLE 4.4

REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO INCOME

Income per month	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Physiologically orientated reasons		Cere-monial reasons		Psychological-individual reasons		Other reasons		Total		Physiologically orientated reasons		Cere-monial reasons		Psychological-individual reasons		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
R10 and less	89	75.4	12	10.2	7	5.9	10	8.5	118	100.0	165	80.9	25	12.3	8	3.9	6	2.9	204	100.0
R11 - R30	213	79.5	29	10.8	21	7.8	5	1.9	268	100.0	65	81.3	10	12.5	2	2.5	3	3.8	80	100.0
R31 and over	103	73.6	25	17.9	11	7.9	1	0.7	140	100.0	10	90.9	0	-	1	9.1	0	-	11	100.0
TOTAL	405	77.0	66	12.5	39	7.4	16	3.0	526	100.0	240	81.3	35	11.9	11	3.7	9	3.1	295	100.0

$$X^2 = 20.3921; 1\% > p > .1\%$$

TABLE 4.5

REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Physiologically orientated reasons		Cere-monial reasons		Psychologi-cal -indivi-dual reasons		Other reasons		Total		Physiologi-cally orien-tated reasons		Cere-monial reasons		Psychologi-cal -indivi-dual reasons		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not yet married	88	73.3	9	7.5	13	10.8	10	8.3	120	100.0	34	75.6	5	11.1	3	6.7	3	6.7	45	100.0
Married according to recognised rites	285	79.1	49	13.6	22	6.1	4	1.1	360	100.0	176	83.4	24	11.4	6	2.8	5	2.4	211	100.0
Living together, divorced, or widow/widower	32	69.6	8	17.4	4	8.7	2	4.3	46	100.0	30	76.9	6	15.4	2	5.1	1	2.6	39	100.0
TOTAL	405	77.0	66	12.5	39	7.4	16	3.0	526	100.0	240	81.3	35	11.9	11	3.7	9	3.1	295	100.0

$\chi^2 = 22.9146; p < .1\%$

$\chi^2 = 4.8310; 70\% > p > 50\%$

TABLE 4.6

REASONS FOR DRINKING BANTU BEER ACCORDING TO QUANTITY CONSUMED

Units of Bantu beer consumed	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Physiologically orientated rea- sons		Cere- monial reasons		Psychologi- cal -indivi- dual reasons		Other reasons		Total		Physiologically orientated rea- sons		Cere- monial reasons		Psychologi- cal -indivi- dual reasons		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	48	73.8	10	15.4	2	3.1	5	7.7	65	100.0	45	76.3	9	15.3	0	-	5	8.5	59	100.0
1 - 9 units	211	76.7	36	13.1	22	8.0	6	2.2	275	100.0	120	80.5	17	11.4	9	6.0	3	2.0	149	100.0
10 - 30 units	146	78.5	20	10.8	15	8.1	5	2.7	186	100.0	75	86.2	9	10.4	2	2.3	1	1.1	87	100.0
TOTAL	405	77.0	66	12.5	39	7.4	16	3.0	526	100.0	240	81.3	35	11.9	11	3.7	9	3.1	295	100.0

$$X^2 = 8.3489; 30\% > p > 20\%$$

$$X^2 = 13.2757; 5\% > p > 2\%$$

Bantu beer for physiologically orientated reasons and a smaller proportion for ceremonial reasons, urban sample 73.8 per cent, 76.7 per cent, 78.5 per cent and 15.4 per cent, 13.1 per cent, 10.8 per cent; and rural sample 76.3 per cent, 80.5 per cent, 86.2 per cent and 15.3 per cent, 11.4 per cent, 10.4 per cent, respectively.

It would accordingly appear that the importance of physiologically orientated reasons increases and that of ceremonial reasons decreases as the drinking pattern in respect of Bantu beer becomes heavier.

4.9 REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR IN THE TWO SAMPLE GROUPS

Fig. 4.2 is a graphic representation of the reasons for preferring European liquor among the urban and rural sample groups. Here, too, four classifications have been made, namely : reasons concerned with taste, alcoholic content, hygiene and health, and other reasons amounting mainly to practical considerations (European liquor is more easily carried and stored) and considerations of status.

From Fig. 4.2 it emerges that the order of importance of the various reasons is the same in both sample groups, first the reasons relating to alcoholic content (compare Table 4.7 for the percentage distribution: 37.4% and 45.3% respectively), then the reasons relating to hygiene and health (28.1% and 28.3%) and those connected with taste (22.5% and 20.8%), and lastly "other" reasons (12.0% and 5.7%).

4.10 REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO SEX

The reasons for preferring European liquor are tabulated according to sex in Table 4.7. The differences between the distribution of the reasons given by men and women on one hand and those in respect of the total group on the other, are too slight to indicate significant trends. It emerges, however, that a higher percentage of the men than of the women in both sample groups prefer European liquor mainly because of reasons connected with its alcoholic content, 38.6 per cent and 46.8 per cent as against 35.0 per cent and 40.7 per cent respectively. Although the number of women in the rural sample who prefer European liquor is very small, there is a trend among the women of both sample groups to include a higher percentage than the men of persons who prefer European liquor mainly for "other" reasons. A higher proportion of women than of men in the urban sample also prefer European liquor because of its taste.

4.11 REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO AGE

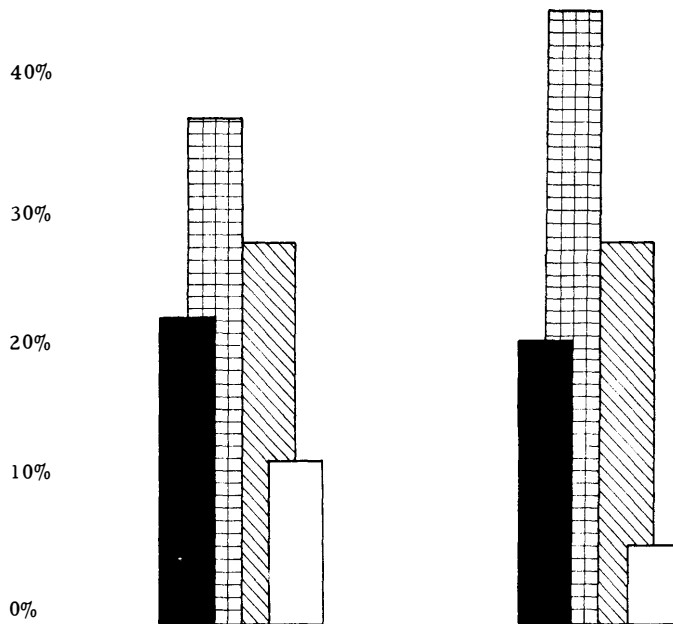
The age of the subjects is correlated with their reasons for preferring European liquor in Table 4.8. It emerges that a higher percentage of the age group 31 - 50 years than the expected figure in both sample groups prefer European liquor mainly because of its high alcoholic content; urban sample 40.2 per cent as against 37.4 per cent, and rural sample 50.8 per cent as against 45.3 per cent. It is interesting to note that this is also the age group yielding an appreciably higher percentage of drinkers (Table 3.2) and also a heavier drinking pattern than the total group (Table 7.2). The fact that European liquor is preferred by this age group in a greater measure than the total group mainly because of its high alcohol content, is apparently related to this heavier drinking pattern.

FIGURE 4.2

REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR IN
RESPECT OF THE TWO SAMPLE GROUPS

URBAN SAMPLE

RURAL SAMPLE







-  Reasons relating to taste
-  Reasons relating to alcoholic content
-  Reasons relating to hygiene and health
-  Other reasons

TABLE 4.7

REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO SEX

Sex	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Reasons relating to taste		Reasons relating to high alcoholic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total		Reasons relating to taste		Reasons relating to high alcoholic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Men	55	21.7	98	38.6	75	29.5	26	10.2	254	100.0	17	21.5	37	46.8	22	27.8	3	3.8	79	100.0
Women	29	24.2	42	35.0	30	25.0	19	15.8	120	100.0	5	18.5	11	40.7	8	29.6	3	11.1	27	100.0
TOTAL	84	22.5	140	37.4	105	28.1	45	12.0	374	100.0	22	20.8	48	45.3	30	28.3	6	5.7	106	100.0

$$X^2 = 3.2264; 50\% > p > 30\%$$

$$X^2 = 2.1765; 70\% > p > 50\%$$

TABLE 4.8

REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO AGE

Age	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Reasons relating to taste		Reasons relating to high alcoholic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total		Reasons relating to taste		Reasons relating to high alcoholic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15 - 30 years	33	24.4	51	37.8	34	25.2	17	12.6	135	100.0	4	21.1	7	36.8	7	36.8	1	5.3	19	100.0
31 - 50 years	33	18.4	72	40.2	53	29.6	21	11.7	179	100.0	13	20.6	32	50.8	14	22.2	4	6.3	63	100.0
51 years and older	18	30.0	17	28.3	18	30.0	7	11.7	60	100.0	5	20.8	9	37.5	9	37.5	1	4.2	24	100.0
TOTAL	84	22.5	140	37.4	105	28.1	45	12.0	374	100.0	22	20.8	48	45.3	30	28.3	6	5.7	106	100.0

$$X^2 = 5.3461; 50\% > p > 30\%$$

Whereas the age groups 15 - 30 years and 51 and older in the urban sample prefer European liquor on account of its taste to a greater extent than do the total group, a higher percentage of the subjects in these age groups than of the total group in the rural sample prefer European liquor for reasons of hygiene: 24.4 per cent and 30.0 per cent as against 22.5 per cent, and 36.8 per cent and 37.5 per cent as against 28.3 per cent, respectively.

4.12 REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

The reasons for preferring European liquor are correlated with educational standard in Table 4.9. Contrary to what was the case in regard to Table 4.5, a marked trend can be observed here: in both sample groups the percentage of persons who prefer European liquor mainly on account of its alcoholic content tends to increase as the educational group includes persons of a higher educational standard: urban sample 34.3 per cent, 36.2 per cent and 39.9 per cent; and rural sample 39.6 per cent, 46.2 per cent and 57.9 per cent. The highest educational group, however, includes not only a higher percentage of persons than expected who prefer European liquor mainly because of its high alcoholic content, but also a higher percentage of persons than the total group who prefer European liquor for hygienic and health reasons, urban sample 29.7 per cent as against 28.1 per cent, and rural sample 36.8 per cent as against 28.3 per cent.

The fact that the highest educational group has a heavier drinking pattern than the total group (Table 7.4) and moreover prefer European liquor to a greater extent than the total group (Table 6.5), connects up with the distribution in Table 4.6. Because the highest educational group reveals a heavier drinking pattern than expected, it is not strange that this educational group should prefer European liquor to Bantu beer to a greater extent than the expected because of the high alcoholic content of the latter,

4.13 REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO INCOME

The reasons for preferring European liquor are correlated with the income of the subjects in Table 4.10. As the income of the income group increases, the percentage of persons in both sample groups who prefer European liquor for reasons of hygiene and health and reasons related to its high alcoholic content, rises too, and the percentage of persons who prefer European liquor mainly because of its particular flavour, decreases. The income group with the lowest monthly income therefore includes a higher proportion of persons than the expected figure who prefer European liquor because of its taste: 33.3 per cent as against 22.5 per cent, and 27.1 per cent as against 20.8 per cent in the urban and rural sample groups respectively. The groups with the highest monthly income, on the other hand, include a higher proportion of persons than the total group who prefer European liquor because of its high alcoholic content and for reasons of hygiene, namely 41.3 per cent as against 37.4 per cent, and 31.9 per cent as against 28.1 per cent in the urban sample and 57.1 per cent as against 45.3 per cent, and 42.9 per cent as against 28.3 per cent in the rural sample.

This distribution appears to have some connection with the fact that the highest income group reveals a heavier drinking pattern than the total group (Table 7.5).

4.14 REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Table 4.11 is a tabulation of the reasons for preferring European liquor according to marital status. Apart from the "unmarried" persons' higher

TABLE 4.9

REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Educational standard	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Reasons relating to taste		Reasons relating to high alcoholic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total		Reasons relating to taste		Reasons relating to high alcoholic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never attended school	21	31.3	23	34.3	18	26.9	5	7.5	67	100.0	11	22.9	19	39.6	14	29.2	4	8.3	48	100.0
School attendance in Sub-Standard A to passed Std. IV	36	24.2	54	36.2	40	26.8	19	12.8	149	100.0	11	28.2	18	46.2	9	23.1	1	2.6	39	100.0
Passed Std. V to possession of a university degree	27	17.1	63	39.9	47	29.7	21	13.3	158	100.0	0	-	11	57.9	7	36.8	1	5.3	19	100.0
TOTAL	84	22.5	140	37.4	105	28.1	45	12.0	374	100.0	22	20.8	48	45.3	30	28.3	6	5.7	106	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 6.7634; 50\% > 10\%$$

TABLE 4.10

REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO INCOME

Income per month	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Reasons relating to taste		Reasons relating to high alcoholic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total		Reasons relating to taste		Reasons relating to high alcoholic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
R10 and less	19	33.3	19	33.3	14	24.6	5	8.8	57	100.0	16	27.1	26	44.1	13	22.0	4	6.8	59	100.0
R11 - 30	48	26.8	64	35.8	47	26.3	20	11.2	179	100.0	6	15.0	18	45.0	14	35.0	2	5.0	40	100.0
R31 and over	17	12.3	57	41.3	44	31.9	20	14.5	138	100.0	0	-	4	57.1	3	42.9	0	-	7	100.0
TOTAL	84	22.5	140	37.4	105	28.1	45	12.0	374	100.0	22	20.8	48	45.3	30	28.3	6	5.7	106	100.0

$$X^2 = 14.2569; 5\% > p > 2\%$$

TABLE 4.11

REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Reasons relating to taste		Reasons relating to high alcoholic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total		Reasons relating to taste		Reasons relating to high alcoholic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not yet married	31	32.6	36	37.9	18	18.9	10	10.5	95	100.0	3	23.1	5	38.5	4	30.8	1	7.7	13	100.0
Married according to recognised rites	45	18.2	92	37.2	77	31.2	33	13.4	247	100.0	18	22.2	37	45.7	22	27.2	4	4.9	81	100.0
Living together, divorced or widow/widower	8	25.0	12	37.5	10	31.3	2	6.3	32	100.0	1	8.3	6	50.0	4	33.3	1	8.3	12	100.0
TOTAL	84	22.5	140	37.4	105	28.1	45	12.0	374	100.0	22	20.8	48	45.3	30	28.3	6	5.7	106	100.0

$$X^2 = 11.6636; 10\% > p > 5\%$$

$$X^2 = 1.6988; 95\% > p > 90\%$$

percentage than the expected figure of persons who prefer European liquor (urban sample: 32.6% as against 22.5%, and rural sample 23.1% as against 20.8%), this table indicates no significant distributions.

4.15 REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO AMOUNT OF LIQUOR CONSUMED

Table 4.12 is a tabulation of the reasons for preferring European liquor among groups who consumed varying quantities of liquor over a period of seven days. A clearly noticeable trend can be discerned in the urban sample: as the number of units of liquor consumed increases, there is a higher percentage of persons who prefer European liquor mainly because of its high alcoholic content and for reasons of hygiene, while a smaller percentage of the drinkers prefer European liquor on account of its taste as the number of units of liquor consumed increases. This trend is supported in the rural sample by the higher percentage of persons than the expected number occurring in the highest consumption group, who prefer European liquor because of its high alcoholic content, 56.1 per cent as against 45.3 per cent.

It would appear that a high degree of drinking tends to be associated with a preference for European liquor based mainly on considerations of hygiene and its high alcoholic content.

4.16 SUMMARY

- 4.16.1 Approximately four-fifths of the Bantu in both sample groups state that they drink Bantu beer mainly for physiologically orientated reasons.
- 4.16.2 The differences between men and women in the reasons for drinking Bantu beer are too slight to indicate significant trends.
- 4.16.3 In the urban sample the importance of ceremonial reasons waxes and that of psychological-individual reasons wanes with increasing age as a reason for drinking Bantu beer.
- 4.16.4 As the number of Bantu beer units consumed increases, the percentage of persons who drink Bantu beer for mainly physiologically connected reasons rises, while the percentage drinking mainly for ceremonial reasons declines.
- 4.16.5 The main single reason for preferring European liquor is its high alcoholic content.
- 4.16.6 A higher percentage of the age group 31 - 50 years than of the total group prefer European liquor because of its high alcoholic content.
- 4.16.7 The importance of the preference for European liquor because of its high alcoholic content increases with a rise in educational standard.
- 4.16.8 As income rises, there is an increase in the percentage of persons in the various income groups who prefer European liquor because of considerations of hygiene and health and reasons related to its high alcoholic content, while there is a decrease in the percentage of persons who drink mainly because of the particular taste of European liquor.
- 4.16.9 A higher degree of drinking tends to be associated with a preference for European liquor based mainly on considerations of hygiene and high alcoholic content.

TABLE 4.12

REASONS FOR PREFERRING EUROPEAN LIQUOR ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF DRINKING

Units of liquor consumed during the 7 days pre- ceding the survey	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Reasons relating to taste		Reasons re- lating to high alcoho- lic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total		Reasons relating to taste		Reasons re- lating to high alco- holic content		Reasons relating to hygiene and health		Other reasons		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	23	41.1	14	25.0	13	23.2	6	10.7	56	100.0	5	21.7	9	39.1	8	34.8	1	4.3	23	100.0
1 to 12 units	33	27.7	36	30.3	31	26.0	19	16.0	119	100.0	11	26.2	16	38.1	10	23.8	5	11.9	42	100.0
13 units and more	28	14.1	90	45.2	61	30.7	20	10.1	199	100.0	6	14.6	23	56.1	12	29.3	0	-	41	100.0
TOTAL	84	22.5	140	37.4	105	28.1	45	12.0	374	100.0	22	20.8	48	45.3	30	28.3	6	5.7	106	100.0

$$X^2 = 26.9030; p < .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 9.0174; 20\% > p > 10\%$$

CHAPTER 5

TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED

5.1 INTRODUCTION

For the analysis in this chapter the 646 drinkers of the urban sample and the 316 of the rural sample have been classified into groups according to the type of liquor consumed:

- (a) Drinkers of Bantu beer: this group constitutes drinkers who drink Bantu beer only.
- (b) Drinkers of European liquor: drinkers who take no liquor other than European liquor.
- (c) Drinkers of Bantu beer and European liquor: this group comprises persons who drink these two types of liquor, but never drink concoctions.
- (d) Drinkers of all types of liquor, i. e. drinkers who partake of all three types of liquor.
- (e) Drinkers of concoctions. No subjects were encountered who drank concoctions only. This group therefore actually consists of persons who drink either Bantu beer and concoctions, or European liquor and concoctions.

The object of this chapter is to determine whether the drinkers of particular types of liquor reveal, as a group, characteristics which distinguish them from drinkers of other types of liquor. Attention is given mainly to drinkers of Bantu beer, drinkers of European liquor and those who drink both Bantu beer and European liquor. Owing to the small numbers of persons drinking concoctions and of those who drink liquor of all types, significant trends can seldom be distinguished in respect of these two groups, which have accordingly been classified together. (Compare Table 5.2.)

5.2 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED

At the very outset it must be established to what extent the drinkers in the two samples ever partake of the various types of liquor.

In table 5.1 the consumption of the various types of liquor by the subjects is examined, without consideration of the quantity consumed.

More than four-fifths of the subjects in the two samples drank Bantu beer (urban sample 81.4% and rural sample 93.4%), between three and four-fifths included European liquor to some extent in their drinking (urban sample 80.2% and rural sample 62.7%), notwithstanding the fact that this was illegal, while less than one-fifth of the subjects stated that they drank concoctions (urban sample 13.0% and rural sample 17.1%).

The percentage of drinkers who never drink Bantu beer is appreciably greater in the urban sample (18.6%) than in the rural sample (6.6%). In the rural sample, on the other hand, the percentage of drinkers who never take European liquor is approximately the same as that in respect of persons who never take Bantu beer, namely 19.8 per cent, while the corresponding percentage in respect of the rural sample is 37.3 per cent. It would appear

TABLE 5.1
CONSUMPTION OF VARIOUS TYPES OF LIQUOR

Type of liquor	Urban sample						Rural sample					
	Drink this type		Do not drink this type		Total		Drink this type		Do not drink this type		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bantu beer	526	81.4	120	18.6	646	100.0	295	93.4	21	6.6	316	100.0
European liquor	518	80.2	128	19.8	646	100.0	198	62.7	118	37.3	316	100.0
Concoctions	84	13.0	562	87.0	646	100.0	54	17.1	262	82.9	316	100.0

that there is a definite connection between the factor of urbanisation and the percentage of Bantu who drink European liquor. This is not at all surprising, as Bantu beer is indeed regarded as the national drink of the South African Bantu, and although this liquor is not brewed in the same manner in all parts of the Republic, to the traditional Bantu it remains a light drink prepared by the fermentation of grain; the preparation of distilled liquor is "foreign" to him.

5.3 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO THE TWO SAMPLE GROUPS

Fig. 5.1 is a graphic representation of the size of the groups drinking various types of liquor in the two samples. Although there is a proportionately smaller percentage difference in respect of the drinkers of Bantu beer and European liquor when the urban and the rural samples are compared (according to Table 5.2 this group includes 52.0% of all drinkers in the urban sample and 47.5% in the rural sample), considerable differences are distinguishable in regard to the actual percentages of drinkers of Bantu beer and drinkers of European liquor: the drinkers of Bantu beer and European liquor in the rural sample comprise 29.7 per cent and 5.7 per cent respectively, as against 17.7 per cent and 17.3 per cent in the urban sample. In both samples the persons who drink both European liquor and Bantu beer form the largest group. In the urban sample this group is followed by two groups of almost equal size, namely drinkers of Bantu beer and drinkers of European liquor; then follows the group which includes the drinkers of concoctions and of all three types of liquor. The rural sample reveals the same pattern, except for the important difference that the European liquor group here occupies last place.

5.4 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO SEX

The type of liquor consumed is tabulated according to sex in Table 5.2. In both the urban and the rural samples the women include a higher percentage of consumers of European liquor than the total group, urban sample 25.5 per cent as against 17.3 per cent of the total group and 8.8 per cent for the rural sample as against 5.7 per cent. In both samples the men on the other hand tend to include a higher percentage of persons drinking both European liquor and Bantu beer than the total group, namely urban sample 57.5 per cent as against 52.0 per cent, and rural sample 55.2 per cent as against 47.5 per cent. Another characteristic difference is the higher percentage of women in the rural sample who drink only Bantu beer, 34.4 per cent as against 29.7 per cent of the total group, and - albeit to a lesser extent - the women's higher percentage of drinkers of concoctions and drinkers of all types of liquor in the urban sample (16.2% as against 13.0% for the total group).

If the distribution of the total group is borne in mind, it would appear that whereas women reveal a greater tendency to drink either Bantu beer or European liquor, the men tend towards a "synthesis"; both Bantu beer and European liquor.

5.5 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO AGE

Table 5.3 is a tabulation of the types of liquor consumed according to age. It is noteworthy that the youngest age group (15-30 years) of the urban sample includes a higher proportion of persons who drink European liquor only (25.4%), and the rural sample a higher proportion of persons who drink Bantu beer (35.7%) than is the case for all age groups, namely 17.3 per cent and 29.7 per cent respectively.

