SOUTH AFRICAN FARM WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS With special reference to the ALBANY district, 1957 to 1977

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ABSTRACT

South African farm wages and working conditions, with special reference to the Albany district 1957 to 1977

by G G Antrobus

The focus of the study is the wages and working conditions of farm labourers in commercial agriculture. After an outline examination of the broad trends in employment and wages in the agricultural industry as a whole, the emphasis falls on a micro-study of employment practices in the Eastern Cape magisterial district of Albany. The results of a survey of farmers was used to determine the level of wages, including payments in kind, the value of housing, cropping and grazing rights. It was found that cash wages made up only 25% of the total remuneration of R684 per annum, while purchased and farm produced rations made up a further 40% of the total. survey conducted in the Albany district two decades previously was used to compare the real earnings in 1957 and 1977. Although real cash wages and rations increased over the twenty year period the restriction of cropping and grazing rights had the effect of keeping real earnings static. In the light of the improvement of other working conditions, such as the reduction in working hours, however, it is concluded that some increase in real wages did occur. It is evident that there are no clear-cut recipes for successful farm labour management and no unequivocal statements should be made about the most visible element, namely cash wages.

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G G Antrobus

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Brief survey of literature on Labour Economics.

The literature on the economics of labour and wages is vast with specialised treatment having been given to the topic in our time by authors such as J R Hicks (1932) in "The theory of wages", P Douglas (1934) in a book of the same title, Cartter (1954) in "The theory of wages and employment", Phelps Brown (1962) in "The economics of labor", T W Schultz (1963) in "The economic value of education", G S Becker (1964) in "Human capital", Hunter and Robertson (1969) in "The economics of wages and labour" and Reynolds (1978) in "Labor economics and labor relations."

Previously, the classical (and neo-classical) economists had also devoted a good deal of attention to labour and wages and their work included major contributions by Adam Smith (1776), Thomas Malthus (1798), John Stuart Mill (1848), Karl Marx (1867), Stanley Jevons (1871) and Alfred Marshall (1890).

Labour Economics, in essence, is concerned with the same process of allocating scarce resources between competing demands as is the study of Economics itself. Hunter and Robertson (1969) e.g. list the following items as being of particular concern at the micro-level: - the individual's decision to supply his work;

- the adjustments by firms in their demand for labour;
- how firms obtain their workers;
- the form in which the firm pays; and
- how wages are settled.

At the macro-level Labour Economics is concerned with:

- the structure of the labour force;
- market forces and wage levels; and
- public labour policies.

Marshall recognised two critical "peculiarities" of labour which

justified giving it special attention as a productive resource, viz.,

- "The worker sells his work, but he himself remains his own property ..." and
- 2. "... when a person sells his services, he has to present himself where they are delivered."

The implication of the first "peculiarity" - that human capital cannot be bought or sold - "means that non-pecuniary considerations become relevant to the use of human capital in a way that they do not for non-human capital" (Friedman, 1967). To use Marshall's example, it matters little to the brickmaker whether his product is used in building a palace or a sewer. The seller of labour, however, will consider price (wage) and a number of additional factors such as the nature and location of the work, the risk involved, the reputation and temperament of his prospective employer, the colleagues he may have to work with, the cost of relocation and the preferences of family members.

The implication of the second "peculiarity" is that the worker is the embodiment of his own capital or expertise, with his services only made available to his employer on a temporary basis. This means that any investment which the employer may make in training labour could be lost to another potential employer. (Marshall also listed some further characteristics of labour but acknowledged that these were "peculiarities" only of degree).

Some special interest therefore attaches to Labour Economics, in that it deals with the human factor which has generally greater fascination than material resources. Hunter and Robertson (1969) point out, however, that institutional factors, social background and attitudes will vary from one economy to another and therefore "it is almost inevitable that each country has to develop its own labour economics in which the social and institutional environment can be taken into account." In the same way that institutional and other factors may vary between one country and another, the institu=

tional environment may differ greatly between the various sectors of a single economy. It is thus inevitable that a discussion of earnings at a detailed micro-level also needs to take cognisance of non-wage considerations (sometimes referred to as "compensating variations").

The standard theory of wage determination is well known and is there= fore not discussed here at any great length¹. Briefly stated, the derived market demand for labour (which is the value of marginal product of labour for all firms) and the market supply of labour are brought together in determining its equilibrium market price and the corresponding level of employment. Unfortunately though, the model is not altogether satisfactory. While the theory of the demand for labour is well developed no such generally accepted theory is avail= able for the supply of labour. It has also been increasingly recognised over recent decades that imperfections in markets and competition in practice fail to secure even an approximation to the full employment of productive resources. At one time it was held that unemployment would be eliminated if workers were willing to take jobs at lower wages. It was subsequently shown by Keynes (1936), however, that a general fall in wages would lead to a decline in purchasing power in the economy as a whole. The effective demand for the products of industry would decline which would in turn result in a reduction in the demand for labour itself. The problem of economic contraction and unemployment would thus be aggravated. This is one aspect of the matter; labour economics obviously raises several other issues as well.

1.2 The South African labour market.

In 1975 the South African labour market consisted of some 10 million economically active persons of whom 72% were classified Black, while the remaining 28% were made up of Whites (18%), Coloured persons (8%) and Asians (2%).

¹For more detail of the theory of wages and labour the following works are helpful: Brennan (1970) part vi; Phelps Brown (1962) chapters 1, 3 to 5; Berg (1961); Friedman (1967) chapter 11; Hunter and Robertson (1969) chapters 1, 3, 7 to 11; and Reynolds (1978). Reference to a much wider range in labour economics is to be found in Tower (19**80**) and the bibliography of this work.

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With regard to the occupational distribution 86% of the unskilled labour force was Black while the very vast majority of professional, technical, managerial and higher clerical occupations are held by the other race groups (Nattrass, 1981). Another feature worth noting is that while two-thirds of the Black population were resident in rural areas more than three-fourths of Whites, Coloureds and Asians were urban dwellers.

The manner in which the present labour patterns have emerged has been described in detail by Grosskopf (1932), van der Horst (1942), Tinley (1942), Horrell (1963, 1969), Hobart Houghton (1964), Wilson (1972), Griffiths and Jones (1980) and Nattrass (1981) amongst others.

The South African economy, from the viewpoint of the demand for and supply of labour, has often been divided into three sectors: the modern industrial sector, the commercial agricultural sector and the traditional subsistence sector (e.g. Wilson, 1972). Much of the present day structure of employment patterns, Wilson argues, may be explained in terms of a two sector (rural and urban) push-pull migrant labour model. The traditional rural economy is characterised by a surplus of unskilled unemployed and underemployed workers while the modern (urban) sector is charcterised by its need for labour thus giving rise to employment opportunities. As the economy grows the modern (industrial urban) sector draws workers (i.e. pull forces) from the rural areas. At the same time this is reinforced by conditions in the rural sector due to its overpopulation and its attendant problems (push forces). There are also two forces which may return labour to the rural economy: first, the desire to return to friends and relatives and to take refuge there during periods of urban unemployment (pull forces); and second, the reluctance by employers and urban authorities to assume responsibility for the employee's family, and therefore their desire for the worker's return to his rural home (push forces). The net of balance forces would be expected to be dynamic over time. Most developing economies have shown a tendency towards the strengthening of the forces which draw workers permanently into the cities and a weakening of forces which return them to the countryside.

On the one hand, South Africa's continued economic growth has called for greater numbers of workers in town, while its increasing need for skilled workers has reduced urban push (return) forces. On the other hand the rapidly increasing population of the subsistence agricultural areas and the decreased labour requirements of commercial agriculture have strengthened the mon-urban push forces. Nattrass (1977) estimates that over the period 1960-71, one million Blacks moved permanently into the urban areas from White farms while a funther half-a-million returned to or were resettled in Black controlled rural areas.

In reviewing South African labour movements since the discovery of precious minerals in terms of such a push-pull model Wilson (1972) has indicated how increasing urban pull forces and growing rural push forces have been accompanied by a set of diminishing urban push and pull forces.

The following illustrates roughly the main changes that have occured. In the early 1950's South Africa's Black population could be conveniently divided approximately one-third living on White farms, one-third in the subsistence sector and one-third in the modern urban sector. By 1970, however, the urban areas accounted for nearly one-half (48%) of the economically active Black population, the subsistence sector slightly less than one-third (30%) and the modern farming sector only a little over one-fifth (22%). Preliminary census data available for 1980, although not comparable because of the exclusion of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, indicates the continuation of the trend. The estimated distribution in round figures is probably of the order of 55%, 20% and 25% for the three sectors respectively (Wilson, 1972; Abstract of Agric. Stats, 1983). An interesting feature of these three sectors of the economy is that while the two modern sectors make use of migrant labour, the modern rural sector both draws and supplies migrants. Nattrass (1977) estimated the supply of migrants from White farms to be about 400 000 in 1970 while migrants to White agriculture amounted to about 30 000 persons in the same year. (The latter are confined mainly to the fruit farms of the Western Cape, the maize triangle of the Orange Free State and Transvaal Highveld, and the sugar growing areas of Natal).

1.3 The farm labour market.

From what has been said so far it is apparent that the population resident in the commercial agricultural sector is still substantial.

Furthermore, despite the large decline in agriculture's contribution to gross domestic product (G.D.P.), for example from about 15% in the mid 1950's to about 8% in the mid 1970's, the share of the economically active agricultural labour force declined very modestly which indicates that agriculture is still a comparatively labour intensive sector. The commercial agricultural sector, therefore, still constitutes one of the important alternative avenues of employ= ment open to the majority of unskilled Black workers. Even in the light of the widespread processes of migration, urbanization and industrialization a useful study of labour market conditions which are in a continuous state of flux, cannot be made satisfactorily with= out considering the range of possible alternatives of which agri= culture remains an important example (Myint, 1980).

South African labour, and especially Black labour, is subject to a wide variety of social, institutional and legal barriers to job entry and internal migration. Much of the legislation does not concern us in the present study as it is directed at controlling labour employed in industry (see Jones and Griffiths, 1980). Nevertheless, broader South African policies and labour legislation affect commercial agriculture in a number of ways. In the first instance, legislation preventing farm workers from migrating permanently to the cities has the tendency to "dam up" the potential out-flow from the farms. Consequently the supply of labour to the farms is probably more elastic than it would otherwise have been and hence it may be expected that wages in this sector would lag behind other sectors of the economy. Secondly, minimum wage legislation does not apply to the agricultural sector and hence employment levels and wages would again be expected to be nearer to their competitive levels than otherwise. Thirdly, provisions in the Income Tax Act, which allow farmers to write off the full amount of purchases of new machinery and equipment

against current net income, generous loans administered through the Land and Agricultural Bank of South Africa for capital purchases including machinery, and diesel fuel at prices below those for other users, has probably resulted in a more rapid shift away from labour intensive production methods than would otherwise have been the case.

While farm labour has received some attention in South African studies on labour there have been relatively little research devoted entirely to this topic. The latter include works by Margaret Roberts (1958), Loudon (1970), Antrobus (1970), Beyers (1971) and Wilson <u>et al</u> (1977). Detailed information on farm wages and working conditions has been rather sparse and of a sporadic nature. Although official censuses have included statistics on the number of farm labourers employed and total wages paid for a period of several decades, their irregular coverage and incomplete nature have made it difficult to draw meaningful comparisons of a geographic, intertemporal or of an inter= sectoral nature.

1.4 Purpose of the present study

The present study is an attempt to place fairly detailed information about one magisterial district in South Africa into the context of available official statistics both at a point in time and over a period of years. What follows therefore is, first, a brief examina= tion at macro-level of employment and farm wages in South Africa with some regional and inter-temporal comparisons. The focus and main emphasis, then, turns sharply to the micro-level with a detailed examination of practices in the Albany magisterial district in the Eastern Cape. Labour theory in principle is the same everywhere, yet economic and employment conditions between different sectors of the economy vary markedly. Hence, there is merit in the empirical study of a specific sector (in this case agriculture) as a distinctive source of employment. Accordingly, Chapters 2 and 3 outline the broad pattern of employment and wages in the agricultural sector as a whole. Chapters 4 to 6, which constitute the major part of the study, turn to a far more detailed study of employment, farm wages and working conditions in the Albany district. The changes in Albany over the twenty year period, 1957 to 1977 are then examined in Chapter 7 with conclusions drawn in Chapter 8.

8.

CHAPTER 2: THE AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 The agricultural sector as employer in South Africa

The 1970 Population Census recorded South Africa's economically active population as just under 8 million persons. Of these 2,5 million were engaged in 'Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing' - more than double the number in the Manufacturing industry, and over three times the persons employed in Mining and Quarrying. Unfortunately except in the case of Whites and to a lesser extent in the case of Coloureds and Asians, information between census years are not strictly comparable. This is particularly because of the change in the method of enumeration in the case of Blacks and more specifically with regard to females in Black areas (Homelands and Black States). and the exclusion of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda in the 1980 census. Because of the difficulty of reconciling the 1970 and 1980 censuses and the fact that the present study concentrates on the period up to 1977 the preliminary 1980 (sample survey) results available at the time of writing have had largely to be left from the reckoning.

Furthermore, it has been shown by Sadie (1970, 1979) that the Black population was underenumerated by between 4% and 9% in the censuses from 1936 to 1970.

The number of persons engaged in agriculture at each census is contained in the industrial classification for the years 1921 to 1970 although information is available for Blacks only from 1946 onwards. If Black females in Black areas (Homelands) are included among those engaged in agriculture, then the population increased from 1,9 m to 2,5 million between 1946 and 1970. Excluding these females, on the other hand, reduces the economically active population engaged in agriculture to 1,5 m in 1946 rising to 1,8 m in 1970. Whichever definition is used, the absolute numbers in agriculture increased substantially over the 24 year period, although in the first case by 30% and in the second case by 18%. Furthermore, since the total economically active population of South Africa grew by 89% over the same period the relative proportion engaged in agriculture declined from 45% to 31% or 37% to 23%, including or excluding Black

females in Black areas, respectively, as shown in table 2.1. The totals for the four race groups excluding Black females is also shown for comparative purposes.

and the second						and the second se
Race group	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960	1970
Whites Coloureds Asians Blacks: males females	170 78 22 	181 96 18 	168 97 14 1 182 86	145 98 13 1 158 94	118 120 11 1 247 192	98 117 7 1 388 872
ALL RACES : M F T x	 	 	1 445 102 1 547 (1 914)	1 406 103 1 508	1 486 202 1 687 -	1 593 889 (1 824) 2 482
Total Economically Active Population	••		4 221	4 593	5 720	7 986
% Agriculture			36,7 (45,3)	32,9 -	29,5 -	(22,8) 30,6
W + C + A + B (males) % econ. active pop.		 	1 461 34,6	1 414 30,8	1 496 26,2	1 610 20,4

Table 2.1 Economically active population engaged in 'Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing', 1921-1970 (000's)

Source: South African Statistics 1970 and 1980, and Union Statistics for fifty years, 1910-1960, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

- Notes:*1) (a) 1921, 1960 and 1970 censuses include Black males and females of all ages. (See also table 2.2).
 - (b) 1936 census includes only Black males and females of 10 years and older. (See table 2.2).
 - (c) 1946 and 1951 censuses include only males and females 15 years and older
 - 2) 1970 census includes females in Black areas which were not included in 1946, 1951 and 1960, (about 658 000 based on 1960 ratios). The 1946 figure for Black females of 451 000 as contained in Union Statistics is adjusted to 76 000 in SA Statistics, 1970. The comparable 1946 and 1970 grand totals (disregarding the difference as in 1)(c) above) are given in brackets.
 - 3) The 1980 (sample survey) census records the following engaged in agriculture (given in thousands). Whites 103; Coloureds 149; Asians 8; Blacks 1040. Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda are excluded (1980 Census, Report 02-08-02).

The occupational classification is more complete than the industrial census in the sense that it is available for all races from 1911 onwards. It does not, however, avoid the problems of changes in definition and accuracy of enumeration as it readily evident from table 2.2 and especially appendix table 2.1. There is, however, not a great deal to be gained from a sophisticated guessing game of what the actual figures really should be and, for present purposes, only relatively minor adjudgments have been made to regularise the data. This has been achieved by separating Blacks enumerated in Black areas or, as stated in earlier censuses, those classified as "peasants" from the remainder. table 2.2, therefore, the distinction is made between Blacks I (those in White areas) and Blacks II (those in Black areas). This expedient eliminates the major problem of defining whether females in Black areas are "dependants engaged in household duties" or 'farm workers' because of their part-time engagement in agricultural pursuits. (Thus, for example, the preamble to the 1946 Population Census states that "to make a strict comparison with the 1936 census figures it would be necessary to add about 1 150 000 native females to agriculture").

The occupational classification confirms our previous observation that the absolute numbers increased in agriculture from 1946 to 1970. In White agriculture one could go further to say that employment has increased steadily from less than 0,5 m in 1911 to 1,4 m in 1970 although the rate of increase slowed down in the last two decades. As far as Black agriculture is concerned, if the census figures were used, it would be said that employment reached its peak around 1921 (i.e. even after adjusting the total females downward by 30%), and began increasing again about twenty years later. Obviously, the reason for this is the change in the manner in which persons were classified as being engaged in agricultural occupations and the successive totals are therefore merely points on several different series.

Since, as we have already seen, most of the problems are race specific it will be convenient to discuss the changes which have occurred for each race group separately. Further, considering the data problems inherent in the censuses both occupational and industrial classifications will be made use of where appropriate to sketch the broad sweep of

Race group	1911	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960	1970	1980
Whites	192	169	183	168	144	117	96	89
Coloured)		77	97	98	118	128	121	155
Asians)	129	21	18	13	13	12	7	5
Blacks Ix	146	368	668	802	991	(1 075)	1 170	
TOTAL	467	635	966	1 081	1 266	(1 332)	1 394	
Blacks IIx	1 718	2 382	2 433	832	(797)	(941)	1 132	
GRAND TOTAL	2 186	3 017	3 399	1 913	(2 063)	(2 273)	2 526	

Table 2.2 : Occupational classification 'farmer, fisherman, lumberman and related worker, 1911-1970 (000's)

Source: Population Census of 1911, UG 32 d/1912; Population Census 1980 Report 08-02-03; S.A. Statistics, 1980; Union Statistics for fifty years 1910-1960, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

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Notes: 1) * Blacks I approximates Blacks in White areas

Blacks II "Blacks in Black areas.

2) () = estimates. For details see table 2.3

3) some figures do not add due to rounding errors.

changes in employment. In this connection, however, one general observation should be made, namely that the number of persons classified as 'farmer etc' would be expected to be less than those employed in the industry as a whole since the latter would include related workers such as bookkeepers and mechanics, etc.

Blacks

Any attempt at a description of the course of events with regard to Blacks engaged in the agricultural industry is largely frustrated by a lack of strict comparability of the statistics between census years. Up to 1951 'economically active population' in the case of Whites, Coloureds and Asians consistently meant 'persons 15 years and older'. Blacks, however, were variously enumerated both with respect to age and those actually included and those not, as shown below:

Table 2.3	:	Coverage	by	the	Population	Census	of	the	Agricultural
		Industry	, 19	911	to 1970				

Census	Age	Peasants
1911	all ages	includes all females in 'Reserves' (other than dependants)
1921	all ages	includes all females in 'Reserves' "
1936	10 years +	includes all females in 'Reserves' "
1946	15 years +	includes only females returned as 'peasants'
1951	15 years +	ditto
1960	all ages	ditto
1970	all ages	an apparent, though officially unexplained change in the definition of female peasants.

Source: South African Statistics, 1980; Union Statistics for fifty years, 1910-1960, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

A partial solution to the inconsistencies would be firstly to exclude 'Black female peasants' in each year and secondly to make an estimate of the effect of including 'all ages' as opposed to '10 years and above' and '15 years and above'. The first approximation obtained by excluding females in Black areas would yield much greater consistency in the series with very little effort, while the second approximation would be very difficult to make. It is believed furthermore than the inclusion of persons less than 15 years of age engaged in farm work is not likely to be appreciable in relative terms. For example the 1946 census excluded only 28 000 males between the ages of 10 and 14 which constituted only 2,3% of the total number of males. For our purposes the most useful is simply to use the expedient adopted earlier in table 2.2., that is to separate agriculture in White areas from that in Black areas.

Between 1911 and 1970 the number of Blacks employed in non-Black agriculture increased eightfold. Particularly interesting is that the number of females increased thirty-five fold during that period rising from 6% to 27% of the Black work force.

With regard to the Homelands, estimating the number employed in agriculture is frought with many difficulties and would be worthy of a study in itself. Estimates from the censuses as contained in table 2.2 showed a rise in the numbers in Black agriculture from about 830 000 to 1 130 000 between 1946 and 1970 - an increase of 36%. Most studies would agree that the agricultural work force has risen although each offers its own beginning and end estimates. Knight (1977) for example estimates Homeland agricultural labour as rising from between 0,9 m and 1,1 m in 1946, to between 1,4 m and 1,6 m in 1970, depending on the nature of the assumptions made.

Figure 2.1 summarises the changes which have taken place in the employment of Blacks.



Figure 2.1: Blacks in the occupation: farmer, huntsman, fisherman and related worker, South Africa 1911 to 1970 (Source: table 2.2 and appendix table 2.1. See also table 2.3)

In order to account for changes in coverage by successive censuses the data is presented as a number of separate points with smoothed lines connecting approximately equivalent series and broken lines indicating projections and hypothesised series.

Whites

The number of Whites engaged in agriculture has almost halved over the thirty five year period beginning just prior to the Second World War. The occupational classification for the census years 1911 to 1970 shows that farmers and farm workers numbered some 192 000 prior to World War I and only 170 000 three years after the end of the war. In the interwar period the numbers of Whites in agriculture again increased from 170 394 in 1921 and 177 659 in 1926 to 181 409 in 1936, only to be interrupted again by World War II. The figures indicate a fairly steady decline in numbers from 1936 through to 1970. The period between the 1936 and 1946 Population Censuses, however, includes the war years of 1939-45 during which numbers of farmers volunteered for active service. Further, many farmers were released from service to return to their farms to begin food production again shortly before the close of the war. (After the completion of the North-African campaign in 1943 some volunteers were given 'Agricultural Leave' to return to their farms). It is thus likely that a more accurate reflection of the trend in the number of farmers and farm workers would be given by the following:

- (I) an increase in numbers from post World War I through to 1939;
- (II) a sharp drop in numbers from late 1939/early 1940, with a slower decline over the succeeding years until 1944/45; and finally
- (III) an increase in numbers from 1944/45 to 1946.

We may thus conclude that the number of Whites occupied as farmers, lumbermen, fishermen and related workers may have increased until some time after 1936 which is indicated as a post World War I peak, but that World War II precipitated a decrease, so that by 1946 numbers had declined compared to pre-War. There is no evidence to suggest, furthermore, that the present trend will not continue with the 1980 figure declining (at 1960-1970 rates) to about 75 000, although recently a reversal of the decline in the farm workers population has manifested itself in the United States apparently due to the economic decline of the mid-1970's and the related unemployment in non-farm industries as well as a disillusionment with city living. Figure 2.2 presents the movement of Whites in agricultural employment from 1911 to 1970 - as well as the hypothesised changes during the war years.



Figure 2.2: Whites in the occupation; farmer, lumberman, fisherman and related worker, South Africa 1911 to 1970

(Source: table 2.2)

Coloureds and Asians

From the table on the Occupational Classification and figure 2.3 it would seem that the number of Coloureds in farming increased steadily from 1921 to 1960 with a small decrease in 1970. It is, however, quite likely that this decline began from about 1951 or the period between 1951 and 1960, since the 1960 and 1970 censuses included persons of all ages whereas in previous censuses persons under 15 years were excluded. Such a suggestion is based on the assumption that approximately 10% of total Coloured farm workers were under 15 years of age in 1951. In recent years though, with the raising of the compulsory school leaving age it is not as likely that such a high proportion would be engaged in agriculture except on a part-time or casual basis.

Information is not available separately for Coloureds and Asians in 1911, but the combined figure is included in the graph for the census years 1911 to 1946. It can be inferred from the graph that the number of Coloureds, like Whites, must have declined substantially between 1911 and 1921. (Whites declined by about 12%). A similar decline in the number of Asians would mean that of the 129 208 Asians and Coloureds in 1921, probably between 100 000 and 105 000 were Coloureds - a decline of 13 to 17%.



Figure 2.3 : Coloureds and Asians in the occupation: farmer, lumberman, fisherman and related worker, South Africa 1911-1970. (Source: table 2.2).

It is also quite possible that the arguments presented in relation to the number of Whites during the war periods may also hold for Coloured persons numbers of whom also volunteered for active service. This possibility is also shown in the above figure in the form of the broken line between 1939 and 1945.

The changes in the total work force in commercial agriculture may now be summarised in figure 2.4.





2.2 Components of the agricultural labour force

Before turning to a detailed look at the composition the labour force in modern agriculture it is instructive to examine the population censuses against the available agricultural censuses. The early agricultural censuses, like the population censuses, were taken at irregular intervals - sometimes simultaneously. It was only from about 1950 that censuses were taken regularly and the notion of an annual agricultural census became established practice. Earlier agricultural censuses included relatively little information on farm labour and in many cases merely provided Provincial totals by race group and sex. During the 1950's the scope of the published tables on farm labour was increased to include not only regular labour and domestic servants but casual labour as well. It appears, however, from the scanty published reports for certain years in relation to the data collected, especially during the mid to late 1960's, that the then Bureau of Census and Statistics, now Department of Statistics, took the quickest course to producing results from a backlog of agricultural censuses. It is unfortunate, furthermore, that no agricultural censuses were conducted during the Population Census years of 1951 and 1970. The Agricultural Census, while having the merit of maintaining greater consistency over time in its coverage is nevertheless quite as frustrating to work with as the Population Census. It is readily acknowledged that since agriculture is subject to the vagaries of nature expecting consistent data movements is unrealistic with regard to crop production in particular and livestock production to a lesser extent (Nieuwoudt, 1972). It would not be unrealistic, however, to expect a poll from a consistent number of holders (farmers). But, expectations in this direction are not fulfilled either for the number and size of farms or It is better therefore to be as far as employment is concerned. satisfied with the general changes which are shown than to agonise in too great a detail over individual statistics which may have been influenced more by the number of returns than in the actual conditions accurately reflected.

While the Population Censuses and the Agricultural Censuses are not irreconcilable, a full-scale comparison of the 1911-1970 period would

not be possible without very extensive assumptions built on shaky foundations, especially for the years up to 1957. In brief, early agricultural censuses ignored casual labour which, as will be shown in greater detail in what follows, constitutes an important part of the labour force. At this stage, therefore, no more than a general statement will be made, namely that both sources show substantial increases in farm employment over the 1911-1970 period as a whole. The agricultural census differs, however, in that it shows the labour force reaching a peak in the early 1960's and declining thereafter.

2.2.1 Hired versus family and operator labour

A prominent feature of South African farming is the extensive use which is made of hired labour as opposed to operator and family labour on the farms of Whites, Coloureds and Asians. For example, in 1960 family labour consisted of only 10,5% of the total labour force. Most family labour in this sector of agriculture is White - 92% of the total. On the other hand, relatively little hired labour is used in Black agriculture which is mainly of a subsistence nature with family members supplying most or all of the labour. The occupational classification of the 1970 Population Census unfortunately does not give any indication of the proportion of 'hired' to 'self-employed and family labour' for the agricultural industry as a whole. The following table does, however, give a breakdown between farmer (owner operator) and non-farmer including managers, supervisors and hired agricultural workers.
		Wh	Home=	TATOT			
Occupation	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	TOTAL	Blacks	R.S.A.
Farmer Manager Agric Worker Fonestry	81 8 4 2	3 (0,5) 111 2	2 1 4 ()	4 3 1 125 35	89 12 1 244 40	313 (0,4) 809 9	402 12 2 053 49
Sub-total (a) Fisherman	95 1	116 5	7 ()	1 167 3	1 385 9	1 131 1	2 516 10
TOTAL	96	121	7	1 170	1 394	1 132	2 526
Farmer & manager as % (a)	92	3	41	1	7	28	16

Table	2.4	:	Occupation	nal	classif	ication	of	the	farm	work	force	
			including	ope	erators.	South	Afri	ica :	1970 (in the	ousands	;)

Source: 1970 Population census. Compiled from reports 02-02-03 to 02-02-14 and 02-05

Notes: 1) The division between Blacks in White areas and in Home= lands was estimated for the Tswana, Shangaan and Venda groups as these reports were not available.

- 2) Totals may not add due to rounding errors.
- 3) () indicates less than 500 persons.

From table 2.4 it can be seen that 16% of those occupied in agriculture and forestry were classified as "farmer". The great majority of the 401 811 "farmers" are Blacks (78,8%) while Whites constitute almost all the remainder (20,1%; Coloured and Asian "farmers" make up just over 1% of the total. On the other hand 85% of Whites, 30% of Asians and 14% of Blacks are farmers and only 2% of Coloureds.

Hired farm labour itself consists of a number of important categories, the chief of these being the distinction between regular and casual labour. Regular farm labour in 1976 consisted of 61% of hired labour and, except for one census year (1965), where casual labour is recorded at less than half its "normal" size, has varied from 42 to 51% over the period 1958 - 1976. The two categories of hired labour are shown for 1976 in the table 2.5.

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Group	Regular	Casual	Total	Reg. as % Tot.
White	14	4	18	78,6
Coloured	101	69	170	59,5
Asiatic	3	1	5	74,4
Black	565	361	926	61,0
TOTAL	683	435	1 118	61,1

Table 2.5 : Composition of the hired farm labour force, 1976 (000's)

Source: Agricultural Census No. 49, 1975/1976. Report 06-01-12, Dept. of Statistics, Pretoria.

Notes: 1) Regular labour as at 31 August 1976.

2) Casual labour is the average for the year. The number employed on 31 August 1976 amounted to 501 000 which would reduce the proportion of regular labour to 57,6% of the total.

Regular labour:

It will be noted from the table that about 75% of Whites and Asians are employed on a full-time basis, whereas the comparable proportion for Blacks and Coloureds is about 60%.

Regular farm labourers are the permanent employees on the farm and include managers, foremen, supervisors and labourers. At the 1970 Population Census there were 12 300 designated as manager, super= visor, etc. of whom 65% were Whites, 25% Blacks, 6% Asians and 4% Coloureds. The total hired labour force on White farms during 1970 was 138 500 so that it may be inferred that "managers, supervisor, etc." consititute only 7% of the total labour force. On a race basis we have the following:

	% N	Managers,	etc.
Whites	· ·	92	
Coloureds		З	
Asians		41	0
Blacks		1	

Thus, except in the case of White employees and to a lesser extent Asians, almost the entire Black and Coloured farm labour force can be classed as "other than Manager, Supervisor, etc."

The great majority of the regular labour force is male - over 90% in the case of Whites, Coloureds and Asians and 84% of Blacks, as shown in the following table:

	August,	1909.			
Group	Males	Females	TOTAL	Males as % Total (Row %)	Group as % Total
White	14	1	15	93,4	1,8
Coloured	93	9	102	90,8	12,4
Asiatic	4	(0,2)	5	95,4	0,5
Black	595	113	708	84,0	85,3
TOTAL	706	124	830	85,1	100,0

Table 2.6 : Composition of the regular farm labour force, August, 1969.

Source: Agricultural Census, 1969.

Notes: Totals do not add due to rounding errors.

As can be seen from the table 85% of the total of all races were males in 1969. Approximately the same proportion of males was maintained from 1955 to 1969 as shown for the following selected years:

	% Males
1955	85,4
1960	85,9
1965	82,6
1969	85,1

Unfortunately, agricultural censuses since 1971 have not enumerated males and females separately. The regular labour force in agri= culture as shown in the previous table is overwhelmingly made up of Blacks and Coloureds. Subtracting managers, supervisors and foremen still left an unskilled and semi-skilled permanent labour force of about 815 000 in 1969. Four years later this number was down by

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approximately 100 000. The trend from the eight latest censuses available i.e. 1965, 1969 and 1971 through to 1976, show a steady downward tendency.

Casual labour

Casual labourers are generally members of a permanent labourer's family, but may also be persons resident on surrounding farms and employed on an irregular basis, or migrants, such as in the Western Cape. In cropping areas employment may be on a strictly seasonal basis, for example, to help with the picking and packing of fruit or with the harvesting of the crop such as maize or wheat, pineapples and chicory. Since information on the number of casual labourers employed is usually reported as the average number employed during a particular month of the year or even on a particular day, it is neither as accurate nor as useful as that for permanent labourers. Strictly, all that can be said is that the number of casual labourers employed as at a particular time or date was "so many". We cannot necessarily conclude that the number reported for any particular district is an accurate reflection of the average number employed during the year. Furthermore, the particular day or month - in recent years, the month of August and the 31st August in particular may or may not be a representative month for the country as a whole. In 1976 the agricultural census recorded both the number of casual workers employed on 31st August and the average number for the year, as mentioned in a note to table 2.5. In fact the former overestimated the number of casuals by 65 000 persons or 15% of the average work force. While the overestimation for South Africa as a whole is perhaps not inordinate, 31st August 1976 represented a vast overestimation for some districts and a large underestimation for others. A few examples are quoted for Eastern Cape and Border districts in table 2.7:

				the second s
Magisterial District	Major activity	31.8.76	Av. 1976	Av. 1976 as % 31.8.76
East London	Pineapples	2_839	7 516	38
Queenstown	Livestock	1 558	967	161
Fort Beaufort	Livestock,			
	citrus	553	448	123
Albany	Livestock	2 188	2 245	97
Alexandria	Dairy, chicory	3 043	2 441	125
Kirkwood	Citrus,			
	livestock	1 353	1 192	114

Table 2.7 : Casual labourers employed on 31 August 1976 and the average number for the year ended 31 August 1976, selected districts in the Eastern Cape.

Source: Agricultural census 1976.

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The extent to which a particular date may or may not be representative will depend entirely on the nature of the operations performed by casual labour in any one district or region of the country. The month of August or 31 August is entirely unsuitable as a represen= tative month for the Western Cape fruit growing areas, although it is believed to be adequate for the grain producing summer rainfall areas.

Another problem with regard to casual labour is that the average number of persons employed does not necessarily accurately reflect the amount of labour employed in that not all workers work every available day. The 1965 census gave both the number of persons employed and the total number of days worked during August of that year, the results of which are summarised in table 2.8.

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	Average	no. of days w	Arr dours worked		
	Males	Females	Total	as % possible	
Whites	16,1	14,6	15,7	65	
Coloureds	12,0	12,2	12,1	50	
Asians	14,6	15,6	15,3	64	
Blacks	15,7	16,0	15,9	66	

Table	2.8	:	Average	number	of	days	worked	per	casual	labourer,	South
			Africa,	August	196	65.					

Source: Agricultural census 1965.

Notes: It is assumed that casual labour could have worked a maximum of 24 days in 1965, i.e. 5,5 days per week.

As can be seen from the above table, both male and female employees worked about 15 days on average in August 1965, although the latter averaged about one day more per month. The variation between Whites, Asians and Blacks is very small with a range of only 0,6 working days per month separating them. Coloured persons, however, worked only 55% of the possible days during August - probably as a result of the timing of seasonal employment practices in the fruit and cereal growing areas of the Western Cape rather than a significant general racial difference.

As to whether the August 1965 findings can be generalised as app= licable for earlier and later years is open to speculation. If, for example, the proportion of male to female casual employees reduced significantly in subsequent years the average full-time equivalent may well have increased from 63%. A reduction of the 1965 ratio of males to females from 1:1,04 to say, 1:2, however would only have the effect of increasing the average number of days worked as a percentage of the total from 63% to 64%.

2.3 Regional distribution of farm workers

South Africa has been divided into seven agricultural regions by the Department of Agriculture on the basis of broad farming conditions within the country and with regard to administrative (Provincial) boundaries. The regions, as shown in figure 2.5, have been used to indicate the pattern of labour distribution within the agricultural economy and may be described as follows:

- the <u>Winter Rainfall Area</u> (WRA): comprises the fruit and cropping areas of the Western Cape; and the north-western and southern Cape coastal belts;
- the <u>Karoo region</u>: the extensive sheep grazing areas of the Great Karoo and the Cape Midlands;
- 3) the <u>Eastern Cape region</u> (E Cape): includes the grassveld and sheep grazing areas of the north-eastern Cape, central Eastern Cape, Border and the coastal cropping and grazing areas between Humansdorp and East London;
- 4) the <u>Orange Free State/Northern Cape region</u> (OFS/N Cape): the extensive cattle grazing areas of the northern Cape and the sheep grazing and diversified cropping areas of the OFS Province;
- 5) the <u>Highveld region</u> (Hveld): the northern and eastern rainfed cropping areas of the OFS and the southern Transvaal;
- 6) the <u>Transvaal region</u> (Tvl): the northern, western and eastern Transvaal; and
- 7) the Natal region: includes Natal and East Griqualand.

On the basis of the regions described above, about one-half of South Africa's regular farm workers are to be found in the Transvaal (30%) and Natal (21%) regions as indicated in table 2.9. A further 17% of regular workers are to be found in the Highveld region, the three regions thus constituting two-thirds of the country's total regular labour force.





Region	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	TOTAL	Region %
WRA	4,5	79,1	(.)	16,4	100	12,8
Karoo	2,2	67,6	(.)	30,2	100	3,4
E Cape	2,5	9,5	(.)	87,9	100	6,4
OFS/N Cape	1,1	16,5	(.)	82,4	100	9,5
Hveld	0,9	0,6	0,0	98,5	100	17,1
Tvl	2,0	0,3	(.)	97,7	100	30,1
Natal	1,8	0,2	2,4	95,6	100	20,8
S.A.	2,0	14,8	0,5	82,7	100	100

Table 2.9 : Regional distribution of the regular farm labour force, 1976 (per cent)

Source: calculated from appendix table 2.2.

Notes: (.) indicates less than 0,05%.

With the exception of the Winter Rainfall Area and Karoo region Blacks constitute the vast majority of farm workers (89 to 99%). The area to the west of the broken line on figure 2.5 shows the districts in which the number of Coloureds exceeds the number of Black farm workers. The division coincides very roughly with a line running north-west from Port Elizabeth to Gordonia and includes the WRA, most of the Karoo and two districts of the OFS/N Cape region.

White farm workers are found throughout South Africa in relatively small numbers, but the largest proportion (75%) are to be found in only three regions, viz. the WRA - 28%; Transvaal - 29%; and Natal -28%. Asian regular farm workers are confined almost exclusively to Natal (99%) of whom the vast majority (80%) are located in only five magisterial districts in the coastal sugar farming belt stretching from Umzinto on the Natal south coast to Mtunzini on the Natal north coast. The five districts concerned represent no more than 14% of the districts of the region.

With minor differences, the distribution of casual workers is not dissimilar to that of regular workers as seen in table 2.10. The major exception is the distribution of Asian casual workers of whom two-thirds are to be found outside Natal. One magisterial district alone, namely Gordonia in northern Cape, accounts for 24% of Asian casual workers which, together with the districts of Wellington in the WRA (9%) and Inanda (9%) and Lower Tugela (14%) in Natal, account for one-half of the total Asian casual workers employed in South Africa.

Region	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	TOTAL
WRA					
Reg	28,1	68,2	0,3	2,5	12,8
Cas	21,6	63,1	16,9	1,8	11,7
Karoo					
Reg	3,7	15,5	0,2	1,2	3,4
Cas	5,7	16,8	5,2	1,4	3,9
E Cape					
Reg	7,9	4,1	0,1	6,8	6,4
Cas	4,3	3,7	5,4	9,2	8,3
OFS/N Cape					
Reg	5,4	10,6	0,2	9,5	9,5
Cas	16,1	15,6	29,4	11,9	12,5
Hveld					
Reg	7,8	0,7	0,0	20,4	17,1
Cas	17,1	0,3	0,1	17,1	14,4
Tvl					
Reg	29,1	0,7	0,3	35,5	30,1
Cas	27,1	0,2	10,3	35,6	29,9
Natal					
Reg	18,1	0,3	99,0	24,1	20,8
Cas	8,1	0,3	32,8	23,1	[.] 19,4
<u>S.A.</u> (%)	100 .	100	100	100 .	100
No. Reg(000)	13,8	101,3	3,4	564,9	683,4
No. Cas(000)	3,8	69,0	1,2	361,1	434,8

Table 2.10 : Distribution of farm workers in South Africa by agricultural region, 1976 (%)

Source: Agricultural Census, 1976. Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

The Karoo, Eastern Cape and OFS/Northern Cape regions employ a slightly larger proportion of casual workers than other regions, viz. between 43% and 45% of the total regular and casual workers compared with 35 to 39% in other regions. Although no statistical information is available on the proportion of workers who are migrants, the regions listed above are areas in which relatively little use is made of migrant workers except for itinerant sheep shearing gangs. This does not support the argument of Morris (1976) who "comes to the somewhat incredible conclusion that as much as 42 per cent of the African labour force in the capitalist agricultural sector could have been composed of migrant labourers on the census date 1970." Unfortunately, the focus of the present study does not allow an indepth examination of the topic of migratory workers in modern agriculture.

Finally, it is interesting to examine the regional distribution of South Africa's labour force over a period of years. As we saw previously, and as shown in table 2.11, the total number of regular workers has declined from about the mid 1950's up to 1976.

Region	1955	1965	1972	1976	<u>1976</u> 1955
WRA	79	91	93	87	1,13
Karoo	35	33	24	23	0,66
E Cape	68	58	45	44	0,65
N Cape/OFS	61	66	59	65	1,07
Highveld	183	193	170	117	0,64
Tvl	234	209	188	205	0,88
Natal	167	172	155	142	0,81
TOTAL	827	822	734	683	0,83

Table 2.11:	Size of 1	the Regular	farm labour	force by region,
	selected	years 1955	to 1976 (in	thousands)

Source: Agricultural Censuses, various years, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

In 1976 the regular labour force was approximately 80% of the size that had been recorded about two decades previously. In several regions (Natal, Highveld and OFS/N Cape), however, the decrease in the numbers of regular workers only began in the 1960's with the decline beginning only in the early 1970's in the WRA. The number of workers in 1976 was apparently larger than four years previously in the OFS/N Cape and Transvaal regions. The unreliability of Agricultural Censuses, however, does not allow us, on the basis of the latter observation, to predict a reversal of the trend in regular farm workers in the two regions mentioned.

We turn now to a discussion of farm wages in South Africa.

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		1911	1921	1936	1946	1951	1951 *	1960	1960 xx	1970
Group I :	males females	137 9	301 67	627 41	657 145	739 252	739 252	11 11	(795) (280)	857 313
	TOTAL	146	368	668	802	991	991	Ħ	(1 075)	1 170
Group II:	males females	664 1 054	1 037 1 345	814 1 619	526 306	438 10	438 (359)	11 11	(487) (454)	1 170 559
	TOTAL	l 718	2 382	2 433	832	448	(797)	11	(941)	1 132
TOTAL	M F	801 1 063	1 338 1 412	1 441 1 659	1 183 451	1 176 261	1 176 (611)	1 282 193	1 282 (734)	1 430 872
GRAND TOT	AL	1 865	2 750	3 096	1 635	ı 438	(1 787)	1 475	(2 016)	2 302

Occupational classification : Blacks employed as farmer, fishermen, lumbermen and related worker 1911-1970 (000's)

Source: Population Census of 1911, U.G. 12d/1912; S.A. Statistics, 1980; Union Statistics for fifty years, 1910-1960, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

- Notes: 1) Group I = Blacks other than those classified as 'peasants' in the censuses of 1911 to 1951; for the 1970 census : those Blacks employed in White areas.
 - 2) Group II = Blacks classified as 'peasants' (1911 to 1951) or those employed in Black areas (1970)
 - 3) * 1951 Adjusted by linear interpolation of Group II females only
 - 4) ** 1960 Adjusted by linear interpolation of 1951 and 1970 figures except in the case of Group II females which is an interpolation between 1946 and 1970.
 - 5) () = estimates

Appendix table 2.1

- 6) Some figures do not add due to rounding errors
- 7) See also table 2.3 : coverage by the population censuses, 1911 to 1970
- 8) For a strict comparison between 1936 and 1946 group II females add about 1 150 000 to 1946 figures. This would constitute 79% of the total.
- 9) For a comparison of males in 1936 and 1946 add 28 000 to the latter figure.

Workers	WRA	Karoo	E Cape	OFS/NC	Hveld	Tvl	Natal	S.A.
Regular								
W	3,9	0,5	1,1	0,7	1,1	4,0	2,5	13,8
C	69,0	15,7	4,2	10,7	0,7	0,7	0,3	101,3
A	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)	0,0	(.)	3,4	3,4
B	14,3	_7,0	38,4	53,5	115,0	200,7	135,8	564,9
T	87,2	23,2	43,6	65,0	116,8	205,4	142,0	683,4
Casual	i.							
W	. 0,8	0,2	0,2	0,6	0,6	1,0	0,3	3,8
С	43,4	11,6	2,6	10,7	0,2	0,1	0,2	68,9
А	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,3	-	0,1	0,4	1,2
B	6,3	4,9	33,3	42,8	61,9	128,6	83,2	361,0
T	50,8	16,7	36,1	54,5	62,8	129,9	84,1	434,9
Domestic								
Т	8,2	6,6	10,4	15,3	23,5	20,5	10,9	95,6
R + C + D	146,2	46,6	90,1	134,8	203,0	355,7	237,1	1 213,9

Appendix table 2.2 : Distribution of farm workers in South Africa by agricultural region, 1976 (in thousands)

Source: Agricultural Census 1976, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

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CHAPTER 3: FARM WAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Before attempting an assessment of the rates of remuneration in the South African agricultural industry, it is necessary to examine the composition of total farm wages since this differs substantially from those of non-agricultural industries. An additional complica= tion is that it is not possible to quantify many of the very import= ant elements of the total wage package from official statistics which makes an inter-industry comparison an exercise of doubtful value. Nevertheless, we will be placed in a better position to make the necessary allowances for comparative purposes. Attention will then be turned to an examination of wages as an item of farm expen= diture, and the course of farm wage rates over a period of approx= imately two decades from 1957.

3.1 The form of total farm remuneration

The remuneration of employees generally can be regarded as consisting of a cash and a non-cash component. The former would comprise the regular monthly wage, commission, bonuses and overtime pay. The non-cash items may include housing, free meals, insurance, pension contributions and the like.

In agriculture, non-cash fringe benefits form a very important part of total remuneration and it is thus convenient to divide these into several categories, namely, rations, grazing and ploughing rights, housing and other benefits, each of which need to be elaborated upon in some detail.

3.1.1 Cash payments

Most farm labourers, other than casual employees, are paid a fixed monthly cash wage, although in some instances payments may be made weekly or fortnightly. Casual employees, on the other hand, are generally paid by the day although the actual payment may be made daily or weekly and sometimes on a monthly basis. The distinguishing feature between regular and casual labourers is that the former are

paid a fixed sum regardless of the number of days actually laboured in any one month, whereas casual labourers are paid by the number of days worked. Generally speaking, the regular labourer can also expect to receive one month's notice of the termination of his or her service, while the casual labourer is generally on one day's notice.

In,addition to the fixed monthly cash wage, some farmers also pay a monthly cash bonus which, theoretically, may be varied according to performance. In practice this "bonus" over and above the basic wage is usually the same each month for any one employee and is thus merely a means of differentiating wages between labourers.

More generally, however, than the monthly bonus is an annual bonus given to labourers in December and often referred to as a "Christmas Bonus".

Finally, irregular cash payments are quite often made to labourers at particularly busy times of the year such as at harvesting, or for the exercise of particular skills, such as the shearing of sheep. These payments are generally made over and above the monthly cash wage. Some farmers also pay their staff cash amounts for overtime work, although this is not very common.

In summary, cash payments usually consist of a monthly cash wage, an annual bonus and certain irregular cash amounts which are bonuses for particular tasks or effort required.

3.1.2 Rations

The second important component of total remuneration are the regular daily, monthly and annual rations of food and clothing supplied to farm employees. Many farmers provide their staff with a daily amount of whole or skim milk - often from cows kept especially for that purpose. Two other important ration items commonly provided from the farm itself are maize grain and meat, although maize for rations in recent years has more generally been purchased especially in marginal crop production and predominantly livestock areas. Most farmers give their staff meat on at least one occasion during the year, namely during harvest time, at shearing time, or very commonly around Christmas time. Few farmers ration meat more than once monthly except in certain areas during the game hunting season (usually winter). Some stock farmers will also allow their staff to consume animals which have died through drought or from other causes. In the Western Cape the so-called "tot system" is still employed on many farms in the wine producing areas, whereby labourers are given a measure of wine one or more times daily as part of their ration. However much this practice may be frowned upon from a social point of view, it nevertheless forms part of the remuneration given. On farms producing fruit, vegetables or edible field crops, labourers are also often given produce, particularly items which are not suitable for market through windscarring or superficial blem= ishing.

The provision of purchased rations especially of maize grain, as mentioned above, and of maizemeal is very widespread. Other purchased items may include dried beans, samp, breadflour, tea, coffee, sugar, salt, tobacco and matches, but sometimes may even include tinned fish, soup powder, soap and paraffin. Practice varies substantially both from farm to farm and district to district, but the common denominator throughout the country are the maize rations.

In addition to the regular monthly rations, farmers very commonly provide their regular employees with clothing on an annual or semiannual basis. Typically this would comprise a pair of overalls and footwear of some kind and may include a khaki shirt and long trousers. Some farmers also provide items during winter such as coats, blankets or jerseys although this may occur only biennially. Strictly, items of essential protective clothing should not be included as part of the labourer's remuneration package, although on many farms overalls would probably be described as "useful, though not essential". (Farmers also sometimes give their staff old, though useful items of clothing free of charge or at a nominal sum, but again this would generally be at irregular intervals).

3.1.3 Grazing, ploughing and gleaning rights

On many farms labourers are permitted to plough and plant an area of land for their own use in addition to any garden plots which they may have close to their dwellings. Typically maize is planted, although other cereals, dried beans and peas, vegetables and tobacco are also sometimes grown. Although the employee may undertake all the cultural practices himself, it is not uncommon for farmers to plough and plant, and sometimes to fertilize and apply insecticides and weedicides, for the labourer at the farmer's expense. Farmers will usually, however, expect the labourer or his family to perform the weeding and harvesting of the crop in their own time. Labourers seldom achieve the yields of their employers as may be seen from agricultural census reports over many years. The reasons probably include inferior soil preparation, low quality or insufficient seed, inadequate quantities of fertilizer and insecticides, and late or inadequate weed control. In addition a large proportion of the crop would be reaped for home consumption in the green dough stage. Where the farmer undertakes the soil preparation, planting and fertilization for the labourer, lower yields can only be attributed to poor insect and weed control and early consumption not counted in the final yield.

