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FARM LABOUR IN A DEMARCATED AREA
OF THE WESTERN CAPE

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTSCHAPTER I

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	Page
A. Farm Labour : The Choice of the Subject ...	1
B. The Aim of the Research ...	3
C. The Method of Research ...	4
(1) Questionnaires ...	6
(2) Interviews ...	7
(a) Interviews with Representatives of Organisations ...	7
(b) Interviews with Specialists ...	8
(c) Interviews with Ordinary People ...	9
(3) Documentary Sources ...	9
(4) Personal Observation ...	10
D. Geographical Conditions and the Demarcation of the Research Area ...	11
E. Changes Investigated ...	14

PART ICHAPTER IIRACIAL GROUPS ON FARMS

A. The Coloured People ...	18
(1) The Origin of a Group Identity ...	28

	Page
(ii)	
(2) The Socio-Economic Position of the Coloured People ...	33
(3) Demography of the Coloured Population ...	39
B. The African ...	46
(1) The Africans as a Separate Racial Group ...	46
(2) The Entering of Africans in the Western Cape ...	47
(a) Historical Review ...	47
(i) Entering before 1910 ...	47
(ii) Entering after 1910 ...	51
(b) Factors Responsible for Africans Entering the Western Cape ...	58
C. The White Worker ...	61

PART II

CHAPTER III

<u>THE SUPPLY OF FARM LABOUR IN THE WESTERN CAPE : HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</u> ...	65
A. The Coloured People ...	65
B. The African ...	79
C. The Whites ...	83
D. Factors which Influence the Supply of Farm Labour ...	85

CHAPTER IV

<u>THE LABOUR FORCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS ON FARMS</u> ...	88
A. Sources of Labour ...	89

(iii)

	Page
B. The Permanent Labour Force	91
(i) Fruit Farming	92
(ii) Grain-, Sheep- and Dairy Farming	94
(iii) Vegetable Cash Crops	96
C. Seasonal Labour	97
(i) Fruit Farming	98
(ii) Grain-, Sheep- and Dairy Farming	98
(iii) Vegetable Cash Crops	102
D. Contract Labour	104
(i) Fruit Farming	104
(ii) Grain-, Sheep- and Dairy Farming	106
(iii) Vegetable Cash Crops	107
E. Prison Labour	108

CHAPTER V

THE REMOVAL OF AFRICANS FROM THE WESTERN CAPE 110

Policy ... 110

CHAPTER VI

HOUSING ON FARMS ... 119

CHAPTER VII

COLOURED AND AFRICAN FAMILIES ON FARMS : THEIR RELIGION AND VALUES ... 129

A. The Coloured Family ... 129

 (i) Religion and Values ... 134

	Page
B. The African Family	146
(1) Religion and Values	164

CHAPTER VIII

<u>THE EDUCATION OF FARM WORKERS</u>	172
A. The Coloured People	172
(1) Schools	172
(2) Qualifications of Coloured Farm Workers	177
(3) The Attitude of the Coloured People towards Education	180
B. The African	182
(1) Schools	182
(2) Qualifications of African Farm Labourers	186
C. Whites	189
(1) Schools	189
(2) Qualifications of White Farm Workers (Employees)	191

CHAPTER IX

<u>SKILLED AND UNSKILLED LABOUR</u>	194
A. Skilled Labour	195
B. Unskilled Labour	206
C. Contract Labour	208

CHAPTER X

<u>WAGES, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE</u>	...	214
A. Historical Survey	...	215
B. Additional Earnings	...	238
C. Expenditure and Debts	...	241

CHAPTER XI

<u>THE MIGRATION OF FARM LABOURERS TO URBAN AREAS</u>		249
A. Historical Survey	...	249
B. Reasons for Migration	...	252
(1) The White Farm Worker	...	252
(2) The Coloured Farm Labourer	...	254

CHAPTER XII

<u>THE FARMER'S LABOUR PROBLEM AND THE FUTURE OF FARM LABOUR</u>	...	263
A. Labour Demand	...	263
B. Production Costs, Mechanisation and Wage-structures	...	265
C. Repatriation of Africans from the Western Cape	...	268
D. Abuse of Liquor	...	270
E. The Future of Farm Labour	...	273

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION ... 280

APPENDIX NO. 1

QUESTIONNAIRES ... 297

APPENDIX NO. 2

DIVISIONAL COUNCIL : BUILDING REGULATIONS ... 321

APPENDIX NO. 3

- A. Graph No. 1 : Seasonal Labour Supply 1968 :
Fruit Farming.
- B. Graph No. 2 : Seasonal Labour Supply 1968 :
Grain-, Sheep and Dairy Farming.
- C. Graph No. 3 : Seasonal Labour Supply 1968 :
Vegetable Cash Crop Farming.
- D. Graph No. 4 : Change in Numerical Ratio of
Different Races (1959 - 1969):
Permanent Labour Force.
- E. Graph No. 5 : Change in Numbers Employed :
Skilled and Unskilled Labour (1959 -
1969):
Permanent Labour Force.
- F. Graph No. 6 : Increase in Skilled and Unskilled
Labour of all Races (1959 - 1969):
Permanent Labour Force.
- G. Graph No. 7 : Availability of Coloured- African- and
White labour in the Research Area
1800 - 1970.
- H. Graph No. 8 : Number of African Labourers in the
Caledon district.