FIGURE 5.1

LIQUOR CONSUMPTION IN THE TWO
SAMPLE GROUPS

URBAN SAMPLE

RURAL SAMPLE



TABLE 5.2
TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO SEX

Sex	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer and European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoctions		Total		Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer and European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor and concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Men	77	17.4	60	13.6	254	57.5	51	11.5	442	100.0	45	22.2	8	3.9	112	55.2	38	18.7	203	100.0
Women	37	18.1	52	25.5	82	40.2	33	16.2	204	100.0	49	34.4	10	8.8	38	33.6	16	14.2	113	100.0
TOTAL	114	17.7	112	17.3	336	52.0	84	13.0	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	54	17.1	316	100.0

$X^2 = 21.7839; p < .1\%$

$X^2 = 22.0149; p < .1\%$

TABLE 5.3

TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO AGE

Age	Urban sample										Rural sample														
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer and European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer and concoctions or European liquor & concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoctions		Total		Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu Beer and European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer and concoctions or European liquor & concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoctions		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
15-30 years	36	17.2	53	25.4	93	44.5	6	2.9	21	10.0	209	100.0	25	35.7	3	4.3	27	38.6	4	5.7	11	15.7	70	100.0	
31-50 years	58	17.7	45	13.8	182	55.7	12	3.7	30	9.2	327	100.0	45	27.8	10	6.2	85	52.5	11	6.8	11	6.8	162	100.0	
51 years and older	20	18.2	14	12.7	61	55.4	4	3.6	11	10.0	110	100.0	24	28.6	5	6.0	38	45.2	12	14.3	5	6.0	84	100.0	
TOTAL	114	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0	

$$X^2 = 23.5788; 5\% > p > 2\%$$

$$X^2 = 16.5261; 20\% > p > 10\%$$

The so-called middle-aged group (consisting of persons aged 31 to 50 years), on the other hand includes in both samples a higher percentage of persons who drink both Bantu beer and European liquor than the expected proportion, namely 55.7 per cent as against 52.0 per cent in the urban sample, and 52.5 per cent as against 47.5 per cent in the rural sample.

In the older age group (51 years and over) one finds a smaller percentage of drinkers of European liquor than the expected proportion, namely 12.7 per cent as against 17.3 per cent: and a higher percentage than expected of drinkers of Bantu beer and European liquor in the urban sample, namely 55.4 per cent as against 52.0 per cent.

In the rural sample this age group has a higher percentage of drinkers of concoctions than is the case for all the age groups combined, namely 14.3 per cent as against 8.5 per cent.

These trends are enlightening: if the distribution in respect of the total group is borne in mind, the young Bantu (those aged between 15 and 30 years) of the urban areas tend towards a more widespread consumption of European liquor only, as against the greater tendency of his rural counterpart to drink Bantu beer only, probably as a result of strong tribal ties as well as of the "non-obtainability", legally and financially, of European liquor. As against this, the older Bantu (older than 30 years) of the urban areas tend to include a higher proportion than the total group of persons who drink both Bantu beer and European liquor.

5.6 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

In Table 5.4 the type of liquor consumed by the subjects is correlated with their occupation. From this table it emerges that persons in professional, technical and other occupations which "bestow status" tend to include a higher percentage of drinkers of European liquor than the expected figure: urban sample 36.8 per cent as against 17.3 per cent, and rural sample, in which the numbers are very small, however, 37.5 per cent as against 5.7 per cent. In the urban sample the occupational group "owners of undertakings" links up with the group just discussed, both as regards status and the higher proportion of drinkers of European liquor than expected: 35.0 per cent as against 17.3 per cent. In the rural sample, where this occupational group consists almost exclusively of independent farmers, the high percentage of drinkers of concoctions is striking: 13.3 per cent as against the expected 8.5 per cent. It should not be lost sight of, however, that concoctions prepared by a process of fermentation in the rural areas often contain barely 2 per cent of alcohol by volume and are actually "Bantu beer".

The group comprising labourers, on the other hand, tends to include a lower percentage of drinkers of European liquor than is to be expected according to the distribution in the total group: urban sample 6.2 per cent as against 17.3 per cent, and rural sample 0.9 per cent as against 5.7 per cent. A higher percentage of this occupational group than of the total group consists of those who drink both Bantu beer and European liquor, urban sample 56.8 per cent as against 52.0 per cent, and rural sample 64.1 per cent as against 47.5 per cent; and of drinkers of Bantu beer in the urban sample with a percentage of 21.6 per cent as against the expected 17.6 per cent. In the rural sample the Bantu beer drinkers apparently constitute a smaller percentage of the labourer group, but this must be attributed to the large number of drinkers which this group has to yield to the group drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor, in which most of the drinkers receive European liquor only once a year, e.g. at Christmas or New Year, and are

TABLE 5.4
TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

Occupation	Urban sample										Rural sample														
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoctions, or of European liquor and concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoctions		Total		Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoctions, or of European liquor and concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoctions		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Labourers: Farm labourers; mining & other industrial labourers; fishermen	38	21.6	11	6.2	100	56.8	6	3.4	21	11.9	176	100.0	23	21.7	1	0.9	68	64.1	4	3.8	10	9.4	106	100.0	
Persons in professional, technical and other "educated" occupations	3	5.3	21	36.8	27	47.4	0	-	6	10.5	57	100.0	0	-	3	37.5	4	50.0	0	-	1	12.8	8	100.0	
Persons connected with delivery, transport & security services, and domestic & garden servants	42	16.0	45	17.2	144	55.0	10	3.8	21	8.0	262	100.0	20	35.7	3	5.4	21	37.5	6	10.7	6	10.7	56	100.0	
Full-time students, scholars and housewives, and persons not economically active	26	26.0	24	24.0	37	37.0	4	4.0	9	9.0	100	100.0	30	41.7	6	8.3	24	33.3	8	11.1	4	5.6	72	100.0	
Private entrepreneurs, e.g. traders and independent farmers	2	10.0	7	35.0	10	50.0	0	-	1	5.0	20	100.0	14	23.3	4	6.7	29	48.3	8	13.3	5	8.3	60	100.0	
Unemployed	3	9.7	4	12.9	18	58.1	2	6.5	4	12.9	31	100.0	7	50.0	1	7.1	4	28.6	1	7.1	1	7.1	14	100.0	
TOTAL	114	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0	

therefore for practical purposes actually Bantu beer drinkers.

In the economically non-active group, which consists mainly of house-wives, there is a higher percentage of persons than expected who take only Bantu beer, urban sample 26.0 per cent as against 17.6 per cent, and rural sample 41.7 per cent as against 29.7 per cent; a higher percentage of drinkers of European liquor in the urban sample: 24.0 per cent as against 17.3 per cent, and a lower percentage of persons drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor, urban sample 37.0 per cent as against 52.0 per cent, and rural sample 33.3 per cent as against 47.5 per cent.

In regard to the labourer group and the economically non-active group, it is noteworthy that virtually the same distributions are found as were discerned in Table 5.2 in respect of men (the labourer group consists mainly of men) and in regard of women (the economically non-active group consists mainly of women). In regard to the professional and other occupations "bestowing status", it seems safe to accept that the drinking of European liquor among the Bantu is associated with occupational status. European liquor accordingly bestows status. Moreover, persons in the "status giving" occupations are better able than persons in other occupations to obtain permits for the purchase of European liquor.

5.7 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

The educational standard of the subject is correlated with the type of liquor consumed in Table 5.5. Although the group never having attended school includes a higher percentage of Bantu beer drinkers than the expected figure, urban sample 34.3 per cent as against 17.6 per cent and rural sample 36.3 per cent as against 29.7 per cent, and on the other hand includes an appreciably smaller percentage of drinkers of European liquor (urban sample 7.9 per cent as against 17.3 per cent and rural sample 1.6 per cent as against 5.7 per cent and also a smaller percentage of persons drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor, urban sample 44.9 per cent as against 52.0 per cent and rural sample 40.7 per cent as against 47.5 per cent) the educational group with the highest qualifications, those who have passed Std. V or a higher standard, reveals an almost directly opposite trend: the inclusion of a higher percentage of drinkers of European liquor (urban sample 28.6% as against 17.3 per cent and rural sample 20.0% as against 5.7%); and a higher percentage of persons drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor (rural sample 60.0% as against 47.5% and urban sample 54.0% as against 52.0%) but a lower percentage of drinkers of Bantu beer (urban sample 7.5% as against 17.6% and rural sample 10.0% as against 29.7%).

This trend is so marked in both samples that a clearly discernible regular pattern can be distinguished, particularly in regard to the first two liquor-type groups: as the educational standard of the educational group rises, the percentage of persons in the various educational groups who drink only Bantu beer declines gradually, while the percentage of persons who drink European liquor only rises gradually.

It is not only a "status-giving" occupation that has a bearing on the exclusive consumption of European liquor, but also a "status-giving" educational standard. The explanation applicable to the relationship between a "status-giving" occupation and the drinking of European liquor also holds good here.

TABLE 5.5

TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Educational standard	Urban sample											Rural sample											Total	
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of Euro-pean liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer and concoc-tions, or of Euro-pean liquor & concoc-tions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc-tions		Total	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoc-tions, or of Euro-pean li- quor & concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc-tions				
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.		%
Never attended school	61	34.3	14	7.9	80	44.9	10	5.6	13	7.3	178	100.0	66	36.3	3	1.6	74	40.7	21	11.5	18	9.9	182	100.0
School attendance in Sub-Standard A to passed Std. IV	37	14.5	37	14.5	141	55.3	4	1.6	36	14.1	255	100.0	25	24.0	9	8.7	58	55.8	5	4.8	7	6.7	104	100.0
Passed Std. V to possession of a university degree	16	7.5	61	28.6	115	54.0	8	3.8	13	6.1	213	100.0	3	10.0	6	20.0	18	60.0	1	3.3	2	6.7	30	100.0
TOTAL	174	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 84.4440; p < .1\%$$

$$x^2 = 35.0303; p < .1\%$$

5. 8 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO LITERACY

In Table 5. 6 the type of liquor consumed is correlated with the literacy of the subject. This table reveals the same trend as Table 5. 5. The group consisting of persons able to read and write includes a lower percentage than the expected figure of persons drinking Bantu beer only: urban sample 12. 0 per cent as against 17. 6 per cent and rural sample 16. 9 per cent as against 29. 7 per cent - as against the higher percentage of drinkers of Bantu beer among the "illiterate" than expected: urban sample 33. 1 per cent as against 17. 6 per cent, and rural sample 38. 0 per cent as against 29. 7 per cent. The percentage of persons who drink European liquor plus Bantu beer among those able to read and write, on the other hand, is higher than the expected figure, namely urban sample 20. 5 per cent as against 17. 3 per cent and rural sample 11. 3 per cent as against 5. 7 per cent, and urban sample 55. 1 per cent as against 52. 0 per cent and rural sample 59. 7 per cent as against 47. 5 per cent respectively. Compare with this the illiterates' lower percentage of 8. 7 per cent as against 17. 3 per cent and 43. 6 per cent as against 52. 0 per cent in the urban sample and 2. 1 per cent as against 5. 7 per cent and 39. 6 per cent as against 47. 5 per cent in the rural sample.

The explanation applicable to the relationship between a high occupational status, a high educational standard and the relatively high percentage of drinkers of European liquor also holds good here.

5. 9 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO INCOME

Table 5. 7 reveals a clearly discernible trend in the correlation of income and type of liquor consumed: as the income group includes subjects who are included in the group concerned because of their high monthly income, there is a decline in the percentage of subjects drinking Bantu beer only: in the urban sample, where the expected percentage is 17. 6 per cent, from 26. 9 per cent in the lowest income group to 19. 0 per cent in the R11 -R30 income group and 8. 1 per cent in the highest income group; in the rural sample, where the expected percentage is 29. 7 per cent, from 35. 3 per cent through 19. 8 per cent to the highest income group's 6. 7 per cent.

The percentage of drinkers of European liquor, on the other hand, increases as the income group includes persons with a higher income. The same trend is discernible in respect of those drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor in the urban sample.

A "status-giving" occupation, as well as a "status-giving" educational standard and a "status-giving" income therefore clearly have a bearing on the consumption of European liquor exclusively. A fact of great importance is that the subjects in these "status-conferring" categories are the persons who are able to afford European liquor.

5. 10 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

The type of liquor consumed is correlated with the subject's marital status in Table 5. 8. It is interesting that the percentages in respect of the legally married subjects in the various consumption groups correspond to some extent with the percentages in respect of the total for all the marital status groups, particularly in the urban sample. Those as yet unmarried, on the other hand, who naturally consist mainly of younger persons, also reveal in both sample groups, to a slight extent, the same trends as did the youngest age groups (15-30 years) in Table 5. 3 in respect of the Bantu beer

TABLE 5.6

TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO LITERACY

Degree of literacy	Urban sample											Rural sample												
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoctions, or of European liquor & concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoctions		Total	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoctions, or of European liquor & concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoctions		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%
Able to read and write	57	12.0	97	20.5	261	55.1	13	2.7	46	9.7	474	100.0	21	16.9	14	11.3	74	59.7	6	4.8	9	7.3	124	100.0
Unable to read and write	57	33.1	15	8.7	75	43.6	9	5.2	16	9.3	172	100.0	73	38.0	4	2.1	76	39.6	21	10.9	18	9.4	192	100.0
TOTAL	114	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0

$X^2 = 47.4255; p < .1\%$

$X^2 = 32.5562; p < .1\%$

TABLE 5.7

TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO INCOME

Monthly income	Urban sample												Rural sample												
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & con- coctions, or of Eu- ropean li- quor & con- coctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc- tions		Total		Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of Euro- pean liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & con- coctions, or of Eu- ropean li- quor & concoc- tions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, Eu- ropean li- quor & concoc- tions		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
R10 and less	39	26.9	23	15.9	61	42.1	9	6.2	13	9.0	145	100.0	76	35.3	10	4.7	92	42.8	20	9.3	17	7.9	215	100.0	
R11 - 30	60	19.0	48	15.2	172	54.4	7	2.2	29	9.2	316	100.0	17	19.8	4	4.7	50	58.1	7	8.1	8	9.3	86	100.0	
R31 and over	15	8.1	41	22.2	103	55.7	6	3.2	20	10.8	185	100.0	1	6.7	4	26.7	8	53.3	0	-	2	13.3	15	100.0	
TOTAL	114	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0	

$$X^2 = 29.0583; p < .1\%$$

TABLE 5.8

TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Urban sample											Rural sample												
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & coctions, or of European liquor & coctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & coctions		Total	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & coctions, or of European liquor & coctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & coctions		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not yet married	27	17.1	34	21.5	75	47.5	8	5.1	14	8.9	158	100.0	16	34.8	1	2.2	22	47.8	2	4.3	5	10.9	46	100.0
Married according to recognised rites	74	17.2	67	15.6	237	55.1	12	2.8	40	9.3	430	100.0	61	26.6	15	6.5	111	48.5	24	10.5	18	7.9	229	100.0
Living together, divorced or widow/widower	13	22.4	11	19.0	24	41.4	2	3.4	8	13.8	58	100.0	17	41.5	2	4.9	17	41.5	1	2.4	4	9.8	41	100.0
TOTAL	114	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0

$\chi^2 = 8.8977; 50\% > p > 30\%$

$\chi^2 = 8.9613; 50\% > p > 30\%$

group and the European liquor group, namely a higher percentage of drinkers of European liquor in the urban sample than the expected figure (21.5% as against 17.3%) and a higher percentage of drinkers of Bantu beer in the rural sample (34.8% as against 29.7%). This phenomenon may perhaps be attributed in part to the younger age group being bound by tradition to a considerably lesser extent.

Persons living with a man/woman, and/or divorced and/or are widows or widowers, include in both sample groups a significantly higher percentage of drinkers of Bantu beer than the total group, namely 22.4 per cent as against 17.6 per cent and 41.5 per cent as against 29.7 per cent in the urban and rural samples respectively. A possibly higher average age may be responsible to some extent for this phenomenon.

5.11 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO PROFICIENCY IN SPEAKING THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Table 5.9 is a tabulation of the type of liquor consumed according to degree of ability to speak English or Afrikaans. This table reveals marked trends. In the urban sample an increasing percentage of drinkers of European liquor is discernible when considering first the group able to speak neither English nor Afrikaans, then the group able to speak Afrikaans but not English, then the "English-speaking" group and finally the group able to speak both official languages, namely 2.0 per cent, 8.7 per cent, 17.9 per cent and 24.6 per cent. While the same percentage increase is discernible in respect of those drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor, 44.1 per cent, 49.5 per cent, 53.6 per cent and 54.7 per cent, an almost consistent percentage decrease occurs in respect of the drinkers of Bantu beer, namely 30.4 per cent, 31.1 per cent, 15.2 per cent and 10.3 per cent.

These trends are supported in the rural sample by the higher percentage of Bantu beer drinkers in the group unable to speak English or Afrikaans, the higher percentage of drinkers of European liquor among the subjects able to speak English only and those able to speak both English and Afrikaans, and the higher percentage of drinkers of Bantu beer and European liquor in the group able to speak both English and Afrikaans.

Whereas the distribution of the group able to speak Afrikaans but not English approximates more closely to the group able to speak both Afrikaans and English, the group able to speak Afrikaans but not English approximates more closely to the group able to speak neither Afrikaans nor English. The ability to speak both Afrikaans and English apparently bears some relationship to the educational standard of the subject and also to his living in a Bantu area or a European area (vide Table 5.10), since contact with White culture naturally increases the subject's knowledge of the official languages.

5.12 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO MOBILITY

In Table 5.10 the type of liquor consumed by members of the two sample groups is correlated with the nature of the area in which the subject lives. The mobility groups in Table 5.10 can be classified under two categories the "Bantu area orientated" subjects (i.e. those who had never been in a European area during the preceding five years, and those who had spent more time in a Bantu area than in a White area) and the "White area orientated" subjects (i.e. subjects who, during the preceding five years, had lived in a White area for a longer period than in a Bantu area and those who had never been in a Bantu area). The percentage distributions in these two categories differ

TABLE 5.9

TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO PROFICIENCY IN SPEAKING THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Official languages spoken	Urban sample										Rural sample													
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of Euro-pean li- quor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoc- tions, or of European liquor & concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc- tions		Total		Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of Euro-pean liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & con- coctions, or of European liquor & concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc- tions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Speak neither Eng- lish nor Afrikaans	31	30.4	2	2.0	45	44.1	10	9.8	14	13.7	102	100.0	60	39.7	3	2.0	58	38.4	18	11.9	12	7.9	151	100.0
Speak Afrikaans only	32	31.1	9	8.7	51	49.5	1	1.0	10	9.7	103	100.0	17	19.8	5	5.8	53	61.6	4	4.7	7	8.1	86	100.0
Speak English only	17	15.2	20	17.9	60	53.6	5	4.5	10	8.9	112	100.0	7	18.9	5	13.5	17	45.9	4	10.8	4	10.8	37	100.0
Speak Afrikaans & English	34	10.3	81	24.6	180	54.7	6	1.8	28	8.5	329	100.0	10	23.8	5	11.9	22	52.4	1	2.4	4	9.5	42	100.0
TOTAL	114	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 79.6127; p < .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 32.8135; 1\% > p > 0.1\%$$

TABLE 5.10

TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO MOBILITY

Mobility during previous 5 years	Urban sample											Rural sample													
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoc- tions, or of Euro- pean li- quor & con- coctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc- tions		Total	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of Euro- pean li- quor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & con- coctions, or of Euro- pean liquor & concoc- tions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc- tions		Total			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Never entered a White area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	39.1	4	8.7	19	41.3	4	8.7	1	2.1	46	100.0
Lived in Bantu area longer than in White area	10	26.3	5	13.2	18	47.4	2	5.3	3	7.9	38	100.0	39	31.0	7	5.6	54	42.9	16	12.7	10	7.9	126	100.0	
Lived in White area longer than in Bantu area	62	16.3	63	16.6	199	52.4	14	3.7	42	11.1	380	100.0	24	25.5	4	4.3	46	48.9	7	7.4	13	13.8	94	100.0	
Never entered Bantu area	42	18.4	44	19.3	119	52.2	6	2.6	17	7.5	228	100.0	13	26.0	3	6.0	31	62.0	0	-	3	6.0	50	100.0	
TOTAL	114	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0	

$$X^2 = 6.1752; 70\% > p > 50\%$$

considerably. The "Bantu area orientated" subjects in both sample groups revealed a higher percentage of drinkers of Bantu beer than did the total group, 26.3 per cent as against 17.6 per cent and 39.1 per cent and 21.0 per cent as against 29.7 per cent, a smaller percentage of persons drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor, namely 47.4 per cent as against 52.0 per cent and 41.3 per cent and 42.9 per cent as against 47.5 per cent, and in the urban sample a lower percentage of drinkers of European liquor. The drinkers of "White area orientated" subjects, on the other hand, tend to include a smaller percentage of drinkers of Bantu beer than the total group and higher percentages of drinkers of Bantu beer and drinkers of both Bantu beer and European liquor.

This distribution trend in respect of "Bantu area and White area orientation" is most marked in the percentage incidence of those drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor in the various residential groups of the rural sample. If attention is here paid first to the percentage distributions of the "Bantu area orientated persons" and then the "White area orientated persons" it is found that the percentage incidence of persons drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor shows a gradual increase: 41.3 per cent, 42.9 per cent, 48.9 per cent and 62.0 per cent.

Once again it would appear that among the Bantu the consumption of various types of liquor is influenced strongly by the measure of his contact - either direct or indirect - with an urban sphere.

5.13 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO DRINKING FREQUENCY

In Table 5.11 the types of liquor consumed in the two sample groups are correlated with drinking frequency. It emerges from Table 5.11 that those who drink only one type of liquor (the Bantu beer group and the European liquor group) constitute in both sample groups a higher proportion of the frequency group consisting of persons drinking once per month and less often, than is the case in respect of the total group: urban sample 22.0 per cent as against 17.6 per cent and 42.0 per cent against 17.3 per cent respectively; rural sample 34.3 per cent as against 29.7 per cent and 17.9 per cent as against 5.7 per cent. Those who drink both Bantu beer and European liquor, on the other hand, constitute a higher proportion of the group who take liquor every day, urban sample 58.3 per cent as against 52.0 per cent and rural sample 63.9 per cent as against 47.5 per cent.

This distribution is apparently related to the fact that the heavy drinker does not discriminate between types of liquor but drinks any liquor which comes his way.

5.14 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF DRINKING

Table 5.12 is a tabulation of the type of liquor consumed according to the amount of liquor consumed during the 7 days preceding the survey. This table reveals the same trend shown in Table 5.11. Those drinking one type of liquor only (drinkers of Bantu beer and drinkers of European liquor) constitute in both samples a higher proportion than in the total of the groups who consumed the least liquor during the period of seven days: drinkers of Bantu beer 20.4 per cent and 26.8 per cent as against 17.6 per cent (urban sample), and 37.3 per cent and 36.1 per cent as against 29.7 per cent (rural sample), in the "none" and 1-12 unit groups; drinkers of European liquor 42.9 per cent as against 17.3 per cent and 13.6 per cent as against 5.7 per cent in the "none" groups, respectively.

TABLE 5.11

TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO DRINKING FREQUENCY

Drinking frequency	Urban sample										Rural sample														
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoctions, or of European liquor & concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoctions		Total		Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoctions, or of European liquor & concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoctions		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Daily	19	16.5	5	4.3	67	58.3	5	4.3	19	16.5	115	100.0	4	11.1	1	2.8	23	63.9	4	11.1	4	11.1	36	100.0	
3-6 days per week	23	18.7	9	7.3	70	56.9	5	4.1	16	13.0	123	100.0	8	20.5	1	2.6	22	56.4	6	15.4	2	5.1	39	100.0	
1-2 days per week	50	16.2	56	18.2	169	54.9	9	2.9	24	7.8	308	100.0	59	33.9	4	2.3	79	45.4	14	8.0	18	10.3	174	100.0	
Once per month or less often	22	22.0	42	42.0	30	30.0	3	3.0	3	3.0	100	100.0	23	34.3	12	17.9	26	38.8	3	4.5	3	4.5	67	100.0	
TOTAL	114	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0	

$$\chi^2 = 79.8701; p < .1\%$$

$$\chi^2 = 39.5353; p < .1\%$$

TABLE 5.12

TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF DRINKING

Units of liquor consumed during the 7 days immediately preceding the survey 1)	Urban sample										Rural sample													
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer and European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoc-tions or of European liquor & concoctions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc-tions		Total	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of Euro-pean li- quor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoc-tions or of European liquor & concoc-tions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc-tions		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%
None	20	20.4	42	42.9	31	31.6	4	4.1	1	1.0	98	100.0	22	37.3	8	13.6	18	30.5	4	6.8	7	11.9	59	100.0
1-12 units	76	26.8	36	12.7	142	50.0	9	3.2	21	7.4	284	100.0	61	36.1	7	4.1	77	45.6	11	6.5	13	7.7	169	100.0
13-24 units	11	7.7	19	13.3	89	62.2	4	2.8	20	14.0	143	100.0	5	8.1	2	3.2	37	59.7	11	17.7	7	11.3	62	100.0
25-100 units	7	5.8	15	12.4	74	61.2	5	4.1	20	16.5	121	100.0	6	23.1	1	3.8	18	69.2	1	3.8	0	-	26	100.0
TOTAL	114	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 106.1591; p < 0.1\%$$

$$X^2 = 41.3095; p < 0.1\%$$

1) For the classification norm in respect of units of liquor, see Chapter 7, page 105

Those who take more than one type of liquor (those drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor), on the other hand, constitute a higher percentage than the expected one of the groups consuming the highest number of units of liquor, 62.2 per cent and 61.2 per cent as against 52.0 per cent (urban sample), and 59.7 per cent and 69.2 per cent as against 47.5 per cent in the 13-24 unit and 25-100 unit groups respectively.