Secondly, a common practice in cereal production areas is to allow family members of regular employees to glean maize or other cereals following the harvest. (In the Highveld areas this is often referred to as "mealies agter die masjien" meaning literally, maize gleaned behind the mechanical harvester). The practice is not common outside the main cereal producing areas.

Thirdly, the employees are also often permitted to exercise grazing rights for one or more head of livestock, generally cattle. Here again, practices vary quite substantially between farms and between different parts of the country. In some cases, an area of grazing land or an entire farm is set aside for the sole use of farm employees, while more generally the employees graze stock with those of the employer. In the latter event, employee livestock are

subject to the same management as those of the farmer which would include the provision of a sire.

3.1.4 Housing

By the very nature of the industry it is necessary that farm workers be housed at their place of work. It is thus a rarity to find farms on which no staff dwellings exist. While detailed information on the types and number of dwellings on a country-wide basis is difficult to find at least some indication of labour housing could be gauged from the number of workers employed. Since employment practices vary from area to area it would neither be entirely satisfactory to use the total of all labourers employed nor any one component of the total. In the Western Cape, for example, extensive use is made of Black contract labour from the Independent States (Homelands) who are housed by the farmer in addition to long term regular employees. In the Eastern Cape, by contrast, extensive use is also made of nonpermanent employees, the large majority of whom are drawn from members of the regular (usually male) employee's family and there= fore require no additional housing. Another estimate of the number of labourers' dwellings could be obtained by dividing the total farm population by average family size but these figures are not readily obtainable. Alternatively, since contract labourers, almost without exception, have been males, one may be tempted to use the total number of male employees - regular and casual - as an indication of the number of farm dwellings. Such a statistic would, however, not acount for the practice that contract labourers are generally housed on a group basis in so-called compounds. The total number of males employed would thus tend to overestimate the number of dwellings to a greater extent in areas where casual labour is not drawn from family members. - . • •

To place a value on housing as a perquisite we would need information on the type of housing. In very broad terms, labour housing can be categorised as either "employee provided" or as "labourer con= structed". The former, are distinguished by their more substantial construction. In practice most labourer constructed dwellings

consist of mud-and-pole walls with either thatched or corrugated iron roofs. Most farmer provided housing consists of brick under iron with concrete or cement brick under asbestos forming the most common alternative. All-iron houses are sometimes found, while cement plastered (reinforced) mud-and-pole houses under iron or asbestos are being increasingly used in an attempt to contain the cost of new housing.

Any attempt at an assessment of the value of housing to the labourer should therefore take account of its construction and whether this has been erected at the farmer's expense or not. In the case of labourer erected housing the capital value is usually minimal as the average effective useful life of the dwelling is probably no more than 10 - 15 years, while farmer erected housing could vary in value from very little to substantial sums such as R10 000 each. In farm surveys the Department of Agriculture has in the past calculated the cost of labour housing as the depreciation on its capital value plus the actual cost of maintenance, or alternatively, an arbitrary monthly rental per regular worker is used as an indication of the value of housing to the labourer as a part of total remuneration. Neither is very satisfactory, although the methods have the merit of being quick to calculate and conceptually easy as a comparison with urban rentals.

Two additional items which can be conveniently categorised with housing are the provision of water for household purposes and fuel for heating and lighting. Since farm workers are not charged for these items a monetary value would also be placed on them as part of total remuneration.

3.1.5 Other benefits

It is furthermore usual for farm employees to receive one or more of a wide range of other benefits in kind which may also correctly be viewed as a part of remuneration. The nature and amount of these vary very substantially through the country and it is not possible to indicate these except in broad terms. Generally these would include the provision of free medicines and/or subsidised medical

care, workmen's compensation (accident insurance), transportation for extra-mural purposes (e.g. attendance at religious or social functions), provision of amenities (e.g. school, church, entertain= ment facilities), and educational assistance, contribution to personal taxes, the extension of interest-free credit, and purchases for cash to avoid hire-purchase charges and gain cash discounts.

While it would be a relatively simple matter to compute the value of these items these are made on such an <u>ad hoc</u> basis that even in micro-studies estimates are seldom included. Similarly, little information is available on a national scale.

With regard to the provision for retirement, an additional observation should be made.

Relatively few farmers have a specific pension and/or insurance scheme for their staff, although many farmers allow long-serving faithful workers to "retire" on the farm or their families to remain after the death of the breadwinner. Where such provision is made the value of the future benefit could be accounted for by discounting and adding the amount to the present wage. In practice such a calculation would be difficult to make because the decision in the case of any one worker would be reached only at the end of long (usually uninterrupted) service with one employer.

With the pressure on land in the Homelands and the shortage of Black urban housing it is probable that many farm employees recognise the long term retirement benefit by knowingly accepting a lower cash wage in exchange for job and post-retirement security, or alter= natively not moving to another farm for higher cash wages for fear of jeopardising such future benefits.

In the next section an attempt is made to estimate the rates of remuneration.

3.2 Wages in the agricultural sector

In summary, and as indicated above, farm wages consist of

- cash payments (including bonuses etc.)

- rations (purchased and farm produced)

- grazing, ploughing and gleaning rights

- housing (including fuel and water supply)

- other benefits.

Since it is believed that the five category mix not only varies between regions within South Africa but has also changed over time, even intra-sectoral comparisons are imprecise. An attempt is made nevertheless at a comparison of wages over time and between regions as well as on an inter-industry basis.

The agricultural censuses generally distinguish between "cash salaries and wages" and "value of rations and other goods and services", although the latter is also referred to as "payments received in kind". The two items are often referred to simply as "cash and kind" or even as "cash and rations", although strictly, the latter implies a narrower coverage. Only a few censuses have made any attempt at obtaining a fuller coverage of the remuneration than that of cash and kind by specifically including the estimated value of bonuses earned and/or of cropping rights and grazing rights enjoyed by farm employees.

Any attempt, therefore, at a comprehensive picture, either of labour costs as a proportion of total farm expenditure, or of total remun= eration to farm employees, is frustrated by incomplete data. Never= theless, the agricultural censuses provide the most comprehensive available inter-temporal coverage of farm wages. (Hereafter, unless otherwise stated, the term "census" will apply specifically to the agricultural census).

3.2.1 Wages as an item of farm expenditure

Expenditure on cash wages and payments in kind, as would be expected,

have increased substantially over the past two decades. Between 1957 and 1976, for example, farm expenditure on cash and kind rose from R116 m to R421, or by 3,6 times. In earlier censuses payments in kind to regular, casual and domestic servants were not presented separately, while the cash payments to labour applied only to the actual month of census. Comparisons between time periods as presented in table 3.1, therefore, need to be treated with due caution.

Table 3.1 :	Labour c	osts in r	elation t	o select	ted item	ns of	current	
•	farm exp	penditure,	selected	l years,	1957 to	b 1976	5 (R million	1)

Item	1957	1965	1971	1976	$\frac{1976}{1957}$
Cash wages Rations and kind	86,6 29,1	113,4 32,1	167,3 51,3	329,2 91,8	3,8 3,2
Sub-total LABOUR Seed & Fertilizer Feed Remedies Maintenance & Repairs Fuel Interest	115,7 (36,7) 34,6 5,0 27,4 36,1 22,6	1 45 ,5 64,3 48,3 33,6 44,0 41,1 (46,2)	218,6 106,4 97,8 20,5 78,7 50,7 63,9	421,0 258,8 214,2 56,1 168,5 132,6 143,6	3,6 (7,1) 6,2 11,2 6,2 3,7 6,4
TOTALS	278,1	423,0	636,6	1 394,8	5,0
Labour as % total TOTALS AT 1975 PRICES	41,6 540	34,4 801	34,3 1 083	30,2 1 252	- 2,3
	the second				

Source: Censuses of agricultural production, Department of Statistics, Pretoria, various years; Abstract of Agricul= tural Statistics, 1982.

Notes:

1) () = estimates.

- 2) labour costs include payments to all farm employees of all races including domestic servants.
- 3) 1957: cash for domestic servants is the amount paid in June brought to an annual basis.
- 1965: total value of bonuses of R3,2 m not included in wages.
- 5) Price index of farming requisites (intermediate goods) used to obtain 1975 prices.

Two interesting points which emerge from the table is that total real farm expenditure more than doubled over the period, but that the relative importance of labour declined over the period from over 40% to about 30%. The reason for this apparent change is that although farm wages increased at rates not dissimilar to those of other inputs, the number of farm labourers employed has declined, while the use of inputs such as fertilizer has increased.

3.2.2 Wage levels in agriculture

Wage levels vary greatly between the type of labour employed (i.e. regular, casual or domestic), between the sexes, skill levels, the type of work, by race group, geographical area and between individual farms. As was indicated in the previous chapter, a number of these factors are inter-related. For example, most Whites on farms are in more skilled positions than Blacks; most domestic servants are women; a larger proportion of skilled jobs on farms are done by men than women; and most Coloured farm labourers are found in the Western Cape. It is therefore difficult to disentangle the various characteristics which affect wage levels.

As we have already seen, most agricultural censuses distinguish between cash wages and payments in kind. The latter, as recorded in the censuses, generally constitute a relatively small proportion of total earnings for White and Asian workers (about 5% and 10% respectively in 1976), but more substantial proportions of the total earnings of Coloured and Black workers (20% and 25% respectively). The absolute levels of payments in kind for Coloured and Black farm workers of R123 and R104 in 1976 (as is shown in table 3.2) are lower than those of Whites and Asians (R143 and R192 respectively).

· - :

		Whites	Coloured	Asians	Blacks	ALL RACES
Regular:	cash	4 008	468	1 329	274	383
	kind	192	123	143	104	109
	TOTAL	4 200	591	1 472	378	492
			-			
Domestic:	cash	n/a	(177)	(321)	(128)	136
	kind	n/a	(76)	(84)	(59)	62
	TOTAL	n/a	(253)	(405)	(181)	198
Convol	acab	140	101	00	110	105
casual:	casn	140	191	90	112	125
	kind	19	17	11	29	27
	TOTAL	167	208	101	141	152
R + D + C:	cash	3 180	341	991	204	271
	kind	155	80	108	73	76
	TOTAL	3 335	(421)	(1 099)	(277)	347

Table 3.2 : Average wages paid to farm employees in South Africa, 1976 (Rand per annum)

Source: Agricultural census 1975 and 1976, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

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Notes: *() = estimates of wages for domestics on the basis of 1975 ratios; White domestic servants, last recorded in 1969, numbered 94 out of 129 358, or less than 0,1% of the total.

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Table 3.2 also permits a comparison of wages between the types of labour and between race groups. In the first place, it should be noted that the regular farm worker earns about 2,5 times more than domestic employees. It is not strictly valid to make comparisons between casual workers and full-time workers since usually no indication is given of the number of days worked by casual employees. In addition, by the very nature of their temporary employment and the low level of skills required, it should be expected that wages would be lower. In 1976 casual employees were paid less than onethird of the earnings of regular workers. Secondly, a comparison can be made between the earnings of one race group and another. In 1976 the ratio between Blacks and Whites was 1:14,6 while the ratio was 1:1,7 and 1:5,1 between Blacks and Coloureds and Blacks and Asians respectively.

The narrowing or widening of wage differences between Blacks and Whites is illustrated over a period of time in table 3.3. It is evident that the wage gap widened over the twenty year period in favour of Whites, moving from 1:12 in 1953 to 1:20 in 1973. For the following three years the gap began narrowing again in favour of Blacks reaching 1:14,6 in 1976. The narrowing of the Black:White wage ratios from 1973 to 1976 can be ascribed chiefly to events connected with activities in South Africa's mining industry.

Table 3.3 : Ratio of average annual cash wages of regular farm workers between race groups, selected years, 1953 to 1976

Year	Blacks	:	Coloureds	:	Asians	:	Whites
1953	1	:		1,9		:	12,3
1957	1	:		2,1		:	15,1
1965	1	:	2,0	:	3,1	:	17,0
1969	1 .	:	2,1	:	3,6	:	18,4
1973	1	:	2,0	:	4,2	:	19,8
1976	1	:	1,7	:	5,1	:	14,6

Source: Calculated from Appendix table 3.2.

The wage gap between Blacks and Asians widened throughout the period for which figures are available, viz from 1:3 in 1965 to 1:5 in 1976. On the other hand, the Black:Coloured ratios narrowed from the late 1960's. The latter narrowing is because of a more rapid rise in the wages of Blacks than Coloureds in the period from 1969 to 1976.

Another element of total earnings which we must also consider is the value of non-cash benefits. Few attempts have been made in the censuses to quantify these apart from "rations and other goods and services." The 1965 census, for example, recorded "bonuses" in addition to cash and kind, but gave the amount as a total for regular, casual and domestic labour. Bonuses, however, added only 2,2% to the total amount of wages and rations of R145m in that year. The 1962 census included the estimated value of grazing enjoyed by employees' livestock and the value of arable land used for employees' crops in addition to cash, kind payments and bonuses, but gave no division for regular, casual and domestic workers. Nevertheless, estimates derived from the 1962 and 1963 censuses, as illustrated in table 3.4, show that cash and kind constitute nearly 90% of total remuneration as enumerated at its fullest in official statistics. There are obviously other items such as the value of housing which should also be included, but to date no attempt has been made in the censuses at a broader coverage.

Form of payment	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	TOTAL
Cash	1 311	152	190	72	87
Kind ¹	97	31	45	25	26
Bonuses ²	52	3	4	5	6
Grazing ³	25	2	()	6	5
Land	5	()	()	2	3
TOTAL (R)	1 490	188	239	110	127
Cash + Kind as % Total	94,5	97,3	98,3	88,2	89,0%

Table 3.4 : Average payments to regular farm labour in the form of cash, kind and other benefits, 1963 (R per annum)

Source: Agricultural Censuses 1962 and 1963, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

Notes: 1. Average for regular + domestic employees.

2. Total value of bonuses, grazing and value of arable land allocated to regular labour.

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3. 1962 amounts used for grazing and land

() = amounts of less than R0,50.

Estimating the level of wages per casual employee presents several problems. Little reliance can be placed on "average" wages for casual workers for most of the pre-1976 censuses for reasons elaborated upon earlier. The effect of using the number of casual labourers as enumerated on the 31 August 1976 in place of the "average" number employed during the previous year is well illustrated by table 3.5. While average wages for South Africa as a whole are only underestimated by 16% if the number employed on 31 August 1976 is used, the effect for individual elements are more substantial. For example, wages for Whites and Asians are overestimated by more than five-fold.

Table	3.5	:	Casual worke	ers:	ave	erage	wages	and	the	effect	of
			enumeration	date	on	their	calcu	lat:	ion,	1976	
			(R per annu	m)							

		1.0		
Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	TOTAL
148	191	90	112	125
19	17	11	29	27
167	218	101	141	152
646	156	542	97	108
84	14	67	25	23
730	170	609	122	131
23	128	17	116	116
	Whites 148 19 167 646 84 730 23	Whites Coloureds 148 191 19 17 167 218 646 156 84 14 730 170 23 128	Whites Coloureds Asians 148 191 90 19 17 11 167 218 101 646 156 542 84 14 67 730 170 609 23 128 17	Whites Coloureds Asians Blacks 148 191 90 112 19 17 11 29 167 218 101 141 646 156 542 97 84 14 67 25 730 170 609 122 23 128 17 116

Source: Agricultural census no 49 (1976), report no 06-01-13, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

Additional insights are to be gained into farm wages by examining geographical variations. This is the subject of the next section.

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Using the seven agricultural regions, as outlined in Chapter 2, it can be shown that a few regions in each case account for the bulk of the wages paid to each race group (See appendix table 3.1). The Winter Rainfall Area (WRA) and Karoo regions account for over 90% of wages paid to Coloured farm workers while 98% of all Asian farm workers' pay emanates from Natal. Three regions, viz Highveld, Transvaal and Natal account for over 75% of Black wages while these three regions with the addition of the WRA account for nearly 90% of the wages paid to White farm workers.

There are some substantial variations in practice between the regions. For example, rations relative to cash forms a much larger proportion in the Eastern Cape and Northern Cape/OFS regions than in the WRA. In the former, cash amounts to about one-third, whereas in the WRA cash accounts for 86% of the combined total of wages paid in cash and kind, as shown in table 3.6.

Region	Cash	Rations	TOTAL
WRA	86	14	100
Karoo	68	32	100
E Cape	67	33	100
N Cape/OFS	65	35	100
Highveld	73	27	100
Tvl	79	21	100
Natal	80	20	100
SOUTH AFRICA			
1957	(73)	(27)	100
1965	77	23 -	100
1973	77	23 '	100
1976	78	22	100

Table 3.6 : Proportion of Cash and Rations to Total Wages of Regular farm labour by agricultural region, 1973 (%)

Source: Agricultural Censuses 1973 & 1976, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

Notes: () = estimate of proportions based on the assumption that regular labour received 80% of total rations (cf. 81,8% in 1965). It would appear that there has been a slight shift over time away from rations to cash. This move has the advantage that it gives the wage earner greater discretionary spending power. It may have the disadvantage to the worker, however, that whereas any increase in the cost of rations would be automatically borne by the employer, there is no such guarantee that cash wages will be fully adjusted as frequently and to the full extent of inflation. The adjustment of wages over a period of time is considered in the following section.

3.2.4 Inter-temporal wage changes

A question which is often uppermost in the minds of critics of a particular industry is the extent to which wages have changed in real terms with the passage of time. To make an accurate judgement assumes the availability of an appropriate wage deflator. The two most readily available indicators of price changes to the household consumer are the well known consumer price index (CPI) and the consumer food price index (food CPI). Neither of these could be described as ideal of our purposes since the indexes have been calculated, until recently, on the average consumption of urban Whites. Since lower income groups, following Engel's Law, generally spend a large proportion of disposable earnings on food on the surface it would seem to be logical to use the food CPI instead of the CPI covering all items of expenditure. As we discussed above, however, on many farms rations of food and clothing and other payments in kind form a sizeable part of total income. It is questionable therefore as to whether the food CPI is the more appropriate of the two measures. In the absence of rural expenditure surveys the considered opinion of the writer is that the CPI for all items should be used in converting cash wages from nominal to real terms. The food CPI should, however, be used for the rations component of total earnings.

The changes which have occured in real cash wages paid to regular farm workers for the period 1957 to 1976 are to be seen in table 3.7. The 19 year period has been divided into two sub-periods, viz 1957 to 1969 and 1969 to 1976 to indicate the change which took place in

the more recent period when most groups made substantial gains in real earnings, the reasons for which were alluded to earlier.

Table 3.7 : Average real cash wages of regular farm workers in

South Africa, selected years 1957 to 1976 (Rand per

•	annum at constant 1975 prices).							
Year	Whites	Col	C + A	Asians	Blacks	TOTAL		
1957	1 950	••	271	••	128	171		
1969	2 851	328	338	560	155	226		
1976	3 608	421	447	1 196	246	345		
Av Growth								
(% p.a.)								
1957 - 76	3,29	••	2,67	••	3,50	3,76		
1957 - 69	3,22	••	1,86	••	1,61	2,35		
1969 - 76	3,42	3,63	4,07	11,45	6,82	4,06		
Ratios								
<u>1976</u> 1957	1,85	••	1,65		1,92	2,02		

Source: Calculated from Appendix table 3.2.

On average real wages doubled for farm workers over the period 1957 to 1976, but as can be seen from the table above, the largest gains were made by Blacks. The growth in real wages to Black workers increased from an annual rate of 1,6% during the period 1957 to 1969 to 6,8% between 1969 and 1976. In the latter period the wages of Asian workers increased even more rapidly, viz by 11,5% per annum. The rate of real wage increase for Whites increased relatively little in the latter compared to the earlier period.

There are several reasons for wages increasing more rapidly for Blacks in particular between 1969 and 1976. Firstly, the period saw a substantial change in mine recruitment policy in response to political changes within countries who were South Africa's traditional migrant labour suppliers. Whereas in 1974 22% of Black mineworkers were recruited from within South Africa with the remainder coming chiefly from Malawi (27%), Mocambique (23%) and Lesotho (21%) this position had changed dramatically by three years later. In 1977 50% of mineworkers were recruited locally, including Transkei, with Lesotho the only traditionally large supplier of migrants continuing to play a major role (25%) leaving Malawi and Mocambique with 0,04% and 9% respectively (Gordon <u>et al</u>, 1978). Inevitably, local recruitment in rural areas served as a more rigorous competitor to commercial farmers than in the previous decades. A second major contributory factor to the more rapid increase in wages in the 1969 to 1976 period was that Black mine workers' wages increased far more rapidly than did wages in other sectors of the economy. The more rapid increase in wages was greatly facilitated by higher mining profits but was probably also spurred on by mine labour unrest which lead to an investigation of the industry by the Franzen Committee (Horrell, 1977).

A factor which mitigated the even more rapid rise in wages in the early to mid 1970's was the high levels of unemployment in certain parts of the country at that time. In the construction industry in the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area, for example, one-fifth of skilled and nearly one-third of unskilled workers had been laid off between 1974 and 1977 (Horrell, 1977). Nevertheless, the overall effect on the rural agricultural economy was that the competition from the mines in terms of an intensified recruitment drive and higher wages served as a filip to wage increases in the agricultural sector. The more rapid rise in agricultural wages was facilitated by the quick recovery from a long drought accompanied by a rapid improvement in several commodity prices, not the least of which were wool and mohair.

On a regional basis, inter-temporal changes are illustrated for the period 1953 to 1973 in table 3.8. During that period the most rapid rise in real cash wages took place in the Highveld region - from more than 30% below its contiguous regions viz, the Transvaal and OFS/Northern Cape at the beginning of the 20 year period to wages 36% higher than the Transvaal by the end of the period. The close proximity of the mines within the region as an alternative avenue of unskilled employment must have played a big role in the rapid rise in Black farm wages.

	amiany			e e	1 1 0 7 0	
Region	Whites	Col & As	Blacks	TOTAL ¹	<u>1973</u> 1955	const 2 prices
WRA	589	110	140	133		
	2 623	329	302 430	430	3,23	1,79
Karoo	595	107	81	110	2 40	1 22
	2 130	251	185	264	2,40	1,52
E Cape	730	82	42	51	0.15	1,74
	2 265	197	124	161	5,15	
OFS/N Cape	640	112	57	68	2.62	2,00
	4 459	229	211	246	5,02	
Hveld	650	59	38	41	1 61	2 55
	4 837	149	155	189	4,01	2,55
Tvl	813	103	55	59	2 17	1,37
	2 339	272	114	146	2,47	
Natal	974	138	62	68	3.04	1 68
	3 176	650	151	206	3,04	1,00
SOUTH	682	110	55	69	0.15	
AFRICA	3 016	317	152	219	3,17	1,75
<u>1973</u> 1955	4,42	2,88	2,88	3,17		
const prices	2,44	1,59	1,59	1,75		

Table 3.8 : Average cash wages of regular farm labour in South Africa by agricultural region, 1955 and 1973 (Rand per annum)

Source: Agricultural censuses for 1955 and 1973. Report no UG49/1958 and 06-01-10, Govt Printer, Pretoria.

- Notes: 1. In each case the upper figure constitutes the wage for 1955 while the lower represents the wage for 1973.
 - Wages deflated by the CPI (for all items) with base year 1975. This probably constitutes a slight exaggeration (5%) of the real increase since food prices rose by more than other items.

The highest wages for Blacks are to be found in the Winter Rainfall Area - nearly twice the national average in both 1955 and 1973. It will be noted that the gap between the wages paid in the WRA and its nearest neighbour, the Karoo, widened substantially over the two decades. This can be ascribed to the growing scarcity of labour in the Western Cape partly due to the intensification of farming enterprises and the requirement of more highly skilled workers and partly due to government intervention in the labour market (Levy, 1977).

In addition to cash wages, we also need to consider the change in the real value of payments in kind over a period of time. Table 3.9 shows that the real value of kind payments increased by 30% between 1957 and 1976 or 1,4% per annum, but that these declined between 1957 and 1965 and then grew at a relatively rapid pace (4,5% per annum) from 1965 to 1976. Payments in kind decreased for Whites throughout the period as a whole and certainly from about 1959 onwards.

Table 3.9 : Value of rations and payments in kind to regular farm employees at constant 1975 prices, selected years 1957 to 1976.

Year	Whites	Coloure	eds	Asians	Blacks	TOTAL
1957 R	(291)		(109)		(70)	(77)
R + D	291		96		65	72
1959 R	(324)		(98)		(75)	(81)
R + D	323		87		70	75
1965 R	219	72	74	111	58	62
R + D	219		65		54	58
1973 R	174	109	89	100	85	90
R + D						
1976 R	179	115	115	133	97	101
R + D	(179)		(110)		(64)	96
Annual Grow	th (%)					
<u>1957 - 76</u>	-2,5	••	0,3		1,7	1,4
1957 - 65	-3,5	••	-4,7		-2,3	-2,7
1965 - 76	-1,8	. 4,4	·1,7	1,7	4,8	4,5
Ratio			· ·			
<u>1976</u> 1957	0,6	••	1,1	••	1,4	1,3

Source: Agricultural Censuses, various years, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

<u>Notes</u>: R = Regular workers. R + D = Regular + Domestic workers. () = estimated values. food CPI used as deflator. The net effect taking into account both cash and payments in kind is that the latter tend to reduce the overall annual growth rate which, however, remains positive for the period as a whole as shown in table 3.10.

Table 3.10 : Real value of cash wages and payments in kind to regular labour at constant 1975 prices, selected years 1957 to 1976 (in R per annum)							
Year	Whites	Col	C + A	Asians	Blacks	TOTAL	
1957	(2 241)		(380)	••	(198)	(248)	
1969	3 070	416	427	680	229	304	
1976	3 787	536	562	1 329	343	447	
Annual Growt	<u>ch</u> (%)					1	
1957 - 76	(2,8)		(2,1)	••	(2,9)	(3,2)	
1957 - 69	(2,7)	••	(1,0)	••	(1,2)	(1,7)	
1969 - 76	3,0	3,7	4,0	10,1	5,9	5,7	
Ratios							
1976 1957	(1,69)		(1,48)		(1,73)	(1,80)	

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Source: Calculated from tables 3.7 and 3.9.

Notes: () = estimated values.
In the period 1957 to 1976 the real value of cash wages and payments in kind rose by 80% or 3,2% per annum. This compares with a rise of 102% over the whole period or 3,8% per annum if cash wages alone are used. Since the real value of payments in kind fell for Whites over the period by 2,5% per annum, superficially it might have appeared that the effect would be substantial. Payments in kind to White farm workers are a relatively small proportion of their total cash and kind earnings and the effect therefore is to bring the real total growth rate down from 1,85% to 1,69% per annum.

We now turn to an examination of wages between the various sectors of the national economy.

3.2.5 Inter-sectoral comparison

Traditionally agriculture has been regarded as a sector which pays low wages in the South African economy. Such comparisons are usually made on the basis of gross cash wages and salaries including overtime payments, allowances and bonuses. Payments in kind, which are commonly an important part of the total earnings by workers in agriculture, are not included.

The Chamber of Mines have for several years made estimates of the cost per man of providing accommodation, food and other benefits, including medical and recreational facilities. In 1976, for example, most underground workers received R92 in cash while the cost of other benefits was estimated at R40 per man or 29% of total earnings (Horrell <u>et al</u>, 1977). As was indicated earlier in this chapter "payments in kind" formed a similar proportion (i.e. 28%) of the total of cash wages plus payments in kind to Black farm workers. The latter, however,did not include non-pecuniary items such as housing, cropping and grazing rights. The task of reconciling official statistics to enable a meaningful comparison between sectors falls outside of the scope of the present study. The comparison between the cash wages paid in several sectors in the national economy, as given in table 3.11, will therefore have to suffice.

	AGRICULT	AGRICULTURE		MINING		MANUFACTURING		GOVERNMENT		CONSTRUCTION	
Year	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	
1950	1 131	(118)	4 329	300	2 831	674		••	3 076	593	
1957	1 950	129	4 523	292	3 765 .	672			3 583	632	
1960	(2.200)	(135)	4 757	305	4 015	710	3 286	746	3 848	648	
1970	(2 790)	(160)	6 861	325	5 256	981	5 130	889	6 008	923	
1976 .	3 608	246	7 592	964	6 437	1 324	(3 700)	(958)	(6 172)	(1 287)	
Annual grow	/th (%)										
1957 - 76	з,з	3,5	2,8	6,5	2,9	3,6	(0,4)	(1,6)	2,8	3,9	
1957 - 70	2,8	1,7	3,3	0,8	2,6	3,0	4,6	1,8	4,6	3,6	
1970 - 76	4,4	7,4	1,7	19,9	3,4	5,1	-5,3	1,3	0,5	5,7	
Inter-secto	oral wage r	atios									
1957	1:1	1:1	1:2,3	1:2,3	1:1,9	1:5,3	••	••	1:1,8	1:4,9	
1976	1:1	1:1	1:2,1	1:3,9	1:1,8	1:5,4	1:1,0	1:3,9	1:1,7	1:5,2	

Table 3.11: Inter-sectoral comparison of average real cash wages for selected years 1950 to 1976, at constant 1975 prices (Rand per annum)

Source: Statistical year books, 1966 and 1970; South African Statistics, 1980; Agricultural Censuses; Griffiths H R & R A Jones (1980) and Nattrass (1981).

Notes: () = estimates.

A comparison of average cash wages between sectors shows that the earnings of workers in the non-agricultural sectors range from about double to five times those in agriculture. It is interesting to note that the ratios between Blacks and Whites in Agriculture and Mining are of about the same order of magnitude. The same may be said for the relative earnings of Whites in agriculture compared to all the other sectors recorded, viz., Mining, Manufacturing, Government and Construction. There is, however, a marked difference in the ratio of Black workers' earnings in Agriculture compared to Manufacturing, Construction and to a lesser extent Government and that of Agriculture compared to Mining. The explanation lies chiefly in the type of work and level of skill required of workers in Agriculture and Mining compared to those in Manufacturing and Construction. The difference may also be accounted for by the proportion on non-cash benefits in Agriculture and Mining compared to other sectors in the national economy.

The widening of the ratio of earnings between Black workers in Agriculture and Mining from 1:2,3 in 1957 to 1:3,9 in 1976 is due to the rapid increase in cash wages on mines in the early 1970's, i.e. 19,9% per annum in real terms between 1970 and 1976. These rapid increases, as discussed earlier, were in response to labour unrest and a change in recruitment policies. In 1975, for example, the mines began the year with a labour shortage with some mines operating with as little as 63% of their complement (Horrell <u>et al</u>, 1976). The more rapid rise in real wages in the period 1970 to 1976 compared to the period 1957 to 1970 was not peculiar to the Mining sector as seen in the annual growth rates in table 3.11. The only exception is that of Whites in Government Service whose real wages are estimated by McGrath (1977) to have declined.

In conclusion, it should be noted that although agricultural workers' earnings in cash terms are substantially less than those in other sectors of the South African economy, the increases over the period 1957 to 1976 of 3,5% per annum is not significantly different from that in Manufacturing (3,6%) and a little lower than that in the Construction industry (3,9%). The increase in real cash earnings in

the mines of 6,5% is, therefore, something of a special case.

We will now turn away from the macro-view of the agricultural economy to a micro-view of farm labour, wages and working conditions in the Albany magisterial district in the Eastern Cape. This part will form the major focus of our study. Chapter 4 deals with farming in the Albany district and the employment of workers; Chapter 5 consists of a detailed examination of the components and levels of average farm wages in Albany; Chapter 6 considers general working conditions other than earnings in Albany; and Chapter 7 examines the changes in Albany from 1957 to 1977.

Region	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	TOTAL % each region
WRA	31,3	75,6	0,4	6,3	24,2
Karoo	2,8	14,6	0,0	1,6	4,2
E Cape	4,8	1,1	0,1	5,7	4,6
N Cape/OFS	5,8	7,3	() ¹	11,2	9,1
Highveld	17,2	0,3	0,8	27,9	20,1
Tvl	18,2	0,4	0,5	23,1	17,6
Natal	19,9	0,7	98,2	24,2	20,2
SOUTH AFRICA	100	100	100	100	100
% each race					
1957	14,7	(18,0) ²	(1,3)	66,0	100
1965	18,6	18,2	1,5	61,7	100
1973	. 21,9	18,1	1,5	58,6	100
1976	21,2	18,1	1,7	59,0	100

Appendix Table 3.1 : Distribution of the regular farm labour cash wage bill in South Africa by Agricultural region, 1973 (%)

Source: Agricultural censuses 1973 and various years, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

Notes: 1. () = less than 0,05%.

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2. estimate based on distribution between Coloureds and Asians in 1961 applied to 1957 figures.

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Year	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	TOTAL	CPI 1975 = 100
1950	389		- 45-		51	34,4
53	592	90) -	48	60	41,6
55	682	110) -	55	69	43,6
57	893	124	1 -	59	78	45,8
59	1 036		4 -	63	87	48,0
1963	1 311	152	190	72	98	50,9
65	1 306	154	241	77	107	54,1
69	1 728	199 [209	5] 339	94	137	60,6
1971	2 332	245	417	119	175	67,7
73	3 016	304	637	152	219	78,9
76	4 008	468 [496	6]1 329	274	383	111,1

Appendix table 3.2 : Average cash wages paid to regular farm labour in South Africa, selected years 1950 to 1976 (in R per annum)

Source: Agricultural Censuses, various years, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria; Union Statistics 1910 - 1960.

Notes: Figures bracketed are the average for Coloureds and Asians.

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CHAPTER 4: FARM LABOUR IN ALBANY, 1977

The Albany district in the Eastern Cape was selected for a more intensive examination of labour and wage conditions at the farm level. The situation of the district in relation to major towns is indicated on the accompanying map (Figure 4.1).

Albany, apart from its easy accessibility, has several advantages as a study area. It is not only one of the oldest established farming districts in the country which means that official statistics are available over a relatively long period, but it is also one of the most diverse, representing both a variety of vegetations, topography and climate, and a broad spectrum of farming enterprises. A further important consideration in the choice of Albany was the fact that a survey of farm labour had been conducted two decades earlier, and would therefore allow a study over a period of time. This latter topic will be taken up in some detail in the next chapter. The present chapter focuses on conditions as found in the Albany district during 1976/77.

4.1 Brief geographical sketch

The Albany district straddles the S 15 (sheep grazing) and H3 (coastal) agro-economic regions and can thus be divided into two areas on geographic grounds.

Upper Albany which is bounded by the Great Fish River in the east and north east is relatively dry and has natural vegetation ranging from a near-typical Karoo-type in the Riebeeck-East and Carlisle Bridge areas, to the bushveld vegetation interspersed with grass in the vicinity of Fort Brown and Committees Drift. Lower Albany, on the other hand, has a higher rainfall and consists of open grasslands in the Highlands to mixed grassland and coastal bush, with some river valleys and other areas completely bushed.

Agricultural economic activity corresponds fairly closely to the geographical division between Upper Albany and Lower Albany as will be illustrated in subsequent discussion.



Figure 4.1 The Albany district in relation to the major centres and the Ciskei and Transkei.

4.2 Sample Survey

Table 4.1:

A survey was conducted of over 80 farmers in the Albany district. This consisted of firstly, a 20% random sample stratified according to geographical area of full-time farmers; secondly, farmers or their sons who were interviewed in the '1957 survey; and finally members of a local farmers' study group. The methodology behind the drawing of the sample and associated problems are discussed in Appendix 1. In the present chapter we will be largely confined to a consideration of the results of the random sample.

For purpose of analysis Albany was divided into the two major regions as outlined above, namely Upper and Lower Albany. Each of these were again subdivided geographically into two and three sub-regions respectively. The five sub-regions comprising the Albany district were identified as:

sub-region	1	:	Manley Flats - Fraser's Camp	ζ		
	2	:	Salem	{	Lower	Albany
	3	:	Seven Fountains - Sidbury	5		
4		:	Alicedale - Carlisle Bridge	3	Unner	Albany
	5	:	Fort Brown - Committees Drift	5	-Phor	

The boundaries of the sub-regions together with place names are shown in figure 4.2

4.3 The agricultural economy of the Albany district

The Agricultural Census shows Albany to have some 358 farm holdings having an average size of 1 275 ha. The distribution of farm sizes according to the Census for 1976 shows the following situation:

1976 Area group (ha) Av. size (ha) No. holdings Area 0 - 49,9 16 263 16 50 - 299 74 13 124 177 300 - 999136 82 851 607 1 000 - 4999 123 247 023 2 008 5 000 + 113 170 9 12 574 TOTAL 1 275 358 456 330

Distribution of farming units by size, Albany district,

Source: Agricultural Census 1976



Figure 4.2 The Albany Magisterial District

Variations in the sizes of properties in various parts of the district were shown up by the sample survey. The average size of Lower Albany farms of 880 ha is in marked contrast with that of Upper Albany farms which exceeded 2 000 ha as illustrated in the bar graph below:



Figure 4.3 Sizes of farms in Albany, by sub-region

Notes: S|F = Saven Fountains R-East = Riebeeck East C|Bridge = Carlisle Bridge Source: Sample Survey

As is indicated in the figure, in terms of surface area, Albany farms are clearly devoted largely to veld grazing. Evidence from the 1975 Agricultural Census shows that 83% of the total value of farm products sold was derived from livestock sales (cattle - 28%; sheep and goats - 20%; other - 2%) and livestock products (milk and cream - 25%; wool, mohair and other - 25%). Albany is thus chiefly a livestock farming area. Nevertheless, a fairly clear distinction between the two main areas of Upper and Lower Albany is still evident: the farming of Lower Albany tends to be 'mainly dryland crop', or 'mixed crop and livestock' farming, with only one-third which could be regarded as 'mainly livestock'. On the other hand, 80% of the farms sampled in Upper Albany could be described as being devoted mainly to livestock farming, the remainder being 'mixed livestock with irrigated cropland'. The following table showing land use illustrates this point.

land use	Lower Albany	Upper Albany	Albany
cultivated dryland	60	6	39 2
irrigated land	4	12	7
trees & orchards veld grazing	1 799	4 2 003	2 1 255
farmstead & waste	9	8	9
TOTAL	882	2 032	1 315

Table 4.2 : Average land use (ha), Albany district 1976/77.

Source: Sample Survey

Relatively speaking, Lower Albany farms generally have a fairly substantial area of cropland (68 ha or nearly 7% of their surface area), a small portion of which 4 ha is irrigated. Upper Albany farms have 1% of their total size as cropland, the greater majority of which is irrigated (82%) usually by pumping by riparian owners from the Great Fish River. The cultivated dryland of Lower Albany is used mainly for pineapples, chicory, birdseed and other cash crops, with forage crops for livestock occupying roughly one-third of the total. On the other hand, the irrigated crop lands of Upper Albany are used chiefly in the production of pastures and forage for livestock (62%) with small citrus orchards (4 ha) and cash crops (3 ha) sharing the remainder. This situation is shown schematically in-figure 4.4.

Fig 4.4 Schematic representation of the distribution of cash crop and forage crop enterprises in the Albany district

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The distribution and importance of the various livestock enterprises further shows the diversity between the various areas of Albany. As shown in the table 4.3, dairy cattle as a commercial enterprise are restricted mainly to the better-watered Lower Albany, whereas, as to be expected smallstock (i.e. sheep and goats) are to be found mainly in Upper Albany.

Table 4.3:	Distribution of employer livestock in A	lbany,
	by sub-region (% of total L.S.U. *)	

	Lower Albany				Upper Albany			
livestock type	Manley	Selem	S/F	Total	Alice-	Ft.Br.	Total	ALBANY
daimy cattle	50	٦R	21	22	3	6	5	14
haaf asttle	10	±0	24	77	24	70	26	70
beel Calle	19)T	20	22	24	20	20	30
woolled sheep	14	8	38	27	48	6	31	29
mutton sheep	• 8	14	Ĺ	8	7	22	13	10
angora goats	0	8	6	6	12	29	19	12
boer goats	8	l	3	3	5	6	5	4
other gr. livestock	0	** n	l	1	l	n	l	l
non-gr. livestock	l	n	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: sample survey

Large stock unit (L.S.U. = 1 mature bovine or equine, 2 heifers or steers 1-2 years, 3 calves less than 1 year, 6 mature sheep or 9 weaned lambs. Not n = negligible. From table 4.3 it can be seen that woolled sheep (mostly Merinos) are important in the Seven Fountains - Sidbury area of Lower Albany and the adjacent Upper Albany area of Alicedale - Carlisle Bridge. Goats form a very important component (one-third) in the bushveld area of Fort Brown and Committees Drift particularly because of their ability to browse vegetation over a wide vertical range. Beef cattle are found throughout the district.

A schematic representation of the distribution of livestock is contained in figure 4.5.

Fig 4.5 Schematic representation of the distribution of livestock enterprises in the Albany district



Agricultural Census data (1976) confirms the relative importance of the various livestock enterprises, expressed as a percentage of total L.S.U's as shown below:

Livestock	Sample	Census 76
cattle	44	46
woolled sheep	29.	25
mutton sheep	10	11
goats	16	16
piga fowls	0	1
other (equines)	l	1
TOTAL	100	100

Source: table 4.3; 1975 Agric. Census

4.4 The farm population

The 1980 Population Census recorded the total population of South Africa at just under 25 million of which 11,7m (47,1%) were rural. If the Homelands are excluded, however, only 4,6m of a total 18 m or 33 % of the population would be classified as rural. The district of Albany which is entirely a 'white area' is thus not untypical in having 33% of its nearly 80 000 population in 1980 described as rural.

Albany is also not peculiar in having Blacks make up 88% of the rural population, with the remainder made up by Whites (9%) and Coloureds (2%). (The 1980 Census recorded no Asians living in rural Albany). Rural Blacks were also recorded as 99,98% Xhosa, presumably with no distinction between Fingo and 'other' Xhosa being recognized.

While the rural population gives a fairly accurate indication of the farm population, the rural population in any area includes a proportion of non-farmers especially traders, policemen, railway officials, Divisional Council and National Roads Department employees, and town-employed workers and retired people living on small holdings outside the urban (municipal) area.

Since farmers in the Albany district almost without exception rely on regular labourers to perform the main bulk of day-to-day farm work this necessitates the housing of their families. Farmers generally define a family as a group of related persons usually with a working adult male as the head (but also sometimes with a male youth or widow of a long serving labourer as head), who live together in the same quarters.

On average each farm has 9 Black and Coloured families apart from that of the owner and/or manager. The larger more extensive Upper Albany farms have on average about 2 families fewer per farm than the smaller more intensive Lower Albany farms, that is 7,8 vs 9,7 families. The estimated coloured population is less than 2% of the total employee population (Sample Survey).

The average population per farm, excluding that of the owner-operator and White manager if any, for Albany was 63,2 persons or 7,3 persons per

'family'. Information from a census conducted by the East Cape Administration Board (E.C.A.B.) during 1975/76, however, places the average number of Black families for the survey farms at 12,4 which is nearly 40% higher than that quoted above. (The E.C.A.B. census did not take account of Coloured persons). On this basis average family size would be 5,1 persons. The discrepancy is due, however, to the adoption of different definitions of a 'family'. The latter survey for example classed an unmarried woman with children as a separate family whether she lived with her parents or not. In the sense that the farmer defines a family the case cited would not be regarded as a separate family unless they lived in distinctly separate quarters. A comparison can be made on the two definitions:

<u>Table 4.4</u> Average Black farm population and family size in the Albany district

Average per farm	ECAB defn family	Extended family
Population No. families No. persons per family	6j 12,4 5,1	3,2 <u> </u>
% families female as head	27,4	n/a

Source: ECAB Survey; sample survey

An indication of the narrow definition is given by the large number of families (27%) who have a female as head.

The average composition of the Black farm population shows a larger number of females than males in both the less than 15 years age group and the 15 to 64 years group. The predominance is particularly marked in the latter group where the ratio of male to female is 1 : 1,5 on the survey farms. There were fewer males than females though in the pensioner group. This point is illustrated in figure 4.6.



This finding is similar to that of Truu (1971) in a study of the 1960 Population Census for an eight magisterial district sub-region with Albany as centre. In a comparison of national and sub-regional population pyramids it was clearly evident that while females in the sub-region showed a close resemblance to national trends, there was a rather pronounced lack of males in the working ages. The suggested reason for the difference between the eastern and the western and more northerly parts was that the former had been longer settled than the Another reason, however, could be the greater abundance of latter. labour because of its proximity to the Ciskei. With a relative abundance of labour farmers can more readily afford to have young men leave for the mines. A given amount of labour would then tend to be drawn from a larger number of families than perhaps is the case elsewhere.

The dependency ratios as shown in table 4.5 however, do not comply as closely to Truu's findings.

Table 4.5: Black dependency ratios (%), Albany District

Dependency ratio	%		
0-14 yrs plus pensioners/ 15-64	144,0		
0-14 yrs / 15-64	133,6		
pensioners / 15-64	10,4		

Source: ECAB census data applied to Sample Survey

In both the case of '0-14 years' and '0-14 and pensioners' as percentage of working age, the ratios are somewhat higher, viz 134% vs 102, and 144% vs 111, respectively.

The reason for the higher dependency could well be explained by the difference between the farm population and the urban population. The former includes families of some workers who commute daily or weekly to town, or the families of workers on local non-farm projects (e.g. the Albany Divisional Council, National Roads, construction of a new bridge across the Fish River at Fort Brown, and the S.A. Railways) as well as a limited number of contract workers such as shearers and fencers, and the families of young men at the mines. It is also not uncommon for children from the towns to be placed in the care of grandparents or other relatives on farms either for the purpose of schooling only or on a permanent basis.

The farm population then, is made up of families of farm workers and migrant workers. In addition some farms also have a number of squatters living on the property whose right to squat is conditional on the provision of casual labour as and when required. In one case, of a total of 23 families, 5 families earned their entire keep by chopping and selling wood from a heavily bushed farm. In exchange for their right to live on the farm the farmer was paid R3 per load of wood sold and simultaneously had his farm cleared of unwanted bush.

It should be mentioned that when the question of 'the number of families who live on the farm' was put, many farmers had to be further probed to include families of migrant workers and the families of non-regular farm workers.

On the question of whether there had been a change in the farm population over the previous five years, nearly two-thirds (64%) of farmers surveyed replied in the affirmative. Equal numbers claimed that there had been an increase as claimed a decrease. The expected population trend over the five year period 1976/77 to 1981/82 was that two-thirds claimed it would remain at 1976/77 levels while equal numbers expected increases as expected decreases. Over the decade 1971/72 to 1981/82, therefore, farmers expect the black farm population to remain constant.

The reasons given for the changes in farm population included either a growing farm business or an expected decrease in farming operations in preparation for retirement, or an increase due to the natural growth of the population. One farmer implied that the increases were due partly to an increasing number of unmarried mothers, and partly due to town children being 'sneaked' out to the farms.

A claimed decrease in the use of birth control pills was also blamed for population increases especially since about 1975. Another farmer stated that the decrease on his farm was that he now had fewer squatters than previously and in addition he had adopted the policy that he would no longer be replacing any labourer who left his employ. The latter point was also made by several other farmers. Several farmers claimed that a switch to less labour intensive farming enterprises and therefore a decrease in their labour requirements had brought about a decrease in the farm population, or was expected to be doing so in the near future.

Those who estimated that the size of the population would be static in the near future maintained that the biggest growth had occurred over the last ten years, but that it had remained virtually unchanged in the past five years. The leveling off in the population growth was attributed to the effects of birth control methods and the control which the farmer would exercise on the number living on the farm. Another reason advanced for an expected static situation was that the young men and unmarried girls were now being attracted to the town and mines by higher wages.

4.5 Nature and composition of the labour force

As we observed earlier the Agricultural Census distinguishes between regular, casual and domestic employees. The 1976 Census lists the total for these three groups for Albany as 6 205 of which 87% are blacks with regular farm employees constituting 47%, casual labour 44% and domestics 9%. Each of these categories of labour will be discussed in turn.

(a) Regular labour

The first distinction which needs to be made is that of full-time and part-time regular workers. The part-time employee although paid on a regular (usually monthly) basis, nevertheless, works only for a portion of each day.

In general, it can be said of regular labour that most (91%) is provided by males of whom about 15% are young men (kwedin). Women play a relatively small role in farm work as regular full-time employees and are usually to be found in the role of part-time dairymaid.

The sample survey for farms in Albany revealed the following pattern within the district for full-time employees:

Table 4.6: Regular full-time Black and Coloured farm labourers in the Albany district - average per farm, 1977

Category	Lower Albany Manley Salem S/F		Upper Al Alicedale	bany Ft Brown	ALBANY	
Adults - male - female Youths - male - female	4,4 1,1 1,4 0	7,6 1,1 1,3 0,3	12,2 0,0 1,0 0,3	7,8 0,3 1,1 0,6	7,4 0,5 2,5 0,0	8,2 0,6 1,4 0,2
TOTAL REGULAR	7,0	10,3	13,7	9,8	10,4	10,5

Source: Sample survey

The average of 10,5 per farm is somewhat higher than the 1976 Census figure of 8,1 although some of this discrepancy would be accounted for by excluding small peri-urban properties.

It will be noticed from the table that there is little difference in the number of regular full-time labourers employed per farm in the various farming areas with the exception of the Seven Fountains - Sidbury area (region 3) where at least 30% more labour per farm is employed than elsewhere. The larger labour employment is chiefly due to the high labour requirements of dairy cattle and the fact that the area of cultivated land (on average 90 ha/farm) is much greater than elsewhere, namely 50% more than the Salem area and three times that of the Manley Flats area. Furthermore the number of livestock per farm is between 2 1/2 to 3 times that of the remainder of Lower Albany, although roughly comparable to most of Upper Albany. (The question of labour utilization will be taken up again at a later stage.)

Coloured regular labourers constitute a very small proportion of the labour force - less than 2% in Lower Albany and about 6% in Upper Albany or 3,4% for the district. (The latter figure is a little lower than that of the Agricultural Census which puts the figure at 4.4% for 1976.) It appears that what regular labour there is had mostly been brought in by farmers shifting from districts where Coloured labour forms a more important part of the total labour force than in Albany. Of all the farmers interviewed (81 in total) six out of seven who employed Coloureds in any number had brought them from elsewhere (e.g. Somerset East, Jansenville, Colesberg). The only farm not in that category had had several families of Coloureds living on it for a least three Another farmer of a family long established in the generations. district recalled that his father had employed one hottentot family for many years up to about the early fifties. Any suggestion of a change in the proportion of Coloured workers, however, did not feature prominently in the interviews.