APPENDIX NO. 4

MAP OF THE RESEARCH AREA AND THE SOUTHWESTERN
CAPE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

... 339

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Farm Labour: The Choice of Subject

In South Africa we are ignorant of communities on farms and a large section of the population is still living on farms.

Less has been written about communities on farms than on any other section of the population in South Africa. In particular, very little has been written about farm workers who form less than a third of the Coloured population and perhaps a third of the African population of the Republic. An investigation of farm communities is therefore of great interest to the anthropologist. It is also of practical relevance. The type of community and working conditions on farms vary greatly from one part of South Africa to another, therefore detailed local studies must precede generalizations. This study is concerned with a demarcated area in the Western Cape.

During the past decade the supply of farm labour in the Western Cape has fallen far short of the demand. The farmer generally cannot compete with the industrialist in the city.

Farm workers migrate to cities and villages because they find there higher wages, better living conditions, and a greater choice of jobs. The increasing demand for labour in cities directly led to migration from farms.

Increasing production on farms, on the other hand created more jobs on farms. The farmer relies largely on hand labour which Coloured and African labourers supply. The shortage of labourers is exaggerated by the removal of Africans from the Western Cape under the Act. Vacancies created by this compulsory removal have to be filled by the farmer at the same time as he struggles against the attraction of migration to villages and cities.

Under these circumstances, the farmer mechanises where possible, but this mechanisation does not necessarily mean that he gets the labourers he needs. To work machines he requires more skilled workers who expect higher wages. Again he is in competition with industrial employers. And wages are not the only factor.

Because of the concentration of people in urban areas, a social life is created which is more attractive to workers than that on farms. This brings us directly to the social structure of the farm community.

Having these particular circumstances as the background, we find that the labour position on farms in the Western Cape today has reached a critical stage. Because the research worker grew up in the country of the Western Cape and lived together with farm labourers, these and other factors led to the choice of this particular subject.

B. The Aim of the Research

The aim of this research project is to gain knowledge concerning farm labour in the Western Cape. Specifically, we seek to define:

- a) The role of Coloured people, Africans and Whites as farm workers;
- b) the interaction amongst the three mentioned racial groups;
- c) the community structure of the three racial groups;
- d) tendencies in migration of farm labourers and the problems arising from it;
- e) the social-economical position of the farm worker in the country;
- f) the relation between the farmer as the employer and the farm worker.

C. The Method of Research

A detailed study has been made of farming activities in a devined area and the demand and supply in farm labour differ from one category of farming to another.

The local authorities in this research area were informed about the proposed research project. Co-operation has been greatly facilitated by close connection with farmers associations. Interviews were held with farmers to find out their opinions and attitudes concerning farming. Farm labourers were also interviewed.

200 Farming units were selected which represent each type of farming in the two districts.

In collaboration with the local co-ops and existing maps a schedule was made of all the farms in the research area. The farms were divided into three basic categories, viz. fruit farms; grain-, sheep- and dairy farms; and vegetable farms. This resulted in a ratio of 7:46:14 respectively, which formed the basis of the sample of chosen 200 farms. An attempt was made to select farms of more or less the same size and circumstances, although exceptions were taken into consideration in order to constitute contrasts and changes in labour patterns. 50 Coloured ex-farm

labourers in towns and villages were also investigated. They were traced by means of information given by friends and relatives who still do farm labour. Old farm labourers retired in Genadendal and living on old age pensions supplied especially valuable information as regards the social changes that took place over the last 3 to 4 decades.

A sample of workers in each racial category was used. These samples were chosen to be representative of each group of labourers, and constituted the following numbers:

		<u>Proportion of Total of Sample</u>
White farmers as employers:	200 men	
White farm workers:	50 men	9.1%
Coloured farm workers (skilled and unskilled) -full time:	100 men	54.5%
African farm workers (skilled and unskilled) - migrate and full time:	200 men	36.4%
Total employees	<u>550</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

The total population of both districts is as follows:
(1960 Census Reports)

	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Coloured People</u>	<u>Africans</u>
Caledon district:			
Urban areas	9 607	11 704	1 502
Rural areas	5 244	14 284	3 739
Total	14 851	25 988	5 241
Bredasdorp district:			
Urban areas	3 004	5 186	154
Rural areas	2 093	4 135	507
Total	5 097	9 321	661
TOTAL FOR BOTH DISTRICTS	<u>19 948</u>	<u>35 309</u>	<u>5 902*</u>

*Number fluctuates according to seasons.