The same explanation offered in respect of the relationship between those who drink more than one type of liquor and a high drinking frequency pattern, is apparently also applicable here.

5.15 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OR TERRITORY

In Table 5.13 the type of liquor is analysed according to province. From this table it emerges clearly that the drinkers in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State include a higher percentage of persons who drink both Bantu beer and European liquor than does the total group, 55.4 per cent and 55.7 per cent as against 52.0 per cent (urban sample), and 60.8 per cent and 77.1 per cent as against 47.5 per cent (rural sample) respectively. The subjects in the Free State also include a higher percentage of drinkers of European liquor than the total group: 29.1 per cent as against 17.3 per cent (urban sample). The drinkers of Bantu beer in the following groups include a higher percentage than the expected one: Cape Province, urban sample 28.3 per cent as against 17.6 per cent; Natal, urban sample 20.0 per cent as against 17.6 per cent; Transkei, rural sample 43.9 per cent as against 29.7 per cent.

5.16 SUMMARY

- 5.16.1 Of the drinkers, four-fifths drink Bantu beer as well as other types of liquor, between three and four-fifths drink European liquor and other types of liquor, and less than one-fifth drink concoctions.
- 5.16.2 Drinkers who consume both Bantu beer and European liquor form the largest group of drinkers. In the urban sample the group drinking Bantu beer only, together with the group drinking European liquor only, occupy second place; whereas in the rural sample the drinkers of Bantu beer occupy second place and the drinkers of European liquor the last place.
- 5.16.3 While the group of women tends to include a higher percentage of drinkers of Bantu beer and drinkers of European liquor than the expected proportion, the men include a markedly higher proportion of persons who drink both Bantu beer and European liquor.
- 5.16.4 The youngest age group (15-30 years) shows a higher percentage than expected of drinkers of European liquor in the urban sample and of drinkers of Bantu beer in the rural sample, while the highest age group (51 years and older) has a higher percentage than the expected figure of persons drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor in the urban sample and of drinkers of concoctions in the rural sample.
- 5.16.5 Whereas persons in the "status-giving occupations" (professional and technical occupations and private entrepreneurs) tend to include a higher percentage of drinkers of European liquor than the expected figure, the labourer group on the other hand tends to include a higher percentage of persons who drink both Bantu beer and European liquor.
- 5.16.6 The percentage of Bantu beer drinkers declines with a rise in the educational standard of the educational group, while the percentage of drinkers of European liquor increases with a rise in the educational standard of the educational groups. Corresponding trends can be discerned among the totally illiterate and those able to read and write.

TABLE 5.13
TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OR TERRITORY

Province or territory	Urban sample										Rural sample										Total			
	Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoc-tions or of European liquor & concoc-tions		Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc-tions		Total		Drinkers of Bantu beer		Drinkers of European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & European liquor		Drinkers of Bantu beer & concoc-tions or of European liquor & concoc-tions			Drinkers of Bantu beer, European liquor & concoc-tions		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.
Cape Province	26	28.3	13	14.1	51	55.4	1	1.1	1	1.1	92	100.0	15	29.4	3	5.9	31	60.8	0	-	2	3.9	51	100.0
Natal	17	20.0	5	5.9	34	40.0	13	15.3	16	18.8	85	100.0	12	26.7	1	2.2	16	35.6	7	15.6	9	20.0	45	100.0
O. F. S.	2	2.5	23	29.1	44	55.7	1	1.3	9	11.4	79	100.0	4	11.4	3	8.6	27	77.1	0	-	1	2.9	35	100.0
Transvaal	69	17.7	71	18.2	207	53.1	7	1.8	36	9.2	390	100.0	32	29.9	7	6.5	43	40.2	14	13.1	11	10.3	107	100.0
Transkei	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	25	43.9	4	7.0	27	47.4	1	1.8	0	-	57	100.0
Zululand	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	6	28.6	0	-	6	28.6	5	23.8	4	19.0	21	100.0
TOTAL	114	17.6	112	17.3	336	52.0	22	3.4	62	9.6	646	100.0	94	29.7	18	5.7	150	47.5	27	8.5	27	8.5	316	100.0

$\chi^2 = 88.2556; p < 0.1\%$

5. 16. 7 As the income of the income group increases, there is a decline in the percentage of Bantu beer drinkers and an increase in the percentage of drinkers of European liquor.
5. 16. 8 No trends are discernible in respect of the legally married subjects. The unmarried persons include a higher percentage of drinkers of European liquor than the expected figure in the urban sample, while the group consisting of divorced persons, widows/widowers and persons living together include a higher percentage of Bantu beer drinkers than the total groups.
5. 16. 9 Consideration of the group able to speak both Afrikaans and English and the group able to speak English but not Afrikaans, then of the group able to speak Afrikaans but not English, and lastly of the group of subjects able to speak neither English nor Afrikaans, reveals a fairly consistent increase in the percentage of Bantu beer drinkers, and a decline in the percentage of drinkers of European liquor and of persons who drink both Bantu beer and European liquor.
5. 16. 10 In regard to domicile, there is a decline in the percentage of persons who drink Bantu beer only and an increase in the percentage of persons drinking European liquor only (in the urban sample only) and those drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor, as one proceeds from the Bantu who are "Bantu area orientated" to those who are "European area orientated".
5. 16. 11 The subjects who drink more than one type of liquor include a higher percentage of the groups who drink daily and of those consuming the highest number of units of liquor in seven days. Those whose drinking is confined to one type of liquor only, on the other hand, include a higher percentage of persons from the groups who drink once per month and less often, and from the groups who consume the low-number of liquor units over a period of seven days.
5. 16. 12 No general trends can be discerned in regard to subjects living in different provinces or territories.

CHAPTER 6

LIQUOR PREFERENCES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter attention is given to the liquor preferences of drinkers in the two sample groups. By liquor preference is meant the type of liquor which the subject prefers to all other types; in other words, the type of liquor he would prefer to have.

6.2 LIQUOR PREFERENCES OF THE TWO SAMPLE GROUPS

Figure 6.1 is a graphic representation of the liquor preferences of the two sample groups. This representation is an explicit indication of the differences in liquor preference in the two sample groups. In the urban sample the type of liquor preferred by the largest single group is European liquor (for the percentage distribution cf. Table 6.2: 58.0 per cent); in the rural sample the first preference of the largest single group is Bantu beer (64.2 per cent). The two sample groups, however, have something in common in as much as both groups include only a very small percentage of persons who prefer concoctions to all other types of liquor (urban sample, 1.7% and rural sample, 2.2%).

As appeared from various tables in Chapter 5 (Tables 5.4, 5.5, 5.7 and 5.9), among the Bantu the drinking of European liquor is associated with a certain status. It is accordingly understandable that this type of liquor, especially in the urban areas where contact with European liquor with its status-giving values is at its highest, should be preferred by so great a majority. The urban Bantu are also more readily able to afford European liquor, which is moreover more readily obtainable from illicit sources in the cities. The rural Bantu, on the other hand, shows a greater preference for Bantu beer than for European liquor as a result of his stronger ties with tradition and the fact that European liquor is "unobtainable". It is nevertheless interesting that a higher percentage of drinkers prefer European liquor (33.5%) than actually most often consume European liquor (Table 6.1: 9.8%).

6.3 TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED MOST FREQUENTLY

Before correlating the liquor preferences of the subjects with other sociological characteristics of the two sample groups, attention is drawn to the types of liquor most often consumed by the subjects on all the various occasions when they take liquor.

Table 6.1 is a tabulation of the type of liquor consumed most often by the subjects.

TABLE 6.1
TYPE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED MOST OFTEN

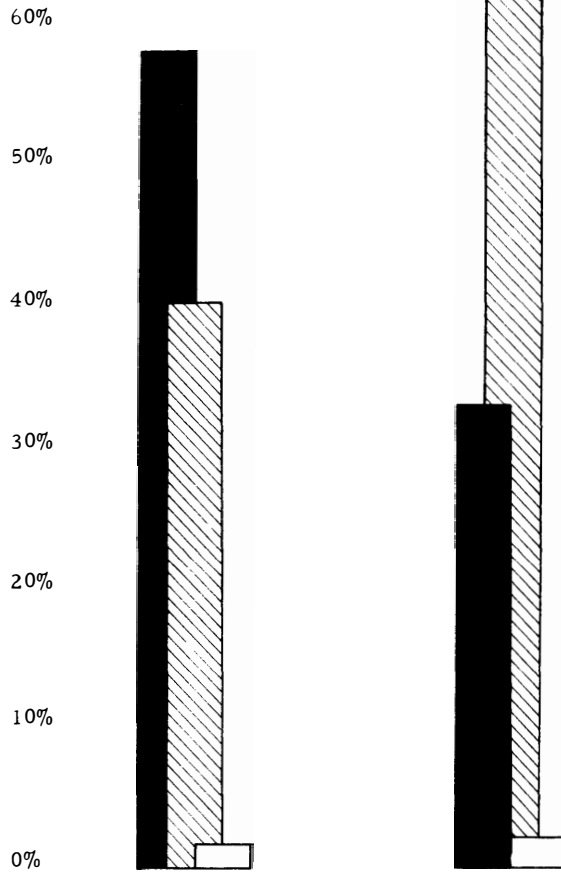
Type of liquor	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Bantu beer	473	73.2	277	87.7
Concoctions	15	2.3	8	2.5
Wine	42	6.5)	7	2.2)
Spirits	97	15.0)	23	7.3)
Beer	19	2.9)	1	0.3)
TOTAL	646	100.0	316	100.0




FIGURE 6.1

LIQUOR PREFERENCES IN THE TWO
SAMPLE GROUPS

URBAN SAMPLE

RURAL SAMPLE



-  European liquor
-  Bantu beer
-  Concoctions

From this table it emerges that there is, on the whole, considerable agreement between the trends in respect of the two sample groups; of all the types of liquor, Bantu beer is taken most often (urban sample, 73.2% and rural sample, 87.7%); then follows European liquor (in the following order: spirits, wine and beer -24.4% and 9.8% respectively), while concoctions represent the smallest percentage of drinkers (2.3% and 2.5% respectively).

If this trend is now compared with the distribution in Figure 6.1 it is seen that both sample groups include a large proportion of subjects who drink Bantu beer most often but actually prefer European liquor: whereas in the urban sample only 24.4 per cent of the subjects drink European liquor most often, 58.0 per cent would prefer to drink European liquor to any other type (rural sample 9.8% as against 33.5%).

It would therefore appear that the Bantu would drink European liquor to a considerably greater extent if legal factors (and other factors, such as economic ones) made it possible for him to drink European liquor in such quantities as they would like to.

6.4 LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO SEX

The liquor preferences of men and women are tabulated in Table 6.2. The data in this table indicate that in the urban sample group there are no noteworthy differences between the liquor preferences of the men and the women. In the rural sample a higher percentage of men than of the total group prefer European liquor, namely 38.9 per cent as against 33.5 per cent; a higher percentage of women, on the other hand, prefer Bantu beer than is the case in respect of the total group, 74.3 per cent as against 64.2 per cent.

It would appear that as far as liquor preferences are concerned, the women of the rural sample remain bound by tradition to a greater extent than the men, while the men in this sample group, possibly as a result of their patriarchal prerogative, prefer European liquor to a greater extent than do the women. In the urban sample the women are apparently so "emancipated" that they show virtually the same preference pattern as the men.

6.5 LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO AGE

Table 6.3 is a tabulation of liquor preferences in various age groups. If the distribution in this table is compared in respect of the two sample groups, the following differences emerge: whereas the lowest age group of the urban sample (persons between the ages of 15 and 30 years) percentageally give a higher preference to European liquor than the total group, 65.1 per cent as against 58.0 per cent, and the highest age group (those 51 years and older) percentageally have a greater preference than the total group for Bantu beer, 44.5 per cent as against 40.2 per cent, in the rural sample it is the age group 31-50 years that has a greater percentageal preference for European liquor (38.9% as against 33.5%) and both the lowest and the highest age groups that have a greater percentageal preference for Bantu beer, 70.0 per cent and 67.9 per cent, as against 64.2 per cent. (For a similarity in the distribution of the lowest age group, compare the distribution of this age group in Table 5.3, where this group in the urban sample has a higher percentage of drinkers of European liquor, and in the rural sample a higher percentage of Bantu beer than the total group.)

6.6 LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

In Table 6.4 the liquor preferences of subjects are correlated with their occupations. What strikes one immediately in Table 6.4 is the markedly higher percentage of the subjects than the expected figure in both sample

TABLE 6.2
LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO SEX

Sex	Urban sample								Rural sample							
	European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total		European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Men	255	57.7	181	40.9	6	1.4	442	100.0	79	38.9	119	58.6	5	2.5	203	100.0
Women	120	58.8	79	38.7	5	2.5	204	100.0	27	23.9	84	74.3	2	1.8	113	100.0
TOTAL	375	58.0	260	40.2	11	1.7	646	100.0	106	33.5	203	64.2	7	2.2	316	100.0

$X^2 = 1.1826$; $70\% > p > 50\%$

$X^2 = 7.8320$; $2\% > p > 1\%$

TABLE 6.3
LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO AGE

Age	Urban sample								Rural sample							
	European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total		European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15 - 30 years	136	65.1	69	33.0	4	1.9	209	100.0	19	27.1	49	70.0	2	2.9	70	100.0
31 - 50 years	179	54.7	142	43.4	6	1.8	327	100.0	63	38.9	97	59.9	2	1.2	162	100.0
51 years and over	60	54.5	49	44.5	1	0.9	110	100.0	24	28.6	57	67.9	3	3.6	84	100.0
TOTAL	375	58.0	260	40.2	11	1.7	646	100.0	106	33.5	203	64.2	7	2.2	316	100.0

$X^2 = 7.1622$; 20% > p > 10%

$X^2 = 5.3976$; 30% > p > 20%

TABLE 6.4
LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

Occupation	Urban sample								Rural sample							
	European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total		European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Labourers: farm labourers; mining and other industrial labourers; fishermen	92	52.3	83	47.2	1	0.6	176	100.0	40	37.7	66	62.3	0	-	106	100.0
Persons in professional, technical and other "educated" occupations	45	78.9	11	19.3	1	1.8	57	100.0	7	87.5	1	12.5	0	-	8	100.0
Persons connected with delivery, transport and security services, and domestic and garden servants	150	57.2	105	40.1	7	2.7	262	100.0	16	28.6	38	67.9	2	3.6	56	100.0
Full-time students, scholars and housewives, and persons not economically active	58	58.0	42	42.0	0	-	100	100.0	17	23.6	54	75.0	1	1.4	72	100.0
Private entrepreneurs e.g. traders and independent farmers	14	70.0	5	25.0	1	5.0	20	100.0	24	40.0	33	55.0	3	5.0	60	100.0
Unemployed	16	51.6	14	45.2	1	3.2	31	100.0	2	14.3	11	78.6	1	7.1	14	100.0
TOTAL	375	58.0	260	40.2	11	1.7	646	100.0	106	33.5	203	64.2	7	2.2	316	100.0

groups in "status-giving" occupations who prefer European liquor. Among the persons in professional occupations 78.9 per cent and 87.5 per cent prefer European liquor in the urban and rural sample groups, respectively, as against the expected 58.0 per cent and 33.5 per cent. Private entrepreneurs and independent farmers show a higher percentual preference for European liquor than the total group, namely 70.0 per cent and 40.0 per cent in the urban and rural sample groups, respectively.

A similar inference to that drawn in respect of Table 5.4 can also be drawn here: among the Bantu, preference for European liquor is closely associated with a high occupational status. Persons in "status-giving" occupations naturally also have more money available to give preference to European liquor in practice.

6.7 LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

A tabulation of liquor preferences according to educational standard is given in Table 6.5. From the data in Table 6.5, two clear trends can be inferred in respect of both samples: as the educational standard of the educational group rises, percentually more European liquor than the expected figure and percentually less Bantu beer than the expected figure are preferred. Of the highest educational group (those who have passed Std. V or a higher standard) 74.2 per cent prefer European liquor as against the expected figure of 58.0 per cent in the urban sample, and 63.3 per cent as against 33.5 per cent in the rural sample.

A high degree of preference for European liquor is closely associated with a high educational standard. (Compare the findings in Table 5.5.) The same explanation which holds good in respect of the relationship between a "status-giving" occupation and a preference for European liquor, is probably also applicable here.

6.8 LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO INCOME

In Table 6.6 the liquor preferences of the subjects are correlated with income. A similar trend to that in Table 6.5 can be discerned in respect of the income groups in Table 6.6: as the income of the income group rises, the percentage of persons preferring European liquor increases, and the percentage of persons preferring Bantu beer declines.

In the urban sample 39.3 per cent of the subjects with an income of R10 and less per month prefer European liquor: the next income groups, those with an income of between R11 and R30, and those with an income of R31 and over, 57.0 per cent and 74.6 per cent respectively prefer European liquor. The corresponding percentages in the rural sample are 27.4 per cent, 46.5 per cent and 46.7 per cent.

A high income is associated with a greater preference than the expected figure for European liquor. (Compare paragraph 5.9.) Here, too, the explanation offered in paragraphs 6.7 and 6.8 would appear to be applicable.

6.9 LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Table 6.7 is a tabulation of liquor preference according to marital status. No general trend can be inferred from this table. Characteristic, however, is the higher percentage of the "unmarried" group than expected in the urban sample who prefer European liquor, 60.1 per cent as against

TABLE 6.5
LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Educational standard	Urban sample								Rural sample							
	European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total		European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never attended school	68	38.2	106	59.5	4	2.2	178	100.0	48	26.4	129	70.9	5	2.7	182	100.0
School attendance in Sub-Standard A to passed Std.IV	149	58.4	100	39.2	6	2.4	255	100.0	39	37.5	63	60.6	2	1.9	104	100.0
Passed Std.V to possession of a university degree	158	74.2	54	25.3	1	0.5	213	100.0	19	63.3	11	36.7	0	-	30	100.0
TOTAL	375	58.0	260	40.2	11	1.7	646	100.0	106	33.5	203	64.2	7	2.2	316	100.0

$\chi^2 = 52.7644; p < .1\%$

TABLE 6.6

LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO INCOME

Income per month	Urban sample								Rural sample							
	European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total		European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
R10 or less	57	39.3	84	57.9	4	2.8	145	100.0	59	27.4	149	69.3	7	3.3	215	100.0
R11 - 30	180	57.0	133	42.1	3	0.9	316	100.0	40	46.5	46	53.5	0	-	86	100.0
R31 and over	138	74.6	43	23.2	4	2.2	185	100.0	7	46.7	8	53.3	0	-	15	100.0
TOTAL	375	58.0	260	40.2	11	1.7	646	100.0	106	33.5	203	64.2	7	2.2	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 44.6143; p < .1\%$$

TABLE 6.7
LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Urban sample								Rural sample							
	European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total		European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not yet married	95	60.1	60	38.0	3	1.9	158	100.0	13	28.3	32	69.6	1	2.2	46	100.0
Married according to recognised rites	248	57.7	175	40.7	7	1.6	430	100.0	81	35.4	142	62.0	6	2.6	229	100.0
Living together, divorced or widow/widower	32	55.2	25	43.1	1	1.7	58	100.0	12	29.3	29	70.7	0	-	41	100.0
TOTAL	375	58.0	260	40.2	11	1.7	646	100.0	106	33.5	203	64.2	7	2.2	316	100.0

$X^2 = 0.6025; 98\% > p > 95\%$

58.0 per cent, and the higher percentage than expected of the same marital status group in the rural sample who prefer Bantu beer, 69.6% as against 64.2%. It must be remembered, however, that the "unmarried persons" comprise largely younger persons; this distribution accordingly corresponds with that of the age group 15 to 30 years in Table 6.3.

6.10 LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

In Table 6.8 the liquor preference of the subjects is correlated with the ethnic groups to which they belong. Immediately noticeable from the data in Table 6.8 is the fact that the Tswana and South-Sotho groups in both the urban and the rural samples include a higher percentage of persons who prefer European liquor to all other types than is the case in respect of the total group: urban sample 68.9 per cent and 72.0 per cent and rural sample 60.5 per cent and 72.7 per cent, respectively. As against this, a higher percentage of the Xhosa and Zulu in both samples prefer Bantu beer than is the case in respect of the total group: 49.3 per cent and 46.5 per cent as against 40.2 per cent and 70.8 per cent, and 86.6 per cent as against 64.2 per cent in the urban and rural samples respectively.

From the distribution in Table 3.7 it appears that the Tswana of the urban sample and the South-Sotho of both samples yield a higher percentage of drinkers than the total group. It would appear that the Xhosa and the Zulu (particularly if it is borne in mind that according to Table 3.7 the Xhosa of the urban sample and the Zulu of both samples yield a higher percentage of total abstainers than the total figure), are perhaps more conservative in regard to their drinking habits than the South-Sotho and the Tswana.

6.11 LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO PROFICIENCY IN SPEAKING THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

In Table 6.9 the liquor preferences of the subjects are correlated with their ability to speak the official languages (i. e. English and Afrikaans). This table clearly reveals regular patterns. Reference to the successive distributions in both samples of the groups who can speak neither Afrikaans nor English, then of those able to speak Afrikaans or English only, and then of the groups able to speak both English and Afrikaans, reveals that the percentage of persons who prefer European liquor increases with each group, from 31.4 per cent and 17.9 per cent (urban and rural samples respectively) and 50.7 per cent and 45.5 per cent to 71.1 per cent and 54.8 per cent.

The factor of proficiency in the official languages is associated with the factors which determine the general socio-economic status of the subjects: occupation (Table 6.4), educational standard (Table 6.5) and income (Table 6.6).

6.12 LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO QUANTITY OF DRINKING

In Table 6.10 the liquor preferences of the subjects are correlated with the amount of liquor consumed over a period of seven days. From this table it emerges that the subjects who consume the largest quantity of units (13-24 units and 25 units and more) over a period of seven days include a higher percentage of persons who prefer European liquor than does the total group. On the other hand, the group of persons who consumed only 1-12 units of liquor during this period includes more persons who prefer Bantu beer than does the total group: urban sample 55.6 per cent as against 40.2 per cent and rural sample 72.6 per cent as against 64.2 per cent.