Farmers were asked to classify their regular labourers between two groups: unskilled, and semi-skilled and skilled. The latter group was defined as including milkers, stockmen in positions of responsibility, stationary machine operators, tractor and truck drivers, shearers and wool classers, inseminators, welders and mechanics, and on average made up 4 out of 10,5 full-time workers, or 38%.

Many examples of the skills of particular workers were given. Two farmers remarked on the excellent memories of their respective stockmen who knew all the stock individually; one stockman could name each of 209 cows as well as the dam and sire of each. Other stockmen have been trained to innoculate, to do A.I., keep stock records of individual camps, and diagnose cattle disease. Various

examples of skills acquired in the mechanical field were given including that of a man stripping an engine, grinding valves and re-assembling accurately after watching the process only once before. Skills in masonry, building, glazing, painting, fencing, leatherwork and shoeing of horses were also mentioned although this field is one in which Coloureds are rather more apt than Blacks. On the other hand farmers who have both Blacks and Coloureds agree that Blacks "have a better eye for livestock."

On the matter of the skills of his labour a farmer who had recently employed two kwediens who had never worked before said "I now see for the first time how much the others know."

The great majority of farmers (87%) designate their men to specific jobs although many claim that it is particularly difficult to do so in farming and that when the need arises, any worker can be called upon to undertake group tasks. Particular tasks which are most often specifically designated are the skilled tasks mentioned above such as tractor and truck driving, shepherding and cattle herding, building and fencing and tasks which require particular skills such as milking and shearing. On the only farm in the random sample on which citrus was both produced and packed on any scale tasks were quite easily divided between pickers, graders, sorters, stampers and packers.

Certain tasks are made the sole responsibility of individual labourers (for example crop spraying, fence patrolling, operating the milking parlour) or labourers are put in charge of particular enterprises or operations (e.g. vegetables, stud beef cattle, lambing). A few farmers said that they would like to have their workers designated to particular tasks but for various reasons have not been able to do so. One of the reasons is the size of the labour force employed - the larger the number of workers the greater the possibilities for specialization.

On smaller mixed crop and dairy farms the more typical situation is that all staff milk first thing in the morning and attend to the cattle (preparation of cowfood, dipping, etc.). After breakfast the crops and other general farm tasks are attended to with milking taking place as the last task of the day. It is during the period between

morning and evening milking that a certain amount of specialization is possible.

On the predominantly livestock farms morning and evening milking is generally only for the consumption of the farmer and the farm staff and their families and therefore takes place on very small scale. The task, however, is variously performed and may involve anything from the entire staff to a small proportion of the staff. In the former case it is used as much as a device for "getting them going in the morning" as completing the task expeditously and making sure that everyone is equally treated. Typical team tasks on livestock farms include the collecting of stock for dipping, innoculation, counting, branding, shifting from one camp to another, culling, shearing and sorting for sale and so on. Once the stock have been collected the men who have some particular knowledge or ability are able to exercise their skills.

Shift work, except over weekends, is not common. The only farmer in the sample delivering fresh milk door-to-door to retail outlets and institutions in Grahamstown employed a system whereby the staff were divided into two teams, each team having a week on milking while the other staff attended to pasture production and other farm tasks with two days off over the weekend. In the following week the roles were reversed.

Just over half (58%) of farmers said that they had experienced a change in the number of regular labourers over the previous five years - 88% experiencing a decrease in regular staff. This decrease contrasts with our earlier finding that farmer opinion held that the farm population had remained constant and seems to point to a higher level of unemployment. It will be argued later that more children are attending school than previously which may account for the discrepancy.

Among the reasons advanced for a decreased labour force were: the abandoning of labour intensive enterprises (pineapples, vegetables, dairy cattle), that labour was now more efficient through the use of sheep dogs and smaller camps, that the farm was now more developed and

therefore required less, that because of financial stringency or the need to raise wages a policy of non-replacement had been adopted, and simply the lack of labour available especially the younger men. Not one farmer advanced "low wages" as a factor although when comment was called for on a statement alleging that labour is being lost to the towns for this very reason, many agreed although they often added that the facilities available in the towns and the "bright lights" were more important.

The extent of these changes in employment will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Only 21% of all farmers complained of having too few labourers, while 13% said they had too many. Further analysis shows that among those who complained of having "too few" labourers, available housing was given as the limiting factor on two farms, on a further three farms "too few" included a deliberate policy to cater for less than maximum requirement and an inability to afford more. (Among the seven who had "too many" labourers, three employed extra staff mainly to meet peak-work periods.) If these are subtracted from those claiming too few labourers only 11% are willing but not able to employ sufficient regular labour. Thus, despite the overall decrease in regular staff, between 79% and 89% had sufficient or too much labour. Nevertheless. overall 34% of farmers said that labour was not easy to obtain. Although they presently had sufficient, finding good replacements had become rather more difficult than in the past.

Several farmers who presently have sufficient labour were clearly concerned about the near future. Comments included: ".. but I've got too many old boys born and bred on the place. Four are getting (Government) pensions and are still being paid (by me)" and "we sit with the old boys; the young crowd all go off."

Estimates as to how long this situation of shortage had lasted varied from 1-2 years to 7-8 years. A farmer said for example that "5-6 years ago one had men coming every week. Now you won't see anyone in 3-4 months." Another said that the labour supply had deteriorated particularly since many farmers stopped pineapple production in the late sixties. A typical feature of complaints about shortage is that in every area farmers can be found who claim either that there is an

abundance of labour or that they would have no difficulty in filling a vacancy. It is claimed that work seekers often do not ask because they know that no vacancy exists or they are not willing to perform the type of work which will be required of them or because of conditions of service. One farmer held that although he had no difficulty there are "often agitators on farms which keeps new labour from coming in." Many farmers remarked on how quickly the "bush telegraph" operates when a vacancy does occur and a Riebeeck-East farmer (region 4) claimed: "I never have a vacancy for longer than half a day. They storm me if a man leaves. Men are brought to me ..."

Significantly the two areas furthest from Grahamstown (Seven Fountains and Carlisle Bridge) found less difficulty in finding labour than the other areas, viz 18% found labour difficult to obtain compared to 45% in the other three areas of the district. An irrigation farmer who paid by far the highest wage in the Committees Drift area (of region 5) for example said: "(We have difficulty in obtaining labour) because there is a lot of handwork in furrows - they do not like that type of work. (Also) they are not allowed stock." A Seven Fountains dairy farmer exclaimed "Milk! I would have enough (labour) if I didn't " Three further factors making the labour position difficult are that not every farmer will take their neighbours' labour (although this rule is by no means universal) and that because the existing families on some farms are such a closely knit group, social pressure prevents new labourers from integrating easily, and that because the better workers do not circulate it is usually a matter of "putting in someone else's discards."

One farmer drawn in the random sample employed prison labour to meet his shortage and had a standing arrangement with the Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort gaols for a regular supply. The arrangement was far from ideal though because the only prisoners allowed out were serving short terms (3-4 months and less) mostly for petty theft, resulting in a perpetual turnover. One other farmer also employed prison labour but to supplement casual labour supplies. The latter, though, had recently had an altercation with the prison authorities about a complaint by a prisoner regarding his alleged maltreatment by the farmer and the farmer had thus stopped drawing prison labour. The nature of the complaint was not established from the farmer but the interview revealed a very prickly nature.

In viewing the five years ahead most farmers (66%) estimated their probable future requirements of labour as being the same as present needs. Six out of a total of seven who thought they would require less labour were Lower Albany farmers most of whom were shifting from annual cash crops to perennial pastures. Although three out of the four farmers who said they would need more labour in five years time were Upper Albany farmers, this result is not significant. Several farmers in the area said, however, that if Orange River irrigation water became available they would need to increase their staff complement to cope adequately.

Part-time regular labour makes up a very small proportion of the total and averaged less than one person per farm (0,8) except in the important dairy area of Seven Fountains where 1,7 part-timers were employed. Nevertheless this still constituted only 11% of the total regular labour.

Part-time regular farm labour can be divided into two distinct classes: the part-timer who works a total of no more than 2 to 3 hours daily over a seven day week, and the full-time regular worker whose time is divided between 'farm' and 'non-farm' (i.e. domestic) duties. The former category may include piccanien herdboys who work after school in the afternoons but more typically women employed as The task of the latter is generally to wash and otherwise dairymaids. clean the cowshed or milking parlour, the bulk tank or buckets and the cream separator. Sometimes she will also be required to undertake the operation of the separator, and usually the churning of cream for butter and its pounding if any. The following were among the examples of full-time workers engaged part-time on farm tasks: a dairymaid-cum-household domestic servant, domestic gardener who works 10% on farm duties, a male who "keeps an eye on the dairy and washes out the bulk tank and spends the rest of the time in the (domestic) garden", men who milk morning and evening and for the rest are gardeners.

(b) Casual labour

Seventy-five per cent of the farmers interviewed employed casual labour for various purposes. In the Lower Albany area casual labour is generally employed for tasks connected with the planting, weeding and harvesting of crops and stubbing of weeds (e.g. renoster) and bush. In Upper Albany on the other hand, the most usual tasks are veld noxious weed eradication (espcially jointed cactus) and work connected with the shearing and classing of wool and mohair. On farms with irrigated lands (citrus, lucerne, vegetables) in Upper Albany casual labour is also used for that purpose.

In many cases the jointed cactus gangs in fact work for months on end, and sometimes for a full year or more. They are nevertheless not regarded by the farmers as being 'regular labour', since their payment is based on a piece-rate and is not on a regular monthly or weekly basis regardless of the number of days worked.

Except for two Salem farmers (region 2) who drew casual labour entirely from neighbouring farms, the chief source is the farm itself (67%). In some cases casual labour is drawn from both the farm and neighbour's farms and/or other sources such as the Ciskei (Tyefu area), and the Grahamstown and Riebeeck-East black townships. Invariably this applies only to farms in the very near vicinity, that is within easy walking In the Committees Drift area (region 5) when the Fish River distance. is down, farmers do without casual labour rather than fetch workers by road from the opposite bank. In many instances it is not a case of unwillingness on the part of the farmer but simply its impracticability because of the existence of very rudimentary tracks or complete inaccessability by vehicle. In contrast a Manley Flats farmer had found it necessary to transport casual labour back and forth daily from his Trappes Valley farm across the district boundary in Bathurst in order to meet his needs at certain times of the year.

Some evidence was found of farmers who had employed temporary migrants apart from shearers at some time in the past, but only one had done so over the past twelve months. An Alicedale farmer had fetched labour from Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei (a distance of 150 km) some 18 months previously. A Fort Brown farmer said that he "used to employ a gang from the Ciskei for cactus (eradication) but have not been available

over the last five years." It is still quite common to employ shearers from beyond the district e.g. Somerset East, Pearston, but shearing is completed within a week to three weeks depending on the size of the gang and the number of sheep and/or goats involved. In any event shearers are mostly itinerant and move from farm to farm by bicycle although in some cases they will be fetched from another farm in the district. Where shearers are fetched some distance e.g. those from Pearston which is 200 km from Grahamstown, this is usually because the Albany farmer has some special connection such as a relative in the other district.

The average number of casual labourers employed during the year per farm for all farms in the random sample amounted to 6,9, or the fulltime (5 day week) equivalent of $6,^3$ persons of whom 90% were female. The number of casual labourers employed per farm in the five areas of Albany is contained in table 4.7. Although the Seven Fountains area (region 3) employs the largest number per farm - about twice that of any other area - the figure is about average for Lower Albany on the basis of farm size.

	ALBANY]	Lower Albany			Upper Albany	
	DISTRICT	1	2	3	4	5	
Average casuals/month	6,9	5,5	5,6	10,9	5,8	6,0	
Average days worked/month	19,3	14,8	20,3	20,1	20,3	18,2	
Full-time equivalents [*]	6,3	3,9	5,4	10,4	5,5	5,1	
F-t e/1000 ha farm	4,8	11,5	6,8	0,3	2,2	3,3	
Days worked as $\%$ possible	91	70	96	95	96	63	
% irregular casual labour	38	31	42	47	24	37	

Table 4.7 Average casual labour, days work and full-time equivalent

Notes: * full-time equivalent = no casuals x av. days worked possible days

Source: Sample survey, table 4.8 and appendix table 4.9.

Very few farmers keep easily accessible records on the number of days actually worked by casual labour, so that where this information was not readily available it was assumed that a five day week applied to the average number of workers in each month. Since the numbers of casual

workers drop during wet weather and as some farmers do not employ any workers when it is raining the 'percentage of days worked' as contained in table 4.7 is very likely to be somewhat of an overestimate. One said that some women never worked on a Monday while others would not work a half day on Saturday despite being offered a normal day's wage.

No clear seasonal pattern is evident for the district as a whole as is shown in the table below, and represented graphically in figure 4.7.

	ALBANY	ALBANY Lower Albany		ny	Upper	Albany	
	DISTRICT	1	2	3	4	5	
September	5,57	2,8	5,1	8,3	4,6	5,9	
October	4,95	3,0	5,1	7,1	4,4	3,9	
November	5,52	3,3	5,1	7,9	6,3	4,0	
December	7,77	3,7	6,0	13,3	6,2	5,0	
January	8,10	3,5	6,7	12,7	5,6	5,3	
February	7,19	4,1	4,6	14,4	4,3	5,3	
March	6,81	3,6	4,7	14,8	4,2	6,1	
April	5,45	3,9	4,0	10,3	4,3	3,9	
May	6,34	3,7	4,4	11,1	6,2	5,5	
June	7,33	5,0	6,4	11,3	7,0	5,9	
July	6,42	5,0	6,4	7,7	6,2	6,2	
August	6,26	5,1	6,4	8,5	6,0	4,4	
AVERAGE	6,30	3,90	5,41	10,40	5,50	5,13	

Table 4.8 Average number of full-time equivalent casual labourers per farm, monthly

Only in the Seven Fountains area (region 3) where cropping is rather more important than elsewhere is some seasonal effect noticeable. Casual labour use is relatively higher during the summer growing and harvesting season (December to April) as Chicory is lifted from December through March, while the next crop is planted in the months immediately following lifting. Furthermore most pasture crops for winter fodder are also planted during the early part of the year.



Fig 4.7 Total number of casual labourers for 53 farms in the Albany district, by month

The casual labour requirements of the livestock farm are rather less dependent on seasonal factors. Shearing may take place at almost any time of the year. While Angora goats are shorn regularly at six monthly intervals there is more flexibility with regard to sheep, both as to the interval between shearing and time of shearing. The combined effect is that there is no single clearly defined shearing season. In any event, not all farmers make use of itinerant shearers. Furthermore as we observed earlier, casual labour is used for other tasks which are not seasonally bound in any way.

Most of the so-called 'casual labour' is part of a group or team employed throughout the year. An indication of the extent of 'irregular casual labour' - that is, casual labour not employed throughout the year - would be given by the variation above the minimum monthly number. This figure expressed as a percentage of the total casual labour proved to range between 24 and 47%. The Salem and Seven Fountains areas had higher percentages of "irregular casual" labour than the other areas, viz. 42 and 47% respectively.

On farms growing citrus (Fort Brown, Manley, Salem) additional labour is generally employed during the picking season (winter). There is also something of a seasonal peak in the mid-summer months of November/ December to January. Farmers also observed that the supply of casual labour is greater in the weeks preceeding Christmas than at other times of the year. The reasons advanced for this phenomenon include the free time available to scholars during their summer vacation, the fact that mineworkers return during this period to visit their families, and the desire for extra money to spend on the annual shopping expedition to Grahamstown by the farm staff and their families.

It should perhaps be mentioned that the actual number of effective working days in December are very much curtailed by an almost universal break in farming operations between Christmas and New Year. Except for essential tasks such as milking and tending to animals which is carried out by regular staff, the employment of casual labour during this period is at a bare minimum.

An interesting point which emerged from the interviews is that the supply of casual labour is not always on an entirely voluntary basis.

Farmers spoke of an unwritten understanding or 'rule of the farm' that when a man was taken into regular employment members of his family could be called upon whenever necessary to perform such work as may be required. In one case, for example, the farmer said that it was compulsory that the whole staff work as families in the February to Further instances came to light particularly on the April period. question of whether the farmer had sufficient casual labour to meet his requirements. Comments supporting this view include: "Yes, but I've always had to fight them for casual labour." and "Yes. It's quite a job getting casual labour. I really have to lay down the law. Otherwise they'd be quite happy to laze their time away at the huts. They could earn R1-50 a week ... there is all the bush on the farm to be chopped ... (but) they are just not interested." In a rare case a youth was required to work in the place of a parent who the farmer believed to be shamming illness - "I called out his youngster and said 'Take off your school clothes and come and plant sweet potatoes."

A supply of casual labour may also be ensured by allowing the wives and families of men working in town or elsewhere to live on the farm conditional on their working when required. Farmers do also 'borrow' labour from their neighbours.

One-quarter of those employing casual labour complained that the available supply was insufficient for their needs, while others had sufficient only because they badgered them to work as indicated earlier. It was also evident that at certain times of the year the available casual labour did not meet peak requirements, particularly where chicory is lifted and topped by a number of near neighbours at the same time of the year. One farmer said that he had sufficient only because he planted early and because he attempted to coincide requirements with school Several Lower Albany farmers said that the shortage of casual holidays. labour had necessitated a decrease in the area planted to chicory or that such a step was being contemplated for this reason. It is not entirely clear, however, to what extent such contemplated moves are due to the recent deterioration in the chicory market together with the spectre of the possible further introduction of production quotas.

The chief complaint of Upper Albany farmers was that they were short of casual labour for jointed cactus eradication, which, as was indicated

earlier, can be on a more-or-less permanent basis. The eradication of cactus and renoster accounted for nearly half (47%) of the total full time equivalent casual workers in Upper Albany. The serious nature of the problem is underlined by the relatively large numbers which are employed by those farmers with a cactus problem or those who are attempting eradication. It was also apparent that some farmers have only more recently become aware of the problem which had aggravated the shortage. The problem was outlined as follows by a farmer in the Carlisle Bridge area: "From 1964 to 1969 I had 2 groups totaling 30 women from my own farm and neighbours for cactus work. Now as other farmers are working cactus there is a shortage of casual ... To keep ahead of my cactus I should have at least 15 women full-time ... (as I) need 1 worker/100 hectare. (It is) impossible to find all the cacti although I have been over the farm ten times. My present complement is 7 women and one man (in charge)." He went on to say that jointed cactus had been planted in the farm garden but had been tossed over the wall in about 1860 when it became a nuisance. The cactus had been allowed to spread slowly over the farm in subsequent years with very little need for any check as the chief enterprises were cattle and ostriches. The introduction of small stock on a larger scale and the spreading of cacti by flooding of the Fish River were among the reasons for a greater need for cactus workers in the district. A neighbouring farm had been free of cactus until a flood in 1932 had infected river camps.

Apart from the reasons specific to Upper and Lower Albany several others were also put forward as an explanation of the present shortage of casual labour. The fact that a larger proportion of children nowadays went to school and were therefore no longer available for casual work was an expected complaint as was the low pay. An unexpected allegation was that the high pay of regular labour now made it unnecessary for their wives to work. One farmer said: "In 1970 ... I'd whip my fingers and we had masses of labour. (Since then we've) put up wages gradually. Nowadays women folk are just not interested. (It has) got to the stage where the men are earning enough to keep them. Our way of life has changed, but they still live on more or less the same ... " Several farmers said that this was true of the younger maids and not of the older The former when called upon to work proffered excuses such as women.

backache. "We usen't to have this trouble. Husbands would like them to work but they won't - sheer laziness"

At the same time as there are complaints of a shortage of casual labour other farmers claim that they have more than enough for their needs. Some went as far as to say that they 'made work' so that those who wanted could earn extra 'pocket money'.

(c) Domestic labour

With the exception of two households (less than 4%) every farmer's wife employs one or more regular female domestic servants, while many employ one or more male gardeners. The average number of domestic servants and gardeners was 2,6 per farm for Albany and varied from 1,4 for Manley Flats (area 1) to 3,3 for Seven Fountains (area 3).

It became clear while conducting the survey that most farmers do not make a clear distinction between 'farm' and 'domestic' male employees. In some cases the latter as a matter of course have certain farm duties (e.g. morning and evening milking) or may be called upon with varying frequency to assist with particular farm jobs or at certain times of the year (e.g. shearing). On many occasions the figure given for 'regular farm labour' actually included full-time or part-time male labour used for domestic purposes. For the purposes of the survey their time was allocated accordingly. It is doubted, however, whether for either the Agricultural Census or for tax purposes, that any such division is made by more than a few farmers, wittingly or unwittingly. The domestic garden on some farms also makes use of regular farm labour for short periods. As one farmer put it: "My wife would have them there all the time if she had half a chance."

The domestic garden is also used to a certain extent to employ former farm labourers who have gone on pension and are too old for the more strenuous farm work.

(d) Total full-time equivalent labour force

Having looked at each of the categories of farm labour including domestic servants, the total labour force expressed in full-time equivalents

may be determined. This information is summarized in the following table:

	ALBANY	ALBANY Lower Albany			Upper Albany			
	DISIRICI	1	2	3	4	5		
Regular farm labour Part-time (f.t.e.) Casual (f.t.e.)	10,50 0,40 6,30	7,00 - 0,05 3,90	10,30 0,40 5,41	13,70 0,85 10,40	9,80 0,45 5,50	10,40 0,20 5,13		
TOTAL FARM LABOUR (A) Domestic and gardeners	17,20 2,62	10,95 1,43	16,11 2,43	24,95 3,33	15,75 3,00	15,73 2,44		
TOTAL LABOUR FORCE (B)	19,8	12,38	19,54	28,66	18,75	18,81		
Casual labour as % (A)	37	36	33	42	35	33		

Table 4.9:	Total	full-time	equivalent	labour	force	per	farm
	in the	e Albany d	istrict.				

Source: Sample survey

Note: part-time and casual on full-time equivalent basis.

Working on the basis of two part-time workers as equivalent to one full-time worker, an assumption based on the average length of the working week, the total labour force per farm, including domestics, averaged 20 persons per farm. As is to be expected the smaller farms of Manley Flats (area 1) averaged fewer persons, namely 12, while the total rose to over 28 in the Seven Fountains area (3). Casual labour on a fulltime equivalent basis amounted to 37% of the total compared to 50% calculated purely on the number employed as per the Agricultural Census.

	ALBANY	I	Lower Albany		Upper Albany	
	DISTRICT	1	2	3	4	5
and a second s	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		9-18-5-6-6-8-8			
Owned land	1 266	303	759	1 156	2 491	1 557
Hired land	31	37	37	57	15	0
Share-basis	18	0	4	75	0	0
TOTAL	1 315	340	800	1 289	2 506	1 557

Appendix table: 4.1 Farm size and ownership, Albany district and by region (ha)

Source: Sample survey

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93.
	ALBANY DISTRICT	l	Lower 2	Albany 3	Upper 4	Albany 5	
		analis teta tin					
Cultivated dryland	39	12	62	85	9	2	
Employee land	2	1	3	5	(0,3)	(0,1)	
Irrigated land	7	5	6	2	8	17	
Trees/orchards	2	2	-	(0,4)	6	1	
Veld	1 255	317	726	1 181	2 466	1 531	
Farmstead	9	3	4	18	i6	6	
TOTAL	1 315	340	800	1 292	2 506	1 557	
Average rainfall (mm)	501	648	540	549	387	401	

Source: Sample survey

94.

	ALBANY DISTRICT	Lc 1	ower Alban 2	ny 3	Upper 4	Albany 5
Pineapples	4	1	10	5	0	0
Chicory	8	0	12	19	0	l
Other cash crops	13	7	20	25	3	3
Pasture/forage	21	9	26	36	14	12
Orchards	2	2	0	0	6	3
TOTAL ± 1	48	19	68	84	23	19
					4	

<u>Appendix table: 4.3</u> Average crop production (ha) per farm, Albany district and by region

<u>Note</u>: **x** 1 The discrepancies between the total in this table and appendix table 4.2 is due to double cropping and fallow lands.

Source: Sample Survey

Category of livestock	ALBANY DISTRICT	1	Lower Albany 1 2 3			Upper Albany 4 5		
Dairy cattle	35	32	30	76	13	15	-	
Beef cattle	76	12	8	93	87	79		
Woolled sheep	72	9	13	137	177	15		
Mutton sheep	25	5	22	15	25	57		
Angora goats	31	0	13	20	44	76		
Boer goats	10	5	2	12	19	15		
Other grazing livestock # 2	2	0	,3	5	4	1		
Non-grazing livestock x 3	-	l	, 1	0	0	0	96	
TOTAL FARMER STOCK	251	64	162	358	369	258	"	
EMPLOYEE LIVESTOCK	17	9	14	37	9	12		
TOTAL LIVESTOCK	268	73	176	395	378	270		
L.S.U./100 ha veld x 4	20	22	24	33	15	18		

Appendix table : 4.4 Average livestock per Albany farm by region (L.S.U.)

- Notes: **x** 1 One Large Stock Units (L.S.U.) = 1 mature equine or bovine, or 2 heifers or 2 tollies 1-2 years, or 3 calves 0-1 years, or 6 mature sheep or goats, or 9 weaned lambs or kids or 12 unweaned lambs or kids or 5 pigs or 100 fowls.
 - x 2 = equines
 - # 3 = pigs and fowls
 - # 4 = total livestock, excluding pigs and fowls/100 ha veld grazing.

Source: Sample survey

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	ALBANY DISTRICT	Lo 1	wer Alba 2	any 3	Upper 4	Albany 5
Dairy cattle	1,0		-	4,6	-	-
Beef cattle	13,7	7,3	10,1	30,3	6,6	10,2
Sheep	(0,04)	-	0,1	-	0,1	-
Goats	0,7	-	0,3	-	1,4	1,6
Total grazing livestock	15,4	7,3	10,5	34,9	8,1	11,8
Other livestock	1,7	2,1	3,0	2,0	0,5	0,5
TOTAL EMPLOYEE LIVESTOCK * 1	17,1	9,4	13,5	36,9	8,6	12,3
Average grazing L.S.U. per man * 2	1,9	1,7	1,8	2,9	1,0,	1,7

Appendix table: 4.5 Average employee livestock per Albany farm and per man, by region

Notes: # 1 Livestock expressed as Large Stock Units (L.S.U.). For definition see Appendix table 4.4.

2 per regular adult male labourer

Source: Sample survey

CHAPTER 5: FARM WAGES IN ALBANY, 1977

As was pointed out in Chapter 2 the total remuneration of farm employees is typically made up of payments in cash, rations of foodstuffs and clothing, and various benefits in kind. The proportion of cash to kind varies from area to area and from farm to farm within a particular area as well as between different types of labour. It is convenient to discuss remuneration under the different types of payments such as cash wages, rations, benefits in kind, etc.

5.1 Cash wages

Cash wages are paid at regular intervals usually on a monthly basis to regular labour and usually on a weekly (and sometimes monthly) basis to casual labour. As far as cash wages are concerned the distinguishing feature between regular workers and others is that the former are expected to work every working day, except if otherwise excused, and are paid a pre-determined wage. Casual labour, on the other hand, is paid on the basis of the number of days worked or on performance, the latter usually called a piece-rate or contract.

Cash wages to regular full-time employees are usually, but not invariably, differentiated according to two criteria: length of service and skill. Other things being equal, a kwedin will be paid less than a man, while tractor and other drivers are paid more than other workers regardless of their length of service. Although tractor drivers are often the top paid men on farms this is not invariably the case. On the basis of the trial sample, information was called for on the wages paid for each of fourteen categories, namely:

- kwedins
 kwedins
 men: just starting women with some service kwedins with long service ntombis tractor/truck drivers children top paid
- 3) women: full-time part-time domestic

The sample for men employed on a casual basis was too small to be very useful, thus in table 5.1 the results for thirteen of the fourteen categories are given.

The average wage for kwedins is between one-half and one-third of the top paid man's wage, but the average man with long service can expect to earn no more than $1 \frac{1}{2}$ to twice that of a kwedin. The range in monetary terms is only a matter of between R5 and R10 per month, on average. To a certain extent this is misleading because on many farms there is no difference at all in wage between a man of long standing and one who has worked for only a short while. On a small number of farms also no differentiation is made between tractor driver and other workers in terms of salary. The average difference between top paid men and tractor drivers is between R1 and R2,00 or 5 to 10%.

Full-time women - farm and domestic - earn 45% to 60% less than their male counterparts. Part-time women earn about 45% to 50% of the wage of full-time women. Casual women are the lowest paid of all in terms of full-time equivalent wage. At an average of 35c per working day and taking a 5-day-week throughout the year, the cash wage of a casual woman worker is nearly 20% lower than **that** of her full time counterpart.

Finally, wages were grouped for each category of labourer to show their distribution on a percentage basis as shown in table 4.11. It is remarkable to note the degree of overlap between the different categories For example, on 10% of farms the of labourer on different farms. top paid man was receiving less than R10/month in cash while on 71% of the farms in the survey men just starting received more than R10. It is also remarkable that of the farms on which the top paid men earned less than R10/month in cash all were in regions 1 and 2 of Lower Albany. Details of the range in wages is given in table 4.12. When the extreme values are discarded from the calculations the range for the labour categories increases steadily from R12/month (R3 to 15) for kwedins through R14, R15,50, R22,50, R35 to R42 for top paid men. The same progression is not evident for either women with regular jobs or for daily paid workers. (Further details of the range within each region in the district is given in Appendix table 5.1).

	ALBANY	Low	er Albany		Upper Albany			
	DISTRICT	1	2	3	4	5		
Monthly cash wages (R-c)								
Kwedins ,	8,71	8,80	8,06	8,17	11,80	7,86		
Men: just starting	12,37	8,90	12,06	12,80	13,89	11,67		
some service	14,05	11,13	13,68	15,00	15,87	13,14		
long service	15,48	14,42	15,48	17,00	16,56	13,86		
drivers	19,31	17,07	16,74	23,17	21,22	14,33		
top paid	20,20	18,64	17,91	24,75	22,10	15,86		
Women: part-time	5,21	x	3,88	6,66	5,00	×		
full-time	9,54	×	×	10,75	n/a	8,63		
domestic	9,15	8,13	10,19	10,83	9,21	×		
Daily cash wages (cents)								
Women	36	×	32	43	39	30		
Kwedins	32	×	31	×	×	x		
ntombis	34	×	x	x	×	×		
children	23	×	×	×	×	×		

Table: 5.1: Average cash wages for farm employees in Albany, October to December 1976 by region.

Notes: 1. π = unreliable due to small sample size (less than 4 observations)

The upper and lower limits of monthly cash wages is contained in Appendix table 5.1.

Source: Sample survey

Table	5.2	:	Monthly	cash	wages	by	wage	groupings	(%)
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Category	Median wage (R-c)	0-R4.99	R5,00- R7,49	R7,50- R9,99	R10,00- R14,99	R15,00- R19,99	R20- R29,99	R30-	Total%
Kwedins	7,50	12	31	13	38	3	3	-	100
Men: just start	10,00	-	8	21	37	24	10	-	100
some service	14,50	-	2	12	38	33	15	-	100
long service	15,00	-	2	7	29	36	24	2	100
drivers	18,00	-	-	5	24	24	37	10	100
top paid	20,00	-	2	8	16	22	42	10	100
							I.		

Source: Sample survey

	Average	Median	Lowest	L+1	H-1	Highest	(H-1)-(L+1)
Kwedins	8,71	7,50	2,00	3,00	15,00	25,00	12,00
Men: just starting	12,37	10,00	5,00	6,00	20,00	25,00	14,00
some service	14,05	14,50	7,00	7,50	23,00	25,00	15,50
long service	15, ¹ +8	15,00	7,00	7,50	30,00	30,00	22,50
drivers	19,31	18,00	7,50	8,00	43,00	50,00	35,00
top paid	20,20	20,00	7,50	8,00	50,00	50,00	42,00
Women: part-time	5,21	4,50	2,00	2,00	8,00	12,80	6,00
full-time	9,54	10,00	6,00	7,00	12,00	15,00	5,00
domestic	9,15	9,00	3,67	4,00	16,00	20,00	12,00
Daily: women	0,36	0,30	0,20	0,20	0,60	0,70	0,40
kwedins	0,32	0,30	0,20	0,20	0,35	0,60	0,15
ntombis	0,34	0,30	0,15	0,20	0,60	0,60	0,40
children	0,23	0,20	0,10	0,15	0,30	0,35	0,15

Table: 5.3: Average, range and median monthly and daily cash wages, Albany (R-c)

Notes: 1. L+1 = Second lowest wage

2. H-l = Highest but one

Source: Sample survey

In what follows the various features of the cash payment of the different categories of workers will be discussed in turn.

(a) Regular men

That regular men are generally paid monthly has already been mentioned. A few interesting exceptions, however, are worth nothing. One Upper Albany farmer paid his regular labour six monthly; another paid every three months. On the latter farm staff bought rations 'on tick' and while this had not created problems for the coloureds, some blacks had left because they were not able to budget. On a third farm, also in Upper Albany, wages were paid monthly except at the end of the year when the wages for October and November were paid in arrears plus December's wage in advance.

A practice which is quite widespread in the district is that a new regular labourer must prove his worth. He therefore usually starts off at a wage which is lower than that of the other regular men. The duration of this low wage is fairly short though and may last from only one to several months, but usually not longer than three or four months.

The increase of wages with length of service and skill, some farmers claimed, had only been introduced relatively recently because of earlier opposition from their staff. One farmer said that "All had a basic flat wage until a year ago. Now I pay up to R2 extra to some boys (sic!)" Another said "I try to keep wages very much the same. I do give extra for exceptional work, but I do say 'don't pass it around' - that was my Dad's advice in 1940! I kept wages the same for (many) years (and) there was a hell of an uproar some time ago (about 1961) when I changed them. They came and said that they were all doing the same work. I then switched them all forward (onto the same rate as the top paid man), but I started (differential wages) again 8 years ago leaving the onus on them (to complain).". The wages ranged in this particular case from R14,50 for a man with some service to a top pay of R17,50.

Again along the same lines: "At one time I tried giving the more intelligent ones a higher wage; now the absolute loafer gets the same as the others. (Those who received higher wages) got swollen headed. The ones who got less kicked up a row." The farmer had, however, again relented and when the December 1976 rate of R12,50 for all men had been revised to R13 as from January 1977 the tractor driver was raised to R15,32/month. It was suggested that labourers have "no hard feelings if they get the same wage."

A farmer who paid a flat rate of R16 to all his men said that he intended changing because he recognised that it was unfair and 'put a damper' on the more enthusiastic workers. He then immediately went on to justify a flat rate by saying that "In town they get a flat rate (sic). We (farmers) feed them and food goes up. We need to explain this to staff as they don't realise. So their salary is really for clothing and other little luxuries."

Another farmer in the same vein said "He can't eat all the food I give him so he doesn't really need the extra money." And another: "They get R13/month - that is pocket money! They all have wirelesses and cigarette lighters which I don't."

The view that the cash wages which are paid are incidental was usually backed up by examples of improvidence or expenditure of cash increases on unnecessary 'luxury' items, or liquor. The interviews left the distinct impression that farmers were irked by the way in which additional cash was spent. This latter view was supported by a former store owner: "We knew immediately when a farmer had increased wages the black would immediately want to buy luxury articles (watches and radios). The greater majority will, though not all. To show you, a man will come back from the mines with a shiny watch and no shoes!"

This subject will be taken up further in the discussion of rations in 5.2.

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A common device which is used to overcome the alleged problem that all labourers should be paid the same wage regardless of the work they do, is the regular monthly bonus. Farmers often talked of a 'basic wage' and a

'bonus'. The latter was paid, for example, as a 'tractor bonus' to the tractor driver, or more generally as a bonus for satisfactory work over the previous month. In theory the farmer is supposed to be able to vary the amount of the bonus from zero to an unstated maximum, although in practice the bonus only varied between one labourer and another and not for an individual from month to month except in rare instances. Since the amount of these 'bonuses' in many cases were also fixed for a particular class of worker they were not recorded separately from the 'basic' monthly wage. However, where the amount was variable from month to month or where the cash was earned on a periodic basis (e.g. at harvest time or shearing time) the total was recorded for the year under the heading of periodic cash payments. One farmer said that the only reason that he made a distinction between the basic monthly wage and the bonus component was that if a labourer left his employ he as employer would be protected in that in the last month of employment he would only have to pay the basic wage and no more. The more common reason for introducing a 'bonus' element was that it was intended as an element of incentive, a point which will be taken up again at a later juncture.

Other factors slightly complicating the calculation of the monthly cash wage to regular labourers is that a few farmers allow a choice of additional cash in place of rations and in some instances labourers are compensated if they do not exercise their right to graze livestock on the farmer's land. A few farmers in the Seven Fountains area also have their men doing some work on a piece-rate basis together with their families, usually hoeing weeds in chicory and pineapple lands. In one instance the average basic wage for men varied from R12,64/month to R14,00 while a regular monthly bonus amounted to R1 and piece work earned a further R2,50/month.

The suggestion that labourers have a target income was made by several farmers but it was usually backed up by non-farm examples, except for the observation that the supply of casual labour had diminished since the wages of regular men had been increased. Comments along this line include: "As you increase salaries, women and children do not wish to work. They have a certain level. I owned a shop and learnt from this ... Men at the P.E. abattoirs had wages increased (in about 1973) and they then only worked 4 days a week instead of 5." Another said: "If you pay too much, they will work just long enough and then stop. My brother who is an architect in the Transvaal paid high wages and found that they worked only 2 to 3 days a week or until 11 o'clock in the morning. One must drive him with his stomach to get him to work. I had one old boy who I had to fight continually to get him to work. But, it varies from worker to worker. One old pensioner is always neat and always works and puts his money into the Building Society. Another just buys clothes. You'll have plenty of labour at a living wage and with reasonable hours."

Not all farmers agreed that wages were adequate or good. A Highlands farmer (area 3) said:

"In retrospect when I look at wages I don't know why they work for me. If I had to pay them all R17 (top paid) then I couldn't afford all the labourers. They wouldn't be prepared to work for the next door neighbour who pays more, plus W...... (who) is crying out for labour. It is not what one pays - they like the farm; they like me."

A Riebeeck East farmer (area 4) believed that the wage level was kept artificially low because of legal barriers to the movement of labour. He put it as follows: "I am not in favour of influx control because it lends itself to slave labour. One should not have to rely on the good heartedness of the farmer to increase wages. I could pay half I do because they really have nowhere to go. I feel casual labour is very underpaid." The farmer in question paid Rl/day to casual men and 70c/day to casual women (which were the highest casual rates in the district) and a flat rate of Rl8/month to men except for the tractor driver who received R43/month in total.

The above subjective observations lend support for empirical findings from cross-section production function studies which indicate that the value of marginal product of labour is well in excess of the wages rate (Behrmann, 1975).

(b) Kwedins

As we saw earlier, the wages for kwedins range from R4 - R16 with the median cash wage being R7,50/month. Some farmers in explaining the cash

wage paid to kwedins maintained that as a labourer a kwedin is not good value for money. For example a Salem (Region 2) farmer commenting on the R8/month paid to a kwedin said: "I didn't really want this little (expletive deleted). He is absolutely useless. Any (normal) kwedin would start at R9 and in 3 months would be up to Rl2." Another farmer in the same area remarked "In 1965 a good kwedin got R3 and his father got R4 and they worked! Now a kwedin gets R6/month plus R6 food - but that's 40c a day including Sundays and days rained."

An interesting point which was noted with regard to the payment of youths is that a few farmers do not pay the entire wage to the worker himself, but some to the worker's father. In one case kwedins were paid R25/month of which R6/month was paid direct to his father, R5/month into a Building Society account and the remaining R14/month to him. The kwedins received no rations. (On the same farm men were paid R18 and received rations). In another instance where part-time herdboys were employed the farmer explained that: "It is their(amaXhosa)tradition; you may not give money to a child. So I tell the parent that child gets R1,50, which is the amount I give to the parent, but I give an additional 50c to the kwedin."

(c) Casual labour

With regard to daily cash wages, only wages of women can be taken with any degree on confidence because of the small sample size of the other categories. Nevertheless, the averages for the various categories show that women's wages are higher than those of youths by about 35% (ranging from 25 to 50%). The median daily cash wage for women of 30c, however, was equal to the median cash wage for kwedins and ntombis. Not all casual labour, however, is paid a daily rate. Many farmers pay for a particular job, but the rate varies from farm to farm and from job to job. The rates are largely dependent on an estimate by the farmer of how long a job will take and it appears to be set in such a way that the average worker will earn above the going daily rate. In practice it was difficult to obtain concrete examples of what the average worker would earn working on a piece-rate basis as it was usual to be given no more than the rate for the job or the daily earnings by an outstanding worker.

A Salem farmer said that of the 16 to 20 women he employed on a daily basis he would classify "4-5 as 'excellent', 4-5 as 'good', 4-5 as 'mediocre' and 4-5 as 'bad', who set the pace!" He stated that the job was "worked out on a scale so that the good ones earn up to Rl per day." Another in the same area explained as follows: "Piece rates are dependent on the time the job will take, for example how dirty (weed infested) chicory is. I estimate how much I'd be prepared to spend, then divide the area into units of 10 rows. The (casual labourers) look at the rows and decide: R2.50 (for the unit) or 50c/day". He went on to attribute the good supply of casual labour to three factors: "I pay a bit more than most; they know they won't be done down; and they know beforehand how much they'll get."

Activity	Rate	Daily earnings
Pineapple picking	lc/bin	up to 40c/day
Chicory topping	10c/bag	Rl for a good maid; average 60-70c
Chicory hoeing	R1/1000 yds	30 to 40c
Hay cutting	2c/lb or 50c/bale	R1,40
Tomato picking	4c/(301b) box	_

Some of the many examples of piece-work rates include the following:

It was not possible to determine anything resembling average daily earnings from piece work, but nevertheless it is my opinion that daily earnings from piece-work is a good deal higher than that earned by daily paid workers - probably double.

An even more difficult problem was establishing the wage paid to occasional labourers such as bush stubbers and cactus workers. Occasional labourers are almost invariably paid on a piece-rate basis. In some instances, such as shearing, the rate is quite explicit - usually in cents/sheep shorn - but in others, particularly jointed cactus eradication and bush-clearing, the rates quoted are of the nature: Rx for camp a, Ry for camp b, and so on. The latter rates even on any one farm are not open to comparison because of differing terrain, vegetation and degrees of infestation. Farmers were often vague as to the length of time bush clearers and cactus workers had actually worked, generally because they did not have day-to-day contact with these people in a work situation and also because their work habits varied substantially from day to day and between seasons. In fact no satisfactory measure was arrived at. The point was not pressed very far where information was not readily forthcoming so as not to unduly reduce the time available for the discussion of other important questions.

5.2 Rations

All the farmers in the sample survey gave their staff rations in one form or another. Generally speaking rations are given to all adult regular male labourers equally, but in a few cases (less than 10%) adjustments are made for family size. Practice varies considerably with regard to the rationing of full-time youths, daily paid labour and women. In all these cases, the general rule is that food rations are either not given, or the ration is a fraction of that received by the men. Female domestic servants invariably receive 'food from the house' but only one in two to three receive any additional rations. (Male domestic gardeners are treated similarly to the regular farm workers). Women workers who are also the head of a household, normally because of the death of their husband, are often accorded the same status as regular male employees with regard to the receipt of rations.

A good deal of controversy among farmers surrounds the practice of rationing which discussion will be taken up in a later section. Suffice it to say here that many farmers have very definite views on the role of rations quite apart from their value as a solution to the practical problem of distance from the nearest shops. Many of the arrangements with regard to rations, such as the type of rations, the frequency of rationing and their timing, etc., can be seen in the light of the conventional view on rationing ("My father always maintained that a contented labourer is one who is well fed ") together with the contention that the farm African householder is generally improvident.

The frequency of rationing varies quite considerably. In one instance rationing takes place daily, but as a rule milk is received daily, dry

groceries weekly or monthly and meat monthly. Certain items are also rationed periodically such as meat at shearing-time, over Christmas and sometimes also at New Year, clothes at Christmas, crops at harvesting, etc.

Many farmers regarded the timing of rationing as important, as illustrated by individual arrangements: "(we) give rations on the 20th of the month and (pay) cash at the end of the month - otherwise, he will blow the whole lot at once."

"I ration on Mondays - after the visitors have left. It is not a good thing to ration on a Friday because whatever they have they share even if it means they go hungry for the rest of the week." Custom also plays a role as shown in the statement: "I always ration on a Monday and then the store is open on a Friday when extras can be bought. Ever since my Dad's day we've more or less stuck to the same system."

There is little agreement among Albany farmers as to the most desirable rationing interval. Some contend that the longer the rationing interval the more food any given family will require per unit time. In this connection the switch to a daily ration by the late father of a prominent Upper Albany farmer is cited as evidence. In this case the daily ration was considered adequate despite a lower monthly total. Several farmers had shortened their rationing interval from monthly to weekly to overcome the problem of an alleged inability to make rations last adequately. In this regard a Carlisle Bridge farmer in discussing the question maintained "They have no idea of rationing food out and get into problems. A bag of mealies will be finished in a week. My son used to ration weekly (on Fridays) and then they would complain on Tuesday or Wednesday of having run short. It's peculiar. A smaller family might always be short while a larger family will accumulate (rations)." Another farmer said that he had tried rationing at monthly intervals but had had to abandon the experiment after a period of six months in favour of a return to weekly rations. The opposite view is also held though seldom with appeal to evidence. A farmer held some of his staff preferred to have rations monthly instead

of weekly because they found it more difficult to 'come out' with weekly rations. Another farmer felt that the weekly system he had been accustomed to 'up country' was more sensible "but they are used to being rationed monthly here, so why change."

The physical amount of food rations varies considerably from farm to farm and no 'standard ration' exists. In what follows farm produced products were valued at standard market values less marketing costs, while purchased items were valued at prices applicable at the Bathurst Farmers Union (Co-operative store) in Grahamstown. The total value of rations per regular labourer so derived is contained in table 5.4.

,	ALBANY DISTRICT	נ ו	Lower Al 2	bany 3	Մբթ։ 4	er Albany 5
Milk	6,15	3,89	6,60	7,73	5,43	5,95
Meat	4,29	2,75	2,49	2,40	10,26	4,15
Grain	4,10	4,19	3,93	4,79	3,89	3,64
Grain products	3,66	3,34	3,88	4,11	4,07	2,63
Other food	2,23	4,44	1,54	2,20	2,15	1,66
Other goods	2,32	1,91	2,28	2,15	2,67	2,53
TOTAL VALUE RATIONS	22,75	20,52	20,72	23,45	28,47	20,56

Table 5.4: Value of rations to regular adult male Albany farm labourers, by region (R-c/month)

Source: Sample survey

From the table it will be seen that the major ration items are milk, meat, grain and grain products which constitute 80% of the total by value.

The variation from the average value of R22,75 per month is remarkably small with a maximum range of about R8,00 between regions 1 and 4. Beneath the apparently small variation, however, lies a much greater inter-item variation. Table 5.5 gives some indication of such variation for the

Albany district as well as for Upper and Lower Albany. It will be noted for example that while 80 to 90% of farmers ration grain, meal and milk regularly, only 42% of farmers ration meat regularly.

	ALBANY DISTRICT	Lower Albany	Upper Albany
Milk	89	88	90
Meat	42	21	75
Grain	87	88	85
Meal	83	85	80
Sugar	62	61	65
Tea/Coffee	55	52	60
Tobacco	45	39	55

Table	5.5:	Albany	farmers	rationing	items	on	а	regular	monthly	
				basi	LB (%)					

Source: Sample survey

Once again the inter-regional variation is remarkably small except for meat which is only rationed substantially on a regular monthly basis in Upper Albany. Each of the major items, however, will be discussed in more detail below.

(a) Milk

The most important item by value in the average rations of regular labourers is milk. Although milk at R6,15/month constitutes about one-third of the total value of food rations in Albany, the inter-farm distribution is skewed substantially to the left. The resultant 'average' is well above the median value of milk rations, namely R3,96/month, and an inter-regional comparison on the latter basis is therefore rather more meaningful. Table 4.15 makes the comparison between median and average values for each of the five regions of the district.

	Region	Average	Median	Median
1	(Frasers Camp-Manley Flats)	3,89	1,14	- 0-
2	(Salem)	6,60	4,82 7	3,81
5	(Seven Fountains-Sidbury)	7.73	5,75 J	
4	(Alicedale-Carlisle Bridge)	5,43	4,88	4,88
5	(Fort Brown - Committees Drift)	5,95	5,67	
	ALBANY DISTRICT	R6,15	R3,96	R3,96

Table 5.6: Comparison of average and median values of milk rations per regular labourer (R-c/month)

1

Source: Sample survey

A somewhat surprising feature which the table reveals rather more clearly is that milk rations are not only given as often in Upper as in Lower Albany (see table 5.5), but that the median value is greater in the former than the latter. That this should be surprising is so because Upper Albany has an average of only 14 Dairy Cattle L.S.U. per farm compared to 47 for Lower Albany (about 30 in regions 1 and 2 and 76 in The difference lies, however, in the fact that Lower Albany region 3). farmers generally keep Dairy Cattle as a commercial enterprise or not at In Upper Albany on the other hand while more than half the farms all. in the sample had no Dairy Cattle whatever, either beef cows were milked once daily or a small herd of Dairy Cattle were kept expressly for the purpose of providing fresh milk for the farmer's household and Furthermore, it is ironical that not every commercial milk his staff. producer rations milk to his staff as the following quotation indicates: "They (the staff) used to get skim milk but none now that I'm a fresh milk producer." The farmer did in fact offer his staff 1 litre of skim milk per family daily which would have been purchased but they chose to have an additional ration of maize and maize meal instead.

The volume of the median milk ration is approximately 1 litre of whole milk and 1 1/2 litres of skim milk daily per regular adult male in Lower Albany and 1 1/2 litres whole and 1/2 litre skim in Upper Albany. The distribution of milk rations by volume is indicated in table 5.7 in which their daily value has been converted to litres of whole milk equivalent, working on the basis of a farm price (net of marketing costs) of lOc/litre for whole milk and 2c/litre for skim milk.