TABLE 6.8

LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

Ethnic group	Urban sample								Rural sample							
	European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total		European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Xhosa	69	50.0	68	49.3	1	0.7	138	100.0	28	29.2	68	70.8	0	-	96	100.0
Zulu	70	49.3	66	46.5	6	4.2	142	100.0	8	11.9	58	86.6	1	1.5	67	100.0
North-Sotho (Sepedi)	48	65.8	24	32.9	1	1.4	73	100.0	12	26.7	30	66.7	3	6.7	45	100.0
Tswana	73	68.9	32	30.2	1	0.9	106	100.0	26	60.5	17	39.5	0	-	43	100.0
South-Sotho (Shangaan)	59	72.0	21	25.6	2	2.4	82	100.0	16	72.7	6	27.3	0	-	22	100.0
Others: Ndebele Tsonga Venda Swazi, etc.	56	53.3	49	46.7	0	-	105	100.0	16	37.2	24	55.8	3	7.0	43	100.0
TOTAL	375	58.0	260	40.2	11	1.7	646	100.0	106	33.5	203	64.2	7	2.2	316	100.0

TABLE 6.9

LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO PROFICIENCY IN SPEAKING THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Proficiency in the official languages	Urban sample								Rural sample							
	European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total		European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Able to speak neither English nor Afrikaans	32	31.4	64	62.7	6	5.9	102	100.0	27	17.9	121	80.1	3	2.0	151	100.0
Speak either Afrikaans or English	109	50.7	105	48.8	1	0.5	215	100.0	56	45.5	63	51.2	4	3.3	123	100.0
Speak Afrikaans and English	234	71.1	91	27.7	4	1.2	329	100.0	23	54.8	19	45.2	0	-	42	100.0
TOTAL	375	58.0	260	40.2	11	1.7	646	100.0	106	33.5	203	64.2	7	2.2	316	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 66.7737; p < .1\%$$

TABLE 6.10
LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO QUANTITY CONSUMED

Units of liquor consumed during the 7 days pre- ceding survey ¹⁾	Urban sample								Rural sample							
	European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total		European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	56	57.1	40	40.8	2	2.0	98	100.0	23	39.0	35	59.3	1	1.7	59	100.0
1 - 12 units	120	42.3	158	55.6	6	2.1	284	100.0	42	25.0	122	72.6	4	2.4	168	100.0
13 - 24 units	106	74.1	37	25.9	0	-	143	100.0	26	41.9	34	54.8	2	3.2	62	100.0
25 units and over	93	76.9	25	20.7	3	2.5	121	100.0	15	55.6	12	44.4	0	-	27	100.0
TOTAL	375	58.0	260	40.2	11	1.7	646	100.0	106	33.5	203	64.2	7	2.2	316	100.0

1) For the classification norm of liquor units, see Chapter 7, p. 113

Since the group with the highest consumption of liquor in Table 4.14 prefer European liquor to a greater extent than the expected figure particularly because of its high alcoholic content, it is easy to understand why the group with the highest consumption in Table 6.10 have a higher preferential preference for European liquor than the expected figure: it has a higher alcoholic content than Bantu beer.

6.13 LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OR TERRITORY

Table 6.11 is a tabulation of liquor preferences according to province or territory. From Table 6.11 it appears that the persons from the Orange Free State and Transvaal (both samples) and the Cape Province (in the rural sample only) have a higher preferential preference for European liquor than the total group. The subjects living in Natal (both samples) and the Cape Province (urban sample only) and also in the Transkei and Zululand have, per centually, a greater preference for Bantu beer than expected.

This distribution is clearly in agreement with what was discussed under Table 6.8.

6.14 SUMMARY

- 6.14.1 While the greatest single percentage of subjects in the urban sample prefer European liquor, the greatest single percentage in the rural sample prefer Bantu beer.
- 6.14.2 Of all the types of liquor, Bantu beer is drunk most often by the persons of both sample groups. Thereafter follow European liquor and concoctions.
- 6.14.3 While there are no noteworthy differences between the drinking preferences of men and women in the urban sample, in the rural sample the men exhibit a greater preferential preference for European liquor than the total group, the women per centually a greater preference for Bantu beer.
- 6.14.4 The age group 15 to 30 years in the urban sample and the group 31 to 50 years in the rural sample have per centually a greater preference for European liquor, while a greater percentage than the expected one of the age group 15 to 30 years in the rural sample and the group 51 years and older in both samples prefer Bantu beer.
- 6.14.5 Persons in professional occupations, private entrepreneurs and also full-time farmers, have per centually a higher preference than the expected figure for European liquor.
- 6.14.6 As the educational standard of the educational group rises, a greater percentage than the expected figure exhibit a preference for European liquor, and a lesser percentage show a preference for Bantu beer.
- 6.14.7 As the income of the income group rises, a greater percentage of persons in each income group prefer European liquor and fewer persons prefer Bantu beer.
- 6.14.8 A greater percentage of those still unmarried have, in the urban sample, a preference for European liquor than the expected figure: and in the rural sample the same group contains a higher percentage of persons who prefer Bantu beer.

TABLE 6.11

LIQUOR PREFERENCES ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OR TERRITORY

Province or territory	Urban sample								Rural sample							
	European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total		European liquor		Bantu beer		Concoctions		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cape Province	39	42.4	53	57.6	0	-	92	100.0	23	36.5	40	63.5	0	-	63	100.0
Natal	25	29.4	54	63.5	6	7.1	85	100.0	5	11.1	39	86.7	1	2.2	45	100.0
O. F. S.	55	69.6	22	27.8	2	2.5	79	100.0	24	68.6	11	31.4	0	-	35	100.0
Transvaal	256	65.6	131	33.6	3	0.8	390	100.0	40	37.4	61	57.0	6	5.6	107	100.0
Transkei	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	24.4	34	75.6	0	-	45	100.0
Zululand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	14.3	18	85.7	0	-	21	100.0
TOTAL	375	58.0	260	40.2	11	1.7	646	100.0	106	33.5	203	64.2	7	2.2	316	100.0

6. 14. 9 The Tswana and South-Sotho have, as a percentage, a greater preference for European liquor than the expected figure, while the Xhosa and Zulu as a percentage prefer Bantu beer to a greater extent than the expected figure.
6. 14. 10 Whereas the subjects able to speak both Afrikaans and English include a higher percentage than the expected figure of persons who prefer European liquor, the group able to speak neither Afrikaans nor English does not include a higher percentage of persons who prefer Bantu beer.
6. 14. 11 Subjects who consumed the largest number of units of liquor over a period of seven days have as a percentage a greater preference for European liquor than the expected figure, while those who consumed only from 1 to 12 units of liquor have as a percentage a greater preference for Bantu beer.
6. 14. 12 Subject from the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (and the rural sample of inhabitants of the Cape Province) include a higher percentage than the total group of persons who prefer European liquor. Those living in Natal, the Transkei and Zululand (and the urban residents of the Cape Province), on the other hand, include a higher percentage of persons who prefer Bantu beer than does the total group.
6. 14. 13 It would appear that the following factors are clearly associated with a higher degree of preference for European liquor in both sample groups: professional and other "status-giving" occupations, a high educational standard, a high income, membership of a Tswana or a South-Sotho ethnic group, a knowledge of both official languages and the consumption of a larger number of liquor units.

CHAPTER 7

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The number of "drinks" consumed by a subject is examined in this chapter. Subjects were asked how many units of the various types of liquor they consumed during the seven days preceding the survey (compare question 23 and 24 of the questionnaire - Appendix 1). Although a comparable basis for the various types of liquor naturally yields fairly considerable problems, particularly in regard to concoctions, the following grouping has been arrived at on a basis of the percentage of alcohol per unit volume.

One unit of liquor is equivalent to:

- 1 tot of spirits (1 bottle is equivalent to 21 tots)
- 1 small bottle of "European beer" (1 large bottle is equivalent to 2 units)
- 1 glass of wine (1 bottle is equivalent to 12 glasses)
- 1 two-pint unit of Bantu beer
- 1 half-pint unit of concoction

This levelling of the various types of liquor according to their percentage of alcohol per unit volume, is not by any means claimed to be water-tight. It is at most an approximate working basis of comparison.

7.2 QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED IN THE TWO SAMPLE GROUPS

In Fig. 7.1 the similarities and differences between the consumption of liquor over a period of one week in the two sample groups of subjects are clearly discernible. The same trend is discernible in both sample groups: the high percentage share of the groups consuming 1 - 12 units (for the percentage distribution see Table 7.1: urban sample 44.0% and rural sample 53.2%) and the relatively gradual decrease in the percentual share to the groups with a higher consumption (Table 7.1: urban sample 22.1% in the group with a consumption of 13-24 units and 18.7% in the group which consumed 25 units and more: rural sample, 19.6% and 8.6% respectively).

The urban sample, however, tends towards a "heavier" pattern in regard to the number of units consumed. A higher proportion of the rural sample than of the urban sample consist of persons who consumed relatively small quantities of liquor during the week concerned. (Table 7.1: 18.7% as against 15.2% in the group of drinkers who consumed no liquor at all during the seven days, and 53.2% against 44.0% among those drinkers who consumed between 1 - 12 units of liquor during the seven days.) The urban sample, on the other hand, includes a higher proportion of drinkers in the higher consumption groups than the rural sample (22.1% as against 19.6% in the groups which consumed between 13-24 units; 18.7% as against 8.6% in the groups which consumed 25 units or more).

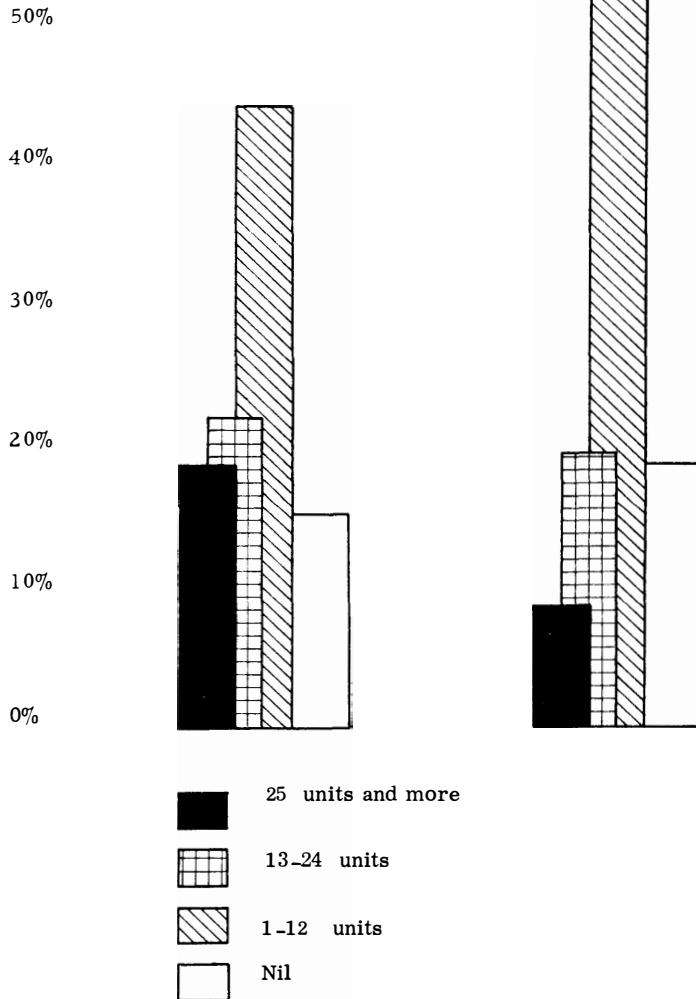
Although the urban and the rural sample include almost the same proportion of drinkers (Table 3.1), according to Table 7.1 the liquor consumption pattern of the urban sample is appreciably heavier than that of the rural sample. The following facts may possibly have a bearing on this: the drinkers in the urban sample, because they consume European liquor to a greater extent

FIGURE 7.1

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED IN THE
TWO SAMPLE GROUPS

URBAN SAMPLE

RURAL SAMPLE



than the rural drinkers (Table 5. 1) and drink European liquor exclusively to a greater extent (Table 5. 2) can potentially consume more units of liquor at a time because a small quantity of brandy contains a "large" number of liquor units, while the consumption of "large" quantities of Bantu beer involves a relatively low consumption of liquor units. An important factor is very probably the fact that the urban Bantu have a higher income than the rural Bantu (Table 2. 3) and are more able to afford European liquor and also able to a greater extent to obtain liquor with a higher "alcohol" content in which the "availability" of European liquor through illicit channels plays a part. An additional factor which may promote the consumption of large quantities of liquor by members of the urban sample, is the weakening of the old tribal traditions.

7. 3 QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO SEX

From Table 7. 1, in which the degree of drinking is analysed according to sex, it emerges explicitly that the women drinkers in both sample groups include higher proportions of subjects who consumed the lowest number of liquor units than does the total group: urban sample 22. 5 per cent as against 15. 2 per cent and 50. 0 per cent as against 44. 0 per cent, rural sample 28. 3 per cent as against 18. 7 per cent and 54. 9 per cent as against 53. 2 per cent who consumed no liquor and who consumed from 1 to 12 units during the seven days, respectively. The men, on the other hand, include higher percentages of subjects who consumed the greatest number of units of liquor, than are included in the total group: urban sample 25. 1 per cent as against 22. 1 per cent, 12. 0 per cent as against 10. 2 per cent and 10. 0 per cent as against 8. 5 per cent who consumed 13 to 24 units, 25 to 36 units and 37 units and more, respectively. The same trend is discernible in respect of the men of the rural sample.

These trends are an indication that the women have an appreciably lighter drinking pattern than the men as regards the amount of liquor consumed over a given period. The women therefore not only yield a considerably lower percentage of drinkers than the men (Table 7. 1) but also a lighter liquor consumption pattern.

7. 4 QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO AGE

Table 7. 2 is a tabulation of the degree of drinking according to age groups. The lowest age groups (15 to 30 years) include higher percentages of subjects who consumed the lowest number of liquor units than are included in the total groups: urban sample 23. 0 per cent as against 15. 2 per cent and rural sample 20. 0 per cent as against 18. 7 per cent who consumed no liquor at all during the period of seven days.

The age group 31 to 50 years, on the other hand, includes higher percentages of subjects who consumed between 13-24 units (and who, in the urban sample, consumed the highest number of units), than the total group: urban sample 24. 2 per cent as against 22. 1 per cent, rural sample 21. 6 per cent as against 19. 6 per cent (and urban sample 11. 0 per cent as against 10. 2 per cent, and 10. 4 per cent as against 8. 5 per cent).

The age group 51 years and older reveals, in the rural sample, great similarity to the expected distribution (i. e. the distribution of the total group), except for the very slightly larger percentage of persons who consumed, 25 units or more: 10. 7 per cent as against 8. 6 per cent. In the urban sample the latter age group reveals only a significantly higher percentage of subjects who consumed from 1 to 12 units than is the case in respect of the total group.

TABLE 7.1
QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO SEX

Sex	Urban sample										Rural sample											
	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25-36 units		37 units and over		Total		None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25 units and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Men	52	11.8	182	41.2	111	25.1	53	12.0	44	10.0	442	100.0	27	13.3	106	52.2	46	22.7	24	11.9	203	100.0
Women	46	22.5	102	50.0	32	15.7	13	6.4	11	5.4	204	100.0	32	28.3	62	54.9	16	14.2	3	2.7	113	100.0
TOTAL	98	15.2	284	44.0	143	22.1	66	10.2	55	8.5	646	100.0	59	18.7	168	53.2	62	19.6	27	8.6	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 26.5013; p < .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 18.6793; p < .1\%$$

TABLE 7.2

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO AGE

Age	Urban sample										Rural sample											
	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25-36 units		37 units and over		Total		None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25 units and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-30 years	48	23.0	90	43.1	38	18.2	19	9.1	14	6.7	209	100.0	14	20.0	38	54.3	13	18.6	5	7.2	70	100.0
31-50 years	38	11.6	140	42.8	79	24.2	36	11.0	34	10.4	327	100.0	29	17.9	85	52.5	35	21.6	13	8.0	162	100.0
51 years and over	12	11.0	54	49.1	26	23.6	11	10.0	7	6.4	110	100.0	16	19.0	45	53.6	14	16.7	9	10.7	84	100.0
TOTAL	98	15.2	284	44.0	143	22.1	66	10.2	55	8.5	646	100.0	59	18.7	168	53.2	62	19.6	27	8.6	316	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 18.6280; 2\% > p > 1\%$$

$$\chi^2 = 1.5709; 98\% > p > 95\%$$

In regard to the amount of liquor consumed by the subjects, it would therefore appear that the lowest age group reveals a lighter pattern than the total group, the age groups 31 to 50 years a heavier pattern than the total group, and the highest age groups a pattern coinciding approximately with that of the total group. It is highly probable that economic considerations contribute largely to the lighter liquor consumption pattern of the lowest age group (cf. the discussion under Table 3.2). The fact that the age group 31 to 50 years prefer European liquor to Bantu beer mainly on account of its higher alcoholic content (Table 4.4), probably has a bearing on the heavy liquor consumption pattern of this age group. This age group also yields a higher percentage of drinkers than the expected figure (Table 3.2).

7.5 QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

In Table 7.3 the degree of drinking in the two sample groups is correlated with the occupation of the subject. From this table it emerges that the "status-giving" occupational groups of both samples include a higher percentage than the expected figure of drinkers who consumed the highest number of units, namely among persons in professional, technical and similar occupations 36.8 per cent as against 22.1 per cent, 21.1 per cent as against 10.2 per cent, and 10.5 per cent as against 8.5 per cent, who consumed more than 12 units in the urban sample and 50.0 per cent as against 19.6 per cent and 12.5 per cent as against 8.6 per cent - the numbers in the columns. However, are extremely low - in the rural sample. Drinkers owning their own undertakings reveal the same trend.

Characteristic also is the higher percentage of unemployed persons than expected and the group consisting of full-time scholars, students and housewives, who consumed no liquor during the seven days: urban sample 42.0 per cent and 22.0 per cent as against 15.2 per cent, and rural sample 21.4 per cent and 26.4 per cent as against 18.7 per cent.

Whereas the labourer group in the rural sample reveals a higher percentage than the total group in respect of 1 to 12 units only, 64.1 per cent as against 53.2 per cent, this group in the urban sample includes higher percentages of subjects who consumed the highest number of units of liquor than does the total group, namely 26.1 per cent as against 22.1 per cent, 13.6 per cent as against 10.2 per cent, and 9.1 per cent as against 8.5 per cent.

As regards the quantity of liquor consumed, it would appear that persons in "status-giving" occupations and the general industrial labourers of the urban sample have a heavier pattern than the total group, while unemployed persons, housewives, scholars and students reveal a lighter pattern. Persons in "status-giving" occupations are naturally more easily able to afford large quantities of liquor, particularly in proportion to unemployed persons, housewives, scholars and students. Persons in "status-giving" occupations accordingly include a higher percentage of drinkers (Table 3.3) and show a greater preference for European liquor (Table 6.4) than the total group. The general industrial labourers in the urban sample group has a heavier drinking pattern than the total group, but has a lighter pattern than that of persons in "status-giving" occupations.

7.6 QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Table 7.4 is a tabulation of the degree of drinking according to educational standard. The drinkers who had never attended school included high percentages of persons who consumed the lowest number of units of liquor than is the

TABLE 7.3
QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

Occupation	Urban sample										Rural sample											
	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25-36 units		37 units and over		Total	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25 units and over		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%			
Labourers: farm labourers, mining & other industrial labourers; fishermen	12	6.8	78	44.3	46	26.1	24	13.6	16	9.1	176	100.0	12	11.3	68	64.1	18	17.0	8	7.5	106	100.0
Persons in professional, technical and other "educated" occupations	5	8.8	13	22.8	21	36.8	12	21.1	6	10.5	57	100.0	1	12.5	2	25.0	4	50.0	1	12.5	8	100.0
Persons connected with delivery, transportation & security services, and domestic and garden servants	44	16.8	132	50.4	50	19.0	16	6.1	20	7.6	262	100.0	0	-	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	-	2	100.0
Full-time students, scholars & housewives, & persons not economically active	22	22.0	43	43.0	19	19.0	10	10.0	6	6.0	100	100.0	19	26.4	36	50.0	14	19.4	3	4.2	72	100.0
Private entrepreneurs e.g. traders and independent farmers	2	10.0	7	35.0	4	20.0	3	15.0	4	20.0	20	100.0	11	18.3	26	43.3	16	26.7	7	11.6	60	100.0
Unemployed	13	42.0	11	35.5	3	9.7	1	3.2	3	9.7	31	100.0	3	21.4	7	50.0	4	28.6	0	-	14	100.0
TOTAL	98	15.2	284	44.0	143	22.1	66	10.2	55	8.5	646	100.0	59	18.7	168	53.2	62	19.6	27	8.6	316	100.0

$\chi^2 = 67.2138; p < .1\%$

TABLE 7.4

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Educational standard	Urban sample										Rural sample											
	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25-36 units		37 units and over		Total		None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25 units and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never attended school	28	15.7	99	55.6	29	16.3	20	11.2	2	1.1	178	100.0	39	21.4	107	58.8	28	15.4	8	4.4	182	100.0
School attendance in sub-standard A to passed Std. IV	39	15.3	108	42.3	64	25.1	20	7.8	24	9.4	255	100.0	16	15.4	52	50.0	23	22.1	13	12.6	104	100.0
Passed Std. V to possession of a university degree	31	14.6	77	36.1	50	23.5	26	12.2	29	13.6	213	100.0	4	13.3	9	30.0	11	36.7	6	20.0	30	100.0
TOTAL	98	15.2	284	44.0	143	22.1	66	10.2	55	8.5	646	100.0	59	18.7	168	53.2	62	19.6	27	8.6	316	100.0

$\chi^2 = 33.2122; p < 0.1\%$

$\chi^2 = 22.7241; p < 0.1\%$

case for the total group: urban sample 55.6 per cent as against 44.0 per cent who consumed from 1 to 12 units, and rural sample 21.4 per cent against 18.7 per cent and 58.8 per cent as against 53.2 per cent who consumed no liquor and 1 to 12 units, respectively.

Both of the educational groups in which the subjects had attended some school, but particularly those who had passed Std. V or a higher examination, include higher percentages of subjects who consumed the highest number of units during the seven days than does the total group. The highest educational group includes in the urban sample 12.2 per cent subjects who consumed from 25 to 36 units of liquor and 13.6 per cent who consumed 37 units and more as against the total group's 10.2 per cent and 8.5 per cent. The corresponding percentages in the rural sample are 36.7 per cent as against 19.6 per cent (13 - 24 units) and 20.0 per cent as against 8.6 per cent (25 units and over).

As regards the quantity of liquor consumed, the lowest educational group, those who have never attended school, have a considerably lighter pattern than the total group. The educational level including persons with a Std. V or a higher certificate, on the other hand, reveals a heavier pattern than the total group. It will be observed that whereas persons with a Std. V or higher certificate yield percentually considerably fewer drinkers in proportion to the total group (Table 3.4), they nevertheless yield drinkers with a heavy liquor consumption pattern. Fewer of them than of the total group, therefore, take liquor; but those who do drink, consume more units than the total group. These phenomena are admittedly associated with, *inter alia*, the fact that percentually more than the expected figure of the drinkers in this educational group prefer European liquor (Table 6.5), and also drink it on account of its high alcoholic content to a greater extent than do the subjects of the total group (Table 4.9).

7.7

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO INCOME

Table 7.5 is a tabulation of the degree of drinking according to income. As the income of the income group rises, the income group concerned contains a higher percentage of subjects who consumed a comparatively large number of units of liquor, 13 units and more. In the urban sample the percentage of drinkers who consumed from 13 to 24 units rises from 12.4 per cent in the group with an income of R10 and lower, to 34.0 per cent in the group whose monthly income is R31 and over. In the drinkers of the urban sample who consumed from 25-36 units of liquor, the corresponding rise is 2.1 per cent to 16.2 per cent, and among those who consumed more than 37 units 3.4 per cent to 13.5 per cent. A similar rise is discernible in the income groups of the rural sample in respect of subjects who consumed more than 12 units of liquor.

As the income of the income groups decreases, however, there is a corresponding increase in the percentage of subjects who consumed the lowest number of units, those who took no liquor at all and those who consumed from 1 - 12 units.

As regards the degree of drinking, it emerges clearly that the higher income group (R31 and over) reveals a heavier drinking pattern than the total group, while the lower income groups, those with an income of R10 and less per month, have a lighter drinking pattern than the total group. The persons with a high income naturally have more money available for buying liquor. It emerges clearly that there is a strong positive relationship between a "status-giving" occupation, a high educational standard, a high income and a heavy drinking pattern.

TABLE 7.5

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO INCOME

Income per month	Urban sample											Rural sample										
	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25-36 units		37 units and over		Total		None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25 units and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
R10 and less	44	30.3	75	51.7	18	12.4	3	2.1	5	3.4	145	100.0	45	20.9	129	60.0	30	14.0	11	5.1	215	100.0
R11 - 30	37	11.7	159	50.3	62	19.6	33	10.4	25	7.9	316	100.0	12	14.0	35	40.7	26	30.2	13	15.1	86	100.0
R31 and over	17	9.2	50	27.0	63	34.0	30	16.2	25	13.5	185	100.0	2	13.3	4	26.7	6	40.0	3	20.0	15	100.0
TOTAL	98	15.2	284	44.0	143	22.1	66	10.2	55	8.5	646	100.0	59	18.7	168	53.2	62	19.6	27	8.6	316	100.0

$X^2 = 90.6831; p < .1\%$

$X^2 = 29.4651; p < .1\%$

7.8 QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

In Table 7.6 the degree of drinking in the two sample groups is correlated with the marital status of the subjects. The legally married subjects include in both samples a higher percentage of persons who consumed large quantities of liquor than the total groups: urban sample 25.1 per cent as against 22.1 per cent (13 to 24 units) and 12.3 per cent as against 10.2 per cent (25 to 36 units), and rural sample 22.3 per cent as against 19.6 per cent (13 to 24 units).

The groups consisting of persons as yet unmarried and the sociologically heterogeneous groups including persons living together, divorced persons or widows/widowers, on the other hand, tend to include a higher percentage of persons than the total group who consumed comparatively fewer units of liquor: urban sample 21.5 per cent and 17.2 per cent as against 15.2 per cent (consumed no liquor) and 46.9 per cent and 55.2 per cent as against 44.0 per cent (1 to 12 units); rural sample 60.9 per cent as against 53.2 per cent (1 to 12 units) and 24.4 per cent as against 18.7 per cent (consumed no liquor) respectively.

As regards the quantity of liquor consumed, legally married persons tend to have a heavier drinking pattern and all unmarried persons a lighter pattern than the total group. The fact that the unmarried people reveal such a low liquor consumption pattern, is related to the fact that their ranks include mainly young people. The divorced persons, widows and widowers constitute in the main comparatively older persons who also tend towards a lighter drinking pattern.

7.9 QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

Table 7.7 is a tabulation of the degree of drinking among various ethnic groups. The Xhosa in both samples tend to include a higher percentage of subjects than the total group who consumed the lowest quantities of liquor: urban sample 27.5 per cent as against 15.2 per cent (consumed no liquor) and 47.8 per cent as against 44.0 per cent (1 to 12 units) and rural sample 56.2 per cent as against 53.2 per cent (1 to 12 units).

The North-Sotho and the South-Sotho, on the other hand, tend to include higher percentages of subjects than the total group who consumed large quantities of liquor, e.g. in the urban sample 13.7 per cent of the North-Sotho consumed from 25 to 36 units of liquor as against 10.2 per cent of the total group. As against the 8.6 per cent of the total group in the rural sample who consumed 25 or more units of liquor, 13.3 per cent of the North-Sotho consumed this amount of liquor.

Whereas the Zulus in the urban sample include higher percentages of subjects than the total group who consumed the larger quantities of liquor, 28.9 per cent as against 22.1 per cent who consumed from 13 to 24 units, and 14.1 per cent as against 10.2 per cent who consumed 25 to 36 units, this ethnic group tends in the rural sample to include higher percentages of subjects than the expected figure who consumed the smallest quantities of liquor: 29.7 per cent as against 18.7 per cent of the Zulus took no liquor during the seven days.

The Xhosa of both samples and the Zulus of the rural sample tend to have a lighter drinking pattern than the total group in regard to the amount

TABLE 7.6

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Urban sample										Rural sample											
	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25-36 units		37 units and over		Total		None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25 units and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not yet married	34	21.5	74	46.9	24	15.2	11	7.0	15	9.5	158	100.0	9	19.6	28	60.9	6	13.0	3	6.5	46	100.0
Married according to recognised rites	54	12.6	178	41.4	108	25.1	53	12.3	37	8.6	430	100.0	40	17.5	120	52.4	51	22.3	18	7.8	229	100.0
Living together, divorced or widower/widow	10	17.2	32	55.2	11	19.0	2	3.4	3	5.2	58	100.0	10	24.4	20	48.8	5	12.2	6	14.6	41	100.0
TOTAL	98	15.2	284	44.0	143	22.1	66	10.2	55	8.5	646	100.0	59	18.7	168	53.2	62	19.6	27	8.6	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 21.3812; 1\% > p > .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 6.7140; 50\% > p > 30\%$$

TABLE 7.7

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

Ethnic group	Urban sample											Rural sample										
	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25-36 units		37 units and over		Total		None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25 units and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Xhosa	38	27.5	66	47.8	17	12.3	10	7.2	7	5.1	138	100.0	19	19.8	54	56.2	18	18.7	5	5.2	96	100.0
Zulu	13	9.2	55	38.7	41	28.9	20	14.1	13	9.2	142	100.0	20	29.7	37	55.2	10	15.0	0	-	67	100.0
North-Sotho (Sepedi)	11	15.1	32	43.8	20	27.4	10	13.7	0	-	73	100.0	6	13.3	23	51.1	10	22.2	6	13.3	45	100.0
Tswana	18	17.0	41	38.7	26	24.5	9	8.5	12	11.3	106	100.0	7	16.3	22	51.2	8	18.6	6	14.0	43	100.0
South-Sotho (Shangaan)	11	13.4	28	34.1	19	23.2	9	11.0	15	18.3	82	100.0	3	13.6	9	41.0	5	22.7	5	22.7	22	100.0
Other: Ndebele Tsonga Venda Swazi	7	6.7	62	59.0	20	19.0	8	7.6	8	7.6	105	100.0	4	9.3	23	53.5	11	25.6	5	11.6	43	100.0
TOTAL	98	15.2	284	44.0	143	22.1	66	10.2	55	8.5	646	100.0	59	18.7	168	53.2	62	19.6	27	8.6	316	100.0

of liquor consumed. (These ethnic groups prefer Bantu beer to a greater extent than the total group: Table 6. 8) The North-Sotho and the South-Sotho of both sample groups and the Zulus of the urban sample, on the other hand, tend to have a heavier pattern than the total group.

7. 10 QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

The quantity of liquor consumed is correlated with the domicile of the subject in Table 7. 8. Whereas the urban Bantu who live spread out in the White town and White city areas include a higher percentage of subjects than the total group who consumed the smaller quantities of liquor, 21. 9 per cent as against 15. 2 per cent (no liquor at all) and 52. 7 per cent as against 44. 0 per cent (1 to 12 units), the inhabitants of Bantu residential areas in White areas include a higher percentage of subjects than the expected figure who consumed the larger amounts of liquor, namely 25. 5 per cent as against 22. 1 per cent (13 to 24 units) and 12. 5 per cent as against 10. 2 per cent (25 to 36 units) and 10. 0 per cent as against 8. 5 per cent (37 units and over).

While the rural Bantu area dwellers reveal no clear trend, subjects living on White farms tend towards a lighter pattern than the total group; 63. 5 per cent of the latter consumed from 1 to 12 units of liquor during the seven days, as against the 53. 2 per cent of the total group.

As regards the quantity of liquor consumed, the urban group living spread out in White residential areas, and the subjects living on White farms, have a lighter drinking pattern than the total group. Those living in Bantu residential areas within White city and White town areas, on the other hand, have a heavier pattern than the total group, which is probably related to the fact that these residential areas were usually the main centres of illicit brewing and illicit liquor sales. Such illicit practices were much harder to execute in the White residential areas. (The persons living in the latter areas consist mainly of domestic servants with a lighter pattern, compare Table 7. 3)

7. 11 QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO DRINKING FREQUENCY

Table 7. 9 is a tabulation of the degree of drinking according to drinking frequency. The distributions in this table are obvious: the group of drinkers who drink only once per month and less often include characteristically larger percentages of subjects than the total group who consumed no liquor at all during the seven days concerned, urban sample 67. 0 per cent as against 15. 2 per cent and rural sample 59. 7 per cent as against 18. 7 per cent.

On the other hand, 34. 8 per cent as against 22. 1 per cent and 33. 3 per cent as against 19. 6 per cent of the daily drinkers consumed from 13 to 24 units of liquor in the urban and rural sample groups respectively. In regard to the higher consumption units (25 units and more), also, the daily drinkers reveal higher percentages than the total group.

Drinkers who drink more often have a heavier drinking pattern as regards the amount of liquor consumed than the total group, while subjects who drink less often reveal a lighter pattern than the total group.

TABLE 7.8

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

Domicile	Urban sample											Domicile	Rural sample										
	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25-36 units		37 units and over		Total		None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25 units and over		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Spread through White town and White city areas	44	21.9	106	52.7	29	14.4	13	6.5	9	4.5	201	100.0	Bantu area	31	19.6	76	48.1	38	24.1	13	8.3	158	100.0
Bantu residential areas in White town and White city areas	52	12.7	160	39.2	104	25.5	51	12.5	41	10.0	408	100.0	White farm	26	19.0	87	63.5	17	12.4	7	5.1	137	100.0
Compounds in White town or White city areas	2	5.4	18	48.6	10	27.0	2	5.4	5	13.5	37	100.0	Compound in White areas	1	6.2	3	18.8	5	31.3	7	43.8	16	100.0
TOTAL	98	15.2	284	44.0	143	22.1	66	10.2	55	8.5	646	100.0	TOTAL	59	18.7	168	53.2	62	19.6	27	8.6	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 35.3025; p < .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 39.5776; p < .1\%$$

TABLE 7.9

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO DRINKING FREQUENCY

Drinking frequency	Urban sample										Rural sample											
	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25-36 units		37 units and over		Total		None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25 units and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily	1	0.9	22	19.1	40	34.8	29	25.2	23	20.0	115	100.0	0	-	11	30.6	12	33.3	13	36.1	36	100.0
3-6 days per week	2	1.6	45	36.6	43	35.0	14	11.4	19	15.4	123	100.0	0	-	18	46.2	15	38.5	6	15.4	39	100.0
1-2 days per week	28	9.1	186	60.4	58	18.8	23	7.5	13	4.2	308	100.0	19	11.0	115	66.1	32	18.4	8	4.6	174	100.0
Once per month and less often	67	67.0	31	31.0	2	2.0	0	-	0	-	100	100.0	40	59.7	24	35.8	3	4.4	0	-	67	100.0
TOTAL	98	15.2	284	44.0	143	22.1	66	10.2	55	8.5	646	100.0	59	18.7	168	53.2	62	19.6	27	8.6	316	100.0

$X^2 = 370.5541; p < .1\%$

$X^2 = 154.6187; p < .1\%$

7.12 QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OR TERRITORY

In Table 7.10 the amount of liquor consumed is correlated with the domicile of the subjects according to province or territory. No significant trends can be discerned from the distribution in this table. What does strike the observer is the high percentage in the urban sample of the Cape Province and the rural sample of those living in Natal (compare the corresponding distribution in Table 7.7) who consumed no liquor at all and 1 to 12 units: 34.8 per cent and 56.5 per cent and 24.4 per cent and 62.2 per cent respectively.

7.13 SUMMARY

- 7.13.1 Although the two sample groups reveal the same trend as regards the number of drinks consumed during a period of seven days, the urban sample has a heavier liquor consumption pattern than the rural sample.
- 7.13.2 The women have an appreciably lighter liquor consumption pattern than the men.
- 7.13.3 The lowest age group have a lighter liquor consumption pattern than the total group, the age group 31 to 50 years a heavier pattern and the highest age group approximately the same pattern.
- 7.13.4 Persons in "status-giving" occupations and the general industrial labourers of the urban sample have a heavier liquor consumption pattern and unemployed persons, housewives, scholars and students a lighter liquor consumption pattern than the total group.
- 7.13.5 Those who have never attended school have a lighter liquor consumption pattern than the total group, while persons who have passed Std. V or a higher examination have a heavier pattern.
- 7.13.6 The highest income group has the heaviest liquor consumption pattern and the lowest income group the lightest consumption pattern.
- 7.13.7 Married persons have a heavier liquor consumption pattern and unmarried persons a lighter one than the total group.
- 7.13.8 The Xhosa of both sample groups and the Zulu of the rural sample have a lighter liquor consumption pattern than the total group, while the urban Zulu and the South-Sotho and North-Sotho of both sample groups tend to have a heavier consumption pattern than the total group.
- 7.13.9 Those who live dispersed in White town and White city areas and on White farms, have a lighter liquor consumption pattern, and those living in Bantu residential areas within White city and White town areas a heavier liquor consumption pattern, than the total group.
- 7.13.10 Drinkers who take liquor often, have a heavier liquor consumption pattern than those who drink less often.
- 7.13.11 The subjects living in the Cape Province and the rural inhabitants of Natal tend to have a lighter liquor consumption pattern than the total group.
- 7.13.12 The following factors in particular tend to be associated with a high consumption of liquor: Member of the male sex, age between 31 years and 50 years: in addition, a status-giving occupation, a high educational standard, a high income, married status and living in a Bantu residential area.

TABLE 7.10

QUANTITY OF LIQUOR CONSUMED ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OR TERRITORY

Province or terri- tory	Urban sample											Rural sample										
	None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25-36 units		37 units and over		Total		None		1-12 units		13-24 units		25 units and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cape Pro- vince	32	34.8	52	56.5	8	8.7	0	-	0	-	92	100.0	11	21.6	29	56.9	3	5.9	8	15.7	51	100.0
Natal	10	11.8	43	50.6	17	20.0	9	10.6	6	7.1	85	100.0	11	24.4	28	62.2	6	13.3	0	-	45	100.0
O. F. S.	17	21.5	14	17.7	18	22.8	10	12.7	20	25.3	79	100.0	10	28.6	12	34.3	7	20.0	6	17.1	35	100.0
Transvaal	39	10.0	175	44.9	100	25.6	47	12.1	29	7.4	390	100.0	11	10.3	61	57.0	26	24.3	9	9.5	107	100.0
Transkei	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	14.0	30	52.6	15	26.3	4	7.1	57	100.0
Zululand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	38.1	8	38.1	5	23.8	0	-	21	100.0
TOTAL	98	15.2	284	44.0	143	22.1	66	10.2	55	8.5	646	100.0	59	18.7	168	53.2	62	19.6	27	8.6	316	100.0

CHAPTER 8

DRINKING FREQUENCY

8.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the most vital aspects of the drinking pattern is drinking frequency. By drinking frequency is meant the number of times that a subject drinks on the average, irrespective of the amount of liquor consumed. The subjects were asked to state the average number of days per month on which they take liquor in any amount at all. The amount of liquor is accordingly not of primary importance here, merely the frequency with which the subject takes liquor. Although the distribution in Table 7.9 indicates a significant correlation between the degree of drinking and the drinking frequency of the subjects in both sample groups, it does not by any means necessarily follow that the same trends exist between these two factors and the various socio-economic factors.

8.2 DRINKING FREQUENCY IN THE TWO SAMPLE GROUPS

From Figure 8.1, a graphic representation of drinking frequency in the two sample groups, a similarity in the drinking frequency of the two sample groups is clearly discernible. Approximately half of the drinkers in each sample group take liquor on the average on one or two days per week (for percentages, see Table 8.1: urban sample, 47.6% and rural sample 55.1%). A further 15.5 per cent of the urban sample and 21.2 per cent of the rural sample take liquor once per month and less often. The remainder (urban sample 36.8% and rural sample 23.7%) include in each sample group two groups of approximately equal size who take liquor more often than on two days per week (daily and on three to six days per week).

The frequency trend is the same in both sample groups, but since the rural sample contains higher percentages of subjects with lighter frequencies (55.1% and 21.2%) and lower percentages with heavier frequencies (11.4% and 12.3%) than the urban sample (47.6% and 15.5%; 17.8% and 19.0% respectively), this group has a lighter drinking frequency pattern. This light drinking frequency pattern is naturally associated with the fact that the rural sample includes proportionately more women than the urban sample. This difference in distribution between the urban and the rural samples corresponds with that discussed under Fig. 7.1.

8.3 DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO SEX

Table 8.1 is a tabulation of drinking frequency according to sex. According to this table, a marked trend can be discerned among the men and the women of the urban sample. The men include higher percentages who take liquor daily and on three to six days per week than the total group, namely 21.7 per cent as against 17.8 per cent and 21.7 per cent as against 19.0 per cent. The women of this sample reveal a diametrically opposed trend; they have lighter drinking frequencies than the total group, namely 54.4 per cent as against 47.6 per cent (one to two days per week) and 23.0 per cent as against 15.5 per cent (once per month and less often). This trend is not so clearly discernible in the rural sample. In regard to both the highest frequency group (daily drinkers) and the lowest frequency group (those who take liquor once per month or less often), however, the same trend emerges clearly.

It emerges clearly that the drinking frequency pattern of the men is heavier than that of the total group, while that of the women is lighter than

FIGURE 8.1

DRINKING FREQUENCY IN THE TWO
SAMPLE GROUPS

URBAN SAMPLE

RURAL SAMPLE

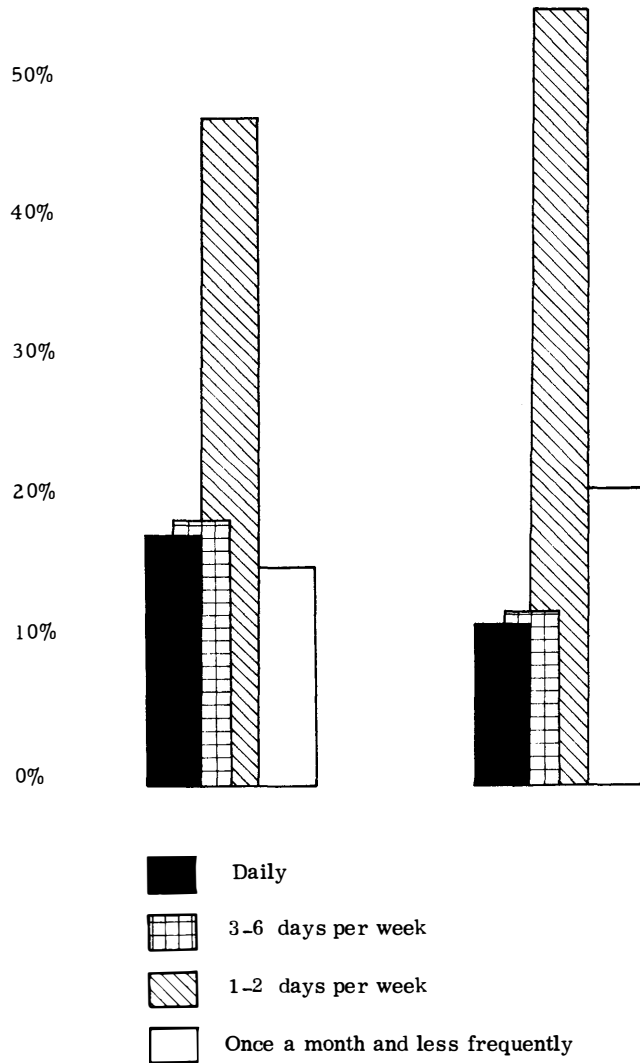


TABLE 8.1
DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO SEX

Sex	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total		Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Men	96	21.7	96	21.7	197	44.6	53	12.0	442	100.0	29	14.3	24	11.8	122	60.1	28	13.8	203	100.0
Women	19	9.3	27	13.2	111	54.4	47	23.0	204	100.0	7	6.2	15	13.3	52	46.0	39	34.5	113	100.0
TOTAL	115	17.8	123	19.0	308	47.6	100	15.5	646	100.0	36	11.4	39	12.3	174	55.1	67	21.2	316	100.0

$\chi^2 = 31.1856; p < .1\%$

$\chi^2 = 21.6081; p < .1\%$

that of the total group. In the main, the pattern in respect of the amount of liquor consumed by the two sexes (Table 7.1) therefore corresponds with the drinking frequency pattern of the two sexes.

8.4 DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO AGE

Table 8.2 is a tabulation of drinking frequency according to age. This table reveals a distribution similar to that in Table 7.2. There is, accordingly, also a significant connection between drinking frequency and the age of the subjects in these two sample groups. The lowest age group, those aged 15 to 30 years, includes a higher percentage of subjects who drink on the average on one or two days per week and who drink once per month and less often, than is the case in respect of the total group. Those aged 31 to 50 years, on the other hand, include higher percentages of subjects with the highest drinking frequency (those who drink daily and those who drink on three to six days per week) than the total group. Drinkers over 50 years of age in the urban sample also include higher percentages of subjects with the highest drinking frequencies than the total group, but in the rural sample only a higher percentage than the total group who take liquor on one or two days per week (57.1% as against 55.1%).

In the urban sample the connection between drinking frequency and a higher age is so marked that the percentage of some subjects in the highest drinking frequency groups rises virtually without exception as the age of the group increases. As the age of the group rises, the percentage of subjects in the respective age groups who drink only on one or two days per week declines from 50.2 per cent to 47.1 per cent and 44.5 per cent, while the percentage of those who take liquor once a month and less often declines from 23.4 per cent to 12.2 per cent and 10.0 per cent.

In the rural sample the same significant connection can be distinguished in regard to the age groups 15 to 30 years and 31 to 50 years. The highest age group is a marked exception.

As regards the drinking frequency pattern, it emerges clearly that the youngest age group in both sample groups has a lighter pattern than the total group, while the age groups 31 to 50 years in both samples and the highest age group in the urban sample have a heavier frequency pattern than the total group. The highest age group in the drinking frequency pattern of the rural sample, however, reveals a great similarity to that of the total group. It would therefore appear (if the distribution in Table 7.2 is borne in mind) that although the degree of drinking in the highest age group of the urban sample is somewhat lighter than that of the total group (probably because income diminishes at this stage) the drinking frequency pattern remains heavier than that of the total group. This age group appears to be so accustomed to liquor that the regularity with which the middle-aged group consume liquor is retained by them, even though the amount of liquor consumed diminishes. The middle-aged group is the age group which receives relatively the highest monthly income and is therefore apparently more able to afford to maintain a high drinking frequency.

8.5 DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

In Table 8.3 the drinking frequency is correlated with the occupation of the subject. Although this table reveals no clear general trend, the distributions in respect of certain occupational groups differs characteristically from those in Table 7.3.

TABLE 8.2

DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO AGE

Age	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total		Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-30 years	27	12.9	28	13.4	105	50.2	49	23.4	209	100.0	5	7.1	8	11.4	42	60.0	15	21.4	70	100.0
31-50 years	67	20.5	66	20.2	154	47.1	40	12.2	327	100.0	22	13.6	21	13.0	84	51.8	35	21.6	162	100.0
51 years and older	21	19.1	29	26.4	49	44.5	11	10.0	100	100.0	9	10.7	10	11.9	48	57.1	17	20.2	84	100.0
TOTAL	115	17.8	123	19.0	308	47.6	100	15.5	646	100.0	36	11.4	39	12.3	174	55.1	67	21.2	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 24.5119; p < .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 2.6652; 80\% > p > 70\%$$

TABLE 8.3

DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

Occupation	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total		Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Labourers; farm-labourers; mine & other industrial labourers; fishermen	51	29.0	35	19.9	77	43.7	13	7.4	176	100.0	9	8.5	10	9.4	73	68.9	14	13.2	106	100.0
Persons in professions, technical and other "educated" occupations	10	17.5	17	29.8	23	40.3	7	12.3	57	100.0	1	12.5	0	-	6	75.0	1	12.5	8	100.0
Persons connected with delivery, transportation & security services, and domestic and garden servants	36	13.7	47	17.9	136	51.9	43	16.4	262	100.0	5	8.9	2	3.6	34	60.7	15	26.8	56	100.0
Full-time students, scholars and housewives, and persons not economically active	11	11.0	16	16.0	54	54.0	19	19.0	100	100.0	7	9.7	13	18.1	29	40.3	23	31.9	72	100.0
Private entrepreneurs, e.g. traders and independent farmers	4	20.0	3	15.0	9	45.0	4	20.0	20	100.0	13	21.7	13	21.7	26	43.3	8	13.3	60	100.0
Unemployed	3	9.7	5	16.1	9	29.0	14	45.2	31	100.0	1	7.1	1	7.1	6	42.9	6	42.9	14	100.0
TOTAL	115	17.8	123	19.0	308	47.6	100	15.5	646	100.0	36	11.4	39	12.3	174	55.1	67	21.2	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 55.0918; p < .1\%$$

While the persons in professional and other "educated" occupations include higher percentages than does the total group of persons who consumed the greatest number of units during the seven days (see Table 7.3), in this table that occupational group does not contain in the urban sample a higher percentage of persons than does the total group who consume liquor daily (17.5 per cent as against 17.8 per cent); but it does include a higher percentage of persons than the expected figure who take liquor on from 3 - 6 days per week in the urban sample, (29.8 per cent as against 19.0 per cent) and who take liquor on one or two days per week in the rural sample, (75.0 per cent as against 55.1 per cent). It must be remembered, however, that this occupational group are consumers of European liquor to a greater extent than the total group (see Table 5.4), the type of liquor of which relatively more units can be consumed at a time.