1							
Whole milk or equiv. * 1	ALBANY DISTRICT	Lo	ower Al 2	lbany 3	Upper 4	Albany 5	
No milk	11	43	7	0	10	10	
< l litre	28	29	29	25	40	20	
1 - 1,9 litres	23	0	21	33	30	20	
2 - 4,9 litres	30	29	36	25	10	50	
51+	8	0	7	17	10	0	
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Table 5.7: Volume of daily milk rations per regular labourer per farm

Notes: x 1 = 5 litres skim milk = 1 litre whole milk Source: Sample survey

The amount of the milk ration may vary quite substantially with the seasons of the year, with smaller rations being correlated to low milk A small number of farmers production during winter and dry periods. (about 12 to 15) who supply fresh milk to households in Grahamstown in addition have seasonal sales patterns particularly where contracts with schools and the university make up an important component of total demand. A Manley Flats farmer said that "the milk for the staff may vary from 5% to 100 litres a day, but averages 1 gallon (4,52) per day per family. The seasonal demand is a problem - from the end of November to January is a very slack period especially as I have school contracts." farmer said that he did, as far as possible, compensate for the seasonal demand in that "I try to have less cows calving over the Christmas period." The supermarkets also have highly fluctuating requirements as evidenced by the comment: "Checkers will take 500% one day and 250 another." The net result is that on occasions staff have more milk than they can usefully drink themselves so that the surplus is used to feed their pigs.

Another farmer gives 1 gallon of whole milk per family per day and skim milk in addition when milk production exceeded 10 gallons daily (45ℓ) .

Sometimes the individual family circumstances are taken account of in milk rations, although this is not the case as far as meat and grain or meal is concerned. For example "families with children get whole milk." This cannot be regarded as the rule though, for example one Lower Albany farmer said he rationed "half a gallon of separated per family regardless of size - (because) that's the way they want it." On other farms the individual arrangements are left for the staff themselves to determine as evidenced by the statement "I don't divide (sic!) the milk."

Farmers do realise the importance of milk as an item in a nutritionally balanced diet and its health consequences. A Seven Fountains farmer introduced a regular milk ration on this account: "Years ago TB sufferers had to get fresh milk so they (each) got, say, 1 1/2 pints. Gradually everyone got a measure. Today 25% whole milk is shared between 10 regular staff (or a total population of 91) which is the equivalent of 0,27 \$\mathcal{L}/day/person." Again, a farmer who was no longer a fresh milk supplier remarked as follows: "Dit was nooit lekker vir my dat die Bantoes nie melk gekry het nie toe ek verkoop het. Nou is hulle so veel beter - melk en mielies is mos 'n gebalanseerde rantsoen. Die kinders speel nou so lekker en baljaar dat die vrou sommer kwaad raak!" A Carlisle Bridge (Upper Albany) farmer stressed the extent to which he made special arrangements for his staff: "I put this (milk) high in my set-up. I keep 6 cows in milk - we use hardly any in the house and a little for the dogs. All the rest goes direct to the staff whole (about 62/family). All the cows must be fed on lucerne, mealie meal and 'garingboom' which must be milled. This is hard cash and over and above the capital investment in the cattle. And, what's more a social worker tells me the average milk consumption (in S.A.) is less than 12 per day."

(b) Meat

The second most important item in staff rations is meat, which on average was valued at R4.29 per regular labourer per month. A sheep or goat was valued at R18 (net of marketing costs and the value of the skin) where the animal was expressly slaughtered for labour rations. The amount of R4.29 therefore represents only 24% of a smallstock unit per month. (Animals which died and were given to staff were not calculated as being part of the value of their rations.) In practice the amount of the meat ration varies considerably from farm to farm. On individual farms no meat at all was rationed on a regular monthly basis, while the upper limit was 1 smallstock unit (sheep or goat) per month per regular male labourer. The distribution of regular meat rations, which is illustrated in table 5.8, shows that 58% of Albany farmers in the random sample gave no regular monthly meat ration.

,								
Amount of meat * 1	ALBANY DISTRICT	lı	ower A 2	lbany 3	Uppo 4	er Albany 5		
No meat	58	71	79	83	10	40		
< 1/2 sheep	23	29	14	8	20	50		
1/2 sheep	9	0	0	8	40	0		
l sheep	9	0	7	0	30	10		
TOTAL (%) * 2	100	100	100	100	100	100		

Table	5.8	Regular	monthly	meat	rations	on	Albany	farms,
		%	distribu	ation	by regio	on		

Note: * 1 expressed as a sheep unit or its equivalent * 2 Totals do not add to 100 due to rounding errors

Source: Sample survey

A feature of the distribution of non-meat rationing farms is their high geographical concentration In Lower Albany nearly 80% of farmers give no meat ration, compared to 25% in Upper Albany (although this rises to 40% in region 5). Farmers who do ration meat regularly tended to be of the opinion that the problem of stock theft was more prevalent on farms whose staff received none. An Upper Albany farmer who gave a very small regular ration believed this to be true of his own farm in the remark: "Elke nou en dan is 'n skaap weg. Ons gedagte is hulle vat hulle eie bonus."

Meat rations are frequently supplemented by animals that have died and these sometimes even replace regular rations, although this custom is questioned by farmers who believe it leads to malpractice. During the hunting season (Winter) meat rations are sometimes similarly supplemented or replaced by game shot on the farm, usually by the farmer himself. The meat ration may also be supplemented at shearing and at Christmas and/or at the New Year. This is the situation on more than one-third of farms where staff receive regular meat rations. On the majority of farms, however, such occasions are the only times at which meat rations are received. (Detailed statistics on this point are contained in Appendix table 5.3). Periodic meat rations both in absolute terms and proportionately, are more important where regular rations are not normally given. In Lower Albany periodic rations constituted 45% of the total annual meat rations whereas the corresponding amount in Upper Albany constituted only 5%. The values of periodic and regular meat rations are contained in table 5.9 .

	ALBANY DISTRICT	Lower Albany 1 2 3			Upper Albany 4 5		
Regular rations Periodic rations 🛪 2	3,45 0,84	1,26 1,49	1,64 0,85	1,12 1,28	9,87 0,39	3,84 0,31	
TOTAL	4,29	2,75	2,49	2,40	10,26	4,15	
Periodic rations as % total	20	54	34	53	4	8	

Table 5.9:Total value of meat rations per regular farm labourer
in Albany (R-c per month) * 1

Notes: x 1 for the distribution of the total amount of meat p.a. see Appendix table 5.2.

2 Periodic rations, e.g. at Christmas, expressed per month

Source: Sample survey

Perhaps the most obvious explanation for the lack of regular meat rations by a substantial proportion of Albany farmers is that these farmers do not have either sheep or goats on their farms. This hypothesis does not bear examination, however, since a large proportion of farmers with commercial smallstock enterprise also do not ration. All that can be said is that whereas slightly less than half of those with smallstock enterprises give regular rations, more than one quarter of those with no smallstock enterprise ration on a regular basis (see Appendix table 5.4).

In a small number of cases farmers allowed staff to commute meat rations on request for a nominal cash amount. Also on a small number of farms staff are allowed to purchase additional stock for slaughter purposes at prices well below the market value. Several farmers stressed that they would prefer their staff to eat meat rather than take cash and therefore did not give them the option. The farmers who did allow a cash alternative argued similarly and hence set a low cash exchange value. The opinion was also expressed that were meat rations not given, stock theft would become a problem as evidenced by the experience on some farms in the district.

On the question of the frequency of meat rations several farmers maintained that their staff preferred a ration of 1/2 or 1 sheep per month rather than 1/4 or 1/2 sheep per fortnight. (Opinion was not, however, widely canvassed on this point.)

Rations of meat to staff other than regular male labourers is rare. In a few cases domestic servants receive a small meat ration and in one case 14 casual workers were rationed one sheep per month between them. It is common practice where shearers are hired from elsewhere that the contract includes one slaughter sheep per every several hundred sheep or goats shorn, and hence the custom of rationing meat to farm staff at shearing time.

In conclusion, to illustrate the rich farm-to-farm diversity in arrangements with regard to meat rationing and in support of many of the

assertions made above, a number of selected cases are presented below:

- Farm A: meat rations twice a year and animals that have died except if in mysterious circumstances;
- Farm B: deaths only and 1 sheep per man at Christmas, including contract workers (builders). Dairy maid receives 1/2 sheep;
- Farm C: no meat on a monthly basis. "There is always some stock dying so they practically get a goat or sheep per week (between 11 families). If nothing has died in 3 months I will ration 1/2 sheep each. In shooting season (the staff) get so much meat they don't know what to do with it. (They usually get) one Springbok/family/fortnight and perhaps a whole kudu. The kudu come and go. We shot 16 last season of which 7 went to the 'boys'. I just take the 'rugstring' and the 2 back legs."
- Farm D: no monthly rations. A beast (worth about R200) at Christmas between 15 families. Staff may also buy sheep at R10 each. (15 were actually purchased);
- Farm E: the offal from one sheep per man per month;
- Farm F: 9 kg/family/month plus 1 sheep at Christmas;
- Farm G: 3 sheep per month between 7 families plus anything that dies and 10 kudu during the hunting season;
- Farm H: one slaughter animal ('slagding') per month which is convertible to R8 in cash.

(c) Grain and meal

These two items constituted 18% and 16% respectively of the total value of rations, but since farm staff are in many cases given an option between rations of maize grain and meal (usually maize meal but sometimes also wheatmeal) they will be discussed together. Maize and maize meal can truly be regarded as the staple diet of the farm black since they were rationed singly or together regularly by every single farmer drawn in the random sample. Unlike milk and meat the distribution about the median values is close to normal - the average and median values for grain are both R4,10/month while the corresponding values for meal are R3,66 and R3,18.

In physical terms the median rations to regular male labourers amounted to : 47 kg maize per month and

34 kg mealiemeal per month.

Typically, grain and meal rations were specified either in terms of the number of bags or some measure such as a 'tin', 'ration bucket' or most commonly the 'gogog' (4 gallon paraffin tin). The gogog measure is widely understood by farmer and labourer alike although the former was often vague as to the actual mass of maize or mealiemeal which the measure produced. This uncertainty it is believed was partly because of the change in the early seventies away from the 200 lb maize bag which was reckoned to be 6 gogogs.

It is usually in the area of the maize grain or meal ration that rations to non-adult male regular labourers feature on individual farms, if at all. Some examples of the proportions to various categories are as follows:

eg	l)	piccaniens	l tin/month
		kwedins	3 tins/month
		young man ('big kwedin	n just out of the bush') 4 tins/month
		man	6 tins/month
eg	2)	kwedins	none
		men	1 1/2 bags maize or mealiemeal/month

eg 3) kwedins l gogog/month men 4 gogogs (4 maize or 2 maize + 2 mmeal) "I to not allow more than 2 tins mmeal otherwise they waste."

eg 4) men 3 measures of m meal /lOkg) or 4 measures of maize (l2,7kg)/week daily paid women 30c/day + lOkg maize if worked a full (five days) week, or 35c/day without rations eg 5) kwedins men widowed washmaid casual labour

2/3 gogog/week

l gogog mealies/week + l gogog m meal/month l gogog/week "as head of the household" 30c/day + l measure of maize (1,4 kg) per day + l additional measure/fullweek (5 days) worked + additional maize at 36% off the purchase price.

When farmers talk generally about the frequency of rationing this normally refers to the frequency of rations of maize and mealiemeal, and similarly many examples of alleged improvidence are directly associated with grain or meal rations. Since this point has already been discussed briefly in the introduction to staff rations (section 5.2) only a few additional points need to be made here. From a convenience point of view most farmers would prefer to ration monthly. However, because of several factors such as the lack of adequate safe storage space available to farm blacks, the desire on the part of the farmer to 'protect' his employees from their generosity towards visitors and 'hangers on' (usually unemployed family members or relatives) or their own inability to budget, rations of grain and meal are made more frequently. These points are well illustrated by two quotations from Albany farmers:

"We would really like to ration once a month, but they have no facilities for storage and visitors come and others borrow. The only time they take rations in bulk is when we close up for three weeks over Christmas"; and "We used to give a bag (of maize) a month (but) it was finished in two weeks. Presently we ration 35 lbs of mealies or mealiemeal per week, which totals less than a bag, and have no problems."

A few farmers allow a choice between equal quantities of maize and mealiemeal and then allow the difference in price to be taken as cash (maize is about 6% cheaper than the equivalent mass of maize meal). Since a volume measure is commonly used and as the slightly bulkier mealiemeal is also more expensive the differences in unit price and mass are more frequently ignored.

(d) Other groceries and farm produce

The practice with regard to rationing items such as sugar, coffee and/or tea, salt and tobacco varies widely. In the first place only two-thirds of Albany farmers ration one or more of these items and then in fairly modest quantities.

At the upper extreme rations include items such as beans, fortified soup, yeast, breadflour and soap, but more typical rations would consist of

- eg l) l kg sugar/week, l (x 125 gm) packet of coffee/week, and l (x 50 gm) packet of tobacco/week
- eg 2) 10 kg sugar/month 450 gm coffee/month
- eg 3) 2 kg sugar/month 250 gm tea or 500 gm coffee and chicory mix/month 150 gm tobacco/month

Occasionally items such as salt are rationed on request. In one case "soap is given (free) provided they don't ask too often." In a few instances farmers allow staff to take cash in place of tobacco rations which apparently have become less frequent. One farmer reported that only half of his men still smoked and he had consequently stopped rationing tobacco.

Many farmers, particularly in the cropping area, in addition to regular purchased rations give their staff produce from the farm as and when it is available. The produce typically included unmarketable potatoes, maize, blemished tomatoes, undergrade citrus, onions, marrows, damaged pineapples and other vegetables. One farmer claimed each family probably had the equivalent of 25 (15 kg) pockets of potatoes a year and "at least a ton of pineapples a year". As in the case of seasonal fresh milk producers it is somewhat a case of feast or famine as far as farm produce is concerned and in a few cases farmers claimed that their staff were given "more than they can eat. The servants often sell the excess" or "give it away (to their friends on neighbouring farms)".

(e) Clothing

Once yearly rations of clothing such as an overall, khaki shirt and trousers and boots are typical, which averages just under R20 in total. Sometimes the range is extended to include vests, socks and a jersey, and on 4 farms army coats or second-hand Canadian jackets were given every 2 to 3 years or more. The usual practice is that the clothing is given at Christmas and are often referred to as 'Christmas clothes'. In some cases men may take cash in lieu of boots or overalls, but in one case the farmer contributed only half the cost of these two items "because (then) they look after them so much better." Clothing as an item of rations though, is not always what staff want as was indicated by the farmer who said "They sometimes pull a face when I give them Christmas clothes; if that's how they feel about them I would rather give them R10 (instead)." Occasionally blankets are issued in winter or the farmer's wife in one case knitted jerseys for all the staff but such acts are not very common and are certainly not regular.

(f) Periodic rations

perhaps somewhat artificial to divide the annual Christmas It is ration between the various categories as has been done above since it is given as a whole and is significantly different in composition from regular monthly rations. We have already mentioned periodic rations of meat and clothing. The end of year rations may include sweets for the children of the farm, items of clothing for full-time kwedins (shorts and shirt) and the women and in a few cases (11%) a bottle of brandy or other liquor for the men. In total, these items together constitute approximately 10%-20% of the annual value of rations, as can be seen in Appendix table 5.2. In every region except region 1, clothing was the most important periodically rationed item followed by meat and with other food and farm produce playing a relatively small role (8%). In region 1, however, meat, clothing and farm produce were almost equally important. It is significant that regular milk and meat rations in this region totalled substantially less than that for the other regions.

5.3 Periodic cash payments

Apart from monthly cash wages, 75% of farmers in the Albany district pay cash on one or more occasions during the year in the form of bonuses. Farm staff also receive a number of other indirect benefits in the form of cash contributions to medical and other expenses but these will be discussed separately (section 4.6.4).

	ALBANY DISTRICT	l	Lower A 2	lbany 3	Upper 4	Albany 5
Annual bonus	9,25	5,95	8,25	9,00	19,10	3,40
Periodic pay & bonuses	10,71	3,60	12,73	11,12	11,01	12,07
TOTAL	19,96	9,55	20,98	20,12	30,11	15,47

Table	5.10:	Annu	al valu	ue of	period	ic	cash p	ayments
		to r	egular	labou	urers,	by	region	(R-c).

Source: Sample survey

The major features of the annual bonus and other periodic pay will be discussed in detail below:

(a) The annual bonus

The annual Christmas bonus paid by 60% of farmers is paid to full-time men who have been on the staff for a full year or more, although in a few cases the bonus is accumulated on a month-by-month basis. The average

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amount paid per regular male labourer amounts to about R9 per annum although quite substantial variations are to be found from region to region within the district. The bonus is of two different kinds: most frequently (60%) it is paid equally and although farmers said it was supposed to be for a year of work well done it was seldom if ever withheld; of the second kind, the bonus is variable roughly according to the annual salary and although again seldom withheld, good work or otherwise is rewarded by a more rapid increase. In a few cases employees are rewarded in addition for sick leave not taken. A few examples illustrate this distinction further:

- eg 1) Kwedins : R4 Men : from R10 for the less productive ones to R42 for the tractor driver
- eg 2) Men : one month's salary
- eg 3) Drivers : R2O + 30c/day sick leave not taken Milkers : R9 + 25c/day " " " " Unskilled men : R5 + 25c/day " " " " (In each case 12 days sick leave was allowed).
- eg 4) "Every man that works well has R2/month saved over the year which he gets just before Christmas. He loses this if he leaves during the year."
- eg 5) "The Christmas box (bonus) is purely gratuitous and is varied from R5 for a kwedin to R50 for the top man. Basically it's (dependent) on service but it also depends on how he has worked. Increases every year are purely as the state of (financial) health of the farm improves."

(b) Periodic cash payments

Payment for certain periodic tasks also takes one of two forms: either, simply a fixed sum is paid upon completion of a particular task, or the payment is calculated at a predetermined rate.

Although in total monetary terms periodic payments are not very important, the average per worker of Rl0,81 p.a. conceals a good deal. In the first instance the amount is not usually earned by all the workers on the farm. Secondly, the method of payment indicates a quite different approach in that it is performance based. It is convenient to discuss the basis of these payments separately for crop and livestock farms.

(i) Bonus schemes on livestock farms

Whereas traditionally on livestock farms outside contract shearers were hired at an agreed rate as indicated in 5.1 (c), more and more farm men do the shearing themselves and are paid in a similar fashion to the contract workers which amounts to a bonus over and above their normal The median rate was 7c/sheep but typical rates varied monthly wage. from 3c/ to 10c/sheep or goat plus one slaughter animal per 500 shorn. Occasionally variations were encountered such as paying more for shearing a ram e.g. 10 or 20cvs 5c or 10c respectively for a ewe or wether; 10c for an Angora kid vs 5c/mature goat. The rates are not greatly below those paid for outside contractors which could be hired at the time for 10c/sheep. A saving is effected, however, in the provision of food and accommodation and sometimes transport and furthermore the operation is undertaken at the farmer's convenience by using his own staff. Sometimes those assisting with shearing operations in other ways, from the sorter/classer downwards where this was not the farmer himself, received a fixed sum. Shearing is rightly classified as a demanding task - it is tiring, in that the sheep or goat must be firmly held while the shearer himself bends over the animal and it requires a good deal of skill to shear close to the skin without either cutting it or double cutting the fleece. It is in the interests of the farmer to have shearing operations completed without undue delay but not at the expense of poor quality shearing. On the other hand, the opportunity of earning a bonus from the work would also act as an incentive to the worker.

More diverse and rather more ingenious are incentive bonus payments which are made usually to the more skilled farm worker or men responsible for a particular task. These bonus schemes varied from very simple ones applicable to only a few men on the farm to two quite elaborate systems of bonus payments apposite to almost the entire staff. Examples at the former end of the scale included:

- tractor drivers bonus: a bonus of 2c to 5c/hour driven

- shepherd's bonus: from lc to lOc/lamb and up to l5c/Angora kid weaned. In one case the stockman received a bonus of a goat ewe after lambing and if losses had been low an additional two kids and R5 in cash.
- herdman's bonus: Rl/calf weaned; Rl/cow calved and assisted unsupervised. R2/injection given at night.
- bonuses for killing predators ranging from R2, a bottle of brandy and R2 and in one case R5/jackal or redcat, and R1 for finding a snare.
- sales bonuses to stockmen: one farmer paid 50c/wether sold, R2,50/grade bovine and R5 for a stud Hereford; another paid R5 to R10 on the sale of a stud bull to the stable boy.
- bonuses upon the completion of a task e.g. RlO/trough built; a beast on completion of a dam.
- bonuses per unit for construction work e.g. Rl/anchor and lOc/pole for fencing.
- bonuses for outside contracting work performed e.g. machine 'boys' were paid Rl/day and were given half a bottle of brandy while combine harvesting.

Two of the more comprehensive bonus systems on livestock farms will be described on a case by case basis. It should be noted that these farms were not included in the random sample as such but in the additional farmers surveyed as described in Appendix 2.

Farm A: On this farm three main bonuses are used: 1) Black mark - a bonus of R30 p.a. less Rl for each 'black mark' - applicable to every regular employee. The actual amounts received varied from Rl2.50 to R30. In this case a board with each man's name is displayed in the farm shed. A 'white mark' for good performance cancels 'black marks' for poor performance.

2) SDM (Sales-Deaths-Missing) - i.e. a bonus on livestock taking into account sales, deaths and missing, applicable to permanent employees and paid once a year. For every animal sold or introduced into the herd or flock whether

purchased or through maturity, 30c/small stock unit or R1,80/L.S.U. is added to the total amount. For every death lOc/ssu (or 60c/LSU) is deducted, while double that amount is deducted for every animal missing without trace. The bonus amounted to R31,40 per permanent employee.

3) Weaning bonus - applicable to two stockmen and paid twice yearly - calculated at 5c/lamb, 10c/Angora goat kid and 25c/calf.

Farm B: On this farm cash wages are made up of a small monthly 'basic' wage paid to each employee while the bulk of his earnings are made up These include payments of incentive payments for particular tasks. for truck and tractor driving, vehicle and machine repairs and maintenance, building, fencing, carpentry and crate construction, game catching, shearing, shoeing of horses and lambing. Two examples will suffice. Firstly, the tractor driver apart from the small basic cash wage earned 15c/hour on the tractor hour guage plus fixed amounts for repairs and maintenance undertaken by him such as 50c for mending a puncture, 75c/service and larger amounts for repair work e.g. R5 to R10 for putting in clutch which may take him two days. Secondly, the shepherds are paid according to the lambing percentage obtained from every flock of ewes. The farmer gave a specific example for a flock of 411 ewes in a particular camp for which the shepherds would receive R10 for 75% lambs marked or less (i.e. 308 or less). Above 75% the amount was increased progressively in steps e.g.

from	75%	to	84,9%	an	additional	24c/lamb
from	85%	to	89,9%	11	**	48c/lamb
from	90%	to	94,9%	11	.,	75c/lamb

The farmer explains carefully to the shepherd what the bonus is to be for the specific case presenting him with a carbon copy which is reexplained in Xhosa. In the particular example mentioned the two shepherds received R18 each for 341 lambs marked (i.e. 83%). There are three lambings a year.

Critics of performance related bonus systems applicable to more than just a few staff cite the additional bookkeeping required as one of the chief

drawbacks. Secondly, several farmers said that bonus systems were too difficult to introduce on livestock farms especially on smaller properties where it was not possible to designate men full-time, or nearly full-time, to specific tasks. Thirdly, there was an unwillingness to go too enthusiastically into something from which they would not easily be able to withdraw especially during periods of substantially decreased net earnings. Fourthly, that bonus systems had been tried but had failed. For example, because "Certain individuals do not react to a bonus", or "The African thinks of today and not tomorrow. The more urbanised the better they would understand", or "The shepherd could not understand why money was deducted for dead lambs - he could understand getting money for ones born."

The proponents of bonus incentive payments on the other hand, argue that labour productivity has increased by creating an opportunity for those who want more money, to earn more by bringing in more, by allowing a greater sense of participation, and creating a certain amount of competition. Proponents of bonus payments did not see these as the only ways of improving productivity or motivating staff. Other ways for example would include allowing them to run their own livestock. It was furthermore agreed that bonus payments were not without their problems. For example, heavy rain at lambing could result in losses for which the shepherd could not be held responsible. One farmer remarked that he had felt "a bit awkward on an occasion where some sheep ran out of a kraal and one labourer had said to another 'you catch the sheep - because you get a bigger bonus than I do'."

It was apparent that farmers had discussed some of the bonus schemes in operation in the district and a number were considering introducing such schemes on their farms. It is thus worthwhile further discussing some of their alleged drawbacks. In the first instance it was obvious that not all farmers were entirely clear as to what an incentive bonus payment is. In answer to the question "Do you have any bonus incentive schemes?" many farmers answered that they did, but when asked to describe them the explanations provided included past schemes long since abandoned; annual bonuses which were fixed per man; and over-time tips of food or goods.
Another group said that they did have an incentive scheme but became vague when pressed for details. One such case was the farmer who claimed "I give my stockman a bonus when stock is sold, but subtract for losses." On being questioned on the rate and the total amount the delicously doubtful answer given was simply: "What I normally decide."

There are at least two reasons why bonus schemes may have been unsuccessful. Firstly, that they were too complicated, perhaps even illogical to the worker, or that the scheme was not carefully enough explained. Secondly, that the bonus offered was so small as to be insignificant. One would hardly imagine that a bonus of lc/lamb weaned with a grand total of R2 p.a. would provide sufficient incentive for a shepherd. Similarly, a dairy farmer seemed surprised that his milkers "were interested for a while and then not at all (after 4 months)" when he offered 1/2c for every additional gallon (4,51) by which they could increase production from a base.

(ii) Bonus schemes for crop production

Relatively few incentive schemes appear to operate in connection with crop farming although livestock farmers implied that their introduction should be very much easier for cropping operations. <u>Ad hoc</u> bonuses of cash or bonuses in kind were the most common. For example tractor drivers were given a bonus on the completion of ploughing, workers were paid a bonus for successfully undertaking the burning of a fire-break or a bonus on completion of harvesting. One farmer who had been in the habit of rewarding work well performed with an additional ration of sugar or tobacco claimed that this had led to allegations of favouritism by their colleagues because they were believed to be tamnanis' (tell tales).

One method which is apparently becoming popular is a payment per unit over and above the normal salary e.g. with chicory, regular men are paid a bonus of lOc/bag for topping. A farmer who claimed great success by giving his regular staff piece-work and paying them for it as a bonus said "I have found that this is one of the reasons that I can leave the men (to work on their own). It costs a bit more, but output (has) increased quite a bit. (And the) staff are quite happy with it. Only one

ever tried to cheat." In some instances regular men worked together with their own families who were on a casual piece-work basis on tasks such as weeding. In one case regular men were paid an additional sum calculated at half the rate of casual piece-workers.

(c) Overtime pay and attendance bonuses

A problem particularly acute on crop farms and often dealt with by bonuses is that of regular attendance. Some of the specific solutions included: a bonus of R3 per month with 50c deducted per day taken off and paid in full at Christmas; and keeping a register without the knowledge of the staff and basing an <u>ad hoc</u> Christmas bonus on this. Some farmers paid the bonus weekly e.g. "50c every Saturday for a full week unless he has annoyed me and given strife" while others did so monthly. In the former cases the attendance bonuses were hardly distinguishable from the annual bonus while the latter were included with monthly wages.

In a few cases overtime was paid for in cash but as a rule either a gift of tobacco or sugar was given or time off. Since the amounts per worker were very small and were earned only from time to time cash overtime was included with other periodic payments. Some typical overtime rates quoted by Albany farmers included:

Weekdays	:	15	to	25c/hour
Saturday	afternoon	20	to	25c/hour
Sundays	:	25	to	35c/hour
Tractor	drivers :	20	to	35c/hour; "No particular rate -
		as	the	e spirit moves me. I never have
		an	y t:	rouble in getting them to work overtime
		Б0	th	ey must be satisfied."

(d) Provisions at cost and/or subsidised rates

A common practice on Albany farms is that a 'store' is kept for the purchase by staff of their everyday basic requirements. The farmer usually makes purchases of items in bulk and re-sells at cost although some farmers (about 10%) provide items to their staff at less than cost price. Strictly speaking the difference in the amount which would normally have been paid and that at which the farmer supplies to his staff should also be calculated as part of the total benefit. Since accurate information on the total value of the subsidy was not always available, however, it was not possible to fully quantify the benefit. It is nevertheless a point which should not be entirely ignored.

The items stocked in these farm provision stores range from the very basics maize, mealiemeal, sugar, tea and coffee to a very much wider range. A Highlands farmer for example who opened his store twice a week for an hour, in addition to the items mentioned above, stocked breadflour, samp, mealierice, tinned fish, sweets, biscuits, soap, soap powder, polish, a chest rub, tobacco, cigarettes, matches, paraffin, torch batteries, slates, stationery, ballpoints and stamps. One farmer regularly brought furniture back from Port Elizabeth when he came back with an otherwise empty truck. At times he had R300 to R400 in stock but only supplied to staff when they could pay the full amount in cash. The main reasons for providing the service for their staff are the distance from the nearest shop (6,7 km on average), the prices charged by licenced country shops, and avoiding the need for staff to take time off Farmers claimed that the costs at rural general dealers to go to town. were as much as 50% above the price charged by supermarkets in Grahamstown. Two specific examples of highly priced items were sugar, which sold for 43c at a supermarket in Grahamstown against 52c for the same mass locally, and tinned fish which sold for 18 1/4c as against 26c.

The extent to which farmers subsidised purchases varied from 36,5% on maize (46c on Rl,26), 25% on sifted meal (which cost the farmer only 60c/month per worker) to 20% on all items. In one case certain items were available on any day at cost but only on ration day at a subsidised rate. Only one farmer interviewed said that he covered his transport costs by adding 1c to 2c per item but was nevertheless supplying at well below the price of local shops.

5.4 Other periodic benefits

Another group of benefits received at irregular intervals during the year having a total value of R15,01 (which is in excess of the average amount of the annual and other periodic bonuses) is the direct cost to the farmer of transport, poll tax and staff medical expenses as detailed in table 5.11.

	ALBANY DISTRICT	Lo 1	wer Alb 2	any 3	Upper 4	Albany 5
Tax	1,01	0,44	1,39	1,08	0,82	0,96
Medical	5,46	3,47	6,71	7,46	5,35	2,51
Transport	8,54	2,92	11,41	4,82	13,01	8,46
TOTAL	15,01	6,83	19,51	13,36	19,18	11,93

Table 5.11:Other periodic benefits to regular stafffor Albany and by region (R-c p.a.)

Source: Sample survey

Each of the items contained in the table will be discussed briefly in turn.

(a) Tax

Farmers commonly made a contribution towards the R2,50 per head which was required to be paid by every Black male over the age of 18 years. Several farmers said that they had paid arrea tax for long periods (in one case up to 14 years) while others refused to do so. One farmer said that "nobody (here) pays poll tax. I have never hired a 'boy' with his poll tax up to date". The general rule is that a contribution from 50c to the full amount is made for full-time regular men with the average contribution amounting to R1. (It sould be noted that legislation was amended subsequent to 1977 which abolished poll tax.)

(b) Medical

Contributions to medical expenses on the one hand took the form of purchased medicines kept on the farm especially headache tablets, cough medicine, diarrhoea mixtures, etc which were dispensed on request and on the other took the form of the payment of clinic, hospital or medical practitioners'fees. The average contribution per family of regular employees amounted to a little over R5 per annum (The question of health care is taken up in Chapter 6).

(c) Transport

While for many farmers almost every trip to town or elsewhere will involve giving one or more staff or their families a lift for the purposes of shopping, fetching pension monies, medical, etc., farmers were asked to give only the number of special trips made during the year. The total amount was calculated at standard variable cost values, namely at 10c/km and averaged over the number of families on each farm. The great majority of farmers transport their entire staff and families to Grahamstown during December for an annual (Christmas) shopping expedition but thereafter special trips are confined mostly to medical necessity. Transport by vehicle or tractor and trailer is also given or hired out periodically to farm staff for church, funerals, or certain social As would be expected the amount of special transport per functions. family is positively correlated with the distance from Grahamstown and other facilities, as indicated in table 5.12.

Distance from	ALBANY DISTRICT	lo [.] l	wer Alba 2	any 3	Upp 4	er Albany 5
Grahamstown	32,5	17,4	24,2	32,7	46,6	40,3
Nearest shop	6,7	6,8	6,5	3,6	8,0	9,7
Nearest church	5,3	4,0	5,4	2,3	4,3	11,3
Nearest school	4,2	3,7	4,6	2,5	3,0	7,0

Table 5.12: Average distances of Albany farms from Grahamstown and other facilities, by region (km)

Source: Sample survey questions 0.7, 11.1, 12.5, 13.5

A comparison of the value of transport as contained in table 5.11 and the distances as contained in table 5.12 would seem to suggest that the amount for region 3, viz. the Seven Fountains - Sidbury area is low in relation to available facilities. Since the Port Elizabeth -Grahamstown road traverses the area, however, both the S.A. Railways Road Motor Service is more often used because of its regular service and staff are more easily able to hitch-hike into Grahamstown. The average distances and location of selected rural shops and clinics is illustrated in figure 5.1.

5.5 Benefits in kind

It can be argued that in addition to the direct benefits such as cash wages, rations, bonuses and the cash contributions farmers make for medical expenses etc. that have been detailed at some length in this chapter, other benefits in kind, particularly housing, free access to wood and water, ploughing and grazing rights and the provision of schooling and recreational facilities, should also be included to gain an accurate view of total remuneration. Up to now, the payments and 'benefits' have been quantified as expenses directly incurred by the farmer. These expenses do not, however, always accurately reflect the value of the items actually incorporated especially in the case of those mentioned above. This argument will be elaborated upon in the discussion under four headings:

- (a) housing and related benefits;
- (b) ploughing rights;
- (c) grazing rights; and
- (d) other facilities.

(a) Housing, wood and water

Unlike most workers in towns and cities, farm workers are housed by their employers on the property. The arrangements vary quite extensively as does the standard of housing but as far as possible an attempt will be made to describe and typify the housing for the district and its subregions and then to attach a monetary value to such housing.



Figure 5.1 : The Albany Magisterial District: distribution of services in the rural areas.

The term housing for purposes of the discussion will include shelter, the means for heating, and the provision of water for drinking, cooking and washing, although the items will be discussed in turn.

The majority of farm labourers' housing consists of self-erected mud-and-pole structures with thatch or iron for roofing as shown in table 5.13. Only 25% of dwellings had either brick or concrete walls, although only one-third of all housing still had thatched It was usual that floors consisted of stamped (compacted) roofs. mud and dung regardless of the materials used for the walls and roof. It is interesting to note the close correlation between the reported average rainfall for each area and the construction materials. In region 1 for example with a rainfall of 649 mm all houses were of the mud-and-pole variety with 57% having thatched roofs. In areas 2 and 3 (540 to 549 mm) three-fourths of dwellings were mud-and-pole structures, but less than half of these had thatched roofs. In Upper Albany only one-fifth of dwellings would fit the mud-and-pole/thatch description. The reason for the difference in house construction between the higher and lower rainfall areas is the freer availability of poles and thatch grass where rainfall is better.

The construction of labourers' dwellings coincides closely with whether these have been erected by the labourers' themselves or by the farmer. Except in a few cases (7%) where farmers have had mud-and-pole with iron or asbestos roofed houses constructed, all mud-and-pole dwellings are labourer constructed. The proportion of labourer to farmer built houses varies from about 1:1 in Upper Albany to 5:1 on average in Lower Albany (see table 5.15). The significance of the fact that some dwellings are labourer constructed while others are farmer constructed is in the value which can be attached to them. In the case of the former, the labourer is usually entirely responsible for the erection and upkeep of the dwelling although occasionally some assistance is given in the form of building materials, usually roofing, while the farmer generally maintains the latter type. Furthermore, when farmers were asked to place a monetary value on staff housing they generally attached no value at all to labourer-constructed housing. In one instance for example a farmer said "the only part that is worth anything is the roof, but they supplied the iron themselves".

Table: 5.13: Construction of labour housing (%)

	ALBANY		Lowe	r Albany		Upper Albany	
-	DISTRICT	1	2	3	- 4	5	
Walls : mud and poles	75	100	71	83	70	60	
brick	19	0	21	8	30	30	
other	6	0	7	8	0	10	
Roof : thatch	32	57	29	33	40	10	
iron	55	43	57	58	60	50	
asbestos	13	0	14	8	0	40	
č							
Floors : mud/dung	98	100	93	100	100	100	
other	2	-	7	-	-	-	
Average rainfall (mm)	501	649	540	549	387	401	
% houses labour built	70	96	68	83	49	55	
·							

Source:

Sample survey question 10.1

The labourer-constructed houses are, nevertheless, not costless to the farmer, since the general rule is that a newly appointed labourer will be given time-off to build his own house, where housing is not otherwise available. The farmer may also provide a tractor to transport building materials (timber and thatch), but generally the labourer is responsible for finding and preparing suitable poles for the frame himself as well as its erection, although the women will often be responsible for filling in the frame with 'dagga' (i.e. mud) and preparing the floor. The system of self-erected housing is not without its drawbacks. One farmer had stopped the practice on the grounds that "they take too long to build their own houses. I get in a man to do the job for R20". Another farmer said that it had taken a new man 6 weeks to build his house. Another disadvantage of self-constructed houses is that these are not always leakproof. As one farmer put it "They used to ask off every time it rained - sometimes for up to a week - because their huts were falling to bits. Now, since giving them the iron off the pig runs, they never seem to ask off."

Nevertheless, in the sense that a farmer has paid a labourer a cash wage and rations during the construction period the dwelling has at least that price attached to it. Thus on the basis of a one month construction period and a beginning labourer's wages the cost of construction would be $R35_{9}12$ as indicated in table 5.14.

		Lo	ower Alba	Uppe	r Albany	
Item	Albany	1	2	3	4	5
Wages 1	12,37	8,90	12,06	12,80	13,89	11,67
Rations ²	22,75	20,52	20,72	23,45	28,47	20,56
TOTAL	. 35,12	29,42	· 32,78	36,25	42,36	32,23
Value/house	17,56	14,71	16,39	18,12	21,18	16,11

Table 5.14: Value of labourer constructed housing (R) per housing unit

<u>Source</u>: 1) table 5.1 2) table 5.4 Not all labourer housing is newly constructed, however, and on the assumption that the effective life of each house is 10 years half the above is taken, viz. R17,56.

Many farmers said that their staff preferred houses with small 'portholes' for windows, that they blocked up chimneys and did not use toilets where these were provided. The only farmer in the random sample whose staff houses had wooden floors claimed that these had been oversmeared with dung.

Where housing was constructed for farm staff their type ranged from the traditional hut with thatch or iron roofs to brick or concrete block walls, and iron or asbestos roofing. A few farmers, while making use of the traditional materials for the walls, had these sealed with a mud and cement mixture inside and out. Typically such houses were valued by the farmer at between R100 and R400. At the upper end of the scale the house built of mud-and-pole walls sealed with cement consisting of two rooms with a total area of 24m² (3,5 x 6,7 m), stable door, small windows with glass, chimney, asbestos or iron roof and guttering, and a stamped-earth floor. The most expensive houses had cost R3 000 each to construct and consisted of four rooms of brick under asbestos together with steel doors and window frames, fireplace, gutters and tanks, and toilet. The average and median values of farmer constructed housing is given in table 5.15.

On the basis of the median value for farmer constructed houses and the values calculated in table 5.14, the weighted value per housing unit for the Albany district is R87. The use of average values for farmer built houses increases the overall average to R144 - an indication that the relatively small number of high value houses has a marked influence on the result. It is therefore more useful to use the former value to indicate the position of the average labourer or average farmer.

We now turn to the valuation of housing. In the first instance we will need to distinguish between the cost of housing to the farmer and secondly, the value of housing to the worker which may or may not be equal to its cost.

The cost to the farmer in theoretical terms is relatively easy to determine and would consist of the opportunity foregone in having

Table: 5.15: Labour housing : average number and value per unit (R)

	ALBANY DISTRICT LO		wer Alba	any	Upper Albany	
	na shekara ta ka	1	2	3	4	5
No of housing units per farm						
Labour built	6,6	6,6	7,2	10,1	4,2	3,9
Farmer built	2,8	0,3	3,4	2,0	4,4	3,2
Total units per farm	9,4	6,9	10,6	12,1	8,6	7,1
% units labour built	70	96	68	83	49	55
Average value/housing unit						
Farmer built	466	(250) [≆]	333	225	302	928
Labourer built	18	15	16	18	21	16
Weighted average	144	25	118	52	165	427
Median value farmer built	250	(250) [*]	100	250	300	300
Weighted value	87	25	43	56	164	144

Notes: 1. * sample very small

Source: Sample survey question 10.1

capital invested in fixed improvements and the cost of maintaining The opportunity cost of the capital in simplest the capital intact. terms is expressed as the interest foregone while the cost of maintaining the capital is the cost of repairs and maintenance and capital depreciation. Since staff housing is a fully tax deductible item in the year in which the investment is made (provided a positive taxable amount is earned), in practice annual depreciation can be ignored while interest should be taken on the net additional investment only. As the tax rate is progressive this latter value would be different for each farmer depending on total taxable farm income and cannot easily therefore be taken into account. The actual cost of housing to the farmer thus, at best can be regarded as an Nevertheless, based on the weighted average values approximation. calculated above, an interest rate of 10% on the net additional investment, (say 80% of the capital value if a 20% marginal tax rate is assumed) and the actual expenditure on repairs and maintenance during the year prior to the survey the total cost to the farmer is only R11,76 per annum or about R1/month as given in table 5.16.

ITEM	ALBANY		wer Alba 2	iny 3	Upper 4	Albany 5
Interest on capital Repairs & maintenance	11,52 0,24	2,00 0,05	9,44 0,19	4,16 0,43	13,20 0,12	34,16 0,32
TOTAL	11,76	2,05	9,63	4,59	13,32	34,48

Table 5.16 : Cost of housing to the farmer (R-c p.a.)

Source: Calculated from table 5.15; sample survey.

Alternative assumptions with regard to interest rates, the proportion of net additional investment and average or median values will yield differing results, but these have little effect on the overall result because of the small base figures. (For example using the assumptions made earlier the difference between the average and median values is less than 40c/month).

Turning to the value of free housing to the farm workers. in an urban situation this could be taken as the amount saved in annual payments of rent, rates and repairs and maintenance. The rental value of housing in an urban area, say Grahamstown, cannot, however, be taken as the value to the farm worker on the farm in the Albany Rental values are determined, ceteris paribus, by the district. proximity of housing to the breadwinner's place of work, schooling, shopping, health and other facilities including places of worship and recreation, quite apart from other factors such as the socio-economic status of the area, etc. Even where these urban township rentals are not determined by market forces a fair comparison must allow for differences in housing standards and the proximity of basic facilities. It can be argued that a benefit in kind such as housing may not be worth as much to the occupier as the cost of the housing (rental or otherwise) to the employer where the free expression of consumption preferences would result in a consumption shift to more of other goods in preference to housing. For all practical purposes the latter situation can be ignored, however, since, as already described, most of the farm housing is very basic.

The value of housing to the labourer whether self-erected or constructed has no rental value unless the total number of houses which the farmer allowed on the farm were strictly limited and the demand for housing exceeded the available supply. Thus, the fixing of a value on housing from the labourer's point of view is entirely arbitrary, although it might look neater. It could, however, be useful to quantify the difference in quality between self-erected houses and those constructed for the labourer by attaching arbitrary values such as the cost of housing provision to the farmer as calculated previously or some other number. For example, on that basis the self-erected housing is worth the equivalent of R2/month while farmer-constructed housing is worth R5/month and using the proportions of each (as contained in table 5.15) the following average values/labourer per annum are derived for Albany and its five geographical areas:

ALBANY DISTRICT	R34,72
Lower Albany - 1	25,56
- 2	35,54
- 3	29,95
Upper Albany - 4	42,41
- 5	40,22

As interesting as the sums may be that can be produced by such arbitrary assumptions one would have difficulty in defending these against any other set of assumptions. Since farmers feel intuitively that free housing has a value to the labourer in his total remuneration package especially in making urban and rural salary comparisons for illustrative purposes the arbitrary assumptions adopted above will be used, viz. that the average value of housing to an Albany farm labourer is R34,72 per annum.

A consideration of the value of wood and water can be taken together. The closest comparable situation is the black urban township where no material for heating or lighting is provided but where water is available in taps at no charge to the user. On the farm water of varying qualities must also be fetched and carried, but wood is invariably available for the taking.

While firewood in the townships was available at the time of the survey at 30c/bag this price needs to be reduced since wood on the farm is not in chopped form. Since information was not obtained on the total amount of wood used by labourers' households or the effort expended in fetching and chopping, for comparative purposes it will be necessary to make certain assumptions, viz. that the equivalent of 15 bags of wood are used per month at a value of 20c/bag. (The monthly use would increase during winter but decrease during summer months). The farm gate value of wood to the farmer in unchopped form in the veld is very low as the number of sale outlets is limited and the cost of transport is relatively high, and for the purposes of this analysis is taken as zero.

Water provision by the farmer, on the other hand, is not costless. Information obtained on 70% of the farms surveyed indicates that in Lower Albany approximately one-third of farms have water pumped from underground as the main source, on one-third water from springs, rivers and/or dams is used, and the remaining third use both sources. In Upper Albany, on the other hand, springs, rivers and dams whether used alone or supplemented by other sources, account for only about one-third of the water supply while pumped water and rainwater storage tanks account for nearly two-thirds. Only 5% of farmers gave rainwater tanks as the only water source of which all were found in the drier Upper Albany Area. Water pumped either by windmills or stored in rainwater tanks is not costless to the farmer but attaching a monetary value which is an accurate reflection of the cost would be difficult without quite detailed data on the capital value and running costs of equipment and proportionate use by livestock and by staff. Based on the information available and on the assumption that:

> pumped water costs Rl/month , rainwater " 50c/month, and

river, spring and dam water has no cost, the district average cost per annum would be R6,07 per regular worker while the figure for Lower and Upper Albany would be R5,42 and R7,13 respectively.

(b) Ploughing rights

Traditionally farm labourers have often been allowed a piece of arable land to cultivate crops for their own account. Calculating the value of this arable land - an average of 2 ha per farm, as indicated in the previous chapter (table 4.2) - is not a particularly straightforward Firstly the land is made up of two types. Usually every family task. head is allowed a small garden plot next to his house within the limits of the soil and the climate pertaining to the farm. In addition on some farms a piece of arable land is made available as well. Because of the limited rainfall in Upper Albany, however, employee land is for all practical purposes confined to the better-watered Lower Albany as indicated in table 5.13. A. In the latter area ploughing rights are exercised on an average of 0,36 ha per labourer, although this exceeds 0,5 ha on one in five farms.

Table: 5.17:

Employee land and crop services provided

	ALBANY		Lower Albany		y	Upper Albany		
	DISTRICT	1	2	3	1+2+3	4	5	4+5
Average ha/regular employee	0,25	0,26	0,34	0,39	0,36	0,03	0,02	0,03
of which garden plots (ha)	0,03	0,01	0,05	0,03	0,03	0,03	0,02	0,03
% average distribution of land								
none	49	29	29	25	27	80	90	85
less than 0,2 ha	19	29	14	25	21	20	10	15
0,2 - 0,5 ha	19	28	36	25	30	-	-	-
more than 0,5 ha	13	14	21	25	21	-	-	-
% labourers' enjoying crop services	43	38	68	75	68	-	negl.	negl.
% farmers' providing service								
- soil preparation	34	43	50	67	55	-	-	-
- planting	26	29	29	67	42	-	-	-
- fertilizer	15	14	14	42	24	-	-	-
- weed control	11	0	21	25	18	-	-	-
- reaping	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-

Source: Sample survey

In the case of the small garden plots (averaging 0,02 ha/labourer) the cultivation, planting and subsequent tending, if any, is entirely at the will of the labourer and/or his family. In the case of the other, often communal, cropland, however, practices vary quite considerably from farm to farm. At one extreme, the land is available if the labourer wishes to undertake all the cropping operations at his own expense and in his own time although the farmer's equipment may in some cases be hired. At the other extreme the farmer undertakes the entire operation up to, but not including, harvesting, at his own expense. Between these extremes several variations are found, the chief of which are that one or more operations are undertaken at the farmer's expense. Typically, the weeding and harvesting is left to the worker and his family, as seen in table 4.21. It will be noted that in Lower Albany between 43% and 61% of farms undertake soil preparation and various other services, but since it is generally the larger employers who do this, on average 68% of all labourers benefit. The value of the right to cultivate land can be viewed from two perspectives. From the labourer's viewpoint the value of the crops produced and consumed or otherwise disposed of (to animals or by selling) can be taken at the price he would have to pay for the crop less the cost of purchased inputs such as seed and fertilizer and inputs of his own and his family's labour.

Where the farmer provides all the inputs except the labour services for hoeing and harvesting, the value of the crops to the labourer following this argument, could be taken as the market price net of his own and his family's labour. The cost of providing arable land from the farmer's point of view is foregone net crop income plus the cost of inputs and other services provided, assuming that the land would have been used. If the land would otherwise not have been used by the farmer, the opportunity foregone would amount only to the cost of the inputs actually provided. The former is probably the case as far as the additional arable land is concerned, while the latter would apply to garden plots. In practice it was necessary to make estimates of yields (and inputs) since the farmers were seldom able to give any idea of the amount of crops produced by their staff. Since

Table: 5.18;

2

Cropland: annual value per regular employee and the cost to the farmer (R-c)

	ALBANY Lower Albany						iny	
	DISTRICT	l	2	3	1+2+3	4	5	4+5
Value of ploughing rights to employ	<u>ee</u>		ng mangar (n. Großend - C	an a				<u></u>
Gross value of crops	16,25	16,90	22,10	25,35	23,40	negl.	negl.	negl.
less cost of inputs ²	1,53	2,01	2,55	1,96	2,21	negl.	negl.	negl.
Value to employee	14,72	14,89	19,55	23,39	21,19	negl.	negl.	negl.
Cost of land provision to farmer	ar (- Conference (/	9-19-19-19-19-19-19-19-19-19-19-19-19-19						
Crop gross margin foregone ³	23,00	25,00	29,00	36,00	33,00	0	0	0
plus cost of 'free' inputs ⁴	4,19	6,40	7,09	6,71	6,81	0	0,52	0,26
Total cost to the farmer	27,19	31,40	36,09	42,71	39,81	0	0,52	0,26

Notes: 1. Based on maize price of R6,50/70 kg (i.e. net of bag cost) and yield of 700 kg/ha.