It emerges further that the occupational group which includes mainly full-time housewives, includes a higher percentage than the expected figure of persons in the rural sample who take liquor on three to six days per week. This occupational group, however, has a considerably lighter drinking pattern in regard to degree of drinking than the total group (see Table 7.3). This group are also consumers of Bantu beer to a greater extent than the total group (see Table 5.4). It would therefore appear that to some extent they take their liquor more frequently than the total group but consume fewer units of liquor than the total group.

8.6 DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

In Table 8.4 drinking frequency is correlated with the educational standard of the subjects. In contrast with what was the case in Table 7.4, no general trend is discernible here. The educational group with the highest qualifications, which has a heavier drinking pattern than the total group (see Table 7.4), has in the urban sample in Table 8.4 a higher percentage of subjects who drink on three to six days per week than the total group, namely 23.9 per cent as against 19.0 per cent. In the rural sample this educational group not only contains a higher percentage of persons who drink daily, 26.7 per cent as against 11.4 per cent, but also a higher percentage of those who drink only once per month or less often, 26.7 per cent as against 21.2 per cent. The group which has never attended school, on the other hand, revealed in the urban sample a higher percentage of subjects who drink daily than that of the total group, 20.2 per cent as against 17.8 per cent, while it appeared from Table 7.4 that this educational group has a lighter pattern than the total group in respect of degree of drinking.

It is significant, however, that there is an increase in the percentage of persons in the urban sample who take liquor on three to six days per week, and in the rural sample of persons who take liquor daily, as the educational standard of the particular educational group rises. It would therefore appear that the various distributions existing in respect of the liquor consumption pattern and the drinking frequency pattern among various educational groups must be attributed to the varying quantities of the various types of liquor consumed by the two sample groups (compare, for instance, Table 5.5 and Table 8.9).

8.7 DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO INCOME

Table 8.5 is a tabulation of drinking frequency according to income. A marked trend is discernible from the distribution in this table. In the urban sample it emerges clearly that the percentage of subjects who consume liquor on three to six days per week rises as the income of the group increases: from 6.9 per cent to 19.3 per cent to 23.8 per cent and from 13.8 per cent to 19.6 per cent and 22.2 per cent respectively. As the income

TABLE 8.4

DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Educational standard	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total		Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never attended school	36	20.2	27	15.2	84	47.2	31	17.4	178	100.0	17	9.3	21	11.5	110	60.4	34	18.7	182	100.0
School attendance in Sub-Standard A to passed Std. IV	47	18.4	45	17.6	129	50.6	34	13.3	255	100.0	11	10.6	16	15.4	52	50.0	25	24.0	104	100.0
Passed Std. V to possession of a university degree	32	15.0	51	23.9	95	44.6	35	16.4	213	100.0	8	26.7	2	6.7	12	40.0	8	26.7	30	100.0
TOTAL	115	17.8	123	19.0	308	47.6	100	15.5	646	100.0	36	11.4	39	12.3	174	55.1	67	21.2	316	100.0

$\chi^2 = 8.1179; 30\% > p > 20\%$

$\chi^2 = 12.5735; 10\% > p > 5\%$

TABLE 8.5

DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO INCOME

Monthly income	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total		Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
R10 and less	10	6.9	20	13.8	71	49.0	44	30.3	145	100.0	16	7.4	30	14.0	117	54.4	52	24.2	215	100.0
R11 - 30	61	19.3	62	19.6	151	47.8	42	13.3	316	100.0	18	20.9	8	9.3	47	54.6	13	15.1	86	100.0
R31 and over	44	23.8	41	22.2	86	46.5	14	7.6	185	100.0	2	13.3	1	6.7	10	66.7	2	13.3	15	100.0
TOTAL	115	17.8	123	19.0	308	47.6	100	15.5	646	100.0	36	11.4	39	12.3	174	55.1	67	21.2	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 46.1694; p < .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 14.5787; 5\% > p > 2\%$$

of the income group declines, there is an increase in the percentage of persons who drink on one or two days per week and only once per month or less often, from 46.5 per cent to 47.8 per cent and 49.0 per cent and from 7.6 per cent to 13.3 per cent and 30.3 per cent.

Such a clear trend is not discernible in the rural sample. The distribution of the urban sample, however, is here supported by the higher percentage of persons than the expected figure with an income of R11-R30 who consume liquor daily and of the income group with the lowest income who take liquor only once per month and less often, 20.9 per cent as against 11.4 per cent and 24.2 per cent as against 21.2 per cent, respectively.

It therefore emerges that in the urban sample the income group with the highest income reveals a heavier drinking frequency pattern than the total group, while the group with the lowest income has a lighter pattern than the total group, a similar trend, therefore, to that found in regard to the degree of drinking in Table 7.5. Persons with a high income are the ones who can afford to buy relatively more liquor and consequently to drink more often.

8.8. DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

In Table 8.6 drinking frequency is tabulated according to marital status. The distribution in this table reveals the same regular pattern as that discerned in regard to the degree of drinking in Table 7.6. The persons still unmarried tend, in both sample groups, to include a higher percentage than the total group of persons with a light drinking frequency, namely urban sample those who take liquor on one or two days per week 53.8 per cent as against 47.6 per cent (rural sample: 71.7 per cent as against 55.1 per cent) and those who drink only once per month and less often: 21.5 per cent as against 15.5 per cent.

The legally married persons, on the other hand, tend to include higher percentages of subjects than the expected figures who take their liquor more frequently. In the married persons of the rural sample this trend is not so characteristic, but in the urban sample the married persons include 22.6 per cent of persons who take liquor on three to six days per week, as against the total group's 19.0 per cent, and 19.3 per cent who take liquor daily as against the expected 17.8 per cent.

It would therefore appear that the unmarried persons have a lighter drinking frequency pattern than the total group, and the legally married persons a heavier frequency pattern than the total group. Because the unmarried group constitutes mainly young persons, the same factors mentioned in paragraph 8.4 play a rôle here.

8.9 DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

In Table 8.7 the drinking frequency is analysed according to the ethnic group of the subjects. The Xhosas of both sample groups and the Zulu of the rural sample here tend towards a lighter drinking frequency pattern than the total group; all three groups have higher percentages of subjects than expected who take liquor only once per month or less often (Xhosas 19.6% as against 15.5% and 30.2% as against 21.2%, and the Zulus 23.9% as against 21.2%) and higher percentages of persons who drink on only one or two days per week among the urban Xhosas and the rural Zulus, 50.7 per cent as against 47.6 per cent and 62.7 per cent as against 55.1 per cent.

TABLE 8.6

DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total		Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never married	23	14.6	16	10.1	85	53.8	34	21.5	158	100.0	3	6.5	3	6.5	33	71.7	7	15.2	46	100.0
Married according to recognised rites	83	19.3	97	22.6	192	44.6	58	13.5	430	100.0	28	12.2	30	13.1	120	52.4	51	22.3	229	100.0
Living together, divorced or widow/widower	9	15.5	10	17.2	31	53.4	8	13.8	58	100.0	5	12.2	6	14.6	21	51.2	9	22.0	41	100.0
TOTAL	115	17.8	123	19.0	308	47.6	100	15.5	646	100.0	36	11.4	39	12.3	174	55.1	67	21.2	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 18.5382; 1\% > p > .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 6.3040; 50\% > p > 30\%$$

TABLE 8.7

DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

Ethnic group	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total		Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Xhosa	13	9.4	28	20.3	70	50.7	27	19.6	138	100.0	7	7.3	18	18.7	42	43.7	29	30.2	96	100.0
Zulu	39	27.5	33	23.2	55	38.7	15	10.6	142	100.0	7	10.4	2	3.0	42	62.7	16	23.9	67	100.0
North-Sotho (Sepedi)	14	19.2	11	15.1	37	50.7	11	15.1	73	100.0	5	11.1	9	20.0	30	66.7	1	2.2	45	100.0
Tswana	13	12.3	17	16.0	57	53.8	19	17.9	106	100.0	4	9.3	5	11.6	23	53.5	11	25.6	43	100.0
South-Sotho (Shangaan)	16	19.5	19	23.2	31	37.8	16	19.5	82	100.0	6	27.3	1	4.5	8	36.4	7	31.8	22	100.0
Others: Ndebele Tsonga Venda Swazi, etc.	20	19.0	15	14.3	58	55.2	12	11.4	105	100.0	7	16.3	4	9.3	29	67.4	3	7.0	43	100.0
TOTAL	115	17.8	123	19.0	308	47.6	100	15.5	646	100.0	36	11.4	39	12.3	174	55.1	67	21.2	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 32.1889; 1\% > p > .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 42.7765; p < .1\%$$

The Zulus of the urban sample, on the other hand, include a higher percentage of subjects who consume liquor every day and on three to six days per week.

If the general distribution in this table is compared with that in Table 7. 7, it emerges clearly that there is a high degree of similarity in the degree of drinking and the drinking frequency in the various ethnic groups.

From the differences between the urban and rural sample groups in regard to their ethnic groups, therefore, it would appear that the ethnic group is not a factor of decisive importance in the drinking pattern; this is rather the urban influence.

8. 10 DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

In Table 8. 8 drinking frequency is correlated with the nature of the subject's domicile. The distribution in this table corresponds largely with that in Table 7. 8. Those living on White farms and those living spread out in White town and city areas, have a lighter drinking frequency pattern than the total group because they include higher percentages of subjects than the expected figure who take liquor on one or two days a week and once per month and less often, namely 65. 7 per cent as against 55. 0 per cent and 25. 5 per cent as against 21. 2 per cent; and 54. 2 per cent as against 47. 6 per cent and 19. 4 per cent as against 15. 5 per cent, respectively. Those living in Bantu residential areas within White city or town areas, on the other hand, have a heavier drinking frequency pattern than the total group.

The same explanations applicable to the relationship between the degree of drinking and domicile also hold good here (see paragraph 7. 10).

8. 11 DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO TYPE OF LIQUOR MOST OFTEN CONSUMED

In Table 8. 9 the drinking frequency of subjects is tabulated according to the type of liquor most often consumed by them.

According to this table the group of drinkers in the urban sample who most often drink Bantu beer and/or concoctions tends to include considerably more persons than the expected figure who take liquor more frequently, namely 20. 7 per cent as against 17. 8 per cent drinking daily and 21. 1 per cent as against 19. 0 per cent who take liquor on three to six days per week. Those drinkers who usually drink European liquor, on the other hand, reveal an opposite trend in the urban sample: a higher percentage of them than the expected figure drink less often, namely 50. 0 per cent as against 47. 6 per cent who take liquor on one or two days per week and 28. 5 per cent as against 15. 5 per cent who take liquor once a month or less often. Because the numerical units of the group in the rural sample who most often consume European liquor are too small, no significant distribution can be distinguished.

It would seem safe to accept that the consumption of Bantu beer is associated with a higher drinking frequency than the expected figure, but also with a smaller consumption of "liquor units".

TABLE 8.8

DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

Domicile	Urban sample										Domicile	Rural sample									
	Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total			Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Spread in White town or White city areas	25	12.4	28	13.9	109	54.2	39	19.4	201	100.0	Bantu area	23	14.1	30	18.4	78	47.8	32	19.6	163	100.0
Bantu residential area in White town or White city areas	76	18.6	87	21.3	189	46.3	56	13.7	408	100.0	White farm	3	2.2	9	6.6	90	65.7	35	25.5	137	100.0
Compounds in White town or White city area	14	37.8	8	21.6	10	27.0	5	13.5	37	100.0	Compound in White area	10	62.5	0	-	6	37.5	0	-	16	100.0
TOTAL	115	17.8	123	19.0	308	47.6	100	15.5	646	100.0		36	11.4	39	12.3	174	55.0	67	21.2	316	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 23.9294; p < 0.1\%$$

TABLE 8,9

DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO TYPE OF LIQUOR MOST OFTEN CONSUMED

Type of liquor most often con- sumed	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total		Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bantu beer or concoctions	101	20.7	103	21.1	229	46.9	55	11.3	488	100.0	30	10.4	37	12.8	168	58.3	53	18.4	288	100.0
European liquor	14	8.9	20	12.7	79	50.0	45	28.5	158	100.0	6	21.4	2	7.1	6	21.4	14	50.0	28	100.0
TOTAL	115	17.8	123	19.0	308	47.6	100	15.5	646	100.0	36	11.4	39	12.3	174	55.1	67	21.2	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 36.9417; \quad p < 0.1\%$$

$$X^2 = 21.7175; \quad p < 0.1\%$$

8.12 DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF FAMILIARITY WITH EUROPEAN LIQUOR

Table 8.10 is a tabulation of drinking frequency according to degree of familiarity with European liquor. From this table it appears that with reference to the inference in paragraph 8.11, it would be wrong to assume that "experience" of various types of European liquor has no influence on drinking frequency. It appears, in fact, that as the group acquires experience of a greater variety of European liquor, the drinking frequency becomes heavier than that of the total group.

In the urban sample in particular, it emerges clearly that the group of drinkers who state that they have never yet drunk any type of European liquor, tends to include higher percentages of persons than the expected figure who drink less frequently, namely: urban sample, once per month and less often, 21.6 per cent as against 15.5 per cent; and rural sample: one or two days per week, 60.9 per cent as against 55.1 per cent.

On the other hand, the group familiar with at least two of the three types of European liquor includes a markedly higher percentage than the expected figure of persons who drink more often, namely urban sample 22.7 per cent as against 17.8 per cent (daily) and 21.3 per cent as against 19.0 per cent (three to six days per week) and rural sample 30.0 per cent as against 11.4 per cent (daily).

This phenomenon may also be connected with the fact that the heavy drinker usually drinks any type of liquor available (compare the discussion in paragraph 5.13).

8.13 SUMMARY

- 8.13.1 The rural sample has a lighter drinking frequency pattern than the total group and the urban sample a heavier drinking frequency pattern than the total group.
- 8.13.2 The drinking frequency pattern of the men is heavier than that of the total group, while that of the women is lighter than that of the total group.
- 8.13.3 While the lowest age group has a lighter drinking frequency pattern than the total group, the age group 31 to 50 years and the highest age group of the urban sample have a heavier drinking frequency pattern than that of the total group.
- 8.13.4 The private entrepreneurs and the urban sample's professional occupation group and general industrial labourers have a heavier drinking pattern than the total group.
- 8.13.5 As the educational standard of the educational group rises, there is also a rise in the percentage of persons in the various educational groups in the rural sample who take liquor daily and in the urban sample of those who drink on three to six days per week.
- 8.13.6 The highest income group tends to have a heavier drinking frequency pattern and the lowest income group a lighter drinking frequency pattern than the total group.

TABLE 8.10

DRINKING FREQUENCY ACCORDING TO FAMILIARITY WITH EUROPEAN LIQUOR

Familiarity with European liquor	Urban sample										Rural sample									
	Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total		Daily		3-6 days per week		1-2 days per week		Once per month and less often		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never partaken of European liquor	18	16.2	19	17.1	50	45.0	24	21.6	111	100.0	7	6.1	14	12.2	70	60.9	24	20.9	115	100.0
Wine only	5	7.4	10	14.7	38	55.9	15	22.1	68	100.0	0	-	5	12.2	20	48.8	16	39.0	41	100.0
Spirits only	24	15.0	33	20.6	84	52.5	19	11.9	160	100.0	7	8.4	15	18.1	44	53.0	17	20.5	83	100.0
Beer only	5	16.7	2	6.7	17	56.7	6	20.0	30	100.0	1	14.3	0	-	3	42.9	3	42.9	7	100.0
Combinations of all three types	63	22.7	59	21.3	119	43.0	36	13.0	277	100.0	21	30.0	5	7.1	37	52.9	7	10.0	70	100.0
TOTAL	115	17.8	123	19.0	308	47.6	100	15.5	646	100.0	36	11.4	39	12.3	174	55.1	67	21.2	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 24.2593; 2\% > p > 0.1\%$$

8. 13. 7 While the unmarried persons tend towards a lighter drinking frequency pattern than the total group, the married subjects tend towards a heavier drinking frequency pattern.
8. 13. 8 The Xhosas, Tswanas and the rural Zulus tend to have a lighter drinking pattern than the total group.
8. 13. 9 The inhabitants of Bantu areas in White city and White town areas (and the compound-dwellers) have a heavier drinking frequency pattern than the total group; and the subjects living on White farms and those dispersed in the White city and White town areas, have a lighter drinking frequency pattern than the total group.
8. 13. 10 In the urban sample those who usually drink Bantu beer or concoctions have a heavier drinking frequency pattern than the total group, while those who usually drink European liquor have a lighter drinking frequency pattern than the total group.
8. 13. 11 As the group acquires experience of a greater variety of European liquors, their drinking frequency pattern becomes heavier than that of the total group.
8. 13. 12 The following factors tend particularly to be associated with a heavy drinking pattern: Member of the male sex in the rural sample group, an age between 31 and 50 years and, in the urban sample group, an age above 31 years, a high educational standard, a high income, married status, domicile in a Bantu residential area in a White town or White city and familiarity with a great variety of European liquors.

CHAPTER 9

MONTHLY EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Only the liquor purchased by the subject and consumed by him personally during the month preceding the survey is taken into account here. The liquor consumed by the subjects during that month is calculated according to the amount he paid for it - irrespective of whether it was bought illicitly or through normal legitimate channels.

9.2 EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR IN THE TWO SAMPLE GROUPS

Since it has already emerged from Chapter 7 that the subjects in the urban sample have a heavier drinking pattern than those of the rural sample, it can certainly be accepted hypothetically that more of the drinkers in the urban sample spend larger monthly amounts on liquor. Fig. 9.1 indicates clearly that this assumption is correct. Whereas the rural sample reveals a falling trend in regard to the percentage from low to high expenditure (for the percentage distribution, see Table 9.2: 38.6 per cent of the subjects had no financial expenditure on liquor during the month, 29.7 per cent an expenditure of from 1 to 99 cents, 24.4 per cent an expenditure of R1.00 to R2.99, 4.7 per cent an expenditure of R3.00 to R4.99 and 2.5 per cent an expenditure of R5.00 and over), the urban sample reveals clear indications of a rising trend in the no-expenditure group (14.4%) to the 1 to 99 cent group (26.8%) and the R1.00 to R2.99 group (30.0%). Only thereafter does the percentage decline, but only to such an extent that the highest expenditure group (R5.00 and over) still maintains a higher percentage than the no-expenditure group, namely 16.4 per cent.

When the expenditure of the Bantu on liquor (i. e. expenditure on liquor which he consumes personally) for one month is compared with average cost of all liquor consumed by the White subject personally, paid for by himself or by others (2, p. 179), it would appear that to the Bantu in the urban areas liquor is a relatively excessive financial burden, particularly if his income pattern is taken into consideration (Table 2.3).

In Table 9.1 the expenditure of the two sample groups on liquor during one month is tabulated beside the average value of liquor consumed by the Whites during one month.

TABLE 9.1
EXPENDITURE OF THE BANTU ON LIQUOR, AND AVERAGE
VALUE OF LIQUOR CONSUMED BY WHITES

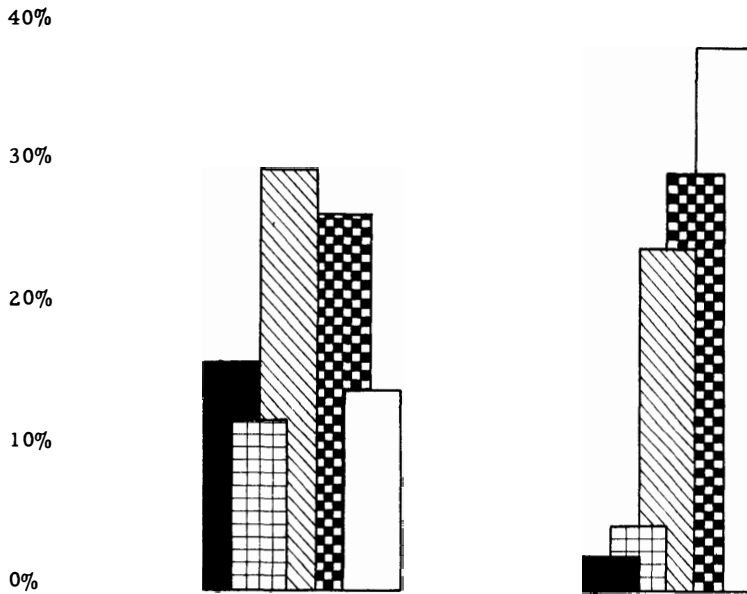
Whites ¹⁾		Monthly expenditure on liquor consumed personally	Bantu	
Average value of liquor consumed	Percentage		Percentage	
			Urban sample	Rural sample
R1.00 or less	64.5	Less than R1.00	41.2	68.3
Over R1.00 and less than R4.00	21.6	R1.00 to R4.99	42.4	29.1
Over R4.00	13.9	R5.00 and over	16.4	2.5
TOTAL	100.0	TOTAL	100.0	100.0






1) 2, p. 179

FIGURE 9.1
EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR IN THE TWO
SAMPLE GROUPS

URBAN SAMPLE

RURAL SAMPLE



-  R5 and more
-  R3.00 - R4.99
-  R1.00 - R2.99
-  1 - 99 cents
-  No expenditure

From Table 9.1 it emerges clearly that the urban Bantu have an exceptionally high liquor expenditure pattern. A factor which possibly influences this distribution to a great extent is the excessive price often paid for European liquor.

9.3 EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO SEX

The expenditure on liquor by men and women is tabulated in Table 9.2. Since the survey also includes subjects who obtain their liquor free of charge or drink only own-brewed liquor and therefore do not "pay" for it, the trends in the analyses of Chapter 7 will not necessarily coincide with these further analyses. The market value of some types of liquor also varies from area to area.

In Table 9.2 the same trend can be discerned as in Table 7.1. The women of both sample groups contribute more than the total group to the lower expenditure groups. A higher percentage of the women than the expected figure have no expenditure, urban sample 21.6 per cent as against 14.4 per cent; rural sample, 42.5 per cent as against 38.6 per cent. The women also include a higher percentage than the expected figure who spend only from 1 to 99 cents on liquor, namely urban sample 34.8 per cent as against 26.8 per cent; urban sample 34.8 per cent as against 26.8 per cent; rural sample, 38.1 per cent as against 29.7 per cent. The men, on the other hand, include a markedly higher percentage of persons who spent more than R1.00 on liquor during this month (R1 to R2.99: urban sample, 31.7% as against 30.0%; rural sample 28.6% as against 24.4%, R3 to R4.99: urban sample 14.9% as against 12.4%; rural sample, 5.9% as against 4.7%; R5.00 and over: urban sample, 19.2% as against 16.4%; rural sample 3.9% as against 2.5%).

Women naturally have a lighter expenditure on liquor pattern than men because they reveal a lighter quantity pattern (Table 7.1) and a lighter drinking frequency pattern (Table 8.1).

9.4 EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO AGE

In Table 9.3 the age of the subject is correlated with his expenditure on liquor. It emerges that the lowest age group has a light expenditure pattern in both sample groups. In the urban sample the age group 15 to 30 years includes 21.1 per cent of subjects who had no expenditure, as against 14.4 per cent of the total group, and 28.2 per cent who had an expenditure of only 1 to 99c as against 26.8 per cent of the total group. This age group also had a higher percentage of persons than the expected figure in the rural sample who had no expenditure on liquor during the month (41.4% as against 38.6%).

In contrast with the lighter liquor expenditure pattern than expected of the youngest age group, the age group 31 to 50 years reveals a heavier pattern than expected. In the urban sample this age group includes higher percentages of subjects than the total group with an expenditure of over R1.00 (30.6% as against 30.0%, 13.1% as against 12.4% and 19.0% as against 16.4%). The age group consisting of persons over 50 years old has a slightly lighter liquor expenditure pattern in the urban sample than the previous age group, while in the rural sample this group has a markedly lighter expenditure pattern than the total group.

These distributions correspond with those in Table 7.2, where the lowest age group reveals the lightest liquor consumption pattern and the age group 31 to 50 years the heaviest pattern. (Compare also Table 8.2.) The same explanations advanced in regard to the relationship between the degree of drinking, the drinking frequency and age, would also appear to be applicable in this connection.

TABLE 9.2

EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO SEX

Sex	Urban sample											Rural sample												
	No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total		No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Men	49	11.1	102	23.1	140	31.7	66	14.9	85	19.2	442	100.0	74	36.5	51	25.1	58	28.6	12	5.9	8	3.9	203	100.0
Women	44	21.6	71	34.8	54	26.5	14	6.9	21	10.3	204	100.0	48	42.5	43	38.1	19	16.8	3	2.7	0	-	113	100.0
TOTAL	93	14.4	173	26.8	194	30.0	80	12.4	106	16.4	646	100.0	122	38.6	94	29.7	77	24.4	15	4.7	8	2.5	316	100.0

$X^2 = 33.2129; p < 0.1\%$

$X^2 = 14.9553; 1\% p < 0.1\%$

TABLE 9.3

EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO AGE

Age	Urban sample											Rural sample												
	No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total		No ex- penditure		R1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-30 years	44	21.1	59	28.2	53	25.4	25	12.0	28	13.4	209	100.0	29	41.4	19	27.1	17	24.3	3	4.3	2	2.9	70	100.0
31-50 years	35	10.7	87	26.6	100	30.6	43	13.1	62	19.0	327	100.0	53	32.7	52	32.1	45	27.8	10	6.2	2	1.2	162	100.0
51 years and older	14	12.7	27	24.5	41	37.3	12	10.9	16	14.5	110	100.0	40	47.6	23	27.4	15	17.9	2	2.4	4	4.8	84	100.0
TOTAL	93	14.4	173	26.8	194	30.0	80	12.4	106	16.4	646	100.0	122	38.6	94	29.7	77	24.4	15	4.7	8	2.5	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 16.6523; 5\% > p > 2\%$$

$$X^2 = 10.6931; 30\% > p > 20\%$$

9.5 EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

Table 9.4 is a tabulation of the expenditure on liquor in various occupational groups. The distributions in this table correspond broadly with those in Table 7.3. Persons in professional and similar "educated" occupations, and the urban sample's owners of businesses and general industrial labourers, have a heavier liquor expenditure pattern than the total group. As against this, the unemployed, students, scholars, housewives and only the rural sample's proprietors of businesses, have a lighter drinking pattern than the total group; of this group of drinkers, therefore, a higher percentage than in the total group bought no liquor at all for their personal consumption during the previous month.

The reason for the private entrepreneurs constituting an exception to the distribution of this group in Table 7.3 and Table 8.3, is probably the fact that this occupational group find it possible to brew their own liquor to a greater extent on the platteland (i. e. in rural areas) than do their occupational counterparts in the cities. A higher percentage of this group in the rural sample prefer Bantu beer (i. e. the type of liquor which can be brewed and is potentially less likely to be "bought" and to be taken into account in this chapter), than those who prefer Bantu beer in the urban sample (Table 6.4).

It would appear, however, particularly in the urban sample, that as far as occupational groups are concerned, a heavy liquor consumption pattern is associated with a heavy liquor expenditure pattern.

9.6 EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

In Table 9.5 expenditure on liquor is correlated with educational standard. The same regular pattern discussed in Table 7.4 can be discerned here. In both samples the lowest educational group contains a higher percentage of persons than the total group who had no expenditure at all and also a higher percentage who spent only from 1 to 99 cents (per month) on their liquor. The highest educational group, on the other hand, has a higher percentage of persons than the expected figure who spent between R3.00 and R4.99 and more than R5.00 in liquor.

This trend emerges so consistently that the percentage of persons whose expenditure on liquor was only from 1 to 99 cents declines consistently as the educational standard rises. As the educational standard rises, there is a rise in the percentage of persons who spent between R3 and R4 and who spent over R5 on liquor.

As regards educational standard, the liquor expenditure pattern therefore bears a relationship with the liquor consumption pattern (Table 7.4).

9.7 EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO INCOME

Table 9.6 is a tabulation of expenditure on liquor according to income. As the income of the income group rises, the percentage of persons with a higher expenditure than R3.00 rises, while there is a fall in the percentage who spend either nothing at all or only between 1 and 99 cents on liquor. The group with the lowest income therefore has a lighter liquor expenditure pattern than the total group, and the highest income group has a heavier liquor expenditure pattern than the total group.

TABLE 9.4

EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

	Urban sample										Rural sample													
	No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total		No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Labourers: farm la- bourers; mining & other industrial la- bourers; fishermen	13	7.4	44	25.0	65	36.9	25	14.2	29	16.5	176	100.0	34	32.1	35	33.0	29	27.4	5	4.7	3	2.8	106	100.0
Persons in professional, technical and other "educated" occupations	5	8.8	5	8.8	11	19.3	15	26.3	21	36.8	57	100.0	0	-	0	-	5	62.5	1	12.5	2	25.0	8	100.0
Persons connected with deliveries, transportation and security services, and domestic and garden servants	34	13.0	80	30.5	85	32.4	28	10.7	35	13.4	262	100.0	18	32.1	21	37.5	11	19.6	4	7.1	2	3.6	56	100.0
Full-time students, scholars and house- wives, and persons not economically active	25	25.0	30	30.0	25	25.0	8	8.0	12	12.0	100	100.0	33	45.8	24	33.3	12	16.7	3	4.2	0	-	72	100.0
Private entrepreneurs, e.g. traders and inde- pendent farmers	2	10.0	5	25.0	4	20.0	1	5.0	8	40.0	20	100.0	28	46.7	12	20.0	17	28.3	2	3.3	1	1.7	60	100.0
Unemployed	14	45.2	9	29.0	4	12.9	3	9.7	1	3.2	31	100.0	9	64.3	2	14.3	3	21.4	0	-	0	-	14	100.0
TOTAL	93	14.4	173	26.8	194	30.0	80	12.4	106	16.4	646	100.0	122	38.6	94	29.7	77	24.4	15	4.7	8	2.5	316	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 94,9422; p < .1\%$$

TABLE 9.5

EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

Educational standard	Urban sample										Rural sample													
	No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total		No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never attended school	31	17.4	64	36.0	62	34.8	8	4.5	13	7.3	178	100.0	74	40.7	62	34.1	39	21.4	6	3.3	1	0.5	182	100.0
School attendance in Sub-Standard A to Std. IV passed	33	12.9	75	29.4	76	29.8	31	12.2	40	15.7	255	100.0	42	40.4	27	26.0	29	27.9	4	3.8	2	1.9	104	100.0
Passed Std. V - obtaining of university degree	29	13.6	34	16.0	56	26.3	41	19.2	53	24.9	213	100.0	6	20.0	5	16.7	9	30.0	5	16.7	5	16.7	30	100.0
TOTAL	93	14.4	173	26.8	194	30.0	80	12.4	106	16.4	646	100.0	122	38.6	94	29.7	77	24.4	15	4.7	8	2.5	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 54.7762; p < 0.1\%$$

$$X^2 = 44.5220; p < 0.1\%$$

TABLE 9.6

EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO INCOME

Monthly income	Urban sample											Rural sample												
	No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total		No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
R10 and less	46	47.9	60	31.3	27	11.3	8	6.3	4	3.1	145	100.0	98	46.2	71	32.0	41	19.2	4	2.2	1	0.3	215	100.0
R11 - R30	31	9.8	95	30.1	107	33.9	38	12.0	45	14.2	316	100.0	22	25.6	23	26.7	29	33.7	8	9.3	4	4.7	86	100.0
R31 and over	16	8.6	18	9.7	60	32.4	34	18.4	57	30.8	185	100.0	2	13.3	0	-	7	46.7	3	20.0	3	20.0	15	100.0
TOTAL	93	14.4	173	26.8	194	30.0	80	12.4	106	16.4	646	100.0	122	38.6	94	29.7	77	24.4	15	4.7	8	2.5	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 131.8614; p < 0.1\%$$

As regards income, a heavier liquor consumption pattern is therefore associated with a heavier liquor expenditure pattern (cf. the distribution in Table 7.5). Persons with a high income can afford liquor relatively more easily and were also better able than persons in a low income group to obtain permits for the consumption of European liquor.

9.8 EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

The marital status of the subjects is correlated with their expenditure on liquor in Table 9.7. As revealed clearly by Tables 7.6 and Table 8.6, the married persons here, too, tend towards a heavier pattern than the total group: 31.2 per cent and 25.8 per cent have an expenditure of between R1.00 and R2.99 as against 30.0 per cent and 24.4 per cent in the urban and rural samples respectively. In regard to expenditures exceeding R3.00, too, the married persons tend to include higher percentages than the total group. The unmarried persons have a lighter liquor expenditure pattern than the total group: 20.9 per cent and 45.7 per cent of them have no expenditure at all, as against the 14.4 per cent and 38.6 per cent of the total group in the urban and the rural samples respectively.

As regards marital status, too, a heavy liquor expenditure pattern tends to be associated with a heavy liquor consumption and drinking frequency pattern.

9.9 EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

Table 9.8 is a tabulation of the expenditure on liquor according to domicile. As in the case of Table 7.8, it is the inhabitants of Bantu residential areas in White towns and White cities who are responsible for a significantly heavy pattern, since higher percentages of those who live in Bantu residential areas than of the total group had expenditures of more than R3.00.

Those who live spread out through White town and city areas have - probably not for the same reason as the inhabitants of Bantu areas and White farms - a lighter liquor expenditure pattern than the total group. The liquor expenditure pattern of the last-mentioned two groups of the rural sample is lighter than that of the total group, although their liquor consumption pattern is not lighter than that of the total group. These persons to a large extent prepare their own liquor (Bantu beer) and therefore "pay" nothing at all for it or only very little indeed (as, for instance, on the occasion of drinking parties). Those who live spread out through a White town or city not only have a lighter liquor expenditure pattern than the total group, but also a lighter liquor consumption pattern (Table 7.8), apparently because it is necessary for them to be much more "careful" as a result of their presence in White residential areas.

The reason for the compound dwellers of the urban sample having a heavier liquor consumption pattern than that of the total group (Table 7.8), but having no significantly heavier liquor expenditure pattern than the total group, is probably associated with the fact that they received much of their liquor free of charge.

TABLE 9.7

EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Urban sample										Rural sample													
	No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00 - R2.99		R3.00 - R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total		No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00 - R2.99		R3.00 - R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Still unmarried	33	20.9	38	24.1	44	27.8	20	12.7	23	14.6	158	100.0	21	45.7	14	30.4	10	21.7	1	2.2	0	-	46	100.0
Married according to recognised rites	52	12.1	110	25.6	134	31.2	55	12.8	79	18.4	430	100.0	85	37.1	65	28.4	59	25.8	13	5.7	7	3.1	229	100.0
Living together, divorced or widow/widower	8	13.8	25	43.1	16	27.6	5	8.6	4	6.9	58	100.0	16	39.0	15	36.6	8	19.5	1	2.4	1	2.4	41	100.0
TOTAL	93	14.4	173	26.8	194	30.0	80	12.4	106	16.4	646	100.0	122	38.6	94	29.7	77	24.4	15	4.7	8	2.5	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 18.4811; 2\% > p > 0.1\%$$

TABLE 9.8

EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

Domicile	Urban sample										Domicile	Rural sample													
	No expen- diture		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over			Total		No expen- diture		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Spread through White town and White city areas	40	19.9	66	32.8	59	29.4	19	9.5	17	8.5	201	100.0	Bantu area	74	45.4	38	23.3	40	24.5	8	4.9	3	1.8	163	100.0
Bantu residen- tial area in White town or White city areas	47	11.5	97	23.8	124	30.4	58	14.2	82	20.1	408	100.0	White Farm	45	32.8	54	39.4	33	24.1	4	2.9	1	0.7	137	100.0
Compound in White town or White city areas	6	16.2	10	27.0	11	29.7	3	8.1	7	18.9	37	100.0	Compound in White area	3	18.8	2	12.5	4	25.0	3	18.8	4	25.0	16	100.0
TOTAL	93	14.4	173	26.8	194	30.0	80	12.4	106	16.4	646	100.0	TOTAL	122	38.6	94	29.7	77	24.4	15	4.7	8	2.5	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 25.1562; 1\% > p > .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 54.4934; p < .1\%$$

9.10 EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO QUANTITY CONSUMED

Expenditure on liquor according to the amount consumed is tabulated in Table 9.9. The distribution in this table indicates a significant relationship between the number of units consumed and the expenditure associated with it. The group of subjects who consumed no liquor at all during the seven days preceding the survey includes higher percentages of subjects than the total group who had no expenditure at all on liquor during the previous month, or an expenditure of only 1 to 99 cents. The groups with the highest consumption (urban sample: 25 units and more; rural sample, 13 units and more), on the other hand, have higher percentages than the total group with an expenditure exceeding R3.00. This correlation is an indication of the reliability of the data.

9.11 EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF FAMILIARITY WITH EUROPEAN LIQUOR

Table 9.10 is a tabulation of expenditure on liquor according to experience of European liquor. The distribution in this table indicates clearly that the group having experience of the greatest variety of European liquor includes higher percentages of subjects than the total group who in the urban sample have an expenditure exceeding R3.00 per month and in the rural sample an expenditure exceeding R1.00 per month. As the familiarity of the groups with European liquor increases, there is a rise in the percentage of subjects in each group who have an expenditure of over R3.00 and a fall in the percentage of subjects who have no expenditure at all and an expenditure of from 1 to 99 cents. Of decisive importance here is the relatively high cost of European liquor.

9.12 SUMMARY

- 9.12.1 The urban sample has a heavier liquor expenditure pattern than the rural sample.
- 9.12.2 The women have a lighter liquor expenditure pattern and the men a heavier liquor expenditure pattern than the total group.
- 9.12.3 The lowest age group has the lightest liquor expenditure pattern and the age group 31 to 50 years the heaviest.
- 9.12.4 As regards the occupations of the subjects, it would appear that except in the case of private entrepreneurs in the rural sample, a heavy liquor consumption pattern is associated with a heavy liquor expenditure pattern.
- 9.12.5 As the educational standard of the educational group rises, there tends to be a decrease in the percentage of drinkers whose expenditure is only from 1 to 99 cents, while there is an increase in the percentage of persons with an expenditure of over R3.00.
- 9.12.6 As the income of the income group rises, there is a fall in the percentage of persons with an expenditure of less than R1.00 and a rise in the percentage of persons whose expenditure exceeds R3.00.
- 9.12.7 The married persons tend towards a heavier liquor expenditure pattern and the unmarried person towards a lighter one than the total group.

TABLE 9.9

EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO QUANTITY CONSUMED

Units of liquor consumed during the seven days preceding the survey	Urban sample												Units of liquor consumed during 7 days preceding survey	Rural sample											
	No ex-penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00-R2.99		R3.00-R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total			No ex-penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00-R2.99		R3.00-R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	85	26.7	115	36.2	81	25.5	19	6.0	18	5.7	318	100.0	None	114	45.8	80	32.1	44	17.7	7	2.8	4	1.6	249	100.0
1-12 units	7	3.1	55	24.2	94	41.4	35	15.4	36	15.9	227	100.0	1-12 units	8	14.0	14	24.6	27	47.4	6	10.5	2	3.5	57	100.0
13-24 units	1	1.4	3	4.3	16	22.9	21	30.0	29	41.4	70	100.0	13 units & over	0	-	0	-	6	60.0	2	20.0	2	20.0	10	100.0
25 units and over	0	-	0	-	3	9.7	5	16.1	23	74.2	31	100.0													
TOTAL	93	14.4	173	26.8	194	30.0	80	12.4	106	16.4	646	100.0	TOTAL	122	38.6	94	29.7	77	24.4	15	4.7	8	2.5	316	100.0

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$\chi^2 = 258.7644; p < .1\%$

TABLE 9.10

EXPENDITURE ON LIQUOR ACCORDING TO FAMILIARITY WITH EUROPEAN LIQUOR

Familiarity with Euro- pean liquor	Urban sample										Rural sample													
	No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total		No ex- penditure		1-99 cents		R1.00- R2.99		R3.00- R4.99		R5.00 and over		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never partaken of European liquor	25	22.5	46	41.4	32	28.8	4	3.6	4	3.6	111	100.0	56	48.7	44	38.3	15	13.0	0	-	0	-	115	100.0
Familiar with one type of European liquor: either wine, beer or spirits	37	14.3	86	33.3	82	31.8	31	12.0	22	8.5	258	100.0	52	39.7	33	25.2	37	28.2	6	4.6	3	2.3	131	100.0
Familiar with more than one type of Euro- pean liquor	31	11.2	41	14.8	80	28.9	45	16.2	80	28.9	277	100.0	14	20.0	17	24.3	25	35.7	9	12.9	5	7.1	70	100.0
TOTAL	93	14.4	173	26.8	194	30.0	80	12.4	106	16.4	646	100.0	122	38.6	94	29.7	77	24.4	15	4.7	8	2.5	316	100.0

$$X^2 = 54.6753; p < .1\%$$

$$X^2 = 48.3135; p < .1\%$$

- 9.12.8 Those who live in Bantu residential areas in White town and White city areas have a heavier liquor expenditure pattern than the total group, while the inhabitants of Bantu areas, subjects living on White farms and those spread in White town and White city areas reveal a lighter liquor expenditure pattern than the total group.
- 9.12.9 The subjects who consumed the highest number of units of liquor during the period of seven days include a higher percentage of subjects whose expenditure on liquor during the preceding month was in the highest category.
- 9.12.10 The subjects familiar with the greatest variety of European liquor contain a higher percentage of subjects than the total group whose expenditure on liquor falls into the highest category.
- 9.12.11 The following factors in particular tend to be associated with a heavy liquor expenditure pattern: member of the male sex, aged between 31 and 50 years, a status-giving occupation, a high educational standard, a high income, married status, a Bantu residential area within a city or town as place of residence, the consumption of large amounts of liquor and familiarity with a great variety of types of European liquor.

CHAPTER 10

PLACE AND TIME OF DRINKING

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the drinking place and the drinking time of the subjects in the two sample groups are discussed briefly. Not all the various places where the subject drinks or has already taken liquor are taken into account, only the place where he drinks most often. By drinking time is understood here the day on which the subject usually consumes the largest amount of liquor.

10.2 PLACE WHERE BANTU BEER IS CONSUMED

Table 10.1 is a tabulation of the places where subjects most often consume Bantu beer.

TABLE 10.1
PLACE WHERE BANTU BEER IS CONSUMED

Drinking place for Bantu beer	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
At own home	236	44.9	174	59.0
At home of other people where the liquor is paid for	104	19.8	58	19.7
At home of other people where the liquor is obtained free of charge	25	4.8	40	13.6
Municipal or compound beer hall	157	29.8	13	4.4
Place of employment	4	0.8	10	3.4
TOTAL	526	100.0	295	100.0

It emerges from Table 10.1 that the drinkers who drink Bantu beer at home include the largest single percentage in both sample groups, namely urban sample 44.9 per cent and rural sample 59.0 per cent. The consumption of Bantu beer at home is apparently predominant partly because of the fact that this type of liquor is also utilised as a food. As regards the Bantu beer drinkers in the urban sample, it would appear that the availability of prescribed drinking places, the municipal or compound beerhall, influences the drinking places to some extent, since in the urban sample a lower percentage of Bantu drink at home than among the rural sample, and the beerhall drinkers are responsible for the second highest single percentage in the urban sample, namely 29.8 per cent.

10.3 PLACE WHERE CONCOCTIONS ARE CONSUMED

Table 10.2 is a tabulation of the places where subjects most often drink concoctions.

TABLE 10.2
PLACE WHERE CONCOCTIONS ARE CONSUMED

Drinking place for concoctions	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
At own home	14	16.7	23	42.6
At some other place	70	83.3	31	57.4
TOTAL	84	100.0	54	100.0

The low incidence of drink and concoctions in the subject's own home (urban sample 16.7% and rural sample 42.6%) is due to the illegality of drinking concoctions. The place where concoctions are drunk is indeed more often the subject's own home in the rural sample than in the urban sample, but it should be borne in mind here that illegal practices are less easily discovered in country areas on account of the extensive terrain. It is also of importance that some concoctions in the rural areas are legally classified as Bantu beer and it is difficult to determine when the Bantu beer limit of 2 per cent alcoholic content is exceeded. On the other hand, in the city areas the trade in concoctions was in the hands of the owners of illicit drinking places.

10.4 PLACE WHERE EUROPEAN LIQUOR IS CONSUMED

Table 10.3 is a tabulation of the places where the subjects most often drink European liquor.

TABLE 10.3
PLACE WHERE EUROPEAN LIQUOR IS CONSUMED

Drinking place for European liquor	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
At own home	231	44.6	84	42.4
At some other place	287	55.4	114	57.6
TOTAL	518	100.0	198	100.0

From Table 10.3 it is evident that the subject's own home plays a smaller role than other places as a drinking place: urban sample 44.6 per cent and rural sample 42.4 per cent. Here, too, the fact that the consumption of European liquor was illegal for the vast majority of Bantu at the time of this survey is of decisive significance. As a result of the "unobtainability" of European liquor the shebeen was an important drinking place.

10.5 DAY ON WHICH LIQUOR IS MOST OFTEN CONSUMED

Table 10.4 is a tabulation of the day of the week on which the subjects most often take liquor.

TABLE 10.4
DAY ON WHICH LIQUOR IS MOST OFTEN CONSUMED

Day on which liquor is most often con- sumed	Urban sample		Rural sample	
	No.	%	No.	%
Sunday	188	29.1	101	32.0
Monday to Friday	74	11.4	19	6.0
Saturday	362	56.0	179	56.6
Drink same amount every day	22	3.4	17	5.4
TOTAL	646	100.0	316	100.0

The data in Table 10.4 indicate the overwhelming extent to which the subjects in both samples are actually "week-end drinkers". In the urban sample 85.1 per cent of the subjects usually take their liquor on Saturdays and Sundays. In the rural sample this is the case in respect of 88.6 per cent of the subjects.

10.6 SUMMARY

10.6.1 Except in respect of the consumption of European liquor, the consumption of liquor at the subject's own home plays a considerably greater role among the rural subjects than among the urban subjects.

10.6.2 In both sample groups liquor is consumed most often during week-ends.

CHAPTER 11

SUMMARY

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The object of this summary is to review certain personal characteristics of the subjects which have a significant bearing on the drinking pattern of the Bantu. By drinking pattern is understood a comprehensive concept relating to all the various facets associated with the consumption of liquor.

11.2 DRINKING PATTERN IN THE TWO SAMPLE GROUPS

Approximately two-thirds of the Bantu of both sample groups consume liquor (Table 3.1). Of all the drinkers, four-fifths include Bantu beer in their liquor consumption, between three and four-fifths include European liquor and less than one-fifth include concoctions in their liquor consumption. A higher percentage of the drinkers in the rural sample than in the urban sample take Bantu beer, but in the case of European liquor it is the urban sample group which contains a higher percentage than the rural group who consume this type of liquor (Table 5.1). In spite of the fact that, as was the case in regard to the rural sample group, the drinkers of the urban sample group, most often drink Bantu beer (followed by European liquor and concoctions - Table 6.1), the highest single percentage of drinkers in the urban sample group prefer European liquor to all other types, while the highest single percentage of subjects in the rural sample group still prefer Bantu beer (Table 6.2).

Approximately four-fifths of the drinkers in both sample groups state that they drink Bantu beer mainly for physiologically orientated reasons (Table 4.1), while the high alcoholic content of European liquor is the main single reason for drinking European liquor among the drinkers who prefer European liquor to Bantu beer (Table 4.7).

In regard to the classification of the drinkers into specific drinking groups, it emerges clearly that the group drinking both Bantu beer and European liquor constitutes the largest group in both samples. The group drinking Bantu beer only constitutes the second largest group in the rural sample, while in the urban sample the second largest group consists of those who drink European liquor only (Table 5.2).

The urban sample group reveals clearly a heavier liquor consumption pattern (based on the number of drinks consumed during the period of seven days - Table 7.1), a heavier drinking frequency pattern (based on the number of times the subject drinks on the average - Table 8.1) and a heavier liquor expenditure pattern (based on the money paid for the liquor consumed by the subject himself - Table 9.1) than the rural sample group.

In both sample groups liquor is consumed more often during week-ends (Table 10.1) and except in respect of the consumption of European liquor, drinking at home plays a far greater role in the rural sample group than in the urban sample (Tables 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3).

11.3 DRINKING PATTERN ACCORDING TO SEX

While four-fifths of the men take liquor, this is the case in respect of only slightly more than two-fifths of the women. The percentage of men

and women respectively who take liquor, is approximately the same in both sample groups (Table 3. 1).