- 2. Estimate of labour and materials costs of inputs provided by the labourer or his family. See Appendix 5.5 for calculations.
- 3. Based on crop gross margin of R100/ha estimated from income and cost budgets.
- 4. Based on actual cost of materials (seed, fertilizer, etc) and machinery variable costs.
- Source: Farm Business Management: income and cost budgets. Dept. Agric.Econ. & Mktg, Pretoria; A. Jones (1977). Personal communication, Bathurst Farmers' Union, Grahamstown; Sample survey.

maize is the crop almost exclusively grown for staff, all estimates were made on that basis as contained in table 5.18. The value of the cropland to the labourer calculated on a gross income of R65/ha less the foregone earnings of labour and seed costs amounted to an average of R14,72 per annum per regular labourer for the Albany district. The amount ranged from neglible for Upper Albany to between R15,00 to R23,00 On the other hand the cost to the farmer amounted for Lower Albany. to R27,19 per annum: again from zero to very little in Upper Albany to between R33 and R43 in Lower Albany. While the assumptions which were made in order to arrive at the calculations are only considered approximations (see Appendix 5.5) even quite substantial revisions in the variables will not alter the picture very markedly. There are two factors which are not taken account of in the calculations: firstly, the availability of cropland does allow farm staff to include 'green mealies' in their diet which provides some variety from the (dried) maize; and secondly, where the farmer himself plants maize, allowing staff their own will mean that there is less excuse for theft.

Although two-thirds of Lower Albany farmers undertake soil preparation and/or other crop services as we saw earlier (table 5.17), most farmers regard employee cropland as a somewhat futile exercise. Several farmers who previously allowed the use of cropland do not do so any longer: "They just waste all my diesel", and "I don't like giving them lands because you plant etc. and then they don't keep it clean (of weeds)" were typical comments. Farmers also claimed that their staff were not interested in using cropland - ("only one is interested in a garden; each (labourer) could have an acre"). In some cases where land was no longer given, rations or cash were offered in exchange, although the maximum rations amounted to $7\frac{1}{2}$ (70 kg) bags of maize per annum. (Where rations were given, their value was included elsewhere).

In the final analysis, assuming that both labourer and farmer view staff cropland rationally, it's 'value' to the labourer apparently is worth less than the effort needed to produce a crop. On the other hand, the cost to the farmer is greater than the benefits which he believes

are to be derived from allowing the land to lie idle or the foregone earnings from producing a crop for his own account. That a positive value of land was obtained from the employees' view may be as a result of either over-estimation of the yields obtainable (700 kg/ha), or an underestimation of the labour inputs required and the value of leisure time foregone. Maize yields have been shown to be particularly susceptible to weed infestation. Nel and Smit (1977) quote a 1956 Potchefstroom experiment in which a yield of 1,8 tonne/ha was obtained where (hand) weed control was applied from the time of planting, while yields of only 1,0 tonne/ha and 0,4 tonne/ha were obtained where weed control began 15 and 30 days respectively after emergence (of the maize plant). Whereas farmers today carry out most of the required weed control using chemicals and tractor-drawn implements, the labourer or his wife must undertake the same task with hoes, so that the significance of the weeding operation will no longer be apparent. Nevertheless and not withstanding the argument that assumptions may be subject to error, the average value of R14,72 per annum for cropland is adopted which is approximately three times the amount of the cost of the inputs provided by the farmer, although only half the total cost The answer as to the true value to the employee to the farmer himself. must still be sought, preferably with the assistance of a social anthropologist well versed in Xhosa.

(c) Grazing rights

Some 83% of Albany farmers allow one or more of their staff grazing rights, as shown in table 5.19, although these rights are exercised on only 74% of the farms. On average, farm labourers graze 1,8 large stock units (LSU) and own an equivalent of 0,2 non-grazing LSU. Beef cattle comprise 90% of the grazing livestock with the remainder being made up of sheep, goats, dairy-type cattle and, on one farm, horses. Sheep and goats are only of any consequence on Upper Albany farms partly because much of the area is not good cattle country. Non-grazing livestock comprised mostly of pigs but also some poultry. It is quite possible that the latter group are underenumerated as farmers tended to be rather hazy on the subject or regarded them as of no consequence. Some farmers encouraged their staff to run pigs although

not always for unselfish reasons as the following statement reveals: "I encourage pigs because it prevents measles in my stock (and) I turn a blind eye to germ-meal sweeping etc. which go to the pigs"

With regard to grazing livestock the ownership by individual labourers varies quite substantially, ranging from more than 10 head belonging to some labourers, to none for other labourers. In some cases grazing rights are only permitted to certain labourers and not others. (The average distribution of livestock ownership per farm is indicated in table 5.19). As one farmer said: "the limit depends on the man. A good man can have 4 head (of cattle) excluding unweaned calves; a 'poor man' (=poor worker) can keep only 2; and two (staff) may keep no livestock. Each is allowed one pig." Less than 10% of farmers indicated that their staff made full use of their grazing rights, and where grazing rights were utilized, this was mostly by the longer-serving labourers. One one farm, although nineteen labourers were permitted stock, (4 cattle excluding calves) only five staff had livestock with a Another farmer said that although he total of 14 between them. allowed each labourer 10 goats or 2 large cattle, he had not had a man with livestock for eight years. He further maintained that "20 years ago at least half had livestock".

Several farmers confirmed the contention that it is mostly the older labourers who possess livestock and expressed disappointment that their younger staff were 'not interested', e.g. "I've suggested to the younger ones that they buy. I feel that if (they) want animals they will work very much better with my animals than otherwise." Some farmers went as far as selling animals to their staff at low prices (e.g. a dairy farmer sold his calves at Rl/head.) or lending their staff money to begin with a small nucleus. The fact that the younger staff do not have livestock on other properties, however, is by design. In particular, dairy farmers with tuberculosis and contagious abortion-free herds insisted that new staff who came with cattle did so on the understanding that they disposed of them, although existing staff were

Table: 5.19

3

Staff livestock : ownership and grazing rights

	ALBANY	12-12-14-14-14-14-14-14-14-14-14-14-14-14-14-	Lower Albany			Upper Albany			
	DISTRICT	1	2	3	1+2+3	4	5	4+5	
Av livestock per labourer (LSU)* 1	2,0	1,9	1,6	2,8	2,3	1,0	1,9	1,4	
- grazing livestock	1,8	1,5	1,3	2,7	2,1	0,9	1,8	1,3	
- poultry and pigs	0,2	0,4	0,3	0,1	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,1	
Cattle as % total grazing livestock	95	100	96	97	99	80	86	84	
<u>Grazing rights</u> - permitted (LSU) - utilised (%)	3,0 60	3,2 46	2,3 56	3,7 75	3,1 66	2,6 36	3 ,3 55	2,9 46	
Distribution of grazing rights (%)					ţ				
- no grazing permitted	17	0	29	8	15	10	30	20	
- rights not exercised	9	44	7	0	12	-	10	5	
- rights exercised: less than 3LSU	55	28	50	50	46	90	50	70	
- : 3 or more LSU	19	28	14	42	27	-	10	5	

Note: 1. LSU = Large stock units, i.e. 1 mature bovine or ungulate, 6 mature sheep or goats, 5 pigs or 100 fowls.

SOURCE: Sample survey

allowed stock. Other farmers only allowed their older men to have stock as a reward for long service.

Clearly some farmers saw that staff ownership of livestock had important externalities for them as exemplified by the statements: "Farmers have a good hold on staff because many farmers now only take on men without livestock", ".... they are more settled", "those with cattle don't go to town", and "cattle also provide fresh milk for their children so that you don't have none of this T.B. trouble." The contention that stock ownership makes a labourer a better stockman was also frequently made. In a broader context staff livestock ownership also had its benefits for the farmer. As a farmer put it: "While they have livestock they must run with mine; they must also die with mine; and we must find the cause together." The negative effect of doing away with livestock was driven home in another case where it was felt that the staff were undertaking their duties more casually than before, as their own livestock were not at stake. ("Previously I never had to run around and say 'collect stock in the rain' etc. They did it without being told.")

One feature of livestock ownership that was surprising to find was that livestock in the almost exclusively livestock area of Upper Albany should possess fewer grazing animals than those in the more mixed farming area (i.e. 1,3 vs 2,1 LSU). When it is noted, however, that the number of animals which are permitted to be grazed are not vastly different between Upper and Lower Albany (2,9 vs 3,1 LSU) there are two possible explanations.

Firstly, that greater risks are involved in the ownership of cattle in an area not entirely suited to them with respect to the natural vegetation particularly during times of periodic drought. Secondly, that farmers in the area took the opportunity of reducing employee livestock during the prolonged drought which affected the area for most of the second half of the 1960's and which was accompanied by a downturn in the meat and animal fibre prices. The latter explanation is the more plausible of the two, although this was confirmed by only two farmers. Before turning to the question of the value of grazing rights it should be noted that some farmers judge the overall 'quality' of farm labourers by their possession or otherwise of livestock as shown by the following statements: "If he hasn't any livestock I won't have him at any price unless he has a good reason" and ".... those without (stock) are loafers as far as I am concerned." These views are not universally held though (e.g. "Some of my worst labourers have livestock") and, moreover were apparently more firmly held in the past than today (e.g. "A 'boy' used to be judged by his cattle long ago.")

Turning now to an assessment of the value of grazing rights. Like ploughing rights, livestock grazing rights may also be seen from two viewpoints. To the farmer the cost of allowing livestock is the net foregone earnings which would otherwise have been derived in the event that staff livestock displaced his own stock, plus the cost of provision of livestock services. On the other hand, the farmer himself clearly derives benefits, namely, that staff

- 1) take greater care of the farmer's stock
- 2) are not as likely to leave and seek employment elsewhere, and
- 3) stocktheft is kept to a minimum.

These benefits are not easily quantifiable but are regarded as being sufficiently important for some farmers to be introducing or reintroducing grazing rights for their staff. From the labourer's viewpoint the income received from the sale of the animals less marketing costs or the market value at time of slaughter can be taken as its money value since no other costs of note are incurred. Where farmers allow their staff grazing rights for livestock this invariably means that a sire is provided by the farmer as well as innoculations, dipping and occasionally even veterinary services without charge. Unlike cropland which the labourer or his family have to tend in their own time, since the labourer's stock usually run with the farmer's, all the necessary animal husbandry is taken care of during the normal course of farm duties. Another distinction, however, also needs to be made, namely between grazing and non-grazing livestock. As already indicated the former comprise mostly beef cattle, while the latter consists of pigs and poultry which usually forage around the staff dwellings. (In one case the farmer had built sties for his labourers' pigs.) Whereas staff grazing livestock can be regarded as being in direct competition with those of the farmer, the same cannot be said of pigs and poultry. (In parts of Lower Albany, especially area 1, livestock also do not constitute competition - in one case the farmer had no livestock other than dairy cows which were not dependent on veld grazing, and in another, income was derived solely from crops).

Thus in estimating the income from grazing rights the total ownership of livestock is taken, namely, 2 Large Stock Units per labourer as seen in table 5.19 • On the other hand, when considering the cost of grazing rights to the farmer only grazing livestock in competition for grazing land with his own stock are taken into consideration. Since the information provided by farmers on the value of livestock slaughtered and/or consumed, was sparse and highly erratic, the estimates contained in table 5.20 were derived from assuming standard values and applying these to the average ownership per labourer per farm in each of the five areas of the Albany district. The average annual value of grazing rights on this basis was calculated to be R122 and varied from R67 in the Alicedale - Carlisle Bridge area (4), to R172 in the Seven-Fountains Sidbury area (3). The cost of providing grazing rights to the farmer on the other hand amounted to no more than R70 per labourer per annum. (It is interesting to note that the cost to the farmer is only 25% and 50% respectively in areas 1 and 2 while elsewhere the cost is in the range of two-thirds This discrepancy as previously to four-fifths of the total. explained is due to the fact that staff livestock are not always in competition with those of the farmer.) This finding is in direct contrast with that obtained for cropping rights.

Most farmers agreed that their staff greatly prized their right to grazing and in some cases had been unsuccessful in an attempt to take away grazing rights in exchange for a cash compensation. One farmer who was paying an average of R16,50 per month in cash

expressed surprise that his staff had refused an offer of an additional R23,50/month in exchange for grazing rights for 4 head of cattle excluding calves of one year or less. On the basis of the calculations presented in table $5 \cdot 17$, the farmer's offer would have exceeded the value of the grazing rights by between R3 and R6,50 per month. The farmer had not, however, made a firm undertaking to match the grazing rights compensation in the future with any more than the original amount offered, and it could easily be argued that with double-digit inflation and the additional possibility of an erosion of even the nominal sum, the labourers made a reational choice.

Finally, one further matter should be noted. While most farmers made no distinction in the cash wages of labourers who exercised grazing rights and those who did not, some farmers levied a grazing charge (e.g. Rl/month per head of cattle) while others compensated their staff for having no livestock.

Tabl	e:	5.20:	

	ALBANY	Lower Albany				Upper Albany			
	DISTRICT	l	2	3	1+2+3	- 4	5	4+5	
Value of grazing rights to employee									
Gross value of production *1	122	112	96	172	137	67	126	92	
						`			
Cost of livestock rights to farmer				с.					
Gross margin foregone *2	60	23	40	121	63	40	71	53	
plus cost of 'free' inputs *3	10	5	8	16	13	5	11	8	
Total cost to farmer	70	28	48	137	.76	45	82	61 .	
Farmer cost as % Employee value	57	25	50	80	55	67	65	66	

Notes: 1. Calculated as LSU per labourer x income/LSU where beef cattle = R60, mixed cattle = R100, sheep = R75, boergoats = R90, angora goats = R125 and pigs or poultry = R50.

- 2. Calculated as the gross margin foregone x average grazing livestock, where beef cattle = R30, mixed cattle = R50, sheep = R60, boergoats = R70, and angora goats = R120.
- 3. Calculated at actual cost, or estimated at R6.00/LSU where inputs were provided but costs were not known.

Source: Sample survey; adapted from Fish River Bushveld (Albany) Study Group figures for 1976/77.

(d) Other facilities

In addition to the items which are directly required for the farm labourer we should perhaps also consider the extent to which the provision of recreational and educational facilities could be regarded as part of total labour remuneration.

For all practical purposes recreational facilities can be ignored. While a few farmers had provided some facilities at some stage in the past these were neither recent nor on-going projects. One farmer had supplied some building materials for a church near Seven Fountains; one had purchased a radio for his staff; another had "tried ping pong and darts but it didn't work. They took it up with great joy at first, then lost interest, but anyone would."

Several farmers mentioned that cricket and rugby were played by farm workers at Sidbury and coached by a local farmer and a farmer's son respectively. At one time Carlisle Bridge farm labourers had boasted the 'Lily white rugby club' "but that's faded now." Two farmers said that their staff could make use of the netball field at the farm school if they so wished, but neither were used. Another farmer said that he would like to build a tennisette court, cricket nets and facilities for tennequoits. In summary it can be said that recreation for the most part, at least in the sense of sporting activities, is very limited and confined almost exclusively to the Sidbury area.

Where farmers do incur costs for recreation this is mostly in the form of transport (which has been accounted for elsewhere) and in time given off to the few labourers who play cricket.

A second item which could be included is the cost incurred by farmers in the provision of schooling. For those farmers who have erected a building on their property the foregone earnings from putting the capital to alternative uses is the most obvious cost. In some cases one or more houses may also have been erected for the teacher(s) which are occupied rent free or at a subsidised rental. It should be mentioned that farmers are paid a nominal sum on a once-and-for-all basis on the value of the building as well as a nominal sum as Manager of the

School where the farmer himself takes on this task. It is not possible, however, to make an estimate which could be used to calculate the average cost per labourer of schooling as insufficient information was obtained on who had funded the erection of the school building, its capital value, etc. A few cases were reported of farmers paying for special schooling (eg. for a child at St Thomas' School for the deaf) and post-school education (eg. one farmer gave a loan of R320 for fees at Lovedale which he expected would be paid back over 10 years; another "helped a bit (towards the fees) for one farm boy at Fort Hare (University) and one at Healdtown (Teachers Training College) while the church (did) too and someone at Rhodes (University), I'm not sure who". It is perhaps an indication of the extent of the total contribution that none of the 83 farmers interviewed in the district mentioned any regular or periodic payment other than the sponsoring of individual pupils. A few farmers implied that the presence of a school on their farms resulted in indirect costs ("they do a lot of damage to fences") but as many claimed the opposite ("it keeps them out of mischief").

Finally, farmers do make contributions in cash and kind to a few pensioners who have seen long service on the farm and who have chosen to remain there or who have been allowed to remain. In most cases the retired workers "live with their children and draw a government pension" but do not receive any other remuneration except "for odd jobs of piecework, e.g. building huts." A few farmers allow their old labourers to remain on the farm with all the privileges they enjoyed as regular employees including cropping and grazing rights for livestock. The majority of farmers who make any contribution at all, however, pay either a small sum in cash and give rations or give rations only. Farmers were not always very explicit as to the exact benefits which they gave pensioners, in most cases probably because they knew that these were in contravention of official regulations governing the receipt of pensions by blacks viz. that the person should not be employed or be receiving payment from any other source. Information concerning the value of benefits to pensioners was obtained from only one-third of the farmers surveyed so that no accurate estimate is possible. On the basis of the limited data though the average value per regular labourer amounted to R2,56 while the cost to the farmer only R1,10 per annum.

While it may be tempting to add an arbitrary figure to the total cost and remuneration of farm labour for the items briefly sketched above, such a step would be as inaccurate as it was easy. It would be no great task to calculate the cost to the farmer of the provision of the facilities mentioned, but estimating the value to the farm labourer is another We could say that schooling, for example, is the equivalent of matter. a few Rand in cost to the farmer per year, but the value to the scholar may be measured in the effect on his or her future earning power and job satisfaction. In reality, since it is usually the parent and not the scholar who is employed as the labourer, the item which needs to be measured is the value the farm labourer places on the availability of schooling for his children. The importance of schooling is apparently highly prized as evidenced by the comments of several farmers when asked their views on schooling. Some farmers said that the shortage of labour which they were experiencing was solely because no schooling was available sufficiently close to their farm. In one case the farm labourers themselves were contributing the entire salary of a second teacher and many cases were cited of the long distances walked each day to attend school. It is quite possible that the value to the labourer is greater than the average cost to the farmer although the burden is not shared equally amongst farmers. Those farmers who erect and maintain schools bear the bulk of the cost while the farmers in the vicinity reap the benefits at little or no cost to themselves. In the present study a full exploration and quantifying of the value of schooling has not been possible.

From the preceding discussion it will have been noted that the expenditure on staff recreation was negligible and that the cost of retaining pensioners on the farm was small (less than R3/regular labourer/annum). In view of this and bearing in mind the limited information available on pensions and that the value of schooling was left undetermined it is the considered opinion of the writer that it would be preferable to exclude these items from the reckoning in this study. Although it is not anticipated that the total expenditure on these items is likely to feature very prominently in the total farm labour budget, it is readily acknowledged that their importance cannot easily be overestimated.

5.6 Total labour remumeration and labour costs

Having set out the various categories of labour remuneration and labour costs to the farmer it now only remains to bring all these items together. This has been done in tables 4.30 and 4.31.

The total annual remuneration per regular farm labourer for 1976/77 in the Albany distrct, as can be seen from table 4.30 amounts to R683,91 (or R56,99/month). It is convenient to summarise the various components of the wage package as follows:

~

	70	
Cash wages (regular monthly pay)	24,7	
Bonuses (periodic pay and bonuses)	2,9	27,6
Rations: farm produced (milk & meat)	18,4	
: purchased	21,5	39,9
Benefits in kind: medical, housing, etc.	12,5	
: cropping rights	2,1	
: grazing rights	17,9	32,5
TOTAL		100,0

Sometimes only one or a few of the several components of the total farm remuneration package are used for comparative purposes and it is therefore interesting to note:

- The monthly cash wage the most visible item and that most often compared to other industries - constitutes 25% of the total remuneration.
- Regular cash wages and purchased rations makes up less than one-half, viz. 46%, of total remuneration. The remaining 54% is divided almost equally between
 - a) farm produced rations (i.e. mostly milk and meat),
 - b) cropping rights and housing, and
 - c) livestock grazing rights.
- 3) Cash wages, bonuses and all rations make up approximately two-thirds of total remuneration, while other benefits (mostly in kind) make up one-third.

	ALBANY DISTRICT	Lower Albany			Upper Albany		
		1	2	3		5	
Cash wages	168,60	133,56	164,16	180,00	192,00	140,04	
Rations ²	273,00	246,24	248,64	281,40	341,64	246,72	
SUB TOTAL 1	441,60	379,80	412,80	461,40	533,64	386,76	
Annual cash bonus ³	9,25	5,95	8,25	9,00	19,10	3,40	
Periodic pay and bonuses ³	10,71	3,60	12,73	11,12	11,01	12,07	
Medical, tax and transport ⁴	15,01	6,83	19,51	13,36	19,18	11,93	
SUB TOTAL 2	34,97	16,38	40,49	33,48	49,29	27,40	
Housing ⁵	34,72	25,56	35,54	29,95	42,41	40,22	
Wood and water ⁵	36,00	36,00	36,00	36,00	36,00	36,00	
Cropping rights	14,62	14.89	19,55	23,39	negl.	negl.	
Grazing rights ⁷	122,00	112,00	96,00	172,00	67,00	126,00	
SUB TOTAL 3	207,34	188,45	187,09	261,34	145,41	202,22	
GRAND TOTAL (1+2+3)	683,91	584,63	640,38	756,22	728,34	616,38	
Monthly equivalent	56,99	48,72	53,37	63,02	60,70	51,37	
Cash as % total	24,7%	22,9	25,6	23,8	26,4	22,7	
Notes: 1. table 5.1	4. table 5.11	der Alle dar dit - die - Alle Tax - Die Gerbar 44		annedisi de te te te terr		han an a	
2. table 5.4	5. see 5.5(a)		7. table	5.20			
3. table 5.10	6. table 5.18						

Table: 5.21: ______ Total annual remuneration of regular farm labour (R/annum)

Source: Sample survey

14

These three combinations are conveniently presented in visual form in figure 5.2.



Figure 5-2: Components of total remuneration per regular labourer

- 4) That it is only the items contained in sub-totals 1 and 2 which are capable of relatively easy monetary measurement, i.e. cash wages, rations, bonuses and benefits in kind such as medical treatment. These items, however, according to the estimates made constitute 70% of total remuneration.
- 5) The farmer has direct control over only the monthly cash wages, annual bonuses and periodic pay which constitute R188,56/annum or 27,6% of total remuneration. The arrangements regarding the remaining items are not usually changed very often on any particular farm and certainly their reduction takes place even less seldom. Thus approximately 70% of total remuneration items are subject to price changes beyond the control of the farmer, or in other words the major part of total remuneration is automatically adjusted.

A comparison of the five geographic regions of the district shows that the highest total remuneration was in the Seven Fountains-Sidbury area of Lower Albany (region 3), viz. R756/annum, while the lowest was in the Fraser's Camp-Belmont Valley-Manley Flats area (region 1), viz. R584/annum. If the amounts allocated for housing, cropping and grazing rights are excluded, however, the first and second areas change places although the others remain in the same rank order. There are two main reasons for this: in region 3 the value of housing, cropping and grazing rights amount to nearly double that of region 4, but on the other hand the value of bonuses and farm rations amount to less than 70% of those in region 4. The relative amounts of the main remuneration categories are illustrated in figure 5.3.

Turning now to the cost of employing one regular labourer, this amounts to R600/annum as shown in table 5.22. The difference of R84 between the remuneration received by the regular labourer and the costs to the farmer are accounted chiefly by the lower estimated costs of housing and the value of grazing rights, although these are slightly reduced by the higher estimated farmer costs for the provision of cropping rights and the various labour levies which have to be paid by the farmer. Overall the results remain more or less unchanged for the five regions of the district and compare closely with those previously obtained (in table 5.21) and therefore do not need to be discussed in any detail. Suffice it to note that the cost to the farmer of providing housing and crop and grazing rights is estimated to be just over half (55%) of the benefit to the labourer.

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	ALBANY	Lower Albany			Upper Albany							
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	DISTRICT	1	2	3	4	5						
Cash wages	168,60	133,56	164,16	180,00	192,00	140,04						
Rations	273,00	246,24	248,64	281,40	341,64	246,72						
SUB-TOTAL 1	441,60	379,80	412,80	461,40	533.64	386,76						
Annual bonus	9,25	5,95	8,25	9,00	19,10	3,40						
Periodic pay and bonuses	10,71	3,60	12,73	11,12	11,Ò1	12,07						
Tax, medical, transport	15,01	6,83	19,51	13,36	19,18	11,93						
W.C. and Admin Bd levies	8,71	9,76	9,00	8,14	9,70	8,31						
SUB-TOTAL 2	43,68	26,14	49,49	41,62	58,99	35,71						
Housing	11,76	2,05	9,63	4,59	13,32	34,48						
Wood and water	6,07	1,80	6,00	6,86	8,63	5,63						
Cropping rights	27,19	31,40	36,09	42,71	,00	•52						
Grazing rights	70,00	28,00	48,00	137,00	45,00	82,00						
SUB-TOTAL 3	115,02	63,25	99,72	191,16	66,95	122,63						
GRAND TOTAL (1+2+3)	600,30	469,19	562,01	694,18	659,58	545,10						

Table 5.22: Total cost of employing a regular farm labourer (R/annum)

Source:

Sample survey

		ALBANY		Lower Alba	any	Upper	Albany
Category		DISTRICT	l	2	3	4	5
			Marin Bartinen der allen die Later Ges				n dan dik stransmi dan sa sakarapa dira b
Kwedins	L	2,00	4,50	4,00	2,00	5,00	3,00
*	U	25,00	14,00	10,00	12,00	25,00 ^{x 1}	15,00
Men : just starting	L	7,00	7,50	7,50	8,00	8,00	7,00
	U	25,00	14,00	25,00	16,00	20,00	20,00
: some service	L	7,00	7,00	8,00	8,00	10,00	10,00
	U	25,00	15,00	25,00	20,00	20,00	20,00
: long service	L	7,00	7,00	10,00	8,00	10,00	10,00
	U	30,00	23,00	25,00	30,00	20,00	20,00
: drivers	L	7,50	7,50	10,00	12,00	10,00	10,00
	υ	50,00	50,00	27,00	30,00	43,00	20,00
: top paid	L	7,50	7,50	10,00	12,00	10,00	12,00
	U	50,00	50,00	30,00	50,00	43,00	22,50

Appendix table: 5.1 Upper & Lower limits of monthly cash wages (R-c) by region

Notes: x 1 on the farm in question, kwedins receive no rations while men just starting receive R18 in cash plus rations.

2. L = lower limit; U = upper limit.

Source: Sample survey

	<i></i>			and the first state of the second state of the			
Ration item	ALBANY DISTRICT	l	Lower Alba 2	Upper Al 4	Upper Albany 4 5		
Regular: milk	6,15	3,89	6,60	7,73	5,43	5,95	
meat	3.45	1,26	1,64	1,12	9,87	3,84	
grain	4,10	4,19	3,93	4,79	3,89	3,64	
meal	3,66	3,34	3,88	4,11	4,07	2,63	
other food	1,80	2,69	1,46	1,63	2,12	1,50	
other goods	,69	,51	,88	,61	,61	,74	
Subtotal (1) regular rations	19,85	15,88	18,39	19,99	25,99	18,30	
Periodic: meat	• 84	1,49	,85	1,28	•39	,31	
other food	,43	1,75	,08	,64	,03	,16	
clothing	1,63	1,40	1,40	1,54	2,06	1,79	
Subtotal (2) periodic rations	2,90	4,64	2,33	3,46	2,48	2,26	
GRAND TOTAL (3)	22,75	20,52	20,72	23,45	28,47	20,56	
Periodic as % total: (2) as $\%$ (3)	12	20	11	15	9	11	

Appendix table: 5.2 Average value of rations to regular Albany farm labourers by region (R-c/month)

1

Source: Sample survey

Frequency & Amount	ALBANY DISTRICT	l l	ower Alba 2	any 3	Upper 4	Albany 5
No meat ration	21	. 0	43	25	0	20
Periodic	38	71	36	58	10	20
Regular	26	29	7	8	60	40
Regular & periodic	15	0	14	8	30	20
TOTAL (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
No meat	21	0	43	25	0	20
< 1/2 sheep	58	100	50	67	20	70
1/2 sheep -	11	0	0	8	50	0
l sheep -	10	0	7	0	30	10
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

Distribution of Albany farms by frequency and amount Appendix table 5-3: of meat ration, by region (%)

Source: Sample survey

Appendix table 5.4:

Distribution of farms with and without a smallstock enterprise according to frequency of meat rations, by region

Smallstock/r	ations	ALBANY DISTRICT	 1	ower Alb 2	any 3	Upper 4	Albany 5
No smallstoc	4	0	2	0	0	2	
	- periodic	7	2	2	3	0	0
	- regular	4	l	l	l	l	0
Smallstock	- no ration	7	0	4	3	0	0
	- periodic	13	3	3	4	l	2
	- regular	18	l	2	l	8	6
TOTAL FARMS	·	53.	7	14	12	10	10

Source: Sample survey

Appendix 5.5

Calculation of value of cropland to the labourer (for table 5.18)

700 kg maize/ha @ R650/70 kg (i.e. net of bag cost) less cost of seed, if not provided

input of labour for services not provided* value of one ha cropland to labourer

* where services are calculated as

seed	:	R5/ha				
labour	:	soil preparation	1 -	12 days/ha	@	50c/day
	:	planting	-	6,5		45c
	:	weed control	-	8,0		35c
	:	reaping	-	6,0		30c

Example of calculation (for area 2)

		(R_c)
Gross income	40,1 x R65	2 606,50
Less Services not	provided	300,28

	<u>ha</u> x	days	x cost (R-c)	
Soil preparation	7,7	12,0	,50	46,20
Seed	12,6	-	5,00	63,00
Planting	12,6	6,5	,45	36,86
Weed control	29,3	8,0	,35	82,04
Reaping	40,1	6,0	,30	72,18
Net valu	e of cropland			2 306,22

Net value of cropland

Income/0,36 ha = R23,40 Input costs /0,36 ha = _____70 Value/labourer R20,70 _____

CHAPTER 6: CONDITIONS OF SERVICE, LABOUR PROBLEMS AND FARMER ATTITUDES IN ALBANY, 1977.

In the previous chapter the main emphasis lay on the remuneration of the farm labour force. We now turn to an examination of factors surrounding the job and farmer views of labour problems. In both cases these will be fairly widely interpreted and will therefore include details of topics such as working hours, leave conditions, worker and family care, labour turnover and productivity, farmer-labour preferences, problems and attitudes.

6.1 Working hours

The number of hours worked each week, traditionally, has been very long in farming. Albany proved to be no exception. The most important determinant with regard to the total hours worked is the season of the year while the type of farm plays a less important role. Two months were chosen as being fairly representative of summer and winter, viz. February and August, and farmers were asked to give the starting and stopping times for each as well as the length of breaks during the day, from which the hours worked per week were calculated. The results, which are contained in table 6.1, indicate a summer week of 56 hours and a winter week of 46 hours, or an average of 51 hours/week over When the working week is broken down by day of the week it the year. is found that weekdays, i.e. Mondays to Fridays, in both summer and winter constitute approximately 90% of the working time. The remaining 10% of the time, which amounts to about 6 hours in summer and 5 hours in winter, is spread roughly: three-fourths Saturday morning; and one-fourth divided equally between Saturday and Sunday evenings and Sunday morning.

An examination of the average hours worked/week for the five geographic areas show only small variations with a total range of less than 2 1/2 hours between regions. Looking at winter and summer working hours separately, however, show that Upper Albany farm labourers (areas 4 and 5) work slightly longer weekday hours during summer (10,3 vs 10 hours/day) and slightly shorter hours in winter (8,0 vs 8,3 hours) than do their Lower Albany counterparts. An explanation for this

Table 6.1

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Summer and winter average daily working time (hours)

	ALBANY	ALBANY Lower Albany				er Albany	
	DISTRICT	1	2	3	4	5	
Summer (February)							
Weekdays (Monday to Friday)	10,1	9,6	10,1	9,9	10,2	10,4	
Saturday up to lunch	4,5	3,6	4,0	4,2	5,0	5,5	
Saturday p.m. and Sunday	1,4	2,4	0,8	1,7	1,2	1,1	
TOTAL HOURS/WEEK	56,2	54,1	55,5	55,4	57,2	58,5	_
Winter (August)							۲
Weekdays (Monday to Friday)	8,2	8,9	7,9	8,4	8,1	7,8	12.
Saturday up to lunch	3,7	3,2	3,5	3,5	3,9	4,2	
Saturday p.m. and Sunday	1,4	2,4	0,9	1,7	1,2	1,1	21
TOTAL HOURS/WEEK	45,9	50,1	43,9	47,4	45,7	44,2	-
AVERAGE HOURS/WEEK	51,1	52,1	49,7	51,4	51,5	51,4	

Source: Sample survey, question 9.1.

is not entirely obvious - on the one hand, livestock farmers do find the cool conditions of the early summer mornings most suitable for handling stock especially on extensive properties where animals may have to be driven some distance, but, as will be seen later, on average Upper Albany farmers start only marginally earlier than others in the district in summer. One could also argue that summer is the busiest time of the year for the livestock farmer, but the same holds true for the crop farmer. On average Upper Albany farm labourers also work longer hours on Saturdays throughout the year than in Lower Albany namely 4,7 hours vs 4,0 hours. When the time spent on weekend duties is added, though, the net result is that the average working hours per annum are remarkably uniform throughout the district. (This contention will be further reinforced upon a consideration of the total length of the working year.) An examination of the distribution of weekday working hours, as shown in table 6.2, indicates that the majority of farmers (74%) have their staff work between 9,1 and 11 hours/day during summer, while about the same proportion (76%) work between 7,1 and 9 hours/day during winter.

The average working day for the farm labourer, as shown in table 6.3 starts at approximately 10 minutes after sunrise throughout the year, i.e. between 5 and 6 a.m. from October to March and between about 6.30 and 7.30 a.m. from April to September. Almost invariably during summer, but less commonly during winter, there is a breakfast period of 30 to 45 minutes, except where a very early start is made when the break is usually 1 hour, usually between 7.30 and 9 a.m. The lunch break, which starts at 1 p.m. lasts from 3/4 to 1 hour during winter and for an hour during summer, except when it is very hot when it may stretch for up to two hours. On this point one farmer uses 90°F (32,5°C) as criterion to increase the lunch break to 1 1/2 hours, while another said that he increased the lunch break to 2 hours whenever air temperatures exceeded 80°F (27°C). The farm labourer usually returns to his house or hut for meals although on some farms both breakfast and lunch must be brought to the work-site by a member of the family. It is exceptional for staff to be given formal 'tea breaks' during the morning or afternoon although one farmer made a practise of giving "ten minutes off at 11 o'clock and ten minutes off at 4 o'clock." Stopping times decrease from about 1 1/2 hours before

	ALBANY		Lower Alban	Upper Albany		
Season and hours	DISTRICT	1	2	3	4	5
Summer						
≤ 8 hours	2	14	0	0	0	0
-9 hours	15	14	7	25	0	30
-10 hours	40	29	50	33	60	20
-11 hours ¹	34	43	43	34	30	20
>11 hours	9	0	0	8	10 ,	30
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
Winter						
< 7 hours	n	14	7	8	10	20
-8 hours	42	0	64	25	50	50
-9 hours	34	43	22	50	30	30
· > 9 hours	13	43	7	17	10	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
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Table 6.2 Distribution of weekday working hours (% farms)

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Notes: 1. On at least one farm in each region 11 hours or more are worked daily. In the case of Upper Albany this is the case on 25% of the farms. In the most extreme instance 13,5 hours are expected daily during summer.

Source: Sample survey

Table	6.3	Average	starting	and	stopping	times (hours	and	minutes)

	ALBANY		Lower Alban	у	Upper Albany		
Season and days	DISTRICT	1	2	3	4	5	
Summer: Monday to Friday							
Starting time (a.m.)	5.50	6.02	5.55	5.46	5.39	5.47	
Stopping time (p.m.)	6.06	5.43	6.09	5.55	6.05	6.30	
<u>Winter</u> : Monday to Friday Starting time (a.m.) Stopping time (p.m.	7.05 5.09	6.28 5.34	7•17 5•04	6.53 5.13	7.05 5.02	7.30 ¹⁷⁵ 4.59	
Summer & Winter: Saturday* 1				u.			
Stopping time (a.m.)* 2	11.39	9.28	11.53 ^{# 3}	11.59	11.50	12.23 p.m.	

Notes: * 1. Starting times on Saturdays are the same as for weekdays.

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* 2. Stopping times on Saturdays on all except one farm in the random sample were the same for both summer and winter.

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* 3. The time quoted in area 3 is an average for February and August.

Source: Sample survey

sunset in summer to 1/2 hour before during winter on weekdays.

Whereas work generally starts at the same time on Saturday mornings as on the other weekdays, work generally stops during the morning and only in one instance after 1 p.m., namely at 2 p.m.

It is the starting times in the morning which in general determine both the length of the working day and the total number of hours worked per week. No farmer claimed that his staff begin work earlier than 4.30 a.m. but one-fifth of farm labourers in Albany are at work by 5 a.m. in summer and 76% are by an hour later, as shown in table 6.4. In winter, on the other hand, work has only begun by 7 a.m.

The longest working week was calculated for a Fort Brown farmer who said that his staff started at 4.30 a.m. during summer and ended the day at 7.30 p.m. Taking into account meal breaks and weekend duties this worked out at 73 hours/week. Winter working hours on the farm, however, were from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. and although starting halfan-hour earlier than average the total working week amounted to 42 hours against the average for the district of 46 hours. Calculations for three other Upper Albany farmers showed that their labourers worked a 66-hour week during summer and between 44 and 51 hours/week during winter. Starting times varied from 5 to 6 a.m. and stopping times from 6.30 to 7.15 p.m.

By contrast the shortest working week was calculated for a Lower Albany farmer whose staff worked 42 hours in summer and 40 hours in winter. During a typical week in February on this farm, work begins at 7 a.m. and ends at 5.30 p.m. Breakfast is taken from 8.30 to 9.30 and lunch from 1 p.m. to between 2.15 and 2.30 p.m. On Saturdays work ends at breakfast time. During winter work begins at 7.45 a.m. and ends at 5 p.m. but shorter breakfast (half an hour) and lunch periods (1 hour) helps to maintain the week at a total of 40 hours. The farmer said that his labourers "have a pretty easy time" but he said "I would rather not get myself worked up. My health would not stand a longer day."

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'l'a	ble	6.4	

*

	ALBANY	Lower Albany			Upper Albany		
Season and time (a.m.)	DISTRICT	1	2	3	-4	5	
Summer							
		9 1					
4.30 - 5.00	21	28	14	25	20	20	
- 6.00	55	29	57	42	` 8o	60	
- 7.00	22	29	29	33	-	20	
- 8.00	2	14	-	-	-	-	
TOTALS	100	100	100	100	100	100	17
				*			7.
Winter							
4.30 - 5.00	4	29	-	-	-	-	
- 6.00	6	14	-	17	-	-	
- 7.00	50	28	50	67	50	50	
- 8.00	40	29	50	16	50	50	
TOTALS	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Source:

Sample survey

A point on which opinions differ quite widely amongst farmers is whether farm labourers should be ruled by bells (or sirens) or not in their starting and stopping times. One farmer, who operated a very large property in Upper Albany felt that it was unnecessary and undesirable that work should stop and start by the ring of a bell. He had furthermore, just started to encourage his staff to work on a flexi-time basis if they wished especially during summer: "I tell them they can start at 4 a.m. and sleep during the day particularly when it is very hot - as long as the work is done."

Some farmers felt that a shorter day was desirable, for example "It was always 'sunrise to sunset', but we got no more (work) out of them ..."; and another: "We used to work by-the-sun up to 1971 starting at 4.45 a.m. in summer and ending at 7.30 p.m. (Winter was as at present, i.e. 7.30 a.m. to 5 p.m.). Then I introduced time by-the-clock because they couldn't take the long hours. Also they should have some time to themselves. I think 'time-off' plays a big role. Some farmers give none. I know what I'd feel like ..." Another said "I like to give half-an-hour of daylight in the evening (i.e. stop work before sunset) because they need to fetch wood, etc."

It could be argued that, even where for sound practical reasons it is necessary to make an early start, farm staff could be given some additional flexibility in their free time by starting work after Most farmers, however, said that their staff would not breakfast. be in favour of having breakfast before beginning work. This may be a mechanism whereby the labourer ensures that an already long day is not further lengthened, but it certainly has several potential advantages for the labourer. Firstly, an early start without first having breakfast does not necessarily disrupt his entire household. Secondly, it allows mealtimes to be more evenly spaced during the day. Thirdly, it allows labourers to warm up on cold days and to dry their clothing from the heavy dew commonly formed overnight. From the farmer's viewpoint there are a number of advantages in the system it allows an early start which is particularly advantageous when working with livestock on hot summer days; it is more productive in terms of labour output with the breakfast period providing a needed physical

rest time; it gives more flexibility in the length of the working day, for example in allowing a longer midday break or in accomplishing tasks on days when the weather is likely to become inclement. Nevertheless, a few farmers have recently switched to having their staff begin work after breakfast and the writer believes that the length of the summer working week is likely to be quite substantially reduced in the next decade or two. A farmer who had reduced his summer working hours just two months previously be starting at 7 a.m. said that he felt this was necessary because "We (in agriculture) must compete against industry." It should be noted, however, that the long hours worked in agriculture are not entirely comparable with those in industry since the tasks in the latter are of a much more repetitive nature.

One point which should perhaps be noted is that the calculated working hours do not account for unexpected rainy days on which "they never A Lower Albany farmer had kept records of rainy days for 5 years work." from 1965 which amounted to 40,38,51,45 and 42 respectively. The extent to which 'rainy days' reduce the average working week obviously will vary from year to year and by normal total rainfall and the nature of the rain. Thus in Upper Albany where the total rainfall is 350 mm or less the total working time lost would probably amount to no more than one to two working weeks per annum. In Lower Albany lost days, according to the source previously mentioned amounts to "at least one month per year". Although the number of lost working days was not ascertained from individual farmers in the survey it is known that many routine tasks must in fact still be undertaken, such as milking and feeding of animals, regardless of weather conditions. In addition a number of less urgent tasks are often relegated to rainy days such as the tidying of sheds and the cleaning, mending and setting of equipment and machinery. It is therefore estimated that inclement weather accounts for the loss of no more than 1,5 working days per month in Lower Albany and 0,5 working days per month in Upper Albany, that is 6% and 2% respecitvely of a 300-day working year. This amounts to between 1 hour and 3 hours/week out of the 51 hour working week calculated for Albany.

Another point which must be borne in mind is that the above calculations are for regular farm labourers and do not hold for either part-time employees or for casual labour. As far as casual workers are concerned the general rule is that work begins "after breakfast", i.e. between 7.30 and 8 o'clock, and ends between 5 and 5.30 p.m. The working day,

given an hour for lunch, thus varies from 8 to 9 hours, and since casual labour is seldom employed on Saturdays the working week is from 40 to 45 hours. In the case of part-time workers it is not possible to generalise. On one dairy farm seven 'dairy maids' worked from 4.30 to 8.30 a.m. and 3.00 to 6.00 p.m. 7 days a week although the farmer said he was "not particular about which seven are on or whether all seven are, but I pay for seven." If it is possible to generalise then it is probably only for the assistant herd boy (kwedin) on the dairy farm who helps bring in the cows for morning and evening milking, and the dairy maid on the non-dairy farm who cleans the shed, washes the milk buckets, cans and cream separator and sometimes assists with separating and undertakes cream churning and In the former case herdboys are required for approximately butter making. 3/4 hour from 5.30 a.m. and the same amount of time from about 4.00 p.m., i.e. before and after school, while for the latter 1 hour after breakfast and 1 hour in the evening constitutes the working day.

6.1.2 Weekend duties

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In the previous section in discussing total working hours/week the stopping times referred almost exclusively to weekdays, although the total hours per week included weekend duties. Some of the weekend duties which Albany farmers need to have performed include ploughing; the irrigation of citrus orchards and vegetables; assistance with artificial insemination on cattle; assistance with sick animals; checking on and assistance if necessary during calving, lambing and kidding; the checking of stock-water supplies; collecting shorn Angora goats if a storm is threatening; feeding stud livestock, stabled horses, cattle (or sheep) in a feedlot, dogs or poultry; and the milking of cows. On one farm Dorper lambs are collected in every night because of the presence of jackal. The nature of weekend duties vary considerably between farms and while it is not easy to sketch a profile of a typical weekend, an attempt will be made to present typical examples. In the first instance farmers can be divided approximately according to the number of full weekends given off per month, i.e. a period when staff are not required to undertake any duties whatsoever and could if they so wished be absent from the farm overnight. This classification is contained in table 6.5.

	ALBANY	BANY Lower Albany			Upper Albany	
Weekends off/month	DISTRICT	1	2	3	4	5
None	11	28	7	_	20	10
≼ one	19	14	21	33	10	10
one-in-three	17	-	36	9	10	20
	43	29	36	58	40	50
all	10	29	-	-	20	10
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 6.5 Number of weekends off per month (% farms)

Source: Sample survey, question 9.2.

As can be seen from the table, very few labourers have every weekend free. The majority (79%) have at least one weekend per month while many have alternate weekends off. Weekends off were taken into account in calculating the average working hours/week in the previous section.

Although, as was mentioned previously, working time on Saturdays and Sundays accounts for only 10% of the total working hours/week it is a factor which effectively restricts movement to within a fairly small radius of the farm, although few labourers are probably aware of this since few possess motor vehicles. A labourer who does not have the weekend off will in most cases work until 11 or 12 o'clock on Saturday and must be on duty again by about 5 p.m. Sunday morning and evening duties are usually expected to take no more than about an hour each, except on large dairy farms. Effectively this allows at most a period of about 10 hours for off-farm activities.

A "weekend off" on some farms is regarded as being from "after milking on Friday to Monday morning" while on others it may be from after milking on Saturday morning or even only from lunch time on Saturday. On one farm labourers worked 3 Saturdays/month from April to October but only 1 Saturday /month from November to March to compensate for the longer weekday hours. Some farmers who normally have their staff working on Saturdays will give the day off as compensation for hard work done the previous week or as a reward for work well done.

Farmers always reserve the right to ask their staff to work on a Saturday afternoon or at any other time over the weekend in an emergency. Such additional time, however, is often rewarded. One farmer for example said "I hardly ever call on my staff over weekends. I may call a man but will give him a tip of sugar or coffee or Rl and time off during the week."

On several farms the number of weekends off per month depends on the type of work which the labourer usually performs. For example tractor and lorry drivers may have every weekend off while other labourers take weekend duties, that is except during the ploughing and planting season when they may have to work right through Saturday afternoon and Sunday. Similarly, on one farm the stockman has all weekends off except during lambing season when he is on duty full-time for 6 to 8 weeks.

On a number of farms the staff are left to make their own arrnagements as to who will perform the weekend duties. In some cases this is simply to allow staff maximum flexibility, while in others the weekend duties that need to be performed are for the sole or main benefit of the labourers, such as the milking of cows for on-farm staff milk consumption. (Staff do not, however, have the option of not milking

over weekends for reasons of sound animal husbandry. One farmer said that he had threatened his staff that he "would chase the cows and calves into the veld if they don't (milk)"). Allowing the staff to draw up their own weekend duty roster also has the added benefit of relieving the farmer of having to keep a close check on his staff over weekends -"I say 'On Sunday, I want nothing to do with you'."

As has already implicitly been indicated, the most common duty on both dairy farms and farms which have a small herd of cows chiefly for onfarm milk consumption, is the milking of cows. In general it could be said that the number of weekends off per month and the number of hours worked between Saturday afternoon and Sunday night will revolve chiefly around the average number of cows to be milked daily, the size of the staff and the number required to perform the task. It is not implied by this statement that there are no duties to be performed on farms which have no milking cows, but it is contended that in the absence of this duty it would be possible to perform the necessary weekend duties on most farms with fewer men and in less time. (To make no more than a guess the writer would put the number of men needed for weekend duty under such circumstances as one per one to two thousand small stock units.) It should be noted that on many non-dairy farms milking duties are in any event reduced to the minimum by keeping the cows in a camp or on pastures close to the shed for easy access, by foregoing milk separation, and on a few farms with low-yielding cows, by milking only once on It should also be noted that some farmers make Saturdays and Sundays. special arrangements for weekend milking to be undertaken solely by one or two men possibly with the assistance of kwedins. In a few cases these men are pensioners who live on the farm and receive rations and from whom only light duties are expected.

Sometimes weekend duties are paid for as overtime (e.g. the irrigation of citrus orchards on one particular farm and the feeding of cattle in a fattening pen on another) or those undertaking the duties receive something in return. On the latter score several farmers allow the milkers to take all the separated milk or in some cases all the whole milk.

The arrangements on some dairy farms are also worth noting. Where the staff is large enough one practice is to have half the staff doing all the milking one week (Monday to Sunday) while the remainder work a shorter weekday (7,5 versus 11,5 hours/day) and have the weekend off. The following week the group interchange. Another practice is for milkers to work in an eight-day cycle with 6 days on and 2 full days off.

Finally, although the attitude of farmers towards weekend duties was not specifically probed, this did come through clearly in a few unsolicited comments. One farmer, for example, whose staff were given one weekend off per month from Friday night to Monday morning stressed that the labourers "must have time off to themselves - they can get blind drunk if they want to." A Carlisle Bridge farmer who was one of the few whose staff were "on every weekend except that they can get permission to go off; but I don't let them all go - perhaps 1 or 2" admitted that he had had "a couple leave on account of having to work on Sundays." A Sevenfountains farmer who had been approached by his staff to allow them every Saturday morning off instead of alternate Saturdays in exchange for their monthly cash bonuses had refused on the grounds that his staff would drink too much. The bonuses which amounted to R3 for men with more than 1 year of service, R2 for men with up to a year's service and R1 for kwedins constituted 16,7% of their monthly cash wage. The latter two comments clearly indicate the extent to which farm labourers appreciate weekends off.

6.1.3 Annual leave and days off

Leave given to farm labourers can be divided into three categories: firstly, the occasional day off which may include time off for shopping, sick leave and compassionate leave; secondly, vacation leave; and thirdly, a period of reduced duties. While both the first and last mentioned are common, vacation leave is still a rarity although many farmers recognise its potential value.

With a few exceptions all regular labourers are treated equally with respect to formal leave periods which in most cases, as already mentioned, amounts only to a period of reduced duties. One farmer gave his

"right hand man 10 days" while the other staff "get about 7 days" per year and another gave his dairy staff 16 days while the remainder had two weeks. (It sould be noted that the dairy staff worked longer hours than the other staff.)

Generally farm labourers and their families were thought by farmers to have remained on the farm during their leave except to visit friends and relatives nearby. This is hardly surprising as most labourers are still expected to perform daily duties on the farm. One farmer did observe that where his staff actually leave the farm it was usually the younger men who did so. Not all farmers would be happy at the prospect of their entire staff going away from the farm even in a general leave period. One farmer said for example that he always liked to have "3 or 4 on the farm in case of fire." One farmer said his staff visited a lot when on leave but "don't go to town much because they are frightened of the location."

Typically vacation leave and time off (reduced duties) is given between about the 23rd December and 2nd January, although this sometimes stretches from mid-December (particularly 16th December which is a public holiday) to mid-January, but seldom beyond. Some farmers also give the other public holidays not included in the period above but more generally these are confined to Good Friday or Easter Monday and sometimes also Ascension Day. One farmer always gave off the Day of the Covenant.

Very few farmers were able to give any idea of the number of occasional days given off to staff on request and many made no clear distinction between vacation leave, during which a labourer could be absent from the farm for a period of two or more days, and periods during which daily duties had to be performed. In the accompanying table, therefore, occasional days off have been excluded, even where these were available, while the other kinds of leave have been added together where available separately.

Amount of leave	ALBANY DISTRICT	<u> </u>	ower Al	bany 3	Uppe 4	r Albany 5
None	9,4	14	7	17	0	0
5 days or less	32,1	-14	14	42	60	30
6-10 days	45,3	58	50	41	40	40
more than 10 days	13,2	14	29	0	0	20
TOTALS	100%	100	100	100	100	100
AVERAGE DAYS/YEAR	6,4	7,4	7,9	5,3	4,5	6,8

Annual leave : distribution by farms of days off per year (% and average)

Source: Sample survey

As will be observed from table 6.6 the number of working days given off amounted to an average of 6,4 per year and varied from 4,5 in the Alicedale-Carlisle Bridge area to 7,9 in the Salem area. A small proportion of farmers (9,4%) give no leave at all other than 'occasional days off on request', while a similarly small proportion (13,2%) give more than 10 working days off per year.

Of the five farmers in the random sample who gave no leave, one normally did but had not been able to because he had been shortstaffed and the farmer himself had done the milking duties of the domestic gardener when he had been off. Two farmers said that they only gave off between Christmas and New Year on request, e.g. one said "if anyone has something definite he can get off." A further two farmers said they gave no leave but were considering doing so. One of these said that his staff did in fact take leave during the year by feigning sickeness. The other, a Manley Flats dairy farmer, said that he wanted to try giving leave but felt that he could never be sure that he could rely on those remaining actually coming to work.

In the following sections each of the three types of leave are examined more closely:

186.

Table 6.6

(a) Vacation leave

Many farmers spoke in favour of a period of vacation leave saying how much their staff looked forward to and valued having a break and one farmer went on to add that time off on occasions is a much more important incentive than remuneration." Several farmers said that giving their staff a definite period of vacation leave held benefits for them too, particularly in reducing the number of occasional days off requested. One farmer went as far as to say "my people used to ask for a lot of days off but that has stopped now that I give leave." (An estimate of the importance of occasional days off will be made in the next section.)

Some of the arrangements which were made, included "Two weeks on full pay staggered through December and January"; "three weeks usually after Dingaan's Day (16 December) and up to New Year"; "10 working days off per year when convenient to me "; and "vacation leave on request. They're supposed to get 2 weeks off per year."

Some of the farmers who gave some time off over Christmas but no vacation leave justified this on the grounds that it was not necessary. One farmer who always gave off from 25th December to 1st January, for which his staff had to ask him each year, contended that the staff did not work hard and, in any event, "on rainy days they are off after a couple of hours." Another farmer, who gave 3 days off over the same period, added "but, they get more leave that you or I - unofficially." (Apparently the main time for 'unofficial leave' is when the farmer is away from the farm - "it's one-tenth pace while we are on holiday.") In other cases it appears that the farmers had not considered vacation leave because their labourers "had never asked for leave."

(b) Occasional days off on request

As indicated earlier very few farmers had any idea as to the number of individual days requested off. Only a few farmers were prepared to guess. One first guessed two days per month per labourer, but then modified this to one day per month. Another said that his staff "probably have 10 days off per year each."

Farmers who knew how many days their staff had off usually had formalised the arrangements. One farmer allowed 21 days (in addition to 10 days leave) for all other reasons including sickness and leave to attend funerals, but he said that his staff "seldom take all their leave. They are paid out for the remainder at 50c/day." The same farmer estimated sick leave at one or two days per man per year. Two other farmers allowed respectively "7-10 days/man as and when asked including some Saturday mornings" and "5 days on request plus time off to repair huts."

For the remainder, farmers usually said simply that leave was given on request. Some added that they are "always asking off, especially Saturday mornings" or "they ask off a lot." One farmer said his staff could have off on request "but I don't make it easy for them."

While the information obtained is insufficient to calculate the average number of days given off for various reasons, it is the writer's considered opinion that this amounts to between 5 and 10 days per annum.

(c) Time off with reduced duties

Where time is given off, but labourers are still required to undertake essential duties such as milking and the feeding of animals, this is almost always given around and about the period between Christmas and New Year. In some cases only two days are given off which would usually be Christmas Day and New Year's Day while on other farms the entire period between the 25th December and 1st January is given off. On most farms the necessary duties would be performed in the early morning and in the evening - in the normal course of events this would be equivalent to about the first and last hour of the working day. On one farm the staff were required to "be around until 10 a.m."

For some farmers giving time off over this period is not so much a matter of principle but a case of taking the line of least resistance

since it is widely recognised as a time when little work or at least reduced performance can be expected from the staff. Comments which typified this view were: "They just go mad at Christmas. They couldn't do any work if they wanted to" and "You can't get anything out of them over Christmas". One farmer believed that a general slackening off began very much earlier: "Christmas starts in October for them. They think that as soon as the Piet-my-vrou starts shouting it's Christmas."

6.4 Total length of the working year

From the information presented on the number of weekends off per month and the amount of leave per year we should be in a position to calculate the number of working days per year. Unfortunately two ingredients were missing, viz. an estimate of vacation leave as opposed to the period of reduced duties and the number of occasional days off. What follows therefore is no more than an estimate, although it is believed that the general order of magnitude is not grossly inaccurate.

Firstly, it will be assumed that the same proportion of staff will be able to be completely off-duty over the vacation leave and reduced duty period as for weekends, viz. 0,41. On average this would mean that of the 6,4 days enumerated in table 6.6, labourers would have some duties on 3,8 days and have 2,6 days free of any duties. Secondly, it will be arbitrarily assumed that labourers have 8 days of occasional leave on request per year. Based on a 365 day year the actual number of days on which labourers have to perform at least some duties is then calculated as follows:

365 <u>less</u> weekends off <u>less</u> vacation leave less occasional days off

i.e. $365 = ((52, 1 \times 1, 5 \times 0, 41) + 2, 6 + 8)$ = 322 days If Saturday and Sunday hours are converted to standard days on the basis of the hours worked on weekdays the average working week amounts to 5,6 days.

If the days on which less than a full day is worked are converted to standard days on the basis of the hours worked on weekdays, the working year would be reduced to about 280 days. A further assumption would be necessary regarding the number of hours worked on days of reduced duties. If this assumed to be 2 hours per day the calculation would be arrived at as follows:

- 365 <u>less</u> weeks x days off/week <u>less</u> vacation leave <u>less</u> occasional days off <u>less</u> reduced duties time off
- i.e. $365 ((52, 1 \times 1, 4) + 2, 6 + 8 + 3, 8 \times \frac{8}{10, 1})$
 - = 365 86,5
 - = 278,5

The latter calculation compares approximately with the 5 1/2 day-a-week office worker with two weeks leave a year except that the latter usually has only 45 hours/week against the farm workers' 51 hours.

6.2 Employer - employee relations

In an attempt to learn something about the relationships between farmer and worker, questions were asked concerning the manner in which farmers communicate with their labourers. These included questions about the language used; the extent to which labourers were consulted in detailing work and planning farming operations; the extent to which farmers delegated authority and the results obtained; and the farmer's view of labour efficiency. When good employeremployee relations break down completely this will either result in the resignation of the labourer or in the farmer discharging the labourer. These topics will be taken up in this and the following sections of this chapter.

6.2.1 Language

Nearly three-fourths of farmers in the district reported that Xhosa was the language they used in communicating with their workers. The majority of these farmers, namely 87%, claimed they could speak it well or very well, and a few for whom Xhosa was their first language, at a young age. The remainder of the group felt they spoke it 'badly' or 'not very well'. Those farmers not using Xhosa spoke, in order of importance; Afrikaans, a mixture of languages and English, as indicated in table 6.7.

Table 6.7	Language	used	by	Albany	farmers	in	communicating
	wi	ith t	heir	worker	rs		

		Lower Al	bany	Upper Albany		
ALBANY	1	2	3	- 4	5	
74	72	72	92	50	80	
17	14	-	8	50	20	
7	14	21	-	- 1	-	
2	-	. 7	-	-	-	
100	100	100	100	100	100	
	ALBANY 74 17 7 2 100	ALBANY 1 74 72 17 14 7 14 2 - 100 100	Lower Al ALBANY 1 2 74 72 72 17 14 - 7 14 21 2 - .7 100 100 100	Lower Albany I 2 3 74 72 72 92 17 14 - 8 7 14 21 - 2 - .7 - 100 100 100 100	Iower Albany Uppe ALBANY 1 2 3 4 74 72 72 92 50 17 14 - 8 50 7 14 21 - - 2 - .7 - - 100 100 100 100 100	

Source: Sample survey question 7.02

When the distribution between the various geographic regions is examined two interesting features emerge. Firstly, in the Alicedale-Carlisle Bridge area (region 4) Xhosa is used far less than in all the other areas, viz 50% as against between about 70 and 90%. Secondly, Afrikaans is used by proportionately more than twice the farmers in region 4 than in other areas, or on average 5 times more often in Upper Albany than Lower Albany. The main reasons for the more frequent use of Afrikaans in Upper Albany are that most Coloured farm labourers are to be found in this area as well as a larger proportion of Afrikaans speaking farmers, viz. 25% and 12% respectively.

In a few cases farmers said they used a combination of English, Afrikaans and Xhosa or Funagalo. One farmer said he used Fungalo which his staff could follow while they in turn used Xhosa which he understood. In some cases Afrikaans or English were similarly used, while use was also made of interpreters where necessary. A few Upper Albany farmers speak Xhosa to their Black labourers and Afrikaans to their Coloured labourers.

6.2.2 Consultation with workers

Response to the question 'Do you consult your labourers when planning an operation?' indicated that 40% of farmers regularly consulted their staff while a further 40% did so occasionally and 11% said they never did, as seen in table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Farmer consultation with their workers (%)

Response	ALBANY	Lower Albany	Upper Albany
No information	9	12,1	5
No	11	15,2	5
Occasionally	40	33,3	50
Frequently	. 40	39,4	45
TOTAL	100	100	100

Source: Sample survey question 7.06

Farmers who said they never consulted their staff usually responded in the vein "I tell them what to do." One farmer reasoned that "the more you tell them about an operation the more complicated it sounds to them," another that "We see everything ourselves". As we saw above, this mode of operation is very much in the minority. Even those farmers who only did so occasionally generally agreed that their staff could provide useful information by being consulted, typically shepherds and cowmen on the state of the veld grazing in a particular camp, and the condition of livestock, and tractor drivers before undertaking a particular job.

Farmers who said that they consulted frequently with their staff usually did so not only as a source of information but also as a source of inspiration and motivation as indicated by some simple comments:

"They make darn good suggestions and I accept their advice. I encourage them to be conscious of a pride in the farm (and) they are ... It makes them feel proud of 'our property'."

"... especially the more senior ones. (Frequent consultation) makes them feel part and parcel of the farm."

"They often will have a very practical plan where you would be stranded."

"We can do well to learn from the Blacks. They have learnt to read the veld ... but they do tend to generalise so one must be careful."

An Upper Albany farmer with a particularly large operation had telephones installed in the houses of his men at the outstations so that he could speak and consult with them every morning. In addition his wife operated a 'master radio' every morning to keep in contact with some 12 field radios the cost of which he believed were saved within a year.

6.2.3 Delegation

A little over half of the farmers (55%) said that they delegated authority in some form or another to their staff, as shown in table 6.9.

Table 6.9

Delegate	ALBANY	Lower Albany	Upper Albany	
No information	9	12	5	
Yes	55	55	55	
No	36	33	40	
TOTAL	100	100	100	

Proportion of farmers delegating authority to workers (%)

Source: Sample survey question 7.08

A point on which most farmers agree - both those who gave a positive and negative answer - is that the delegation of powers, duties and responsibilities must be done with care. Those farmers who said they did not delegate to their labourers all argued in very similar vein: "Xhosas don't like it;" "they don't want the responsibility"; and "it leads to problems of jealousy". Invariably these farmers said that a "boss-boy system" would not work because of the resentment that would be caused. A boss-boy or foreman is apparently branded as an 'umtamnani' or informer by the other and may even be "threatened with a hiding". Several farmers reported that they "have actually lost staff (because) in their own fashion they get rid of a bloke."

Farmers who do put one man above the others in some way are careful in their terminology ("I don't call Spanner (sic) a boss-boy but I treat him as such"), and tend to refer to a "Right Hand Man". In general, farmers will issue orders to each man or group of men individually if certain tasks are to be undertaken in his absence. In addition the Right Hand Man will also be told which jobs are expected to be done by which staff so that he does not have to issue the orders as such or take direct responsibility. It is rarer that the orders are issued to one worker who then instructs the remainder of the staff accordingly or for their work to be supervised except in the case of women, where a man is often put in charge. It is also agreed that where one worker gives orders to another this is easier where it comes either from a relative such as a father or uncle, or from a much older man to younger workers. Also a man doing a particular job, especially a shepherd will sometimes be given the authority to call on the other workers to assist where necessary. Some examples of farmers who had successfully singled out one or a few men include: a Lower Albany farmer whose "top man must answer the phone, keep records of the maids (i.e. casual workers) and the rainfall. I trust him completely. I could go away for a month and leave him a foolscap sheet of instructions and only phone him once a week."

"I can put men in charge of operations - although they don't like authority from another. I have one old man who can jack them up; he is used as a counsellor by the Blacks. He's slightly a boss-boy and if I go away I can leave him in charge. He has the authority to take boys from another job (if necessary)."

One farmer who had appointed 3 boss-boys in 1970 said: "As soon as I found the right men who could take the responsibility. It's the best scheme I have come across and has been the turning point in my farming." Finally, an Upper Albany farmer said "I have a (black) man who runs a 2 000 morgen (1 680 ha) farm. Sometimes he'll phone three times in a day. If he wants me to come he'll say 'Come.' You must get the boys enthusiastic. Over Christmas and New Year when we go away for ten days I divide the team (i.e. the staff) into two. The (white) learner manager and the head boy take over for 5 days each."

As to the results obtained through delegating, most farmers who did so agreed that they were beneficial. For example one farmer said "I think they thrive on it. You must sort out to whom you can delegate because some will 'go dead' on you. (The best man) is not necessarily one who has been here longer than the others - some are natural leaders." The same farmer pointed out that it was a long process which had to be developed over a period of time. For the most part, however, as will become apparent under the discussion of labour problems farmers in Albany still have a long way to go.

The views of farmers on topics relating to their labour gives additional insight into employer-employee relations and are taken up in the following three sections.

6.2.4 Blacks or Coloured persons as labourers

Farmers were asked whether they had a preference for Blacks or Coloureds as labourers. As would be expected in a district where Blacks outnumber Coloureds by a wide margin most farmers favoured the former. Quite a substantial proportion of those who prefer Blacks do so because of the alleged failings of Coloured persons. Preferences were expressed as follows:

- a) preference for Blacks: they are more available, more reliable, preferable as regular employees and farmers know them.
- b) preference for Blacks against Coloured persons: Coloureds drink, fight and steal; do not fit in with present staff; are inferior persons. Typical in this category were comments which said in public would be regarded as actionable but are given here to assist as far as possible in establishing as full a view of farmer preferences. These included:

"You must recognise that there are two types of Coloured - the baster ('kleurling') and the hotnot ('korrelkop')."

"I prefer Kaffirs to Hottentots; they are not Coloureds. There is a big difference"

"My blacks call them 'Hotnots' although you do get the odd good one."

"The Black every time! The Boesman Kaffir will steal your biltong; a Coloured will steal the biltong and the line!"

"I prefer Blacks here. Although Coloureds are more efficient workers than the Bantu, the Coloured drinks and fights more."

"Coloured labour doesn't fit in because the Blacks make it very difficult for them. I would prefer good Coloureds, but one can't rely on them fully."

"I had a Coloured from 1939 to 1972. He was wonderful but most are useless from Friday to Monday."

c) preference for both Coloureds and Blacks:

both have their place and they provide competition for each other. Along these lines farmers particularly commented on their different aptitudes and roles:

"It depends on what you're doing. The Coloured has a bit more intelligence on machinery and fence work but the Black man is a good stockman. I have a Coloured boss-boy but otherwise they are all Bantu."

"Both have their advantages. During the week Coloureds are more intelligent but over the weekends there is the problem of drunkenness."

"I prefer to have a little of each. They don't trust each other and therefore it's good to have them keep each other up to the mark."

" ... prefer Black as monthly ... and Coloured for fencing and building every time."

d) preference for Coloured persons: Here the various comments speak for themselves:

"The Coloureds are a lot more skilled ... at fencing, building, masonry, shoeing horses, and leather work. You can put them in charge; there is no animosity between the Blacks and the Coloureds." "... more savvy about them; keener on their work. In latter

" ... more savvy about them; keener on their work. In latte: years they have taken to drink though."

"prefer Coloureds, but you also get the common type I'd rather not have."

" ... because I grew up with them."

6.2.5 Preference for educated workers

Following questions on schooling and school facilities farmers were asked "Do you prefer educated workers?" Of the approximately 80% respondents to the question there were double the number who answered in the affirmative than in the negative. An interesting feature of the negative response is that the great bulk was represented by Upper Albany farmers, i.e. in a ratio of about 2:1 where the 'yeses' and 'noes' were further broken down the tendency is confirmed as shown in table 6.10.

Farmer preference for educated workers (%)

Response ALBANY Lower Albany Upper Albany 24.2 Non-response 20.7 15,0 39,4 Yes 35,9 30,0 24.2 Qualified yes 15.1 0.0 Don't know 0 15,0 5,7 Qualified no 15,1 6,1 30,0 No 6.1 10.0 7.5 TOTAL 100,0 100,0 100,0

Source: Sample survey question 11.09

As to the reasons for the difference in preference between Upper and Lower Albany farmers for educated workers these must relate either to the nature of the work required or to the overall attitudes of the farmers themselves. The former is the more plausible explanation, viz. that the work in general required on the livestock farms is not as demanding in terms of education requirements.

An examination of the answers, which will be undertaken briefly below, shows that there is little to choose between a qualified yes and a qualified no. Typical comments from each group are:

(a) Unqualified yes

Table 6.10

Lower Albany fresh milk producer: "I'm encouraging them. It helps quite a lot as they have to count bottles of milk every day and its quite a responsibility collecting money and tallying with petrol bought." Lower Albany stock and chicory: "Definitely! They count stock and chicory, although the licensed tractor drivers don't read at all." Upper Albany livestock farmer: "It has its advantages. I've hired a Standard 4 child to write up the beef recording figures."

(b) Qualified yes

Lower Albany: "Wouldn't like more than a little education. The higher educated ones would not get on on a farm. The tractor driver has no licence or schooling but is very good."

Lower Albany: "Yes, although I have mixed feelings. One of the reasons for the rioting, etc. is: 'what does a young man do with matric without a job ... No one wants 'brain schooling' and no skills." Lower Albany: "Yes, but I have a use for both although I wouldn't like too many. Time keeping is delegated to the more educated ones." Lower Albany: "I like them to be able to count, although I don't like them to be too clever."

(c) Don't know

"Once they've learnt too much they think they are too full of themselves, but I would like them to be able to count."

(d) Qualified no

"No, I prefer him as he is. He must just be able to count"

(e) No

"They're better without schooling. They tend to be too 'clever' with schooling."

"The nicest are the old type who has spent all his life on the farm." "I don't like these civilised ones; they get too white too quickly." "They wouldn't want to work on a farm."

As will have become apparent part of the difference in response was due to the different interpretation of 'educated'. Almost every farmer with very few exceptions would want their staff to be able to count, which in practice usually means a Lower primary education (i.e. 3 years). It is the writer's considered opinion that the average farmer with a staff of say 10 men would if he could choose, have:

a) one or two men who can read and write;

- b) at least an additional five with particular skills such as stockmanship, shearing, driving, fencing, etc, and the ability to count; and
- c) the remainder, if any, preferably being able to count.

6.2.6 Attitudes to paying cash in place of rations

One of the much discussed questions in farming circles is the advisability or otherwise of paying farm labour in the form of cash only or of paying some cash and giving rations. In response to the question "Would you prefer a cash only system of payment to regular labour?" the following was obtained:

	Number	%
Yes, would prefer cash only system	26	49
Already pay cash to all or some staff	2	4
No, prefer cash and rations system	21	39 1/2
Don't know	l	2
Non-response	3	5 1/2
TOTAL	53	100

Source: Question 8.16

Although 49% of farmers said that they would prefer a cash only system the majority opinion was that it would be impractical to implement or that the disadvantages would far outweigh any advantages. In fact almost every 'Yes' answer was qualified in such a way that the final vote against was a full 85%. Two sample answers make this point adequately: No "because they "wouldn't eat enough. (The men) would just drink and would not feed their wives and children."

Yes "but for the sake of the families one rations."

In a few cases farmers gave only one or two of their staff the option of commuting their rations for cash, but the experience had not persuaded them to allow any additional staff the privilege mainly on the grounds that the cash would be spent unwisely. ("I've had one He had a motor car and I don't think it did 'boy' on cash only. him any good ... (so) I don't think it advisable."). But the few farmers in the district who paid cash only or mainly cash spoke favourably of their method. One farmer, who first gave his staff of 23 a choice 10 to 12 years ago observed that more and more were switching to the cash option because they 'want to pick their own diet. When their salaries increase they go for better food. They can afford it. Otherwise they have to have mealies and mealiemeal." Whereas only 3 years ago 10 families (i.e. 43%) took rations, now only 5 (or 22%) chose R14 and rations instead of R21 in cash.

The main reasons advanced for and against a switch to a cash only system of payment were:

FOR a cash only system

- 1. It would save the farmer a great deal of effort in not having to ensure regular purchases of rations and their transportation to the farm as well as time spent distributing these rations; and
- 2. When wage comparisons were made the labourer would better realise that his wage was better than he might have imagined. (This second point was made in response to a more general question on comparative wages and not to the direct question "Would you prefer a cash only system of payment ...?").

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AGAINST a cash only system

 It had been tried by either the farmer himself or his neighbours and found not to work. In some cases the exact reasons for failure could not be recalled but such failure in itself was sufficient. In other cases specific factors which are detailed below were given.
- 2. The farm labourer is not able to budget adequately, would spend all his money in the first week and would go hungry for the rest of the month. The families in particular would go without food.
- 3. Linked with the point above, farmers considered that their staff would spend unwisely on luxuries, radios and "rubbish like lemonade and white bread." The point made by several farmers is typified by the statement: "It (a cash system) doesn't work; the kids starve. Quite a few in the (Carlisle Bridge) area are now going back to rations. You see it is their custom that the father eats first and when he's had enough then the wife and then the children (eat). (a neighbour) pays R30/month. They buy all sorts of luxuries so the children go without and have to steal. If you control it (unwise spending) it comes to rationing."
- 4. The health of the farm labourers and their families, particularly the children, would deteriorate, e.g. "X (of the Sevenfountains area) did it 10 years ago but 5-6 months later when the TB gang came around they found one family suffering from chronic kwashiokor" and "A neighbour's boy took cash only but in 18 months the whole family had T.B."
- 5. Time would have to be given off for shopping.
- 6. There are no stores conveniently close. (In one case the nearest shop was 14 km away).
- 7. One farmer said a cash system would cost him more "I don't think my bank balance would stand it."
- 8. Finally, a number of farmers said that by giving rations fewer 'problems' were experienced. This is the opposite view to the most frequently cited potential advantage of a cash only system. Most of the 'problems' avoided are those listed above, but some farmers also seemed to be hinting that the provision of rations through ensuring an adequate diet made for a more stable social environment. For example it was said ".... it would be easier for me (to pay cash only), but I'd be the loser because it would cause friction."

Following on the question as to whether paying cash instead of rations would be preferred, farmers were asked whether their labourers would

prefer such a system. Almost one in four said that they did not know chiefly because they had not asked their staff, a third of whom added that they had no intention of asking as they were against such a move. Only 11% of farmers said that they believed their staff would prefer receiving cash. This included one who had switched from R6 per month and rations to R12 per month and reduced rations in 1973 and said his staff were happier with the new system, and another who said that his neighbour had discussed the proposal with his staff and that they were in favour. Other opinions were that younger men and unmarried men would prefer cash while married men and older men would prefer the inclusion of rations, and that the men would prefer cash but that their families would prefer the inclusion of rations.

The majority of farmers (57%) said that their staff preferred the inclusion of rations, some pointing to their neighbour's staff, who were on a cash system and 'unhappy'. Others said that they had consulted their staff and they had rejected a change. A Lower Albany farmer said that his staff did not wish to have the inconvenience but he thought that they "perhaps also fear that wages won't go up. Also they would have to buy a (full) bag which would last (only) two weeks." A Carlisle Bridge (Upper Albany) farmer said that he had "put it to them (the staff) but they see what has gone on at X's. He is a bit hard; he will order mealies, but they must see about getting them from the bus He's paying R25 a month and (has) lost quite a halt four miles away. lot of boys on account of this." During the course of the survey Mr X, however, was found to be giving 4,5 litres of whole milk daily per family and approximately one-fifth of a sheep per month. Cattle grazing, though, was charged for at the rate of R3 per mature unit per month and deducted from the cash salary of R30. A comparison of the wages paid by the two neighbours yielded the following:

	<u>Mr X</u>		Mr Y
Cash wage	30,00		10,00
Farm rations: milk 13,86 meat 4,00	17,86	5,41 (5,45) [≭]	10,86
Purchased rations maize - maize meal - sugar & coffee - tobacco -		2,40 2,55 3,81 1,05	9,81
TOTAL I	47,86		30,67
less grazing charge R1,56	1. (0		-00
TOTAL II @ R3)	43,18		30,67

* normally dead animals

Y's staff were rationed separated milk and were given sheep or goats that had died, unless nothing had died for 3 months in which case regular labourers were rationed 1/2 sheep each. In addition each regular labourer was allowed to run 4 cows and their calves. On X's farm each labourer was allowed 2 cows and their calves. Nevertheless the 9 men on X's farm owned 14 cows and 9 calves between them while the 13 men on Y's farm owned only 13 head. The total wage of R47.86 versus R30.67 is thus reduced to R43.18 versus R30.67 (see total II above) It should be added that even if taking into account grazing charges. Y's more generous Christmas bonus (one sheep, 1 bottle brandy, R5 to R10 in cash, boots, overalls, shirt and trousers) compared to X's (2/3 bottle of brandy and R2O in cash) was converted to a monthly basis, X's wage package still amounted to more than Y's. On the face of it Y's staff should have been prepared to switch, but presumably non-monetary factors outweighed any possible advantages to be gained.

The comparisons, however, were not always entirely fair, as for example the farmer who compared his cash wage of R20 with R25 worth of rations to his neighbour's total payment of R30 in cash.

Another disadvantage of switching to cash only, in addition to the transport problem already mentioned, is that the prices at the rural stores are usually substantially higher than those which the farmer has to pay

e.g. Rl more on a bag of mealies and R2 more on a bag of mealiemeal. A further factor is that assurances were not given that cash wages would keep pace with food prices.

In conclusion it should be said that the writer is not convinced that in every case where the cash option was tried that the attempt was an entirely fair one. In most cases the whole staff had to make the change which did not allow for the varying abilities to accept change particularly by the older staff. Several accounts also indicated that the staff asked for the experiment to be abandoned within a very short period (between one and five months) whereas farmers who had made the change indicated that the transitional period was the trickiest. This viewpoint was corroborated by the farmer who said "I would do so (i.e. change) if I could only see my way through the transitional period."

6.3 Labour productivity and labour problems

Although in this section the emphasis falls mainly on farmer views of the efficiency of their labour, labour problems and labour training these are also indicative of employer-employee relationships and should be seen as a continuation of 6.2 where the final break in the relationship, is dismissal or resignation.

While labour productivity can be measured as the total product (or income) generated per labourer it is not the intention in the present study to pursue this line. Productivity here is rather more broadly used to discuss three different aspects. Firstly. the extent to which farmers view their labour as efficient; secondly, the main labour problems perceived by farmers; and thirdly, the reasons for farmers discharging their labour and for labourers leaving of their own accord. In some respects the three items can be viewed as a continuum. Incidents or events which occur will be seen in the light of the farmers view of the efficiency Where these events or phenomena or productivity of his labourers. occur frequently amongst a sufficiently large proportion of the staff the farmer will regard these as 'labour problems'. Where a labour problem in the farmer's view, reaches unmanageable proportions or where a labourer breaches some written or unwritten code the final step is dismissal.

6.3.1 Farmer views on labour efficiency

In response to the question "Do you regard your labourers as reasonably efficient at the tasks they are called upon to perform." 81% of farmers answered in the affirmative while 19% answered in the negative. On closer inspection, however, only 19% gave an unequivocal 'yes' answer leaving a 'yes, with reservations' of 62%. Since 'efficiency' here is a purely subjective measure it is interesting to note the views of the three groups.

Those who said 'yes' included farmers who implied that the labour on other farms was not up to the standard on their farm, and those who felt that 'yes' was an appropriate answer as the work their labour

was called upon to perform was not particularly taxing. The middle group complained that although the majority of their staff were good others were not, or that their staff were good under supervision, or that they were only good at routine jobs. The group who felt that their staff were inefficient said their labour lacked intelligence or didn't use their intelligence, or that the quality of labour had deteriorated over the years, or that they could not rely on their labourers always to carry out routine tasks at a given standard.

Many of the views expressed in answer to this question were elaborated upon and mentioned by other interviewees in subsequent answers on labour problems and will therefore be taken up in that context more fully.

6.3.2 Labour training

The training of Albany farm labourers is generally informal and it could be said that in many cases is deliberately kept at a level lower than that which could be attained. This contention will be explained.

In the first place the training is informal in that skills such as milking are learnt from an early age ("they normally learn milking on their own cows and by the time they're 12 or 13 they are good milkers") or simply by doing the job ("it's not really training; they do it by practice" and "the younger ones gradually cotton on, for example a kwedin will try his hand while the shearer sharpens his shears.") One farmer said that he allowed his young inexperienced staff to learn by giving them the lambs to shear. On another farm Blacks had learnt to fence by acting as 'handlangers' or assistants to trained Coloured men but the training again was by 'seeing and doing' rather than as a formal exercise. Two of these men now headed their own fencing teams, a tribute to the effectiveness of their informal apprenticeship.

In the second place many farmers are reluctant to teach their workers particular skills for fear of losing them to other farmers

or to industry. This contention was expressed both in general terms ("you train them ... and then they skedaddle") and with regard to specific skills. The latter is usually applied to drivers and shearers, for example "Just as soon as a man has a driver's licence he leaves so you don't let him pass" and "we can teach young boys to shear but they leave the farms."

Some farmers do undertake training in a more-or-less formal way themselves particularly with regard to tractor servicing and maintenance, windmill repairs and the dosing and innoculation of sheep and cattle. Most farmers prefer to innoculate their own animals or to be present when it is being done, but several farmers made comments along the lines "I won't allow them (the staff) to do dosing and injecting unless absolutely necessary" or "we usually innoculate ourselves but if they walk in the veld they will do it (i.e. heartwater injection) themselves." One of the reasons for farmers not allowing their staff to undertake this work themselves is that many innoculants need to be administered with care and with sterile equipment. For skills such as fencing, building, shearing and milking farmers almost invariably "make use of trained men to teach, who are more capable at their jobs than I am". Farmers reported that they had made use of short-courses recently offered for farm labourers by the Bathurst Agricultural Research Station. Others had had staff trained by other bodies such as a driver's course offered by Provincial Traffic authorities and tractor maintenance by a manufacturer, but at the time of the survey relatively few farmers had participated to any great extent. Some farmers once again expressed reluctance about the widespread use of formal courses. For example it was expressed by one farmer as follows "We would make use of an agricultural training school if we knew (that) he'd come back" and by another "I'd rather not ...; as soon as they have some learning they think they know a lot."

Two areas to which farmers were paying increasing attention in training were artificial insemination and the use of sheep dogs. The area, however, which farmers agreed was the ripest for training

was that of handling machinery and equipment. In response to the question "Are your staff adequately trained for handling machinery and/or equipment?" most farmers who were asked said that, with a few exceptions, they were not and perhaps put most succintly by the farmer who replied "They think they are but they're not very good with machinery." An extreme expression, which is as much one of racialism as an opinion on their labourers' abilities with machinery, not uncommon amongst farmers is that "No machinery is K-proof." Farmers refer particularly to the rough handling of machinery, the desire for speed ("hulle is lief om te jaag"), the necessity for constant checking and the lack of understanding of machines ("they have no idea; you put petrol in and it goes" and "A Black thinks that pushing a lever here to move something elsewhere is 'magic'.")

While it is acknowledged that, as one farmer put it, "training is a grind" and that farmers efforts are often rewarded with a worker seeking new pastures, it is the writer's considered opinion that many of the problems to be discussed in the following sections stem from the amount and type of training received and the few rewards and little recognition given to skilled workers.

6.3.3 Labour problems

To ascertain the most important problems farmers were not asked to comment on pre-selected areas but were rather asked to outline specific or general problems with their farm labour. They were then asked to indicate which of the problems mentioned were the most important; second most important, etc. The proportion of farmers who said that they had no labour problems, viz. 19% tallies with the response regarding efficiency. As indicated in table 6.11, 77% indicated one or more problems while 41% indicated two problems. No farmer listed more than two problems.

Table 6.11

Number of labour problems listed by Albany farmers (%)

		Lower Albany			Upper Albany		
Problems	ABLANY	1	2	3	4	5	
None	19	43	28	8	10	10	
One only	. 38	28	28	50	40	50	
Two	41	29	43	42	50	40	
TOTAL (%)	100	-100	100	100	100	100	

Source: Sample survey question 6.18

The types of problems which are mentioned most frequently were the quality of the labour force or the work performed in its broadest terms, excessive drinking, problems with workers' families, the labour shortage and miscellaneous other problems. The frequency with which these problems were listed is indicated in table 6.12.

Table 6.12 Frequency of particular labour problems (%)

		Lower Albany			Upper Albany	
Problem	ALBANY	l	2	3	4	5
Quality	58,5	57	50	67	40	80
Drink	28,3	-	28	17	70	50
Worker's family	15,1	14	21	25	10	-
Shortage	11,3	14	7	8	10	20
Other	9,4	-	7	16	10	10

· Source: Sample survey question 6.18

The most frequent complaint (58,5%) farmers have of their labourers concerns the quality of their work. Labourers are almost invariably

described as being unreliable; irresponsible; lacking in initiative, incentive or motivation; and requiring constant supervision. Problems associated with alcohol such as late arrival at work, drunk while on duty and absenteeism were mentioned by 28% of farmers. Problems associated with the workers family were listed by 15% and the shortage of labour by 11% of farmers. The major complaints will each be typified by appropriate farmer comments.

Labour quality

The word used most often in the context of labour quality was 'supervise' or its derivatives and is typified by the statement: "You have to supervise them all the time. If you're not there they don't work." One farmer estimated that in his absence he would "get less than half a day's work." Another said that only "one or two out of ten will work without supervision."

The so-called "boss-boy" is very rare in Albany and has not been tried successfully by many farmers since most believe "you cannot use the boss-boy system with the Xhosa."

Most farmers prefer to divide the work and give each man a specific task to do. Farmers are also fairly widely agreed that a physical separation from other workers will increase the amount of work done when not under supervision.

A frequent complaint from farmers was that workers who were capable of undertaking a particular job and had done so for a long time would "suddenly make a mess." One farmer complained "They are unreliable. They just let you down in more ways than one. In the first place by not coming to work, and then you give a chap a job you know he's good at and he will just go sour on it." One farmer described it as unpredictable irresponsibility. An Upper Albany farmer said that it was always necessary to check up: "If only one knew that a job would be done, for example 'walking a fence'. Don't believe what they tell one. For example,

when I go and check up after a fence has been 'walked', if I find a hole made by an antbear they will tell me 'it happened last night' when it is quite obvious that the hole has been rained upon and is fairly old."

Other similar complaints were phrased in terms of 'initiative', 'motivation', etc. A farmer who said he had difficulty in "getting (the staff) out after lunch" added that "It's a universal problem that they are not motivated." Another farmer said his biggest problem was "... motivation - a lack of interest. We must come up with something or go mad! when they're not interested then it's no good. I am trying to delegate more ... (and) they must stick at a single job.... They are doing so many different jobs." One farmer felt that "the biggest problem is that there is no incentive to better themselves. They don't look beyond their day-to-day needs and don't keep any money for to-morrow. If they draw R5 they have no worries until the money is finished and then will come back to work."

Other sample comments include: "Don't think these blokes have incentive. If I'm not behind them they'll take twice the time to collect a camp;" "My biggest problem is inefficiency. They do as little as possible;" "... they are not inclined to fix a thing before you tell them, for example glaring big holes in a fence;" and "... (they) need to be told what to do the whole time. For example if (one is) irrigating a land today and he gets half way through he won't irrigate tomorrow unless you tell him." One farmer went as far as to infer that the poor image which agriculture had as a wage-giver was not that outsiders did not realise the benefits received in kind but that they had no conception of the enormous "losses suffered because of incompetence."

A number of farmers complained that the quality of farm labour had deteriorated over the years. A Salem farmer said "They think they are being overworked when they are not doing the amount they

did 20 years ago ... In the war years we worked from sunrise to sunset: 'Scoffled' mealies all day - and I did it with them and scooping dams and collecting stock Today they are more frightened of work. Unless I specifically tell one to go out When I have it out with them they'll to a camp, four will go. say 'But you didn't say!' They can't think!" Some farmers felt that the 'old type' were the best, that the adults of today could just be tolerated and that the 'youngsters' were beyond the A farmer who complained about inefficiency, absenteeism pale. and labour not wanting to milk over weekends concluded: "These pensioners are the best. I won't have their youngsters. I've been farming here since the war. Then a man started with 10/- per month and now they are 'kicked off' (i.e. begun) at R20/month plus rations (which have increased), but the work has deteriorated."

These views were not held by all. One farmer held that the position had changed for the better "especially with the younger generation who are far improved on their elders: they're more honest, do not thieve, drink, smoke and generally are of a far better standard."

Some farmers also said that they were faced with an ageing labour force. One farmer said that the majority of his staff had worked for his father and grandfather. Of 36 men in total he described 10 as "old men" of whom "four are pensioners still working in the garden; another two to three should be pensioned and the remaining 3 or 4 should be pensioned off in the next 4-5 years." Other farmers put the problem similarly: "... as soon as he can do a day's work, he leaves. We've got to make do with the old stagers."

A few farmers blamed poor worker performance on the work of subversive elements. A Committees Drift farmer said "Being on the (Ciskei) border we.get a lot of agitators. (A neighbour) lost 16 servants who all left on one day to go to Umtata. (Another neighbour) booted four in one day."

A carlisle Bridge farmer complaining about the deterioration of standards said: "When I came onto the farm the men would go onto other jobs if I went into the house. Now they stop in the middle of a job. Three years ago we had a case of "go-slow". One man instigated it. His brother had been to China and he (the instigator) broke into P's place. Q (a Grahamstown Security Police agent) said 'They have a cell organised on every farm. You'll never stop it'." Another farmer in the same area in discussing recreation and church facilities supported the view: "Whenever they've been to a church meeting one can be sure to have a 'go-slow'. My firm belief is that the church meetings are the things making them full of nonsense. It's once every couple of weeks. They go to Carlisle Bridge. I'm darn certain it's not 'church'. BOSS could get a lot of A.N.C. info' there"

An observation which was made by a number of farmers is the extent to which young men resent being reprimanded. One farmer in elaborating said "I had a case this morning. Of my 3 men one is an 'ikrwala' (youth who has been initiated and is entering manhood). I had two (men) who were crutching sheep on Monday. There was wool lying around which I told them to put onto the (sorting) table. This morning (Thursday) it was still lying there. I asked the 'ikrwala' 'why do you not listen?' I also picked the other one out and thought nothing more of it. Next thing the 'ikrwala' came crying - 'He wants his money! He wants to go! I don't believe in begging someone to stay. He's not the only one. An older man you can really climb on from a dizzy height, provided he's done it and as long as one doesn't harp"

Farmers who had moved from other districts to Albany were generally rather disparaging about the local labour. A former Steynsburg farmer lamented: "I find that these labourers are more backward than up country. You have to supervise them all the time. If you're not there they don't work. Down here people have more labour so they don't have the same training. The young ones here are useless. They walk in and walk out. Some go to the mines but many don't

seem to work at all." Another farmer claimed "There's a big difference between labour here and in Elliot. These are a lot less efficient. Up there you work with them yourself working with expensive machinery. Farmers here are not keen on sitting on a These Af's (Africans) around here don't tractor. know what work is. It takes six (men) instead of two to lift a bag. It's because labour is so cheap. In Elliot a man starts on R15/month plus food. Iabour was quite scarce as one had to contend with (Provincial) road construction gangs." A former Somerset East farmer who had brought his staff with him said "The Blacks here are more raw. If I had to work with my neighbours' boys I'd go right round the bend. They are so slow and casual about the business." Finally, a former Pearston farmer maintained that the Blacks from that district "seem more advanced; more human beings. At least they have some culture. (On the other hand) the Coloureds are just a bunch of I don't know what" A second generation Fort Brown (Upper Albany) farmer supported the view of the more recent entrants to the district. In elaborating on a complaint of labour being "unreliable to a certain extent" and "even the best don't have the responsibility" he said, "There are exceptions but the amaXhosa in this area are the world's worst. The Adelaide-Fort Beaufort area have a much better stamp than ours. Bill J ----- once said to my dad 'George, your kaffirs are the cheapest but also the most useless.' The ones in Fort Beaufort have more of a sense of responsibility." By way of explanation he continued "The Afrikaner on the whole has a big location - a bunch of A.N.C. natives - but they have a hold on them. We English have left them to be more freer" He went on to say that migrant Basutos who in the past had worked on contract for 6 months at a time "were mostly very good. The problem is understanding the Xhosa."

A few farmers also complained about the way in which their staff handled machinery. A Lower Albany farmer said "My biggest problem is mechanical breakages. As long as the machine still goes he (the labourer) is quite happy, although some will say something is worn. They'll see (that) something is wrong, but won't inform you

They're not observant enough or perhaps they can't be bothered. Some don't use their initiative, but then" he admitted "there are lots of whites like that (too)." Another said "My big gripe is machinery, by a long way ... You must check all the time."

Drink

The chief problems which farmers face with regard to drunkenness are associated with weekend duties, particularly milking on Sunday evenings; absenteeism on Mondays; the Christmas break; and assaults. Most farmers were of the opinion that the problem had become worse over the years and was especially associated with increases in cash wages. Complaints by farmers were usually confined to drunkenness in male employees but a number also mentioned that pensioners "spend all their money on liquor." One aspect which is worth noting but for which no obvious explanation can be offered is that 70% of farmers in the Alicedale - Riebeeck East -Carlisle Bridge area listed drink as a problem. One farmer went as far as to say that "Drunkenness is almost accepted as the norm." Amother described it as "The old perennial. Drunkenness is sapping their energy They get blind drunk over weekends. One person was burnt to death in a drunken state and recently another was murdered on a neighbouring farm. Drunkenness has got worse as their financial position has improved Drunkenness is not a problem during working hours and I have four men who don't drink at all." A number of farmers made comments relating to the degree of drunkenness such as "they go beserk when drunk. There is no It's almost as though they're drugged." reasoning with them. No farmers associated 'blind drunkenness' with dagga smoking although the latter was mentioned in other contexts occasionally. One Upper Albany farmer said that he had had a particularly bad period "from drunkenness from 'nthkirrie' or Kirriemoer, a small It is a poisonous plant which affects the brain." plant in the veld.

Few farmers proffered explanations for the widespread problem. One felt that the African had a feeling of insecurity and was therefore an easy victim of temptation, while another said simply "They drink out of boredom." One farmer thought that excessive rations of

mealiemeal could be responsible. (Mealiemeal is used to brew mageu and added to so-called Bantu beer).

Farmers with larger staff were able to mitigate their problems by introducing shifts over weekends to undertake essential tasks. A few farmers said that the turning to religion had helped to ease the problem as these men usually became complete abstainers.

The workers' families

Although a number of farmers felt that the family problems of their staff were their own business others said that their involvement was not voluntary. The more "hangers-on" on a farm the more chance there is that the farmer himself will have to attend to a case of assault or sickness perhaps in the middle of the night. Since farmers also provide their staff with housing and rations they are often concerned that any improvements are simply dissipated amongst a large number of friends, relatives and the illigitimate children of workers on the mines or in town.

As far as the workers' families are concerned:

"You can never get a true idea of whose family is whose. The biggest problem is the whole family set up. With 9 families there are about 60-70 children vaguely related or connected. The adults work in town and leave the children on the farm."

On the subject of rations:

"They said their ration was not going round so I suggested they get rid of the extras. I give them meat on Mondays or Tuesdays rather than at the weekend so that they can have some themselves. I asked them if they would like the ration that day but they refused to answer. But I did it anyway, and they came back and said 'thank you'."

"They really pile in at Christmas. Our staff get a beast and nearly all their relations come. We'd get a shock if we saw what came in over weekends if we looked." One farmer asked visitors
"where's your Christmas? If they were making no contribution
I'd say 'B_____ off! No ways!' My staff seem to appreciate this."

Some farmers stipulate that visitors must ask permission or "... don't allow visitors for more than 3 to 4 days" on the grounds that this leads to problems.

Comments include:

"The men breed here and sow their wild oats over the weekends" and "One came here on holiday, for which he asked permission, and the next thing he had a wife." Sometimes frequent visits are permitted provided the person s visited are workers. For example a Lower Albany farmer said "there's one here every weekend from Grahamstown - I sacked him because of liquor - but I turn a blind eye because all the women are working. Others I would have to get rid of."

Many farmers reported cases of adults working in town and leaving their children on the farm. One farmer estimated his farm population to be over 200 (versus the Eastern Cape Administration Board (ECAB) figure of 106) with as many as "9 illegitimates in one hut!"

A number of farmers attempt to limit the number of people on the farm usually by insisting that any able-bodied adults apart from the wives of workers leave if they are unemployed. One farmer said he had "asked a boy to leave because of all the hangers on. It created such a problem looking after a family of about 20, mostly female. They'd started a brothel." Not all farmers are concerned about the size of families. A Highlands farmer pointed out that those who work elsewhere send in money. "If a person or family has worked here, they belong here, though families don't get rationed as such any more because of it."

Shortage of labour

As was seen in table 6.10 in each area a small proportion complained about the shortage of labour. The overall 11% corresponds with that as indicated in Chapter 4 and will not be further discussed here.

Other problems

Although problems other than those listed above were mentioned usually by no more than one or two farmers each these will nevertheless be elaborated upon briefly. It is the writer's opinion that some of these could well have featured more prominently had the interview called for a ranking of a given list of problems and should therefore not be entirely ignored. The problems volunteered, listed without rank judgement, included:

a) absenteeism: Whereas the problem is generally confined to Mondays one farmer had had quite a substantial general case of absence from work and the writer followed the progress which the farmer was making in its remedy for a period after the initial interview. The problem first became apparent to the farmer early in 1976. In February and March an average of over 3 working days were lost per man per month. As from the last week in April he decided to introduce a bonus of a packet of tea and sugar for each day worked. Still not satisfied, however, starting in September an attendance bonus of R3/month was introduced of which 50c/day was subtracted for every day lost regardless of the legitimacy of the excuse. September was also the first month in memory in which no days were taken off whatsoever. Although that record was not repeated in the following 6 months, as will be seen from table 6.11, the problem seems to have been brought to more manageable proportions.

Table 6.13

Number of days lost through absenteeism on an Albany farm, January 1976 to March 1977

Month & Year	No of regular labourers	Working day absent	Average days per man	Days absent as % possible
		* ,		and second s
Jan 1976	8	12,5	1,6	6,7
F	8	26,5	3,3	15,1
Μ	8	29	3,6	14,5
A	8	19,5	2,4	10,2
м	7	9,5	1,4	5,8
J	7	6	0,9	3,6
J	7	11	1,6	7,9
А	7	13,5	1,9	8,0
S	 5	0	0	0
0	5	2	0,4	1,7
N	5	8,5	1,7	7,0
D	5	1,5	0,3	1,4
Jan 1977	5	4,0	0,8	3,5
F	4	1,5	0,4	1,7
М	5	3,5	0,7	2,7

Source: farm records of interviewee 074

Note: the dotted lines signify the introduction of the attendance bonuses.

The farmer reported that his staff were unhappy at the prospect of losing their entire attendance bonus if they were sick for 6 days "because their expenses would stay the same." The farmer replied that the bonus was "to say thank you for those who work every day." The farmer felt that "sickness is used as an excuse because they are always well on a Tuesday. Monday is used to get over the weekend." It was the farmer's intention to introduce one full working day off per month if the labourer had worked a full month.

b) the lack of punctuality: "Being used to industry, I expect people to be on time. They have watches but they say 'I don't see the sun'."

c) <u>language</u>: "It's a big problem not being able to speak the language." (This topic is taken up again a little later.)

d) <u>communication</u>: "If a man wants something they don't come and talk and ask. They walk around with a long face (which) is very annoying. Perhaps it's a hangover from the old days when they were scared to approach one. When they bottle up their problems it sometimes affects all the men."

e) <u>ingratitude</u>: "... no matter if I were to double their wages, they would only be grateful for a day."

f) <u>not appreciative of level of earnings</u>: "... they don't feel that they are earning enough. It's difficult to explain how much they are getting."