The women who take liquor reveal in both sample groups a greater tendency than the men to drink only one type of liquor; the men who take liquor, on the other hand, reveal a greater tendency than the women to drink both Bantu beer and European liquor (Table 5. 2). The men and the women of the urban sample prefer European liquor to all other types to virtually the same extent, but in the rural sample group the men prefer Bantu beer to European liquor to a considerably lesser extent than do the women (Table 6. 1).

Both sexes in both sample groups drink Bantu beer to practically the same extent, firstly for physiologically orientated reasons and secondly for ceremonial reasons (Table 4. 1), while a higher percentage of the men than of the women prefer European liquor to Bantu beer on account of the higher alcoholic content of European liquor (Table 4. 7).

In both sample groups the men have a heavier liquor consumption pattern (Table 7. 1), a heavier drinking frequency pattern (Table 8. 1), and a heavier liquor expenditure pattern (Table 9. 1) than the women.

11. 4 DRINKING PATTERN ACCORDING TO AGE

In both sample groups the age group 41-50 years includes the highest percentage of drinkers. The percentage of drinkers rises consistently from the lowest age group up to and including the age group 41-50 years. As the age rises above that of this middle-aged group, however, there is a decline in the percentage of drinkers. Although the percentage of drinkers is virtually the same in both sample groups, the groups containing persons younger than 40 years of age in the urban sample contain higher percentages of drinkers than the rural sample, while groups containing persons aged 51 years and older in the rural sample contained higher percentages of drinkers than the urban sample (Table 3. 2).

While subjects aged between 31 and 50 years drink both European liquor and Bantu beer to a greater extent than the expected figure, the youngest age group (those between 15 and 30 years) in the urban sample drink only European liquor to a greater extent than the expected figure and in the rural sample to a greater extent than expected Bantu beer only (Table 5. 3). The trend in regard to liquor preferences of the age groups corresponds to a great extent with that in respect of the types of liquor consumed by them: The youngest age group in the urban sample has a higher preference than expected for European liquor, while only the middle-aged group in the rural sample prefer European liquor to the other two types (Table 6. 3).

Since the middle-aged group (persons aged 31 to 50 years) has the heaviest liquor consumption pattern (Table 7. 2), the heaviest drinking frequency pattern (Table 8. 2) and the heaviest liquor expenditure pattern (Table 9. 3), it is not unexpected that a higher percentage than the expected figure of this group prefer European liquor to Bantu beer by reason of the higher alcoholic content of European liquor (Table 4. 8).

The lowest age group not only has the lightest liquor consumption pattern and the lowest liquor expenditure pattern of the three age groups, but also

the lightest drinking frequency pattern.

When the oldest age group is compared with the youngest and middle-aged groups, it is seen that these groups have respectively a lighter and a heavier liquor consumption pattern, drinking frequency pattern and liquor expenditure pattern than the highest age group.

11.5 DRINKING PATTERN ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS

The fact that the unmarried persons (i.e. persons who have never been married) include a lower percentage of drinkers than the expected figure, is associated with the homogeneity between this marital group and the youngest age group (Table 3.6). The unmarried persons consistently yield the same pattern as the youngest age group. In the urban sample a higher percentage of them than the expected figure drink European liquor only (Table 5.8) and a higher percentage of them than the expected figure prefer European liquor (Table 6.7), while in the rural sample a higher percentage of them than the expected figure drink Bantu beer only and a higher percentage prefer Bantu beer.

It is accordingly not at all surprising that the unmarried persons tend to have a lighter liquor consumption pattern (Table 7.6), a lighter drinking frequency pattern (Table 8.6) and a lighter liquor expenditure pattern (Table 9.7) than the total group. The married subjects tend more towards a heavier liquor consumption pattern, a heavier drinking frequency pattern and a heavier liquor expenditure pattern than the total group.

11.6 DRINKING PATTERN ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD

In spite of the fact that the percentage of drinkers in both sample groups declines as the educational level group includes persons with a higher educational level than a Std. II certificate (in the rural sample the group who have never attended school has the highest percentage of drinkers of all the educational groups, namely 71.7% - Table 3.4), the highest educational group (i.e. those with a Std. V or higher certificate) have the heaviest liquor consumption pattern and the heaviest liquor expenditure pattern of all the groups (Tables 7.4 and 9.5). There is also an increase in the percentage of drinkers in the rural sample group who drink daily and in those of the urban sample who drink on three to six days per week, as the educational level rises.

As the educational level rises, there is a decline in the percentage of drinkers who drink Bantu beer only and a rise in the percentage who drink European liquor only (Table 5.5). In regard to liquor preference, too, a higher percentage of drinkers prefer European liquor and a smaller percentage Bantu beer as the educational standard rises (Table 6.5).

If the heavier liquor consumption pattern of the high educational groups is taken into account, it is not strange that the importance of the reason for preferring European liquor on account of its higher alcoholic content increases as the educational level rises (Table 4.9).

11.7 DRINKING PATTERN ACCORDING TO INCOME

Notwithstanding the fact that only in the case of the urban sample does the percentage of drinkers increase as income rises (in the rural sample the percentage of drinkers actually decreases as the income rises - Table 3.5), the highest income group in both samples has the heaviest liquor

consumption pattern and the heaviest liquor expenditure pattern and tends towards the heaviest drinking frequency pattern. On the other hand, those drinkers in receipt of an income of R10 or less per month have, in both sample groups, the lowest liquor consumption pattern, the lightest drinking frequency pattern and the lightest liquor expenditure pattern (Tables 7. 5, 8. 5 and 9. 6).

As in the case of the educational groups, there is a rise in the percentage of drinkers who take European liquor only and a decline in the percentage who drink Bantu beer only, as the income rises (Table 5. 7). As the income rises, a higher percentage of drinkers accordingly also prefer European liquor (Table 6. 5).

As income rises, there is an increase in the percentage of drinkers who prefer European liquor to Bantu beer for reasons of hygiene and health and reasons related to the higher alcoholic content of the former, and a decrease in the percentage who drink European liquor because of its particular taste.

11. 8 DRINKING PATTERN ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

It is not always possible to discern clear trends in regard to the occupation of the subjects. It is clear, however, that the occupational distributions are closely associated with those in regard to educational level and income. The drinkers in "status -giving" occupations accordingly include a higher percentage than the expected figure of subjects who drink European liquor only (Table 5. 4) and a higher percentage than the expected figure who prefer European liquor to other types (Table 6. 4), and also a heavier liquor consumption pattern (Table 7. 3), in the urban sample a heavier drinking frequency pattern (Table 8. 3) and a heavier liquor expenditure pattern (Table 9. 4) than the expected figure.

11. 9 DRINKING PATTERN ACCORDING TO DOMICILE

The subjects living in Bantu residential areas within White town and White city areas yield not only a higher percentage of drinkers than the expected figure (Table 3. 9), but also a heavier liquor consumption pattern (Table 7. 8), a heavier drinking frequency pattern (Table 8. 8) and a heavier liquor expenditure pattern than the expected figures (Table 9. 8). Those who live dispersed in White residential areas in cities and towns, and those living on White farms, have a lighter liquor consumption pattern, drinking frequency pattern and liquor expenditure pattern than the expected figure. The subjects living in Bantu areas include a lower percentage of drinkers than the expected figure, and also a lighter liquor expenditure pattern; but their liquor consumption pattern corresponds to some extent with the expected figure and they have a markedly heavier drinking frequency pattern than the expected figure.

The factor of loss of contact with the Bantu homeland clearly plays a decisive role in the drinking pattern of the Bantu. The "White area orientated" subjects contain a higher percentage of drinkers than the "Bantu area orientated" subjects (Table 3. 10) and as the subjects' proficiency in the official languages increases, there is a rise in the percentage of drinkers of European liquor and of those who drink both European liquor and Bantu beer (Table 5. 9) and also a rise in the percentage of drinkers who prefer European liquor to Bantu beer (Table 6. 9).

NATIONAL BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND SCIENCE

AN INQUIRY INTO THE DRINKING

HABITS OF THE BANTU IN SOUTH AFRICA

QUESTIONNAIRE E

The Bureau undertakes to treat all the information you give as strictly confidential. No attention is paid to your answers in particular. We are interested in the data of the Bantu population as a whole.

YOUR NAME DOES NOT APPEAR ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Number of questionnaire
(For office use only)

(1-4)

1. Are you a man or a woman?

Man	Woman
1	2

(5)

2. Within which age group do you fall?

15- 20	21- 30	31- 40	41- 50	51- 60	61- 70	71 and older
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(6)

3. What type of work do you do?

(E.g. work in a garden, deliver milk, sell newspapers, work on a farm, teach.)

.....
.....
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4. Make a cross next to the type of work that he/she does.

Farm labourers (agricultural workers): E.g. Farm foremen, farm workers, foresters, tractor drivers, etc.	01	
Miners, who do not practise a skilled profession, but who are chiefly labourers	02	
Other labourers e.g. at factories, the Railways, building trade etc.	03	
Professional, technical, and allied occupations; E.g. doctors, ministers, teachers, attorneys, chemists, accountants, interpreters, nurses, agricultural supervisors, etc.	04	
Other trained professions; E.g. administrative clerks, clerks, etc.	05	
Persons connected with delivery and transport services: E.g. taxidrivers, lorry drivers, private motorcar drivers, bus drivers, or drivers making use of power cycles, or delivery by bicycle, or animals, etc.	06	
Full-time students and scholars	07	
House and garden servants e.g. house servants, garden boys, washing and ironing servants, etc. for private persons, stewards in the service of the Railways, hotels, etc.	08	(7-8)
Persons, who have their own businesses: E.g. merchants (also hawkers) owners of taxi services, shoemakers, house renovators, etc.	09	
Persons, who make a living <u>chiefly</u> from their own farming: (Farm labourers and foremen excluded) E.g. sheep farmers, agricultural farmers, etc.	10	
Persons, who are not economically active: E.g. Pensioners, persons who are supported by their family, persons who have another source of income, e.g. rentiers, etc.	11	
Security services: E.g. constables in the police force, prison warders, persons in the service of the Permanent Force, night-watchmen, firemen, traffic inspectors, etc.	12	
Full-time housewives, who have no extra source of income from working for someone else.	13	
Out of work during the inquiry (unemployed).	14	
You are doing work that has not been mentioned yet.	15	

5. What standard have you passed?

Have you never attended school?	01
Were you at school but never passed a standard?	02

Have you passed the sub-standards A or B ?	03	
Have you passed Standard 1 or 2 ?	04	
Have you passed Standard 3 or 4 ?	05	
Have you passed Standard 5 or 6 ?	06	
Have you passed Form 1 ?	07	
Have you passed Form 1 as well as being in possession of a technical certificate or a teacher's diploma or an agricultural diploma or any equivalent certificate ?	08	(9-10)
Have you passed Form II?	09	
Have you passed Form III? (This includes all the different junior certificates)	10	
Have you passed Form III and are you also in possession of a technical certificate or a teacher's diploma or an agricultural certificate or any equivalent certificate ?	11	
Have you passed Form IV?	12	
Have you passed Form V? (This includes all the different matriculation certificates).	13	
Have you passed Form V as well as being in possession of a technical certificate or a teacher's diploma or an agricultural diploma or any equivalent certificate or any other qualifications except a university degree ?	14	
Are you in possession of a university degree ?	15	

6. How many complete years were you at school, college, university or similar institution ?

1-	3-	5-	7-	9-	11-	13-	15-	17-	19-	21 and more	None
2	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	X	Y

(11)

7. Can you read and write ?

Yes	No
1	2

(12)

8. Is your income
(a) in cash only

1

- (b) in cash and goods _____
2 (13)
- (c) only production for home consumption or in goods only _____
3
- (d) have no income _____
4

9. What is your income per month at the moment. If you are married state the income of your family as a whole.

None	R1- R5	R6- 10	R11- 20	R21- 30	R31- 40	R41- 50	R51- 60	R61- 70	R71- 80	R81- 90	R91- 100	(14-15)
01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	

R101 -110	R111 -120	R121 -130	R131 -140	R141 -150	R151 -160	R161 -170	R171 -180	R181 -190	R191 -200	If more than R200 write down the figure	(14-15)
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	

10. Make a cross in the block opposite the question which applies to the person interviewed.

- | | | |
|--|---|------|
| (a) Are you not yet married ? | 1 | |
| (b) Are you married in a recognized manner ? | 2 | |
| (c) Are you married in a recognized or non-recognized manner but now divorced or separated ? | 3 | (16) |
| (d) You are not married in a recognized manner although living with a woman/man ? | 4 | |
| (e) Are you a widower or widow ? | 5 | |

11. Is or was your marriage a lobola marriage ?

Yes	No	Single	(17)
1	2	3	

12. To what ethnical group do you belong ?

Xhosa	1	
Zulu	2	
Ndebele	3	
Northern Sotho (Sepedi)	4	
Tswana	5	(18)
Southern Sotho (Sotho)	6	
Tsonga (Shangaan)	7	
Venda	8	
Swazi	9	
Another group not mentioned yet	0	

13. Which of the following languages can you speak ? (Make one cross only.)

Only Afrikaans	1	
Only English	2	
Afrikaans <u>and</u> English	3	(19)
Neither of above-mentioned languages	4	

14. Do you at present live:

(a) in a Bantu area	1	
(b) on a European's farm	2	
(c) in a location or "skoonplaas" in a European town area	3	
(d) in a location or "skoonplaas" in a European city area	4	
(e) in a compound	5	(20)
(f) in a European town area	6	
(g) in a European city area	7	
(h) on the grounds of a mission society	8	
(i) in a place not yet mentioned Specify	9	

15. Make a cross in the block opposite the one question which applies to the person interviewed.

Have you never been in a European area during the past five years ?	1	
Have you never been in a Bantu area during the past five years ?	2	(21)
Have you lived more in a Bantu area than in a European area during the past five years ?	3	
Have you lived more in a European area than in a Bantu area during the past five years ?	4	

16. Which one of the following types of liquor do you drink mostly?

(a) Do not take alcoholic drink	1	
(b) Kaffir -beer	2	
(c) Other types of liquor made by Bantu (Kaffir -beer excluded)	3	(22)
(d) Wine	4	
(e) Spirits e.g. brandy and gin	5	
(f) European beer	6	

17. Which type of drink do you usually drink second most if you take more than one type of drink?(Mark one type only)

(a) Do not take alcoholic drink	1	
(b) Kaffir -beer	2	
(c) Other types of liquor made by Bantu (Kaffir -beer excluded)	3	
(d) Wine	4	(23)
(e) Spirits e.g. brandy, gin etc.	5	
(f) European beer	6	
(g) Drink only one type of liquor	7	

18. A. What did the liquor cost you which you bought and consumed yourself during the past month ?

TABLE 1

Kaffir- beer	None	1c - 25	26c - 50	51c - 99	R1 - 2	R3- 4	R5- 6	R7- 8	R9- 10	More than R10	Don't know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

Other types of Bantu liquor	None	1c-25	26c-50	51c-99	R1-2	R3-4	R5-6	R7-8	R9-10	More than R10	Don't know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

(25)

Euro-pean liquor	None	1c-25	26c-50	51c-99	R1-2	R3-4	R5-6	R7-8	R9-10	More than R10	Don't know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

(26)

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TABLE 2

Total for all types of liquor	0	1c-49	50c-99	R1-2.99	R3-4.99	R5-6.99	R7-8.99		
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06		
	R9-10.99	R11-12.99	R13-14.99	R15-16.99	R17-18.99	R19-20.99	R21-22.99	R23-24.99	R25 and more
	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15

(27-28)

(27-28)

18. B What is the value of the liquor which you received free of charge during the past month or which you brewed yourself and which you yourself consumed?

TABLE 3

Kaffir-beer	None	1c-25	26c-50	51c-99	R1-2	R3-4	R5-6	R7-8	R9-10	More than R10	Don't know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

(29)

Other types of Bantu liquor	None	1c-25	26c-50	51c-99	R1-2	R3-4	R5-6	R7-8	R9-10	More than R10	Don't know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

(30)

Types of European liquor	None	1c-25	26c-50	51c-99	R1-2	R3-4	R5-6	R7-8	R9-10	More than R10	Don't know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X

(31)

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TABLE 4

Total for all types of liquor	0	1c- 49	50c- 99	R1- 2.99	R3- 4.99	R5- 6.99	R7- 8.99		
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	(32-33)	
	R9- 10.99	R11- 12.99	R13- 14.99	R15- 16.99	R17- 18.99	R19- 20.99	R21- 22.99	R23- 24.99	R25 and more
	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15

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TABLE 5

Grand total of Tables 2 and 4	0	1c- 49	50c- 99	R1- 2.99	R3- 4.99	R5- 6.99	R7- 8.99	R9- 10.99	R11- 12.99	R13- 14.99	R15- 16.99	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	(34-35)
	R17- 18.99	R19- 20.99	R21- 22.99	R23- 24.99	R25- 26.99	R27- 28.99	R29- 30.99	R31- 32.99	R33- 34.99	R35- 36.99		
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	(34-35)	
	R37- 38.99	R39- 40.99	R41- 42.99	R43- 44.99	R45- 46.99	R47- 48.99	R49- 50.99	R51- and more				
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	(34-35)			

19. Which type(-s) of European liquor have you already taken? (Make only one cross.)

Have never taken European liquor	1	
Wine	2	
Spirits	3	
European beer	4	(36)
Wine and European beer	5	
Wine and spirits	6	
European beer and spirits	7	
Wine, European beer and spirits	8	

20. Do you take alcoholic liquor (including Kaffir beer)

Daily	Four to six days per week	Three days per week	Two days per week	Once a week	Once a month	Less than once a month	Not at all	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	(37)

21. Do you take

Type of Drink	Daily	Four to six days per week	Three days per week	Two days per week	Once a week	Once a month	Less than once a month	Not at all	
Kaffir beer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	(38)

Other Bantu liquor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	(39)
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Types of European liquor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	(40)
--------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------

22. Which day of the week do you usually drink most?

Do not drink	1
Sunday	2
Monday	3
Tuesday	4
Wednesday	5
Thursday	6
Friday	7
Saturday	8
Drink the same amount every day	9

(41)

23. How much European liquor have you taken during the past seven days?

Wine (glasses)	Nothing	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	19-21	22-24	25-27	28-30	Write in the amount if more than 30	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	Y	(42)

Spirits (tots)	Nothing	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	19-21	22-24	25-27	28-30	Write in the amount if more than 30	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	Y	(43)

Euro- pean beer (pints)	Nothing	1-	4-	7-	10-	13-	16-	19-	22-	25-	28-	Write in the amount if more than 30
	3	6	9	12	15	18	21	24	27	30	Y	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	Y

(44)

1 bottle spirits = 21 tots;
 1 small bottle European beer = 1 pint;
 1 large bottle European beer = 2 pints;
 1 bottle wine = 12 glasses.

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	0	1-	4-	7-	10-	13-	16-	19-	22-	25-	28-	31-	
		3	6	9	12	15	18	21	24	27	30	33	
	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	(45-46)
Total for types of European liquor	34-	37-	40-	43-	46-	49-	52-	55-	58-	61-	64-	67-	
	36	39	42	45	48	51	54	57	60	63	66	69	
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	(45-46)
	70-	73-	76-	79-	82-	85-	88-	91-	94-	97-	100-	103-	
	72	75	78	81	84	87	90	93	96	99	102	105	(45-46)
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	

24. How much Bantu liquor have you taken during the past seven days ?

Kaffir- beer (Two pints)	No- thing	1-	4-	7-	10-	13-	16-	19-	22-	25-	28-	Write down the amount if more than 30
	3	6	9	12	15	18	21	24	27	30	Y	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	Y

(47)

Types of Ban- tu liquor (ex- cept kaffir- beer) (Half pint)	No- thing	1-	4-	7-	10-	13-	16-	19-	22-	25-	28-	Write down the amount if more than 30
	3	6	9	12	15	18	21	24	27	30	Y	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	Y

(49)

 * FOR OFFICE USE ONLY *

Total	0	1-	4-	7-	10-	13-	16-	19-	22-	25-	28-	31-	
for		3	6	9	12	15	18	21	24	27	30	33	
all	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	(49-50)
types	34-	37-	40-	43-	46-	49-	52-	55-	58-	61-	64-	67-	
of	36	39	42	45	48	51	54	57	60	63	66	69	
li-	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	(49-50)
quor	70-	73-	76-	79-	82-	85-	88-	91-	94-	97-	100-	103 or	
	72	75	78	81	84	87	90	93	96	99	102	more	
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	(49-50)

25. At which one of the undermentioned places do you usually take kaffir-beer?

(a) At your own house	1	
(b) At someone else's house where you pay for it	2	
(c) At someone else's house where you get beer free	3	
(d) At a municipal beer-hall or a beer-hall in a compound	4	(51)
(e) At the place where you work	5	
(f) Do not drink kaffir-beer	6	

26. At which one of the undermentioned places do you usually drink other types of Bantu liquor (except kaffir-beer)?

(a) At your own house	1	
(b) At a place other than your own house	2	(52)
(c) Do not drink these types of liquor	3	

27. At which one of the undermentioned places do you usually drink European liquor?

(a) At your own house	1	
(b) At a place other than your own house	2	(52)
(c) Do not drink European liquor	3	

28. What is the most important reason why you drink kaffir-beer?
 (Mark only one reason).

(Do not, in the beginning, mention the probable reasons to the person interviewed)

(a) Do not drink Kaffir beer	1	
(b) Because it is food		
Because it makes one strong		
Because it makes one healthy	2	
Because it tastes nice		
Because you feel like it		
Because you like it		
Because it quenches your thirst		

(c) Because it is customary on occasions like marriages, tribal ceremonies, funerals etc. Because your parents drink Because you drink for the spirits of your forefathers	3	
(d) Because you want to forget your troubles Because you want to be cheerful Because you want to obtain more courage Because you do not want to be afraid Because you want to get rid of a feeling of inferiority	4	(54)
(e) There is no particular reason; you just drink	5	
(f) To be sociable with your friends	6	
(g) For a reason not yet mentioned Specify	7	

29. Which one of the following types of liquor do you prefer ?

(a) Do not drink	1	
(b) Wine	2	
(c) Strong drink e.g. brandy and gin	3	(55)
(d) European beer	4	
(e) Kaffir beer	5	
(f) Other types of Bantu liquor	6	

30. For which one of the undermentioned reasons do you prefer European liquor to Bantu liquor ?

(Do not at the beginning, mention the probable reasons to the person interviewed.)

(a) Do not drink alcoholic liquor	1	
(b) Do not prefer European liquor to Bantu liquor	2	
(c) Because you think that European liquor tastes better	3	
(d) Because you think that European liquor makes you feel happier sooner than types of Bantu liquor, because it is stronger	4	
(e) Because you think that European liquor is a novelty	5	
(f) Because European liquor is a forbidden drink	6	(56)
(g) Because you think that by taking European liquor you achieve a higher status	7	
(h) Because European liquor can be transported and stored more easily and can, without preparation, be taken immediately	8	
(i) Because European liquor is more hygienic	9	
(j) Because of a reason not yet mentioned Specify	0	

31. European liquor will be made available to Bantu. Do you think this is good ?

Yes	No	Don't know	
1	2	3	(57)

32. Give the most important reason for your answer. (58)

33. Do you have a permit to buy European liquor ?

Yes	No
1	2

(59)

34. Show, by making a cross, the area in which this questionnaire has been completed. (For use by field workers only)

CAPE PROVINCE

Wynberg	De Aar	Kuruman	East London	Humans - dorp	Queens - town	Worces - ter
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(60)

TRANSKEI

Matatiele	Umtata	Idutywa	Port St. Johns
1	2	3	4

(61)

NATAL

Umzinto	Bergville	Newcastle	Durban
1	2	3	4

(62)

O. F. S.

Bloemfontein	Thaba N'Chu	Odendaalsrust
1	2	3

(63)

TRANSVAAL

Pretoria	Johannes - burg	Rand - fontein	Nel - spruit	Benoni	Pieters - burg	Groß - lersdal	Rusten - burg
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(64)

ZULULAND

Eshowe	Hlabisa
1	2

(65)

Name of area (when applicable) _____

Number of surveyor's district _____

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