ECAB (then BAAB): the Eastern Cape Administration Board came in for a great deal of unsolicited criticism, although the institution was mentioned only once under the question of labour problems. The bulk of the complaints are contained in the comment of the farmer concerned, viz. "They do nothing and want money. I told them I wanted a piece-worker and they still haven't found one. They just ride around in bakkies." The farmer also added that the Board had "no control over influx" a measure he felt should be abandoned.

h) <u>Petty theft</u>: "Sometimes things are 'borrowed' for a couple of weeks. Anyone caught stealing cream is fined R3."

i) <u>problems past and future</u>: One farmer said that he had had a problem with his staff borrowing money which he had been able to resolve. Another believed that "insubordination could become a problem in the future with the political situation."

6.3.4 Labour turnover and job security

While it was not possible during the survey to obtain detailed worker histories, which in any event would have been sketchy since the workers themselves were not interviewed, many farmers were able to tell of one or more labourers who had either been born and bred on the farm or had spent their entire working lives on the farm. Thus periods of service of 10 years or more are believed to be not uncommon. The length of service of the employee is also related to the length of time the farmer himself and/or his family have been farming a particular property or in a particular area. The average length of service would be a good indication of job security on the one hand, and job satisfaction and/or the lack of alternative possibilities for the labourer on the other.

As far as job security is concerned, while it appears that this is positively correlated with length of service, long service is no guarantee of job security. One farmer, for example, discharged a man after 20 years of service, though it is not suggested that this was on flimsy grounds. Most farmers in the Albany district have been on their present farms for a considerable period and on average 75% of their 20 years of farming experience. The area which boasted the most years of farming experience was the Alicedale-Carlisle Bridge area with 26 years, while the Fort Brown-Committees Drift area had on average the least, with nearly 17 years. From the farmer's side, therefore, there has been time to build stable relations with his workers.

Labour turnover was calculated by asking each farmer in the random sample how many regular labourers had been discharged, the number who had left of their own accord and the number of new labourers taken on over the previous two years. The beginning and end figures were thus reconciled and turnover was calculated as the number discharged and left per year as a proportion of the average number of staff in employment. The results from these calculations indicate an average turnover of 6,4% per annum as seen in table 6.14.

Item	ALBANY	ALBANY Lower Albany			Upper Albany		
	····	1	2	3	-4	5	
Average labour/farm (No)							
Survey date - less 2 years	11,3	7,3	11,2	14,8	10,2	10,9	
Discharged	0,9	1,0	0,9	1,1	0,7	0,8	
Left of own accord	0,5	1,1	0,4	0,7	0,0	0,4	
Taken on	0,7	1,9	0,4	0,7	0,3	0,7	
As at survey date	10,5	7,0 [±]	10,3	13,7	9,8	10,4	
Average turnover/annum							
% discharged	4,1	7,0	4,0	3,8	3,5	3,8	
% left of own accord	2,3	8,0	2,0	2,6	0,0	1,9	
labour turnover (%)	6,4	15,0	6,0	6,4	3,5	5,6 [±]	
% net staff reduction	3,3	2,0	4,3	4,1	2,0	2,3	

Table 6.14 Annual turnover of farm labour in Albany

Source: Sample survey, questions 6.11, 6.13 & 6.14.

Notes: \mathbf{x} = figures do not add due to rounding errors \mathbf{x} = see table 4.6 for composition.

In practical terms an annual turnover such as that mentioned would result in a complete replacement on average of the entire farm staff once every 12 years. In the case of the Alicedale-Carlisle Bridge area which had a turnover of 3,5% a complete turnover would occur only once in 20 years whereas the Fraser's Camp-Manley Flats area would experience a complete turnover every 5 years. Another way of viewing the turnover figure is the frequency with which a labourer is discharged or leaves. On this basis, with a staff of 10, 1 person is discharged every 14 months and 1 person leaves of their accord every 26 months. Alternatively we could say that 1 person leaves the farm every 19 months, whereas it takes 39 months to recruit one additional regular staff member. The net result was a 3,3% reduction in regular labour per annum,or in absolute terms a reduction of 90 regular labourers per annum for the district as a whole. This reduction took place in every area of the district and, with the exception of area 1,was at a rate twice that at which new labourers were hired. As we discussed in Chapter 4, in some instances this was said to be by deliberate policy and it was noted that 11% of farmers were willing but unable to obtain sufficient regular labour. Furthermore, one-third of farmers said that it was difficult to find good labour.

An interesting feature of the labour turnover figures is that they show that labour is more stable further from Grahamstown, a finding which confirms Margaret Roberts' observation of 1957. The negative relationship between distance and turnover is highlighted in table 6.15.

Area	Average distance (km)	Average labour turnover (%)	% left of own accord
l	17	15,0	53
2	24	6,0	33
3	33	6,4	41
5	40	5,6	34
4	47	3,5	0
ALBANY	33	6,4	23

Table 6.15: Average labour turnover and distance from Grahamstown by area

Source: from table 5.12 and 6.14.

The relationship between the proximity to Grahamstown and labour turnover is not surprising since relatively easy accessibility allows alternatives to be more quickly known and taken where there is a desire to move into non-farm employment. One farmer whose property is very close to Grahamstown said that his farm was used by many simply as a springboard into the urban area. Most farmers who had had staff leave of their own accord said that they moved into town although not all had found employment. Some farmers claimed that the movement to town took

place via interim employment as a Divisional Council roadworker or from peri-urban areas (such as those at Greenbushes and Aloes) into metropolitan Port Elizabeth. According to one farmer the latter is accomplished by a ploy, namely: "They pretend they don't have a reference book and apply for one. They are then given a chit of paper and get employment that way." One farmer did say though that youths were finding it increasingly difficult to find work in Port Elizabeth and he added "they have to get a note from me." In another case a kwedin had "returned from Port Elizabeth where he had been retrenched."

As will be confirmed again later when labour problems are discussed, the movement of labour to the towns did not feature very high in farmers' complaints. One farmer said that he had "reported one (labourer) to BAAB - I saw him working in town" but another had said that he had not bothered to take similar action because he believed that the Administration Board was in fact powerless to do anything about labour moving to town. It should also be noted that although one farmer complained "Kwa Teba (mine recruiting organization) is taking our men, though they are supposed to get permission from me" many farmers did not object overly, and in some cases made it easy for the young men to work on the mines before returning to settle on the farm. Generally farmers allow a period of migration before marriage and provided that at least one person in the household is in regular full-time employment on the farm. Three farmers allowed individuals to go off if they "need the money badly" for example to enable them to marry or pay off a debt. One farmer said that it was good policy on his part since he was not able to employ all the young men on the farm but those who did return would stay. (He did add the rider, though, that "70 to 80% have been ruined" in some way, for example, by learning to drink).

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Appendix	Table	Del

Times of sunrise and sunset as at the lst of each month.

Month	Sunrise	Sunset	Dayl	ength	
January	5.16	7.32	14 hou	rs 16 minu	ites
February	5.42	7.32	13	50	
March	6.06	6.54	12	48	
April	6.36	6.14	11	38	
May	6.40	5.30	10	50	
June	7.11	5.20	10	9	
July	7.09	5.29	10	20	
August	6.55	5.46	10	51	
September	6.36	6.06	11	30	
October	5.56	6.16	12	24	
November	5.20	6.43	13	23	
December	5.04	7.10	14	6	
	F				

Source: Calendar, White & Boughton, Cradock

CHAPTER 7:

SURVEY OF FARM LABOUR : 1957 and 1977

7.1 Albany, 1957 and 1977.

As mentioned previously (Chapter 4 section 4.2) one of the purposes of conducting the Albany survey was to make a comparison with an earlier period and for this purpose, in addition to the random sample of farmers, an additional 27 'survivors' of the earlier survey were interviewed. This chapter focuses on a comparison of farm labour between the years 1957 and 1977.

7.1.1 Survey of 1957

Margaret Roberts (1958) conducted a survey of farmers in the Albany and Bathurst districts twenty years prior to the present study. Of the 76 farms visited she was able to use information from between 71 and 73 farmers. Although her report nowhere gives an indication of the division of farmers between the two magisterial districts of Albany and Bathurst, the approximate breakdown was established from the original (incomplete) set of questionnaires and an address list, as follows:

Albany farmers	45
Bathurst farmers	24
Area not identified	1
Missing questionnaires	3
TATOT	73

The 1957 survey was not random. According to Roberts (1958 p 4) "a common sense approach was adopted in selecting farms for study. Cooperative farmers contacted through Farmers' Associations and personal introductions were interviewed and asked to suggest farmers in their district who might together make up a representative sample of opinion and practice." Roberts maintained, however, that she was "satisfied that the sample was not unrepresentative."

When an attempt was made to reconstruct the Albany sample according to the breakdown on the basis of farm size and type of farming several difficulties were experienced. Firstly, a minor difference in the distribution by farm size was discovered, viz. that the sample in fact had 7 farms between 2 001 and 5 000 morgen and not 6 (Roberts pg 16). Secondly, it became obvious that the categorisation by farming type is a matter for debate given the data recorded on the original questionnaires. The categorisation adopted was probably obvious to the field worker at the time but since none of the work sheets was available it was not possible to make an unequivocable division. Nevertheless, it is the writer's considered opinion that, except for the missing questionnaires, the breakdown for Albany was as follows:

Type ⁻ Size ha	Stock	Citrus	Dairy	Mixed	Pines	TOTAL
0 -	-		-	-	-	-
101 -	l	2	4	3	l	11
501 -	1 .	3	2	2	2	10
1001 -	8	2	3	1	-	14
2001 -	6	l	-	-	-	7
5001 -	3	-	-	-	-	3
TOTALS	19	8	9	6	3	45

Table 7.1	Classification o	f 1957	sample of	Albany	farms	by	size
	and	type o	of farming				

Source: Appendix table 7.1

When the data for Albany are compared to those for the 70 farms in Albany and Bathurst for which questionnaires were available the following pattern emerges:

Albany has 19 of the 20 stock farmers;

all of the 8 citrus farmers; and 9 of the 10 dairy farmers.

On the other hand, Bathurst predominated in pineapples and mixed farming. A division of Albany into Upper and Lower Albany, as in the 1977 survey, showed that the stock farms were confined generally to the former, citrus was evenly distributed, while dairy and mixed farming was confined to the latter higher rainfall area.

7.1.2 Comparison of 1957 and 1977 survey of farm labour.

In contrast to the 1957 survey, the survey of 1976/77 was a 20% random sample stratified according to geographical area. The sample, however, was confined to the Albany magisterial district to reduce intra-sample variation and to allow the addition of the Roberts survivors and the members of an Upper Albany farmers' study group. (The latter group, whom the writer had worked with on other farm business analyses since 1970, were interviewed first and acted as a pilot group as well as providing additional information). The total coverage of the survey, excluding overlap between samples, amounted to 81 farmers. Of these, 27 Margaret Roberts 'survivors' or their direct descendants were interviewed, of whom approximately equal numbers were from Upper and Lower Albany. The 'survival rate' was thus proportionately higher in the extensive, mainly stock farming area While approximately half of the above number had of Upper Albany. actually been interviewed by Roberts only half of these again were still actively participating in day-to-day farming and farm decision-making.

Although the Roberts questionnaire also focussed on farm labour, conditions of service, labour problems and farmer attitudes it had some severe shortcomings in the area of wages and benefits in kind. The main evidence for this is that Roberts had found it necessary to conduct a supplementary postal questionnaire with farmers after the completion of the individual interviews. It is apparent that the latter was used almost exclusively for the calculation of payments in kind although in many cases the values given showed quite marked discepancies from those obtained at the interviews. Also, as will become apparent later, the information for 1957 is not as complete as that for the later survey. Nevertheless, most of the essential items can be compared between the two time periods. Furthermore, on the subject of farmer attitudes, where relevant, some of the same questions were posed that had been asked by Roberts 20 years earlier.

Against this background the remainder of the chapter will examine the changes which occurred over the 20 years from 1957 in the structure of farming in Albany, in the farm labour force, their conditions of service and farmer attitudes.

7.2 Economic structure of farming in Albany

As will become evident in what follows, a number of quite marked changes took place in Albany farming from 1957 to 1977. Most of these changes are quite readily explicable in terms of the maximising behaviour predictable from the micro-economic theory of the firm. This could be stated briefly, as follows: that profits (net income) will determine the product mix (enterprise combinations) and output (production) levels of rational decision-makers (farmers). Following this reasoning it can be postulated in more specific terms, that the changes in farming structure which were manifested over the period from 1957 to 1977 in Albany, could be largely explained by the relative profitability of farming in general and of individual enterprises in particular, within the available resources and the social, legal and political framework.

The chief sources available in the examination of changes which have occurred are the two surveys themselves and the censuses of agricultural and pastoral production. Unfortunately no information is available for the period 1957 to 1977 concerned on either the overall level of net farm income or the net returns to individual enterprises. Nevertheless, information is available on the prices of products and certain production factors to serve as proxy variables in our analysis. Information on other items such as farm size, employment and production are also available from a number of censuses over the period and give something of a benchmark against which the survey results can be evaluated.

7.2.1 Changes in farm size and number of farms

The most obvious general change which has taken place in Albany as elsewhere, is in the number and average size of farms. The number of farms ('holdings' in census terminology) decreased from 477 in 1956 to 408 in 1967 and were down to 358 by 1976. This represents a decline of 25% over 20 years or an annual rate of 1,45%. Over the same period the average size of farms increased from about 880 ha to 1 200 ha or by 36%. (Comparisons of individual years can show even greater changes but these are in part due to changes in the coverage of the censuses concerned). The following table indicates these changes for selected years from the early 1950's.

Year	holdings	total area (ooo ha)	average size (ha)
1951-54	482	417	865
1955-56	475	416	876
1960-64	439	417	950
1965-69	406	_417	1 027
1971-73	374	413	1 104
1975-76	361	433	1 199

Table 7.2 Number of farms and farm size in Albany, 1951 to 1976

<u>Source</u>: Censuses of agricultural and pastoral production, 1951 to 1976, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

7.2.2 Changes in the relative importance of individual enterprises.

The second important change which occurred over the 1957-77 period is the change in the relative importance of sources of farm income. The most notable changes occurred in the cropland devoted to pineapples, maize, citrus fruit and pastures, and in the number of cattle, sheep and goats.

Changes in cropping patterns.

Although Roberts (1958) classified only 3 out of 45 Albany properties as "pineapple farms" according to the Agricultural census, 4 254 ha were devoted to the crop in 1957 making it the single most important crop cultivated. The area had declined to 847 ha by 1976. The decline can be ascribed chiefly to the decrease in price of pineapples from R 36 /tonne in 1955 to R6/t in 1957 (see Appendix 7.2). At the height of the so-called 'pineapple boom' small farms fetched very high prices and many farmers who entered the industry at that stage were subsequently unable to meet the high interest and redemption commitments and were forced to sell their properties. Present day pineapple farming, although smaller in total area, takes place on a much larger scale on those farms where production is undertaken.

Roberts (1958) identified 8 out of 45 Albany farms (nearly 18%) as earning at least 75% of their income from citrus fruit or citrus nurseries.

In 1977 only 2 out of 81 farms visited in total could be described as citrus farms using the Roberts definition. This decline can be ascribed firstly to the decrease in profitability of citrus - the price fetched for export oranges, for example, declined from R80/tonne in 1958/59 to R64/tonne by 1965/60 (Abstract of Agric Stats, 1972); secondly, to the prolonged drought and consequent shortage of irrigation water in the middle to late sixties, and thirdly by substantial flood damage to citrus groves along the banks of the Fish River in 1974. Although prices of citrus fruit rose and the water position improved higher fuel prices after 1973 lead to greatly increased pumping costs which proved to be the death knell for citrus in Albany. Evidence supporting the view of a declining citrus industry is shown clearly

in the agricultural censuses which recorded a decrease from 113 000 trees on 634 ha in 1960 to 43 000 trees on 147 ha in 1976. Although citrus production was recorded as having been undertaken on nearly 17% of holdings in the agricultural census of 1960, the Roberts sample was probably much too heavily weighted in this respect since one-quarter of the holdings had groves of less than 4,28 ha (5 morgen) and would probably not have contributed "at least 75% of income."

A substantial decline has also been evident in the total cropland devoted to maize and other cereals. The area of maize land dropped by 40% while other cereals (wheat, oats, barley, millet and birdseed) also declined. Maize in Albany has not been planted as a cash crop but mainly for staff rations in recent decades. In 1957 of the total area of 3 349 ha about 630 ha (19%) was used by staff for maize production, 780 ha (23%) was used for fodder while the remaining 1940 ha (58%) was used for the production of rations with less than 10% entering the market system. Information for wheat, barley and rye shows a decline of nearly 20% while the area planted to millet and manna declined from 256 ha in 1960 to 9 ha in 1976.

Complete information is limited for vegetables but it is surmised that these have increased in importance. The production of potatoes, onions and dried beans have certainly increased. In 1957 251 ha were devoted to these crops while the area had increased to over 400 ha by 1976. Chicory also increased in importance especially between 1955 and 1960 when the area under cultivation rose from 763 to 1353 ha. (Although the area planted to chicory increased by only a little over

20% between 1960 and 1976 total production doubled over the 1957-77 period (from 7,3 m to 15,6 m kg) and Albany also increased its relative share of the national production from about 16% to 20% (Chicory Control Board, 1977.

The only crops which showed a very marked increase in importance over the two decades were (artificial) pastures and forage crops which almost doubled from 1 100 ha to 2 148 ha. (This change should be seen together with the increased numbers of livestock, especially dairy cattle, a topic which will be further discussed below).

The net result of the various changes in areas devoted to various crops is that there was a decline in total arable land as summarised in table 7.3.

Crop	1957	1960	1965	1971	1976
Pineapples Maize Other cereals Chicory Citrus Potatoes, dried beans Pastures	4 254 3 349 1 597 763° 243 1 100	2 404 1 997 2 544 1 353 634 293 1 883	1 881 3 039 3 268 1 316 483 321 1 278	1 682 2 683 2 104 1 612 131+ 200 1 645	847 1 899 1 299 1 751 147 354 x 2 148
sub-total	(11 306)	11 108	11 586	10 057	8 445
vegetables **	222	328	159		
deciduous fruit		53	61		73
all other field crops	1 183	2 051	189		
GRAND TOTAL	(12 711)	13 540	11 995		(8 518)

Table 7.3 Area devoted to crops in Albany selected years 1957 to 1976 (in hectare).

Source: Censuses of agricultural and pastoral production, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria, various years.

It will be noted that while there has been a limited amount if switching from pineapples, maize and citrus into pastures, certain vegetables and other field crops, the overall area of cropland appears to have declined by one-quarter over the two decades. Clear evidence of the former position held by pineapples can still be seen on many farms where 'old pineapple lands' have still not fully reverted to natural veld vegetation.

Changes in livestock farming

A number of marked changes are evident in livestock enterprises as well. In general, the total number of livestock (in smallstock equivalents) increased by 18%, although since a large proportion of this increase is accounted for by non-veld grazing livestock, the effective stocking rate of the veld increased more modestly (viz. by 3,6%).

The most important changes which took place were: firstly, the increase in dairy cattle by 55%, and secondly, the increase in mutton sheep, Angora goats and Boergoats at the expense of beef cattle and woolled sheep as shown in table 7.4. Pigs, poultry and horses etc also declined sharply but their total numbers were relatively insignificant.

Table 7.4	The importance of livestock types in Albany	,
	1957 and 1976 (in 1 000 s.s.u. and by %)	

	1957		1976		
LIVESTOCK	s.s.u.	%	s.s.u.	%	
CATTLE	165	46,0	194	46,1	
Dairy cattle		23,9		31,7	
Beef cattle		22,1		14,4	
SMALLSTOCK	179	- 49,9	218	52,0	
Woolled sheep		38,2		24,7	
Mutton sheep		5,6		11,1	
Angora goats		2,2		11,0	
Boergoats		3,9		5,2	
OTHER ANIMALS	15	4,1	8	1,9	
GRAND TOTAL	356	100,0	420	100,0	
GRAZING STOCK	277	77,3	287	68,3	

Source: derived from appendix table 7.2

The increase in dairy cattle was probably a response both to the decline in profitability of pineapples and the resulting increase in availability of land for cultivated pastures, as well as an increase in profitability of milk production, especially in recent years with improved road communications and bulk milk cooling facilities. This change was entirely confined to Lower Albany and accounts for a large share of the increased pastures in that area. It should be noted, on the other hand, that the increase in pastures in Upper Albany was for the most part a response to the decline in citrus production and is not due in any way to the greater importance of dairy cattle on those farms.

The number of mutton sheep (mostly Dorpers), Angora goats and Boergoats increased by about 2 3/4 times between 1957 and 1976 to raise their importance from 11,8% of all livestock to 27,3%. This change, which is chiefly due to the improved profitability of mutton and goat meat against beef, and of mohair against wool production, can also be ascribed to the improvement and addition of fences over the period and to the partial eradication of many previously fatal smallstock diseases especially in Lower Albany. In Upper Albany the change would be described as a switch from beef cattle and woolled sheep to Angora goats and mutton sheep, whereas in Lower Albany the change would be a switch from beef cattle to mutton sheep. (Unfortunately, this contention cannot easily be quantified as the Roberts survey did not record livestock numbers).

7.2.3 Changes in capital investment

The third important change over the period concerned was the increase in capital investment through additions to fixed improvements, such as buildings, fences and dams, and mechanical power and equipment. Whereas no attempt was made in the present survey to quantify the addition to fixed improvements, this was not difficult to identify even by casual visual inspection. A simple quantification was made, however, of the change in the physical units of vehicles and machinery over a ten year period from 1966 to 1976 as shown in table 7.4b.

Area		1966	1971	1976	% increase
Upper Albany: Lower Albany:	trucks tractors , trucks tractors	1,3 1,0 1,1 1,5	1,5 1,1 1,4 1,7	1,9 1,6 1,6 2,0	46 60 45 33
ALBANY DIST .:	trucks tractors	1,2 1,3	1,4 1,4	1,7 1,8	45 38

Table 7.4b Average number of trucks and tractors per Albany farm, 1966 to 1976

Source: Sample survey

Over the above decade the numbers of trucks and tractors had increased throughout the district by about 40% although the increase in tractors was quicker in Upper Albany particularly during the most recent period. The explanation for this is the greater abundance and more regular water supplies in the Fish River subsequent to the completion of the Orange-Fish tunnel from the HF Verwoerd Dam. It should be noted, however, that whereas 65% of Upper Albany farmers felt that they could not mechanise their farming operations any further, only 36% of Lower Albany farmers responded in similar vein (Sample survey).

A significant development, particularly for sheep farmers, has been the popularisation of the sheep dog (usually of the Border Collie breed) in the Albany district and elsewhere in recent years. Of all farmers interviewed in 1976/77, 21% already owned one or more sheep dogs, while another 15% said they could make use of th m to a greater or lesser extent. As to be expected those already using dogs were mostly to be found in Upper Albany, viz. 64%.

7.2.4 Effect of changes in farming on labour requirements.

As discussed above, the main changes which occurred over the period under discussion were:

- (1) an increase in farm size;
- (2) a decrease in the total area of cultivated cropland particularly due to decreases in pineapple, maize and citrus production although partially offset by increases in cultivated pastures, chicory and vegetables;
- (3) an overall increase in livestock, especially dairy cattle, goats and mutton sheep although again partially offset by smaller numbers of beef cattle, woolled sheep and other livestock;
- (4) an increase in machinery and equipment as well as fixed improvements (such as fences and buildings); and
- (5) the introduction of labour saving techniques in crop and livestock production;
- (6) an increase in the use of sheep dogs.

A priori it would be expected that an increase in farm size, ceteris paribus, would result in a decrease in the total number of farm labourers employed while economies of size could be enjoyed. Similarly, a decrease in cropland, increased equipment, machinery and fixed improvements and an increase in the use of sheep dogs, ceteris paribus, would be expected to decrease labour requirements. An increase in livestock numbers would be expected to increase labour requirements. An increase in machinery, however, where this is used for the improvement of veld grazing through bush-clearing, would not be inconsistent with an increase in the labour Furthermore, where improvements are being made to a farming force. property, the labour-saving benefits of these would only become evident on completion, while their very construction would temporarily require additional labour.

Turning now specifically to observed changes in the Albany district between 1957 and 1977, most of the circumstances point to a decreased labour force. The fall in pineapple production, would have contributed particularly to this decline, since a great deal of labour is required both for planting (usually October to December) and picking (July to October and February to May) (le Grice, ca.1973). The decrease in maize production would have reduced labour requirements in early summer (November to December) and at harvest (June to July) (van Wyk, 1966). The decline in the area under citrus would also show up seasonally and
particularly on the employment of casual labour during the picking season (May to July). The increase in chicory production would also increase labour required especially during lifting (December through to February). On balance it would be expected that under the changed circumstances the seasonal labour requirements would be more difficult to meet during the summer months than in winter. Unfortunately, the Roberts survey did not address itself to the question of seasonal labour distribution or, indeed, give any clear indication of its contribution to the total annual workforce.

The changes in livestock numbers, <u>ceteris paribus</u>, would lead one to expect an increased labour requirement especially the increase in dairy cattle which is a relatively labour-intensive enterprise. Similarly, the reduction in beef cattle and their replacement by smallstock would also tend to indicate an increase in labour since the latter are more labour intensive than cattle. Closer inspection of appendix table 7.2 will, however, show that the number of fibre-producing smallstock (woolled sheep and angoras) in total showed an increase of only 3%. It may therefore be concluded from the factors outlined above that a decrease in the total number of farm labourers employed in the district as a whole could be expected.

7.3 The farm labour force : 1957 to 1977

7.3.1 Changes in the size of the labour force

Despite variations in definitions, the coverage and the time of census, the trend in farm employment since the mid-fifties in Albany has been quite clear, viz. a substantial decline has occurred in the total labour force as summarised in table 7.5.

Table 7.5	The	number	of	farm	labourei	rs	in	the	Albany	district.
		select	ed	years	1950 to	2	1975	5.		

labour	1950	1955	1957	-1961	1965	1971	1976
Regular	••	5 459	4 579	4 431	4 153	3 448	2 898
Domestic		989	914	837	809	744	588
Reg & Dom	4 864	6 448	5 568	5 268	4 962	4 192	3 486
Casual			(2 942) [*]	2 329	2 194	2 775	2 245
TOTAL (R+D+C)	••		8 510	7 597	7 156	6 967	5 731

<u>Source</u>: Censuses of agricultural and pastoral production, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria, various years

Note: x casual labour June 1958

Regular and domestic labour, for which the longest statistical series exist, showed a rise in employment of over 30% from 1950 to 1955 around which year the labour force probably stood at its highest ever. Some ten years later these numbers had declined to almost the 1950 level and by 1976 had dropped by a further 30%. The employment of casual labourers (for which information is available only from 1958) is more noted for its variation than an easily recognisable long-term trend. The available census data from 1950 to 1976 for the various categories of labour is shown graphically in figure 7.1. It should be noted that the series has been broken several times either by a complete lack of information or by changes in the date of census. The implications of these changes will be examined separately for regular and casual employees.

The rise in the number of regular labourers up to 1955 and the subsequent rapid drop in employment coincides closely with the expansion and subsequent decline of pineapple production in the Eastern Cape and Albany in particular. The so-called "pineapple boom" of the mid-fifties and the slump which followed saw the price of canning pineapples fall from nearly R40 per tonne (£18/2 000 lbs) to less than R5 per tonne (£2/2 000 lbs) (Marr, 1982).

While a general decline in labour numbers in any period after the mid-fifties is not difficult to explain, the apparent upward shift of the statistical series is not. An examination of the census series smoothed as in figure 7.2 lends support to the hypothesis that the alteration of the enumeration dates from June to August resulted in an upward shift in official statistics of regular labour numbers.





Figure 7.2 Hypothesised smoothed trend of Regular and Domestic, and Casual employment of farm labour in Albany, 1950-1976.

Although no long term trend can be seen for casual labour, if the available data is grouped from 1958 to 1962 and from 1969 to 1976 then two periods of declining employment are recognisable. In the first period, casual labour employment, probably from a maximum in 1959, declined by 25% to 1962. At the beginning of the second period (1969) the number recorded was about the same as that of ten years earlier and again that number declined by about 25%.

As was seen in an earlier chapter, prior to 1956 the number of labourers were recorded during the month of August, while from 1956 to 1964 numbers were recorded for June each year. From 1965 the census reverted to recording labour employed during August or the number employed on 31st August. Although the fluctuations in farming activities from one time of the year to another should not have an inordinate influence on the number of regular labourers, it is tempting to hypothesise that the number of regular labourers during June was lower than that during August, as indicated by the broken line in figure 7.2. Unfortunately no evidence is available to either corroborate or refute the contention as far as regular labour is concerned. Furthermore the relationship is not likely to have been static over time. For example, since about the mid sixties the use of mechanical pickers, hormones, and particularly weedicides, have vastly changed pineapple production techniques and labour requirements during certain times of the year and this may have had its effect on the time of engagement or dismissal of regular labour.

An examination of the census statistics for casual labour on Albany farms as presented in figure 7.1 and in smoothed form in figure 7.2 does not show any obvious long term trend. If, however, the data are grouped from 1958 to 1962 and from 1969 to 1976 two quite distinct periods of declining employment are recognisable. In the first period casual labour employment declined by 25%, probably from a maximum level in 1959. At the beginning of the second period (1969) the number recorded was about the same as ten years earlier, and again by 1976 that number declined by 25%. Once more the decline in importance of labourintensive crops such as pineapples in the first period, and mechanisation, labour-saving production techniques, the decline in area under maize, other cereals and citrus in the second period, would adequately account for the drop in casual labour employment. Thus, while for both subperiods it can be safely said that casual labour declined steadily, no such overall statement can be made about the entire period from 1958 to 1976. Superficially, if the statistics for the above period are interpreted as being a consistent series, then it could be said that casual labour: (a) declined from 1958 to 1964

(b) increased from 1965 to 1967; and

(c) declined from 1969 to 1976.

To find an explanation for an hypothesis that the statistics constitute a consistent series, however, is not easy particularly since the 1965 census showed an overall inexplicable 50% fewer casual employees for South Africa as a whole as we saw in Chapter 2. It is more logical to assume that the changed dates of the censuses are the determining factors. This contention, however, is not entirely supported by the results of the sample survey which showed only 4% more labourers employed in August than in June. For the date of census to have been the sole reason would have required approximately 50% fewer employed in June than August. It is most unlikely that the enumeration dates alone could account for the shifts in the number of casual employees recorded as shown in figure 7.2. Unfortunately Roberts' survey of 1957 did not enumerate casual labourers. In conclusion, in the absence of a clearer explanation, no more can be said than that Agricultural censuses indicate that the number of casual employees declined between 1958 and 1976.

7.3.2 Changes in the composition of the labour force

The labour force has changed its composition in three respects over the period, viz. the proportions of the three labour categories, the proportions of each race group and the ratios between the sexes.

Firstly, the change in the proportion of regular, casual and domestic labour has not been very great. Casual labour increased its share from 35% in 1958 to 39% in 1976 at the expense of regular and domestic labour as indicated in table 7.6.

<u>Table 7.6</u> Proportion of regular, casual and domestic labour as a proportion of the total, Albany, selected years 1958-1976

	1958	1962	1965	1971	1976	Survey 76/77
Regular	54,3	57,7	58,0	49,5	50,6	54,3
Casual	34,9	30,4	30,7	39,8	39,2	33,1
Domestic	10,8	11,9	11,3	10,7	10,2	12,6
TOT AL,	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Censuses of agricultural production, various years; sample survey, 1977. As indicated earlier no comparison is possible between the 1957 census and the survey of that year since the latter did not enumerate casual and domestic workers. The 1976/77 sample survey and 1976 census, however, show a fairly close relationship. The former puts casual labour at 33% and domestic labour at 12,6%. The comparitvly high figure for domestic labour in the survey is attributed to the inclusion of domestic gardeners in this category whereas in the censuses these tend to be included with regular labour. The survey also explicitly includes part-time regular labourers which the censuses tend to ignore. Thus with domestic and regular labour showing higher proportions, casual labour tends to be somewhat lower in the survey.

Secondly, as far as racial composition is concerned, Blacks dominated all categories of farm employment and have done so over the past two decades and more. Since the number of regular White and Coloured persons, the former almost always in managerial or supervisory positions, declined more slowly than the number of Blacks, these two groups slightly increased their relative shares as shown in table 7.7.

19		19	57					
	Reg.	Cas.	Dom.	Tot.	Reg.	Cas	Dom.	Tot.
% Whites	1,2	0,3	0,0	0,8	1,8	0,1 z h	0,0	0,9
% Coloured persons % Blacks	2,9 95,9	4,2 95,5	4,0 95,2	2,2 95,7	4,4 93,8	96,5	4,2 95,5	4,0 95,1
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 7.7	Composition	of	farm	labour	force	in	Albany	by	race
			19	957 and	1976				

Source: calculated from censuses of agricultural production, 1957, 1958, 1975 and 1976.

Notes: * proportion of casual labour for 1958.

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proportion of domestic labour for 1975.

Thirdly, the biggest change which has taken place is in the ratio of the sexes in the various categories of labour. While about 90% of the regular labour force is male almost the entire casual and domestic labour force is female. Proportionately, women were playing a slightly more important role in total labour force in 1977 than two decades previously. This is not only because the regular labour force has declined more rapidly than the number of casual labourers but also because a larger proportion of women are being employed on a regular basis particularly on dairy farms. For example, the proportion of women rose from 9% to 13% from 1957 to 1976/77 comparing the Roberts "survivors" between the two periods. The agricultural censuses recorded the numbers of males and females separately only until 1969. In that year 91% of regular labourers were males while nearly two-thirds of casual labourers and over 95% of domestic servants were females. The latter figure, as observed previously, is probably an exaggeration since farmers usually include full-time male (domestic) gardeners as 'regular' and not as 'domestic' labour. The changes which have occurred are illustrated in table 7.8

Table 7.8	Proportion c	f males	in the	regular,	casual	and	domestic
	labour force	e in Alba	any 1958	3 to 1976,	/77		

	1958	1965	1976/77 survey
Regular	86,3	86,4	92,4
Casual	53,6	33,8	5,6
Domestic	1,9	2,8	12,5
TOTAL	63,4	61,9	58,4

Source: Censuses of agriculture production 1958 and 1965.

Sample survey, 1977.

7.4 Farm wages, 1957 to 1977

Labour remuneration, as discussed in Chapter 5, can be seen from two points of view: as cost to the farmer and as the total earnings to the employee. Each of these viewpoints will be discussed briefly in turn.

Total expenditure on cash wages and rations is given regularly in the agricultural census reports but unfortunately it is not easy to compare this with total farm expenditure over any period of time. The latest available census (1976) is the most complete and appears to give good coverage of current items of expenditure. In that census cash wages and rations of R1,3 m made up about 24% of total farm expenditure of R5,3 m. No intertemporal comparison can be made for total expenditure though it is possible to compare direct labour costs to the total cost of certain items, viz. seed, fertilizer, feed, remedies, maintenance and repairs, fuel and interest. In the 1976 census for Albany, these items plus wages and rations made up 75% of total current expenditure, i.e. R4,0 m out of R5,3 m. If only these selected items are used obviously labour is a relatively larger item - in this case R1,3 m out of R4,0 m or 32 1/2%. Given this limitation it is, nevertheless, interesting to see that wages declined in importance from 43% at the beginning of the period (1957) to 36% in 1976, as shown in table 7.9. It is also interesting to notice that expenditure on fuel was about 10% of total in both 1957 and 1976. The latter, however, represents an increased relative expenditure from the sixties and early seventies.

Item	1957	1965	1971	1976
Cash wages	342	367	450	930
Rations	213	230	303	560
Sub-total LABOUR	555	597	753	1 490
Seed & fertilizer	(50)*	79	133	273
Feed	208	245	439	792
Remedies	47	97	97	228
Maintenance & repairs	157	187	282	441
Fuel	129	125	169	410
Interest	158	(275) *	362	550
TOTALS	1 304	1 605	2 235	4 184
Labour as % total	. 43	37	34	. 36
TOTALS AT 1975 PRICES	2 898	3 147	3 949	3 793

Table 7.9 Labour costs in relation to selected items of current farm expenditure, selected years 1957 to 1976 (R000).

Source: Censuses of agricultural production. Dept. of Statistics Pretoria, various years; Abstract of Agricultural Statistics, 1982, table 97.

Notes: * estimates

Total farm expenditure at constant 1975 prices increased from about R2,9 m in 1957 to about R3,8 m in 1976, representing a real increase of 30%. Expenditure on wages and rations in real terms, however, increased by only 10%. Since the size of the labour force has decreased, however, this means that the increase in real wages per employee has been more substantial.

Average cash wages for regular Black and Coloured labourers increased from about R40 to R200 between 1957 and 1976 on agricultural census calculations vs R46 to R189 based on the surveys. This amounts to an increase in real terms of between 60% and 140%, as shown in table 7.10. When rations and other payments in kind are added, however, the increase is reduced to between 30% and 100% and is still further reduced with the addition of housing and cropping and grazing rights. The latter has a marked influence on the overall total earnings to such an extent that at 1977 prices labourers are on average worse off than they were in 1957 with the reduction in the number of livestock from 6 per family to 2,3 per family in 1977.

The agricultural censuses and the surveys used in compiling table 7.10 differ in one important respect, namely that the average wages in the former include both male and female employees while the latter is The effect of this is to underestimate restricted to adult males. the wages calculated from the census compared to that of the surveys. Bearing this in mind it is interesting to compare the results obtained. For both 1957 and 1976 the census total for wages in cash and kind is substantially lower than that of the survey, namely 80% and 17% lower The cash component for the later for the two years respectively. period, however, is 20% lower for the survey than for the census an observation for which no ready explanation is available apart from the accuracy of census or survey. It is possible, for example, that the underenumeration of regular labourers by the census does not also hold for the wages paid. What is certainly clear from an examination of the individual categories under the heading of 'rations and kind' is that earlier censuses probably substantially underestimated these. The amount of R94 for rations and kind in the 1957 census probably covered no more than a portion of purchased food,

Table 7.10 Average remuneration of regular Black and Coloured farm labourers in Albany, 1957 and 1977 (R-c per annum).

	Current	At constant 1977 prices						
Agricultural census	1956/57	1956/57	1975/76	1976 + 57				
Cash wages	40,81	106,12	225,55	2,4				
Rations and kind	34,52	94,25	175,20	1,9				
CENSUS : CASH & KIND	75,33	200,37	400.75	2,0				
Sample survey	1957	1957	1.1.77	1977 + 57				
Cash	46,08	118,12	188,56	1,6				
Rations	79,44	224,16	253,44	1,1				
Clothing, medical, tax	13,04	18,70	26,03	1,5				
SURVEY : CASH & KIND	138,56	360,98	468,03	1,3				
Grazing	78,66	309,07	122,00	0,4				
Land	8,01	19,90	14,62	0,7				
Housing	7,34	24,24	34,72	1,4				
SURVEY TOTAL	232,57	714,19	639•37	0,9				

- Source: Calculated from sample survey, 1977 (see table 5.20) and Roberts questionnaires, 1957 (see appendix table 7.5); Censuses of agricultural production 1956/57 and 1976.
- <u>Notes</u>: 1) cash wages adjusted to constant 1.1.1977 prices using consumer price index,
 - 2) census rations adjusted by consumer food price index; table 97 Abstract of Agric Stats (1982),
 - 3) 1957 survey adjusted by using 1.1.77 prices for each item,
 - 4) the value of free transport and wood and water were omitted for comparative purposes.

but would not have covered clothing, medical expenses, and rations of milk and meat as shown in table 7,11.

*	1957	7 • •	1977	
Item	Census	Survey	Census	Survey
Purchased rations Milk and meat Clothing, medical, tax	 	107.04 117,12 17.37	 	119,88 125,28 26,03
TOTAL RATIONS & KIND	94.25	241,53	175,20	270,89

Table 7.11 Details of payments in rations and kind compared, Albany at constant 1977 prices

Source: Roberts survey (1958); Sample survey (1977); detail from table 5.21

It appears from the table above that the 1976 agricultural census figure for rations and value in kind covered all purchased food, clothing, medical, tax contributions and just 20% of farm rations (milk and meal).

The contention that the real remuneration of labourers declined over the two decade period needs to be examined **somewhat** more closely. Since the amount of items such as housing, grazing and land rights are subject to conjecture to a greater extent than cash wages, rations, etc. it is this area which needs to be most closely examined. Roberts (1958) for example, arrived at a total value of grazing rights by using the average going rate for livestock grazing. Were this method used, the total value of the grazing rights would be reduced substantially and indeed would have the effect of bringing the increases in wages to greater prominence to the extent of showing an overall 15% rise in real earnings as illustrated in table 7.12.

0	I	regular	Iarm	Labo	urers,	Albany	1957	and	1977
							_		

Table 7.12.

	Current prices			
	57 survey	57 survey	77 survey	1977+57
Cash and kind, etc Grazing	153.91 17,10	405,12 68,40	517.37 27,00	1,3 0,4
TOTAL	171,01	473,52	544,37	1,15

Source: adapted from table 7.10; Roberts (1958).

Notes: grazing charges at 25c and R1,00 per head of cattle per month for 1957 and 1977 respectively.

On the other hand, if the cost of employing a regular labourer is used as a basis of total remuneration, total earnings would appear to have remained at a constant level as shown in table 7.13.

Table 7.13Average cost of employing one regular farm labourer,
Albany 1957 and 1977 (R-c per annum at 1977 prices)

	1957	1977	1977 * 57
Cash, rations, clothing, etc.	359,65	468,03	1,3
Grazing	177,33	70,00	0,4
Land	34,80	27,19	0,8
	581 05	586 60	1,0
TOTAL CODI	901,09	500,09	±,0

Source: Roberts questionnaires (1957); Sample survey (1977) based on methods used for table 5.22.

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Alternative calculation of average remuneration

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While the alternatives presented may cast some doubt on the view that real wages have decreased through the reduction of grazing rights it is the writer's considered opinion that the most accurate reflection of its value is that adopted in chater 5 and used in calculating table 7.10.

The overall situation of the farm labourer over the twenty year period can be summarized for each of the items which go to make up the entire remuneration package, as in table 7.14. These include items such as housing and schooling which will be further elaborated upon shortly.

Table 7.14Summary of the farm labourer's situation, 1977
compared to 1957, in real terms.

Item	Change over 20 year period
<u>Cash</u> : regular monthly wage bonuses and periodic pay	increased in real terms decreased in real terms
Rations: meat milk	reduced, especially beef volume of skim much reduced but more whole milk.
maize maizemeal sugar tea/coffee tobacco	unchanged doubled more more much less
Clothing Housing and water Health services Education Grazing rights Lands and free services Recreation facilities	range slightly improved improved much improved much reduced reduced slightly improved
OVERALL SITUATION	Improvements in cash wages, purchased rations and housing have been largely offset by the reduction livestock grazing rights. Net result: no change

Source: based on tables.

When the progress of average cash wages and 'payments in kind' are examined over a period of time with the assistance of successive agricultural censuses (appendix tables 7.6 and 7.7), it becomes clear that the increase in real wage accelerated with the passage of time as illustrated in table 7.15.

Table 7.15	Average wages for regular labourers, Albany	
	selected years 1957 to 1976. (R-c per annum))

Year	Average wages at current prices	Wages at constant 1975 prices	% annual increase at constant prices
1957 1965 1971 1976	40,81 53,44 79,78 202,78	89,10 98,78 117,84 182,52	1,3 3,0 9,1
1957-76	161,97	93,42	3,85

Source: appendix table 7.8

Cash wages appear to have increased at a faster rate than inflation over the entire period. The increase between 1971 and 1976 of nominal wages by 20,5% was at a rate double that of inflation over the same period, The more rapid increases were no doubt a realisation by namely 10,4%. farmers of the rising inflation rate but was also a response to higher wages in other sectors of the economy and more active mine recruitment. It should also be borne in mind that the census coverage probably improved over the period and that with the decrease in the proportion of women in the regular labour force average wages would appear to rise more rapidly than in reality. As a check on this farmers were asked to give the monthly cash wages paid for various category of labourer five years previously which showed that real wages had increased by only 4,9% per annum compared to 9,1% as shown by the censuses in table 7.15. (Details of the changes in wage rates for the various categories are contained in appendix table 7.8).



7.5 Conditions of service, 1957 to 1977

Apart from the changes which have occurred in the wages paid and rations given there are several other aspects of the farm labourer's working and living day which need to be examined for changes, namely the working hours, vacation and other leave, and other facilities.

7.5.1 Working hours

There is clear evidence that the length of the working week has been reduced over the twenty year period. Although Roberts (1950) did not calculate the length of the working day, the general impression she gained was of a 5 a.m. to 7 p.m. summer day with between 1,5 and 2,5 hours off for meals, and a winter day starting at 7 a.m. and working through to 5.30 p.m. with 1,5 hours off for meals. In other words a 12-hour summer day and a 9-hour winter day. By twenty years later farmers were beginning nearly an hour later in summer and ending an hour earlier, while the winter day also starts a little later and ends about 20 minutes earlier. Not only has the working week day been shortened by 15%, but weekend working time has been almost The latter has been achieved by eliminating the six day week halved. entirely - in 1957 approximately 25% of farmers had their labour work on Saturday afternoons; allowing staff to take one or more weekends off either from Friday after milking or from Saturday midday; and by stopping earlier on Saturdays. The net effect has been a reduction in the working week by nearly one-fifth as shown in table 7.16.

Fabl	e	7.	16	

6 Working hours of Albany farm labourers, 1957 and 1977.

	1057	קסנ	reduction	'57 to 77'
	1957	1977	111m111	70
Summer				
Mon - Fri : start (a.m.)	5.00	5.50		
: stop (p.m.)	7.00	6.06		
: hours start to stop	14,0	12,3	lhr44	12,4
: daily working hours	12,0	10,1	lhr54	15,8
Sat & Sun : working hours	ıı,4 [≭]	5,9	5hr30	48,3
TOTAL HOURS/WEEK* : I	71,9	56,2	15hr42	21,8
: II	70,0	56,2	13hr48	19,7
Winter				
Mon - Fri : start (a.m.)	7.00	7.05		
: stop (p.m.)	5.30	5.09		
: hours start to stop	10,5	10,1	Ohr26	4,1
: daily working hrs	9,0	8,2	Ohr48	8,9
Sat & Sun : working hours	9,5 [*]	5,1	4hr24	46,3
TOTAL HOURS/WEEK : I	54,5	45,9	8hr36	15,8
II	51,7	45,9	5hr48	11,2
AVERAGE HOURS/WEEK : I	63,2	51,1	12hr6	19,1
: II	60,9	51,1	9hr48	16,1

Source: Roberts (1958) pg 68-69; tables 6.1 and 6.3.

- Notes: 1)* weekend hours estimated on the basis that 25% of farmers work a 6-day week while the remainder work until 1 p.m. on Saturdays with 1-hour of evening duties. All staff are assumed to have . 2 hours of Sunday duties.
 - 2)** Alternative I based on the assumption of note 1) and meal breaks of 2 hours in summer and 1,5 hours in winter. Alternative II is based on the assumption that 10% labourers have no weekend duties (see table 6.5) and that the meal breaks in 1957 were as long as those in 1977.

Roberts makes no mention of "weekends off" and it was thus assumed in calculating the 1957 working hours that all labourers had. weekend duties. This assumption, which the writer considers to be more realistic than assuming no weekend duties whatsoever, possibly has the effect of exaggerating the number of hours reported for 1957 slightly as labourers on farms with no livestock may have had no weekend duties at all. For example, if this is the case on 10% of Albany farms, weekend work would be reduced by 0,3 hours in summer and winter or 3% on average. The effect on the total working week, though, is less than one-half of a percent. It is also possible that the total weekday hours are exaggerated if it is taken into account that the reduction in total time between starting and stopping work in summer and winter is less than the calculated reduction in working hours. This means either that the length of meal times has increased over the period or that these were underestimated for 1957. Although it is considered that the former is the case, when working hours were recalculated on the latter assumption together with the assumption that weekend duties are overestimated the result was a reduction of the working week by no more than 2,3 hours or by 4% as shown by 'average working hours/week : II' in table 7.16.

7.5.2 The length of the working year

Whereas only 58% of farmers gave annual leave to their labourers in 1957, 91% gave leave in 1977 with the average period increasing from 3,9 days to 6,4 days per year. The increase in average leave is almost entirely due to the larger proportion of farmers giving leave than the leave period being lengthened. The period of leave for those farmers giving leave increased from only fractionally from 6,7 to 7,1 days between 1957 and 1977.

Period of leave 1957	%	Period of leave 1977	%
None 3-4 days 5-7 days 8-14 days	42 14 29 15	None ≤ 5 days 6-10 .11+	9,4 32,1 45,3 13,2
Total %	100	Total	100
Average days leave	3,9		6,4
Average days for those giving leave	6,7		7,1

Table 7.17Leave : distribution of days off per year,1957 and 1977

Source: Roberts (1958) p 869, table 6.6

From what has been said about working hours and days off it is clear that the length of the working year has also decreased. In 1957 the annual leave usually amounted to no more than a period of reduced duties and even if weekend hours are reduced to their weekday equivalent and 9 days a year are added as occasional days off, the working year would amount to a full 300 days, with duties being performed on up to 360 or more days a year. The working year in 1977 was calculated as equivalent to 278,5 full days with duties being performed on 322. Thus taking into account both the hours worked and the number of days worked per year, the total time worked has decreased by 25% per annum.

The implication of this reduced working year is that, although real earnings per annum remained static over the two decades 1957 to 1977 as shown previously in table 7,14, real wages per unit of time worked has increased by 25%.

Appendix dubie (si liberie di hiberie di hiberie dubie idiniti (1997) and identification of mibbing dubie idinitie	Appendix table 7.1	Profile of	Albany and	Bathurst	farms,	1957 a	and	identification of	missing	questionnaires
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	Stock	Citrus	Dairy	Mixed	Pines	TOTAL	MR TOT.	
0-100	-	-	-	(0,1) 1	(0,1) 1	(0,2) 2	2	1 -
101-	(1,0)+1	(2,0) 2	(4,0) 4	(3,5) 9 [*]	(1,4) 5	(11,9)21	21	-
501-	(1,0) 1	(3,0) 3	(2,1) 3	(2,4) 6	(2,5) 7	(10,10) 20	20	-
1001-	(8,1) 9	(2,0) 2	(3,0) 2	(1,0) 1	(0,2) 2	(16,3) 17	21	-4
2001-	(6,0) 6	(1,0) 1	-	-	-	(6,1) 7	6	1
5001-	(3,0) 3	(0,0) 0	-	-	-	(3,0) 3	3	-
TOTAL	(19,1) 20	(8,0) 8	(9,1) 10	(6,10) 17 [*]	(3,12)15	(45,24)70 [*]		1
MR TOT.	21	8	13	15	16	x	73	
Diff.	-1	-	-3	2	-1			

Notes:	1	+	the	figu	res :	in brad	ckets	s in	each	case	e are	for	Albany	r and	Bathurst	, re	espec	ctively.
	2	ж	the	farm	for	which	the	area	was	not	ident	ifie	d has	been	included	in	the	totals
			but	not i	in tl	he dis	trict	sub	-tota	als.								

drawn up from original questionnaires from Roberts' survey, 1957. Source:

	Canning Pineapples (R/tonne)	Export Citrus R/țonne	Wool c/kg	Mohair c/kg	Beef c/kg	Mutton c/kg	Milk (deliv. price) c/ł
1950	••		88	67	12	19	4,5
51	•• *		195	. 181	14	22	4,8
52			99	142	17	32	5,2
53	•		115	174	19	36	5,8
54	• •		117	155	19	39	6,0
55	(36)		97	128	19	42	6,0
56	(20)		85	164	21	40	6,1
57	(6)		114	186	23	39	6,1
58	()		88	137	25	41	6,1
59	19	80	66	174	24	38	6,3
1960	16	50	81	198	24	37	6,4
61	21	88	73	173	24	39	6,4
62	20	71	75	137	24	36	6,4
63	24	75	83	185	26	41	6,0
64	21	78	99	146	26	44	6,0
65	28	74	80	125	33	46	6,7
66	23	64	84	112	34	43	7,1
67	22	66	78	98	38	48	7,5
68	20	74	75	125	43	47	7,5
69	20	92	81	140	43	44	7,5
1970	21	71	70	109	40	47	6,7
71	21	92	51	70	45	51	7,2
72	18	95	60	197	44	63	7,6
73	19	97	179	332	59	83	8,1
74	22	115	169	245	81	96	9,4
75	26	132	113 .	416	89	111	12,4
76	34	122	152	669	87	118	14,9
77	41	199	182	639	94	129	15,8

Appendix table 7.2 : Producers' prices of important agricultural commodities 1950 to 1977.

Source: Abstract of Agricultural Statistics, 1970, 1972, 1982; Grocotts Daily Mail, 1957.

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Appendix 7.3
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Livestock on Albany farms, 1957 and 1976

	1	957	1976			
Livestock	Number	s.s.u [*]	Number	* s.s.u.		
CATTLE	39 264	164 909	46 082	193 544		
Dairy cattle	20 380	85 596	31 687	133 085		
Beef cattle	18 884	79 313	14 395	60 459		
SMALLSTOCK	223 599	178 879	273 107	218 486		
woolled sheep	171 280	137 024	129 501	103 601		
Mutton sheep	25 011	20 009	58 528	46 822		
Angora goats	10 063	8 050	57 675	46 140		
Boergoats	17 245	13 796	27 403	21 922		
OTHER ANIMALS	51 110	14 800	22 077	7 889		
Pigs	1 346	1 615	1 683	2 020		
Poultry	48 047	2 883	19 612	1 177		
Equines	1 717	10 302	782	4 692		
GRAND TOTAL	313 973	358 588	341 266	419 919		
GRAZING STOCK**		277 054		286 834		

Source: Censuses of agricultural and pastoral production, 1957 and 1976. Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

Notes: 1)* the following conversions were used to obtain s.s.u. (small stock unit) equivalents.

- 1 head of cattle x 0,7 = 1 L.S.U. (large stock unit)
- 1 head of smallstock (sheep and goats) x 0,8 = 1 s.s.u. (small

stock unit)

- 1 head of equine = 1 L.S.U.
- 5 pigs = 1 L.S.U.

100 poultry - 1 L.S.U.

- 1 L.S.U. = 6 s.s.u.
 - 2) ** Grazing stock calculated as all beef cattle, smallstock and equines, and 10% of dairy cattle (i.e. young heifers and dry cows).

Appendix table 7.4

Farm labour in the Albany district 1950 - 1976, all races

Year	R+C+D	Regular	Casual	Domestic	R+D .
1950					4 864
l		• ••	• ••		
2					4 822
3			••		5 893
4		5 148		906	6 054
5		_ 5 459		989	<u>6 448</u>
6		4 958		993	5 951
7		5 086		967	6 053
8	8 435	4 579	2 942	914	5 493
9	8 350	4 534	2 946	870	5 404
1960	7 405	4 117	2 353	935	5 052
l	7 597	4 431	2 329	837	5 268
2	7 214	4 164	2 195	855	5 019
3		3 902		822	4 724
4		_ 3 699 _		8 <u>3</u> 4	_ 4 532
5	7 156	4 153	2 194	809	4 962
6					
7		••			
8	7 493				
9	7 538	3 711	3 039	788	4 499
1970			••		
1	6 967	3 448	2 775	744	4 192
2	6 410	3 304	2 401	705	4 009
3	6 224	3 160	2 376	688	3 848
4	5 970	3 055	2 229	686	3 741
5	5 915	2 970	2 319	626	3 596
6	5 731	2 898	*2 245	588	3 577
7	(5 411)	(2 753)	(2 081)	(571)	(3 385)

Censuses of agricultural and pastoral production, Source: 1950 to 1976, Dept. of Statistics, Pretoria.

Notes:

1) broken lines indicate changes in enumeration dates 2) "indicates data not available
3) * casual labour for 1976 is average for year
4) figures for 1977 by linear extrapolation of 1971-76 trend.

Appendix table 7.5

Details of 1957 remuneration of Albany farm labourers at 1957 and 1977 prices. Part I: cash, rations and annual total

CASH		<u>units</u>	price/ 	Total	price/ unit	Total
Wages, monthly Bonuses, etc.				3.03 .81		7.77 2.08
TOTAL CASH	8			3,84		9,85
RATIONS Mealies Maizemeal Meat : regular : periodic Milk : whole skim Sugar Coffee Tea Tobacco Salt Beans	kg '' <i>k</i> kg '' ''	47 15 8,0 0,9 5,27 170,0 1,39 0,47 0,03 0,42 0,54 0,17	3,5 5,5 14,5 13,3 3,75 0,75 9,72 120,4 181,2 128,2 6,3 17,5	1-65 -83 1-16 -12 -20 1-28 -14 -57 -05 -54 -03 -03	8,70 9,25 66,1 60,5 10 2 28 136 300 480 36 25	4-10 1-39 5-30 -53 3-40 -39 -64 -09 2-02 -19 -04
TOTAL RATIONS (MONTH	HLY)			6-62	-	18-68
CASH AND RATIONS TO			10-46		28-53	
TOTAL REMUNERATION : Cash Rations Clothing, medical, t Grazing Land Housing	AL BASIS	<u>1957</u> 46,08 79,44 13,04 78,66 8,01 7,34		<u>1977</u> 118,12 224,16 18,70 309,07 19,90 24,24		
TOTAL		232,57		714	+,19	

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Part II : Annual items

ï

		1957		1977	
Clothing	units	price/unit	TOTAL	price/unit	TOTAL
Trousers no. p	o.a. 0,96	- 275	2-64	3,50	3-36
Shirt "	0,96	200	1-92	3,25	3-12
Overalls "	0,7	. 325	2-28	4,70	3-29
Boots "	0,6	300	1 - 80	5,00	3-00
sub-total: clothi	.ng –	-	8–64	-	12-77
Tax % provided 40		200	,80	2,50	1,00
Housing [*] % provided		-	7,34	-	24,24
Land ** value of production		-	8,01	-	19,90
Medical ⁺ 50 aspirin		30c	3,60	4lc	4,93
<u>Grazing</u> (gross value production) (5,7 head)		13,82	78,76	54 , 22,	309,07
TOTAL ANNUAL ITEN	-	107,15	-	371,91	

Source: calculated from Roberts questionnnaires, 1957 with adjustments using the consumer price index, and prices in Report on prices (1977) No 11-01-12; Special report 231 (1959); Union Statistics for fifty years, 1910-1960, Dept of Statistics.

Notes: 1)^{*} based on the cost of housing in 1977 and the % of houses provided by the farmer in 1957.

- 2)^{**}based on the relative area of land and the value of crop production to the labourer relative to 1977 values.
- 3)⁺ based on farmers' valuations of 1957 costs and the relative increase in the price of aspirin.

Appendix table 7.6:

Total cash wages to Black and Coloured employees, Albany 1950 to 1976

Year	R+C+D	Regular	Casual	Domestic	R+D	R+C
1950	135 471		22 158	"	124 392	"
51	н	",	н	. 11	11	
52	194 966	"	40 910	11	154 056	
53	234 202	× 11	43 306	"	190 896	
54	274 972	176 592	76 348	22 032	198 624	252 940
55	343 426	220 656	96 370	26 400	247 056	317 026
56	"	189 984	"	26 544	216 528	"
57		205 056	"	26 352	231 408	ш
58	282 308	191 552	64 450	26 306	217 858	256 002
59	261 004	181 424	56 094	23 486	204 910	237 518
1960	258 814	"	"	"	11	п
61	261 318			"	"	п
62	280 940	11		27 125	u	253 815
63	271 994	188 492	56 649	26 853	215 345	245 141
64	312 081	213 553	69 995	28 533	242 086	283 548
65	314 862	218 870	67 208	28 784	247 654	286 078
66	392 150	11		11	"	"
67	(389 661)	n		н		"
68	387 689			11	u	п
69	378 387	250 993	94 744	32 650	283 643	345 737
1970		11			п	п
71	400 494	272 451	93 825	34 218	306 669	366 276
72	446 280	311 587	96 513	38 180	349 767	408 100
73	507 241	356 626	103 531	47 084	403 710	460 157
74	586 423	404 775	127 773	53 875	458 650	532 548
75	702 272	498 911	141 530	61 831	560 742	640 441
76	812 268	577 120	172 692	62 456	639 576	749 812

Source: Censuses of agricultural and pastoral production, 1949/50 to 1975/76, Dept of Statistics, Pretoria.

Appendix table 7.7

Average annual cash wages of Black and Coloured farm employees, Albany, 1950-76

Year	R+C+D	Regular	Casual	Domestic	R+D
1950		(27,39)			25,88
51		11			
52		(34,19)			32,31
53	×	(34,58)			32,68
54		34.58		24,32	33.03
55		40,69		26.69	38,53
56		38,69		26,73	36,67
57		40,81		27,25	38,59
58	33.74	42,37	21,98	28,78	40,08
59	31,48	40,43	19,11	27,00	38,25
1960	35,25	(44,90)	11	п	"
61	34,66	(44,15)	11	11	
62	39,33	(46,66)	"	31,73 -	п
63	н -	48,87	"	"	46,02
64		58,46	"		53,95
65	44,37	53,44	30,67	35,58	50 , 49
66		11	"	"	11
67	n	п	"	"	11
68	52,00	(72,22)	"	"	11
69	50,44	68,24	31,21	41,43	63,51
1970	11	"	11	. 11	11
71	57,78	79,78	33,85	45,99	73,74
72	70,02	95,29	40,23	54,16	87.99
73	81,97	114,12	43,59	68,44	105,88
74	98,86	134,08	57,37	78,53	123.79
75	119.45	169,93	61,08	98,77	157,42
76	143,08	202,78	76,99	106,22	186,25
	1		ŀ		

<u>Source</u>: calculated from appendix tables 7.4 and 7.6. <u>Note</u>: () indicates estimate from other data.

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Appendix table 7.8.

Comparison of monthly cash wage rates for farm labour on 27 Albany farms, 1972 and 1977 (R-c per month)

	Current prices 1.1.72	Constant 1977 prices 1.1.72	1.1.77	% real change 1972 - 77
Kwedins	3,21	5,39	8,84	10,4
Men: just starting	6,50	10,92	13,14	3,8
: some service	6,60	11,08	14,08	4,9
: long service	6,81	11,44	14,03	4,2
Drivers	8,06	13,54	18,17	6,1
Top paid men	9,77	16,41	19,15	3,1
Women: casual*	3,15	5,29	6,74	5 , 0
CONSUMER PRICE INDEX ⁺	69,9	117,4	117,4	-

Source: Sample survey, 1977; Abstract of agricultural statistics, 1982.

2)+ consumer price index 1975 = 100.

: •

Notes: 1)* based on a working month of 21 days.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this study it was argued that labour theory, in principle, is the same everywhere, yet market and employment conditions between sectors of the economy vary markedly. Hence, in view of the characteristic features of agriculture which often have wide ranging policy implications, the research focus of the present study is also an empirical one. Such a factual scrutiny has indeed been the main purpose of this thesis. The policy implications emanating from such studies represent a different field of enquiry, which - although obviously important - was not examined here at any length.

The capacity of the mining industry to absorb a growing workforce is at present dependent to a greater extent on their recruitment policies and the willingness of local labour to undertake migrant jobs than on an expansion of the industry. Mining, although still a relatively large employer of labour cannot be looked to in the long run to absorb a great many more potential workseekers. The agricultural industry over the past few decades has declined rapidly in its relative importance as a contributor to Gross Domestic Product, but has not reduced its labour force to the same extent. With the spectre of widespread unemployment amongst unskilled labour, especially Blacks, becoming as much a part of the daily life in South Africa as has inflation in our time, the sectors of the rational economy employing large numbers of unskilled workers need to be examined in some detail.

The nature of farm wages, which represents the focal point of this study is such that a relatively large proportion of total earnings is in the form of non-pecuniary accruals. Total payments may comprise cash wages, bonuses, housing, medical care, grazing rights and the use of arable land. Agricultural censuses usually only record "cash wages" and "payments in kind." It was demonstrated in the case of the Albany magisterial district in the Eastern Cape, however, that cash wages contribute only about one-quarter of total remuneration. Cash and purchased rations constituted slightly less

than half (46%) of the total remuneration. Three non-cash items, namely (a) farm produced rations, (b) livestock grazing rights and (c) medical care, housing services and cropping rights each contributed roughly equal shares and in total amounted to a sum greater than the total of cash and purchased rations. Furthermore, while the results of our sample survey of farmers in Albany completed in 1977 showed that the agricultural census underestimated the total amount of cash and payments in kind by only 16%, the same cannot be said of the earlier censuses. The survey completed two decades previously by Margaret Roberts in the same district showed that the agricultural census of 1957 had underestimated the above amount by as much as 55%. The net result is that agricultural census data show a relatively high rate of increase in real farm wages with a doubling between 1957 and 1977. The same items using data from the two surveys, however, show an increase of only 30% over the two decades. When non-pecuniary benefits such as housing land and grazing are brought into the calculation the picture changes still further. Comparative evidence from the two surveys showed that grazing rights and the use of arable land had been substantially curtailed since 1951 resulting in an overall apparent decline of 10% in real farm earnings. When other benefits such as health services, educational facilities and working conditions, however, are taken into account the evident conclusion is drawn that, on net balance, the wage position of farm workers in real terms has neither improved nor declined. In the light of the substantial increases in the real value of cash wages during the early 1970's for Black farm workers, the situation five years previously would probably have indicated a decline in total real earnings of farm workers.

Our study presented clear evidence that the working week had been reduced in length by nearly one-fifth over the two decades. The amount of leave given to farm workers has also been increased by a smal amount, so that taking into account the total hours and the number of days involved, the total amount of time worked decreased by one-fourth. Thus, although the annual earnings in real terms have remained static over the two decades from 1951 to 1977 total earnings of farm workers per unit of time worked have significantly improved. Traditionally, the agricultural sector has been regarded as one which pays low wages when inter-sectoral comparisons have been made on the basis of cash earnings. This study shows that such a direct comparison is not justified solely on the basis of cash wages. Many unskilled Blacks still choose to remain in agricultural employment despite this, which therefore calls for an explanation. Legal, institutional and geographic barriers to mobility have no doubt benefitted agricultural sector employers in keeping real cash wages from rising as rapidly as for example in the mining sector (6,5% p.a.), but the rate of increase of 3,5% between 1957 and 1976 was not significantly different from the manufacturing sector's Black wages which rose by 3,6% over the same period. Agricultural workers do, however, enjoy several potential advantages that are not available in other sectors of the economy. The farm worker normally lives at his place of work with his family, whereas mine workers have to migrate long distances and face family separation. Workers in manufacturing industry in the metropolitan areas are often required to live at substantial distances from their places of work and spend a significant proportion of their non-working hours travelling in crowded public transport which although heavily subsidised by the state nevertheless uses a not insignificant share of the pay that they receive.

Industrial workers enjoy the protection of labour laws which lay down maximum hours of work and minimum wages for certain types of work and in some cases they may also belong to recognised worker associations. Farm workers, on the other hand, enjoy greater security in recessionary times, in that it is not general practice in agriculture to dismiss regular workers in periods of slack economic conditions.

Farmers do make use 'of casual labourers and in selected enterprises, such as fruit, maize and sugar farming, also use migratory labour, but most of the casual labour is drawn from the family members of the permanent, regular worker. Agricultural censuses tend to overstate

the extent to which the agricultural sector is dependent upon the use of casual workers because their services are not expressed in terms of full-time equivalents. Domestic service also represents an alternative form of employment although not highly paid in comparison to agriculture and traditionally mostly the domain of women. Although women were not deliberately excluded from the present sample survey, it in practice turned out to be a survey of male workers and thus domestic labour represents something of a "special case." Without romanticising the rural way of life, the urban alternative may at times be anything but attractive. Davenport's (1980) "Black Grahamstown: the agony of a community" is but one of several works which give testimony of the squalor, crime and unemployment in that city which represents the local urban alternatives to farm employment in the Albany district. The situation described is not unique to Grahamstown and may be found elsewhere in South Africa and the continent of Africa for that matter (Naipaul, quoted by Hoyle, 1984).

Employment practices and the wages paid to workers on different farms were seen to vary widely in our study, but it obvious that the worker weighs up a large number of factors in addition to the cash wages paid. There are no clear-cut recipes for successful farm labour management; no unequivocal statements should be made about the role of the most visible and frequently criticised element of earnings, viz., cash wages, while neglecting other forms of accruals and receipts which also contribute to total earnings. Generally put, this is perhaps the central inference to be made from the direct observation of farm wages and working conditions in the Albany district which would appear not to be an isolated case in the broader South African context.

SUMMARY

The thesis may be divided roughly into three parts. The first part, contained in Chapters 1 to 3, serves as an introduction and consists of a brief outline survey of the literature on Labour Economics, the South African labour market and the farm labour market, and employment and wage patterns in the agricultural sector in South Africa. The second and major part of the study, contained in Chapters 4 to 6, gives the results of a 20% random sample survey of farm employment, wages and working conditions conducted in the Albany magisterial district in the Eastern Cape. The third part (Chapter 7) consists of a comparison of wages and working conditions of employees on a group of farms which had been surveyed 20 years earlier by Margaret Roberts (1958). An attempt is made to calculate the rate of change in real average annual earnings. The study is concluded in Chapter 8. The following serves as a brief summary of the contents.

In Chapter 1 it was argued that the theory of labour economics is broadly applicable, but nevertheless the institutional circumstances of a particular country or sector within a national economy give rise to policy proposals which are peculiar to that particular economy or sector. In this respect the peculiarities of the South African labour market, and that of the agricultural sector in particular, must be sought by means of an empirical enquiry.

The agricultural sector, which still engages a substantial proportion of the economically active population in South Africa, may be divided conveniently into two sub-sectors, viz. commercial farming and traditional agriculture. The present study focuses on the former sub-sector. In commercial agriculture total employment increased until about the late 1950's whereafter it began declining. However, the decline in employment did not begin simultaneously in all geographical regions. Employment continued to increase until the early 1970's in the Winter Rainfall Area and until the mid 1960's in the Northern Cape/Orange Free State, Highveld and Natal regions, but declined almost continuously in the Karoo, Eastern Cape and Transvaal regions. In Chapter 3 the form of total farm remuneration is discussed as well as wage levels in the agricultural sector. Farm wages consist of a cash component, which is generally reported in agricultural censuses, and a non-cash component for which infrequent attempts have been made at measurement in official statistics. Non-cash benefits, which include rations, grazing and ploughing rights, housing and other benefits, it was argued, constitute a very important component of total remuneration, a point which needs to be borne in mind when making inter-sectoral comparisons. It was shown on the basis of cash wages that average wage levels in the agricultural sector are between 20% and 50% of those in other sectors in the national economy. (Such comparisons obviously take no account of differences in skills.) Cash wages and the value of rations paid in the agricultural sector, itself, were shown to have increased in real terms over the period 1957 to 1976 by 100% and 30% respectively, although regional differences were evident.

An outline of the farming conditions in the Albany district is given in Chapter 4. The district was divided into two major regions (Upper and Lower Albany) on the basis of agro-ecological and geographical considerations, each of which was further subdivided into two and three regions respectively. On average 10,5 full-time Black and Coloured farm labourers were employed per farm, but together with part-time workers, casual employees (expressed as full-time equivalents) and domestic workers the total labour force per farm amounted to nearly 20 persons.

In Chapter 5 the average wage levels on Albany farms are set out. Average wages ranged from R12,37 to R20,20 in cash per month for regular full-time employees, although the range from lowest to highest was from R5,00 to R50,00 in cash per month depending upon length of service and skills. 'The addition of purchased and farm produced rations, periodic bonuses and cash payments brought the total average remuneration to R476 per annum, while housing and cropping and grazing rights brought the total to R684. Monthly cash wages, therefore, constituted 25% of total remuneration while cash wages and purchased rations together made up 46% of the total.

The hours of work, vacation leave and employer-employee relations are discussed in Chapter 6. It was found that the average working week was 51 hours. Starting and stopping times varied from just before 6 a.m. in summer to 7 a.m. in winter with stopping times varying from 6 p.m. in summer to 5 p.m. in winter. The average length of vacation leave amounted to six days per year usually given between Christmas and New Year although occasional days were also given off on request. Taking into account weekends off and leave of all kinds the average working year amounted to 278,5 days.

Nearly three-fourths of Albany farmers used Xhosa as the language of communication with their workers but, nevertheless, only 40% of farmers regularly consulted their staff when planning an operation. A little over half (55%) said that they delegated authority in some form or another to the workers. The training of Albany farm labourers is generally informal although most farmers (81%) regarded their workers as reasonably efficient at the tasks they are called upon to perform. The majority of complaints (59%), however, are related to the "quality of labour" which indicates that an improvement in training is needed. The turnover of farm labour was 6,4% on average for Albany, but the rate of turnover decreased substantially as the distance from Grahamstown increased.

In the third part (Chapter 7) the changes which occured in the agricultural economy of Albany over the two decades from 1957 were noted, especially the decline in importance of crops such as pineapples, citrus and maize in favour of chicory and cultivated pastures. In general, the reduction in farm employment observed is consistent with the changes in crop and livestock production, the introduction of labour saving machinery, sheep dogs and an increased size of farming units. Although real cash wages increased by 30% over the twenty year period the effect of reduced cropping and grazing rights lead to the conclusion that average real remuneration had remained constant. When other conditions of service, such as the length of the working week and the working year, are taken into account, however, the position of employees per unit time worked has improved.
In conclusion, it is argued that a direct comparison of economic sectors in the national economy is not justified solely on the basis of cash wages. Many unskilled workers choose to remain in agricultural employment despite the apparently lower remuneration rates. Several institutional and other barriers have benefitted the agricultural sector in keeping real average annual cash wages from rising as rapidly as in other sectors. Agricultural workers do, however, enjoy several potential advantages that are not available in other sectors of the economy. There are no clear-cut recipes for successful farm labour management and no unequivocal statements should be made about the role of the most visible and frequently criticised elements of earnings, viz., cash wages, while neglecting other forms of accruals and receipts which also contribute to total earnings.

APPENDIX 1: THE SAMPLE AND THE SURVEY

As mentioned briefly in Chapters 4 and 7, a survey was conducted of over 80 farmers in the Albany magisterial district in the Eastern Cape. The sample consisted of three groups:

- a 20% random sample stratified according to geographical area of full-time farmers;
- 2) farmers or the direct descendants of Albany farmers who had been interviewed by Margaret Roberts in 1957 - called the Roberts' "survivors;" and
- 3) members of the Fish River Bushveld Study Group. This group consists of farmers who keep records of their farm business activities and who share their information within the group.

A complete list of all occupiers of rural property occupiers was obtained from Mr Westcott of the East Cape Administration Board. (An attempt to collect the same information from the Albany Divisional Council was frustrated by out-of-date records and was abandoned.) Mr Westcott, himself a former farmer in the area, knew every property and its occupier as a result of past knowledge and several personal visits to each farm in the course of his duties as a labour inspector. With his assistance it was possible to identify the owners and occupiers of each property and to eliminate nonagricultural small-holdings in the immediate vicinity of Grahamstown and others further afield. Occupiers and the properties of fulltime non-farm employees (e.g. mechanic, nurse, teacher, etc.) for whom living in a rural area merely provided an alternative place to reside, rather than a means of adding significantly to income through agricultural production, were excluded from the sampling universe. The remaining list was divided according to ten geographical areas, later consolidated to five for purposes of analysis, with the route of access to the dwelling house serving as the final arbiter in borderline cases. A 20% random sample was drawn from each of the ten geographical areas.

The distribution of the sample is shown in the accompanying table.

Sampling	Albany	Low	er Alba	Upper Albany		
group	DIStrict	1	2	3	4	5
Random sample	53	7	14 ·	12	10	10
Roberts survivors	27	2	2	10	7	6
Study group farmers	11	-		-	5	6
TOTAL all groups	91	9	16	22	22	22
less RS/MR overlap	5	-	1	2	1	l
less RS/SG overlap	2	-	-	-	1	1
less MR/SG overlap	З	-	-	-	2	1
NET INTERVIEWS	81	9	15	20	18	19

<u>Appendix 1 table 1</u>: Distribution of Albany farmers surveyed by geographical regions and sampling group

Source: Sample survey.

- Notes: 1. The statistics within Chaps 4 6 in the thesis are based upon the Random Sample.
 - 2. Statistics for Chapter 7 are derived from the Margaret Roberts sample.

A questionnaire was drawn up and circulated for comment to colleagues at Rhodes University, the local agricultural extension officer, the Regional Economist to the Department of Agriculture in the Eastern Cape, the East Cape Administration Board and several farms outside the study area. The revised questionnaire was then tested on members of the Fish River Bushveld Study Group, a group which the writer had been associated with for seven years in total both as an extension economist with the Department of Agriculture and later as an honorary member of the group. In the light of the experience gained the questionnaire was revised a second time. A copy of the final questionnaire is included in appendix 3.

The farm visits were preceded by a letter informing those who were to be surveyed of the impending interview as well as indicating briefly the scope of the survey. (See copy of letter in appendix 2). The letters were only sent to prospective interviewees a few weeks before the proposed interview. A phone call followed about ten days after posting to arrange a suitable date for interview and finally a second call was made to confirm the arrangements a day or two before the farm visit. Only two farmers refused to be interviewed. The remaining farmers were interviewed personally by the writer on their farms, except for one interviewee whose sole occupation and major source of income was agriculture, but who lived in Grahamstown. None of the farmers interviewed refused to answer any of the questions put to them. As far as possible the order of the interview proceeded in the same order as the questionnaire, but where necessary the flow of the interview was allowed to dictate the sequence. The interviewer recorded all comments made as fully as possible verbatim, with each questionnaire being checked for completeness within a matter of days after the interview. In most cases a follow-up telephone call sufficed to complete any gaps discovered.

The interviews, excluding the preliminary test, took place over a six month period from October 1976 to March 1977 - and the information is for the year ending October 1976 to March 1977 except in the case of wages which were taken for the year ending October 1976 to 1 January 1977 to eliminate the effect of a general increase of wages from the end of January distorting the intra-district averages.

Finally, the writer was given access to the original completed questionnaires, address list and correspondence following the survey of farm labour conducted by Margaret Roberts in the Albany and Bathurst districts in 1957 and now lodged in the Cory Library at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. This permitted comparisons to be drawn between farms and farmers over two decades.

278.



RHODES UNIVERSITY P.O. BOX 94 GRAHAMSTOWN 6140 SOUTH AFRICA

TELEPHONE 2023 TELEGRAMS "RHODESCOL"

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

As you may already know a survey is being conducted on farm labour in the Albany district under the auspices of the Department of Economics at Rhodes University. As it is not possible to visit all farmers in the district it has been necessary to draw a sample of about 90 farmers to be interviewed.

I am therefore writing to inform you that your farm has been included in the sample, and to ask if you would be willing for me to visit you in this connection.

I must emphasise that all information supplied during the interview is treated as strictly confidential and that when the results are published it will not be possible to identify your personal data in any way. Each person interviewed therefore enjoys complete anonymity.

The interview which normally lasts about an hour is concerned with the labour situation on your farm, but I will also need to have a little background information of your main farming lines and of the relative importance of mechanisation to put the labour position on each farm in perspective.

Once the information has been analysed by computer - hopefully early next year - I will be sending each person participating in the survey a short summary of the main findings which I trust will prove to be useful and interesting.

In the meantime, if you have any queries please do not hesitate to write to me at the above address or to phone me at Grahamstown 2958 in the evenings or early morning.

Many thanks in anticipation for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Geoff antrolus

G.G. ANTROBUS: LECTURER IN ECONOMICS

1.0 PHYSICAL INFORMATION

1.1 Farm size and ownership (ha)

			m/acre	CARD 2
Area owned				
hired				
on share basi	5		· · · · · · · · · · · ·	
TOTAL FARMING UN	IT	*		

23 23 31

> 33 ______ 35

59

(____) +2

1.2 land use (ha)

Talla use (lla)	m/acre
Cultivated dryland	
Cultivated dryland for employee use	
Irrigated lands	
Trees, plantations, orchards	
Veld grazing	
Farmstead, roads and waste	

1.3 Type of farming

utilization of	ARE	A	Ior										
arable land	m/ac	ha	D			C	om	ime	en	t			
Cash crops													
l. pineapples				 					•		• •		
2. chicory						•			•				
3.													
4 .				 					i.				
Pasture/forage crops													
1.													
2.		-						•					
3.													
4:				 		 •	• •		•	•		• •	
Orchards, trees etc.													
1.													
2				 • •	•	 •	•		•			•	
TOTAL													

Is the above cropping pattern the 'normal' situation?

280.

	Farmer owned Employee owned			mer owned Employee owned			
Livestock	Calves lambs	Young	Mature	Calves lambs	Young	Mature	CARD 3
Dairy cattle Beef cattle Sheep: woolled non-woolled Goats: Angoras other Other grazing livestock Non-grazing livestock 1. 2.		•••					$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
TOTAL						5. 33 97 	57 62

1.5 What is the usual system adopted for the main enterprises? Dairy cattle: fresh milk; industrial milk; cream; stud Beef: weaners; yearlings; 18 months; 2 year; 3 year, stud are cows supplemented or allowed access to pasture at any time during the year?

> are animals finished off on the farm or not? (i.e. feedlot facility)

Sheep: fat-lamb, cross-breeding for fat lamb, mutton, wool, stud

Goats: flock, stud

Crops: for sale - out of hand, local market, canning, export market; farm consumption.

1.6 What is the average rainfall (mm) of your farm?

long term average

ins mm

		1	sub-totals	
Value of land (includi	and fixed improvements ng farm house)			68
Mechanical eq	uipment and vehicles			
Vehicles:	cars			
	lorries	* •		
	trucks			
Mech. equipme	nt = tractors			
	self-propelled eq.			
	etc.			
Implements an	d equipment =			
	trailers			
	ploughs, etc.			
	bailers, etc.			
Value of live	stock			76
-				

281.

year ending

÷

3.1 How have the numbers of various machines changed over the past five and ten years?

Machinery	1966	1971	1976	CARD 4
Trucks and lorries				<u> </u>
Tractors				[]
Other self-propelled machinery				Ĺ
No of milking machine units				ليبيبا
Type of milking unit				19

3.2 <u>Machinery</u>, vehicles and equipment cost (R) - Feb/June/Aug 1976 Depreciation

37

38

3.0

3.3 To what extent could you still mechanise your farming operations?

 0
 1
 2
 3

 N/A; Not at all; overmechanised already; could still mechanise to
 4
 5

 could mechanise a great deal;
 other (specify)

- 3.4 Would you mechanise if you could; 0 l 2 3 N/A; Yes No Other (specify)
- 3.5 How?
- 3.6 Could you make use of sheep dogs? O N/A; already use sheep dogs; yes, to a limited extent; yes, definitely; No; Other (specify)

FARM POPULATION		
How many families	live on the farm unit?	Whites
		Coloureds

Blacks

CARD 5

4.2 How many people of the following age groups live on the farm?

FARM POPULATION

4.0

4.1

4.3

4.4

4.5

4.6

					• •			
		n	ales			fema	ales	
	-15	15+	pension -ers	tot	-15	15+	pension -ers	tot
Whites								. 25
Coloureds				•	×			
Blacks'					•	•	•	. philip
								49
Do you plac	ce any	limit	on the numbe	er of o	dependa	nts?		<i>C</i> ,
0 1		2	3	-)				
IVA; IEE	59 14	5; 00	ner (specily	<i>Y</i>)				
If yes, pla	ease e	xplain:						
0, 1		1	•••••			••••		
Are any of or are far O l N/A; Yes	the po nily o: 5; No	ersons f perso 2 o; Do	living on th ns employed 3 n't know	he far elsewl	m emplo here?	yed aw	ay from y	our farm
Can you giv	ve the	ir numb	er?					
0 1	2				Worke	rs	family	
N/A. Yes	; No		Whites					- [
19 1, 160			C T	ls.		1		1
197, 165			Coloured			1		
19 4, 100			Blacks		• • • • •			
iy n, 166			Blacks		• • • • •			10
For whom d	o they	work?	Coloured Blacks		• • • • •			10

0 l N/A; Neighbour; Div.Council; Mines; Other (specify) Has the number of persons on the farm changed since 1971? 4.8

0 l 2 4 Other (specify) 3 Don't know N/A Yes No

4.9	In what way have there been changes?
	O l 2 3 4 N/A; No to quest 4.8; Increase; Decrease; Other (specify)
4.10	Reasons for the change?
4.11	What do you expect the position to be as regard the number of persons on the farm in 5 years time?
	0 1 2 3 4 5 N/A; Same; Increase; Decrease; Don't know; Other (specify)
4.12	State reasons:

4.13 Are you prepared to keep the family of a man who goes on contract to the mines?

-

0 l 2 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify)

•

1

18

5 FARM EMPLOYMENT

REGULAR (permanent) LABOUR

5.1 Av. no. of regular full-time farm employees

	Adult		Young adults		Adult Young a			
	Males	Females	Kwediens	n'Tombies	TOTAL			
Whites								
Coloureds Blacks	¥.					30 ()))))))))))))))))))		
TOTAL						38		

285.

Av. no. of regular part-time farm employees

	Ad	ult	Young		
	Males	Females	Kwediens	n'Tombies	TOTAL
Coloureds Blacks					
TOTAL					

5.2 Av. no. of domestic servants (including gardeners)

	Male	Female	TOTAL
Col. Black			5
TOTAL			

52

53

54

5.3 Do you have any preference for coloured or black labour? O l 2 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other(specify)

5.4 If 'yes', for what reason:

5.5 Have the number of <u>labourers</u> on your farm changed over the past 5 years?

0 l 2 3 N/A Yes No Other (specify)

5.6 In what way?

0 1 2 3 N/A; Increase; Decrease; Other (specify)

5.8 Do you have sufficient regular labourers at the present time? O l 2 3 4 N/A; Just right; Too few; Too many; Other (specify)

- 5.9 How many too few?
- 5.10 OR How many too many?
- 5.11 What will your probable labour requirements be in 5 years time? O l 2 3 4 5 N/A; Don't know; Same; More; Less; Other (specify)
- 5.12 Do you have difficulty in obtaining labour? O l 2 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify)
- 5.13 Do you have labourers who are normally designated to particular jobs? O l 2 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify) 5.14 Please explain:
- 5.15 How many of your regular labourers would you classify as being semi-skilled and skilled? (i.e. excluding the general unskilled labourer)

<u>Semi-skilled</u>: e.g. handmilker, stockmen in position of responsibility stationary machine operator tractor driver, truck driver, etc. <u>Skilled</u>: Shearer & wool classer Mechanic, welder, inseminator Heavy duty driver



5.16 How many of your regular labourers can read and write?

Casual (seasonal) labour

- 5.17 Did you employ casual labour during last year? O l 2 N/A Yes No
- 5.18 How many casual farm labourers did you employ in each month during the past year? How many labour days were worked each month?

Month	Whi: male	female	<u>Colo</u> male	ireds female	<u>Blac</u> male	ks female	TOTAL	Total days worked
Sept 75		ł			1	-		
Oct								
Nov						De l		
Dec								
Jan 76								
Feb								
Mar								
Apr								
May		•						
June								
July					1			
Aug								
TOTAL YE	CAR							

5.19 Where do you draw seasonal casual labour from? O l 2 3 N/A; Own farm; Neighbouring farms; Elsewhere (specify)

- 5.20 Are you able to employ sufficient casual labour to meet your requirements? O 1 2 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify)
- 5.21 Would your type of farming alter if you had an unlimited supply of casual or seasonal labour? O l 2 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other(specify)
 - 5.22 Approximately what proportion of casual labourers are pre-adult (i.e. kwediens, picaniens, etc.)?

68

CARD 7

6.0	LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY	
6.1	Do you regard your labour as reasonably efficient at the tasks they are called upon to perform?	CARD 8
	N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify)	i
6.2	If not, why not?	
		-
6.3	Would you comment on what you consider to be the best methods of improving the productivity of farm labour.	_
	0 l N/A; Labour training and motivation; Pay and conditions; Other (specify)	2
	Comment:	
6.4	Do you have any work incentive/bonus schemes at present.	
	O l 2 N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify)	
6.5	Please describe:	
6.6	Are there schemes you have tried but found ineffective?	_
	O l 2 ³ N/A; Yes; No; Other ³ (specify)	4
6.7	Please describe and give reasons for their abandonment.	
	Scheme 1:	
	Scheme 2:	
	Scheme 3:	

6.8 For how long were the above (ineffective) scheme(s) in operation and in what year were they first introduced?

	Year and mo introduction	nth of abandonment	Time in operation
Scheme 1:			
Scheme 2:			
Scheme 3:		÷ .	

6.9 Do you know of any incentive schemes (other than your own) which are presently in operation in the district? O l 2 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify)

6.10 Comment on their success or failure. Give reasons.

6.11 How many regular labourers have you discharged over the last two years?

6.13 How many regular labourers left of their own accord over the past two years?

6.14 How many regular labourers have you taken on during the last two years?

6.15 Have you had any known instances of labour taking up employment in, or moving to town over the past 5 years?

 0
 1
 2
 3

 N/A;
 Yes;
 No;
 Other (specify)

6.16 If so, how many:

6.17 For what reason did they leave your employ?

6.18	3	Ou	tli la	ne bou	any r.	pr	obl	em,	sp	eci	fic	or	ge	ner	al,	ус	ou m	ay	hav	'e w	ith	ус	ur	far	m		
																	Chi 2nd 3rd	ef mo mo	pro st st	ble imp imp	ort	ant ant					,s ,4
	÷	•	1.02				•	•		•					•	•					·			·	i.	·	
				``																	×.						
								143	¥		a		9			S.■.3			·,								
		•	ž	•		·		·	÷		÷	×			8 4 e	•				·					÷	·	

•

EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE RELATIONS 7.0 7.1 Do you speak the language of your employees? 0 ٦ 2 Other (specify) Yes; N/A; No: What language do you use in communicating with workers? 7.2 0 2 ٦ 3 Xhosa; N/A; Afr; Eng; Other (specify) 7.3 Do you give in-work training l 2 3 Yes; No; Other (specify) N/A: 7.4 If Yes, what type? 0 2 1 3 1 drivers licence N/A: No; Yes; Sometimes machine maintenance 11 11 11 11 2 shearing wool-classing 11 11 11 tt 3 milking 11 4 dosing 11 11 11 injecting 5 inseminating 11 11 11 11 6 other (specify) 11 11 11 11 Is your labour adequately trained for handling, machinery/equipment? 7.5 0 1 2 3 Other (specify) N/A; No: Yes; 7.6 Do you consult your labourers when planning an operation? O l 2 3 4 N/A; No never; Yes sometimes; Yes always; Other (specify) 2 If a labourer shows a certain aptitude do you take this into account 7.7 when detailing work? 2 N/A; Never; Yes sometimes; Yes always; Other (specify) Are you able to delegate authority to your black staff? 7.8 l No; 2 Yes; Other (specify) N/A; 7.9 Do you obtain better results through delegation? 2 Sometimes; l No; N/A; Yes; Other (specify)

19

20

[] 12

23

24

26

8.0 CASH WAGES AND PAYMENTS IN KIND

8.1 What was your total cash wage bill (excluding annual cash bonus) for permanent farm labour for the year ending 31 August 1976?

	Male	Female	Total	
Whites				29
Coloureds				
Blacks				
TOTAL				

74

8.2 What was your total cash wage bill (excluding cash bonus) for domestic and casual labour for the year ending 31 August 1976?

Male	Female	TOTAL
	+	
	Male	Male Female

8.3 At what intervals do you pay your regular labour?

0	l	2	3	4
N/A;	Daily;	Weekly;	Monthly;	Other (specify)

8.4 At what average cash rates do you pay the following:

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Annual	CARD 9
Kwediens					[]
Men just starting					s i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i
Men with some service		×			
Men with long service					
Tractor/truck drivers					/1
Top paid Black/Coloured					
Women - regular part-time					
- regular full-time		-			
- domestic servants					
Casual labour - men					36
- women					40
- kwediens					45
- ntombis			4		44
- children					Aq

- How do average cash wage rates now compare to those paid five years ago? Weekly Daily Monthly Kwediens Men just starting Men with some service
 - Annual

8.6	Do you	give	regular	rations	s to	your	permanent	farm	labour?
	0	l	2	-	3				
	N/A;	Yes	, No;	Other	(sp	ecify)		

8.7 On what basis are rationing units determined?

Men with long service Tractor/truck drivers

Top paid Black/Coloured Women - regular full-time

Casual labour - men

- domestic servants

- women - kwediens

8.5

0			1			2			3	4
N/A;	No	to	quest	8.6;	Per	regular	labourer;	Per	family;	Other (specify)

8.8 Please indicate the amount given in rations to full-time permanent farm labour on a regular basis, (i.e. daily/weekly/monthly etc. but not annually). Include both purchased rations and farm produced not annually). rations.

Item	Kind & quantity	Rationi interval	ng units	VALUE PER MONTH (R-c)
Milk				
Meat (rations)				
Grain				
Meal				
Other food				
1.				
2.				
3.				
Other goods e.g. 1. tob & match 2. paraffin		-		
3.				
4.				
Other n.e.s.				
TOTAL				

17

CARDIO

8.9 Please indicate the total amount given in rations to full-time domestic labour on a regular basis.

Item	Kind & quantity	Rationing interval	VALUE per MONTH (R-c)
Food Goods Other n.e.s.	-		
TOTAL			

8.10 Please indicate the amount given in rations per casual labourer.

Item	Kind & quantity	Rationing interval	VALUE per DAY (R-c)
Food			
Goods			
Other n.e.s.			
TOTAL			

8.11 Please indicate the total amounts paid on various occasions other than the daily/weekly/monthly wage to REGULAR labourers.

	Total amount	Monthly equivalent
Annual bonus Extra irregular payments (e.g. shearing, calving time etc. including incentives)		
Poll tax		
Medical costs	-	
Clothing and footwear for general use (i.e. excluding special protective clothing)		
Pension payments		
Other not elsewhere specified		
TOTAL		

CARD 11





8.12 Please indicate the total amount paid on various occasions other than the daily/weekly/monthly wage to DOMESTIC SERVANTS:

	Total amount	Monthly equivalent
Annual bonus		
Other irregular earnings		
Clothing and footwear		
Other n.e.s.		
	-	
TOTAL	• •	

8.13 Please indicate the total amounts paid on various occasions other than the daily/weekly/ etc wage to CASUAL LABOUR:

	Total amount	Daily equivalent
Annual bonus Other n.e.s.		
TOTAL		

8.14 Other labour earnings

.

Total amount earned by all labourers during the year ending 31 August 1976 from non-wage items:

	Type & No	Value/	Total value	
Livestock				
Animals sold				
Produce sold (incl. hides & skins)				
Slaughtered for own consumption				33
Crops				
Home consumed				
Sales & other use				
Other				39
Pension				
Workmen's compen- sation				
Etc.				44
TOTAL.				

1____

Labour costs			
Are there other costs which are incurred specifically allocated/debited to labou	by you whic r? 	h can be Total annual	
	units	amount	СА
Cost of dips, doses, etc for livestock			
Cost of seed, fertilizer, etc. for cropland	,		
Cultivation costs (specify no. of trac- tor hours)			
Transport: special trips to clinic/ hospital/town			4
special trips for church/schooling/ recreation			
special trips for shopping			
(if necessary specify total dist. travelled)			
Repairs to labourers housing, etc.			1 7
Workmen's compensation payments			
Other costs not elsewhere specified			/8
TOTAL			1

8.16 Would you prefer a cash only system of payment to regular labour? 2 3 0 ٦ No; N/A; Already pay cash only; Yes; Other (specify) Would your labourers prefer a cash only system? 8.17 0 2 l 2 3 Yes; No; Other (specify) 1 N/A; 8.18 If yes, what hinderances are there to changing to a cash only system? 8.19 Do you give an automatic increase in cash wages each year? 0 l 2 . 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify) 8.20 If 'yes', please indicate amount by which increased each year. If 'no', please indicate when wages were last increased and the amount

of the increase.

9.0 CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

Working hours:	Sumaer (Feb) Mon-Fri Sa Su	Winter (Aug) Mon-Fri Sa Su	Hours/Week
Begin			Summer
End		ж Э. (к.	Winter
Rest period a.			
b	-		v
TOTAL Hrs/day			

9.1 How long is the working week?

9.2 What arrangements do you make for weekend farm duties?

9.3 Do you allow your labourers an annual period of leave? How long? State TOTAL leave actually given (working days) for year ending 31 August 1976.

	TOTAL days	Time of year	Paid/Unpaid
Christmas/New Year period			
Sick leave			
Vacation leave			
Compassionate leave			
Other			
TOTAL,			

9.4 Where do the staff go to on their vacation leave?

.

0 l 2 N/A; Stay on farm; Elsewhere

9.5 Total length of the working year in days (calculated)

10.0 HOUSING 10.1 How many houses do your farm staff occupy? CARD 13 No. Houses built by labourer 11 11 11 farmer TOTAL 10.2 What is their construction? WALLS O N/A ROOF O N/A FLOOR O N/A 1 Mud & poles 1 Thatch 1 Mud/Dung 2 Brick 2 Iron 2 Wood 3 Iron 3 Asbestos 3 Concrete 4 Other (specify) 4 Other (specify) 4 Other (specify) 10.3 What is the total value of all occupied staff houses? (R) 10.4 What is the average number of rooms per house? 4 0 3 5 1 2 N/A; One; Two-three; Three-four; One-two; Four plus 10.5 What is the approximate size of an average house? Specify outside measurements : 0 ٦ 2 3 N/A; Less than $10m^2$; $10-20m^2$; 20-30m²; 30m plus 10.6 Which of the following facilities are provided in the houses? 0 1 2 3 All houses; Windows N/A; Some; None; .. 11 11 11 Chimneys 16 10.7 Are toilets provided? 0 1 2 3 Yes; No; Other (specify) N/A: 10.9 If yes, how many in total? 10.9 What is the position with regard to -Water: source distance from houses (m) Firewood:

11.0 EDUCATION

11.1 Are schooling facilities available?

l 2 3 Yes; No; Other (specify) 0 N/A:

2

N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify)

3

Distance (km)

11.2 Up to what standard does the school go? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 N/A; ≤Std 1; Std 2; Std 3; Std 4; Std 5; Std 6; Std 6+ 11.3 Where do children continue their schooling? N/A; Grahamstown; Elsewhere (specify) 11.4 What happens to children who leave the farm school and do not continue their schooling elsewhere? 0 1 2 3 N/A; Stay on farm; Work on farm; Work elsewhere; Other (specify) 11.5 What is the total number of Black and Coloured children on your farm who attend school? 11.6 If you already have a school on the farm, what are your views concerning the school? 0 1 2 3 N/A; Favourable; Indifferent; Unfavourable 11.7 If there is no school on your farm, would you be prepared to make facilities available for a school? 0 2 1 Other (specify) N/A; Yes; No; 11.9 What is the highest school standard attained by a farm labourer in your present employ? 0 l .2 3 4 N/A; None; Std 2 or less; Std 3-6; Std 7 + 11.9 Do you prefer educated workers? 0 1

> O l 2 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify)

12.4

12.5 How far away is the nearest place of worship/church for blacks?

Distance in km:

38

39

12.6 Do you provide transport for attendance at church?

O l 2 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify)

13.0 MISCELLANEOUS

13.1 Comment on the health of your employees.
0 1 2 3 4 N/A; Good; Indifferent; Poor; Other (specify)
13.2 Do you make use of mobile clinic facilities?
0 1 2 3 N/A; Yes; No; Other (specify)
13.3 What proportion, if any of labourers medical costs do you pay?
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 N/A; 0; 1-20; 21-40; 41-60; 61-80; 81-99; 100

13.4 How far is it from your labourers houses to the nearest shop?

14.0 ATTITUDES

In addition to the above questions we would welcome your views upon the following statements which have been made by farmers:

14.1 "If farmers paid higher wages they would attract a better type of worker, and so increase productivity and reduce costs."

14.2 "The only way to meet what I believe to be an increasing shortage of labour is to mechanise our farms and thus reduce our labour requirements!"

. . . .

14.3 "The farmer today is really caught in the middle. The better farm labourer is steadily being lost to commerce and industry but yet if you raise wages he feels he has been cheated and wants to leave."

14.4 "Even with all the 'perks' such as free housing, wood and water, being allowed to run stock, etc., total remuneration on the farm still does not match those which can be earned in town, and we are going to continue to lose labour."

14.5 "The farm is a haven for the families of workers on the mines, the Divisional Council and in town. I would dearly like these people to move from the farm but just haven't the heart

to force them because they have nowhere to go."

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