(1) Questionnaires

Because the number of farming units in the research area is large, questionnaires were used wherever possible to obtain data. Five types were used:

- (i) Questionnaires to farmers themselves;
- (ii) three different questionnaires to farm workers who represent each different racial group and who are actively concerned with farm labour;
- (iii) questionnaires to workers who left the farms permanently to find refuge elsewhere in towns and cities.

(2) Interviews

Interviews went hand in hand with direct observation and served as control for the data which were collected in other ways.

The interviews can be classified in three categories:

(a) Interviews with Representatives of Organisations

Interviews were carried out with authorities who possess a wide knowledge of the question under discussion.

- (i) Farmers associations which function actively in research areas and have contact with the majority of the farmers;

- (ii) co-operatives which serve the farmer on a commercial basis;
- (iii) local business undertakings who have knowledge concerning the buying customs of farm labourers;
- (iv) the Department of Bantu Administration of the different Divisional Councils;
- (v) magistrates of the different districts;
- (vi) the Government Department of Agriculture.

(b) Interviews with Specialists

These are persons who possess a special knowledge flowing from their position. The following persons are counted among them:

- (i) Retired farmers who live in towns in the district.
These persons form the key in the constructing of the historical background and course of farm labour;
- (ii) school principals of European and Coloured schools;
- (iii) health inspectors of Divisional Councils.

(c) Interviews with Ordinary People

Here those referred to were mainly:

- (i) **Farmers.** The farmer is the controller and manager of farm labour. He has extensive knowledge of the present supply and demand of farm labour. The farmer is the employer and supplier of housing, conveniences, wages, etc. For this reason he is selective in his choice of labourers. Thus the farmer is one of the most important informants.
- (ii) **Workers.** The farm worker is the object of discussion and possesses the most detailed knowledge concerning himself. Under the term "worker" we understand representatives of all three racial groups. These persons possess knowledge which outsiders cannot supply.

(3) Documentary Sources

Evidence on change in type, supply, and working conditions of farm labour was found in the writer's family archives and in archives of the Moravian mission at Genadendal. The former were kept in Dutch and Afrikaans, the latter in German. Neither is published in full.

Lindeshof was a cattlepost of the Dutch East India Company in the beginning of the 18th century, while the writer's family has farmed at Lindeshof since 1795. The educational centre at Lindeshof was established in 1853 on a piece of ground called "Twistwyk" by the late Commandant Jakobus Linde. This farm school still functions at present.

Published accounts by missionaries and travellers which relate to the area were used and are cited in footnotes. Official reports were used for statistical data regarding production, farming units, and population. Secondary sources were consulted to give a summary of the historical background and legislation concerning farm labour.

(4) Personal Observation

Personal observation played the most important role in the collecting of data. Travelling from farm to farm made it possible to observe the pattern of farm labour. Relations between employer and employee and the mutual relation amongst farm labourers could best be studied by direct observation.

A distance of 27 600 miles was travelled during the period of full-time practical research which lasted 14

months. Investigation was carried out mainly in Afrikaans, the home language of the majority of farmers and farm workers in the research area and of the anthropologist. Xhosa was used in working with Africans.

D. Geographical Conditions and the Demarcating of the Research Area

The areas covered in this research project are the districts of Caledon and Bredasdorp. These districts are particularly suitable for wheat and sheep farming.

The Caledon and Bredasdorp districts border one another. The common border runs south of the village called Rivier-sonderend towards the Perdeberg at the Perdeberg river on the 19th longitude 37 minutes. From there the border of the Caledon district goes east, passing the north of Hermanus over Shaw's mountain and joins the coast line between Hermanus and Kleinmond. It follows the coast line eastwards to Koeël Bay, from where it stretches north. On the western side the Caledon districts is bordered by the districts of the Strand, Somerset West alongside the Hottentotsholland mountains, and Stellenbosch. On the northern side it is bordered by the districts of Paarl, Worcester, and Robertson. The Rivier-sonderend mountain range constitutes the

northern boundry until it again joins the Bredasdorp district in the east.

The northern border line of the Bredasdorp district stretches south-east from the Caledon border via Proteem and joins the coast at the Potberg mountains. From here it follows the eastern coast line to Franskraal where the border line turns north to border Hermanus until it again joins the Caledon district boundry.

The most important towns in the Caledon district are: Caledon, Riviersonderend, Villiersdorp, and Grabouw. Other smaller villages and settlements are Kleinmond, Elgin, Botrivier, Greyton, Genadendal, Jongensklip, Rietpoel and Lindeshof.

In the Bredasdorp district there are only two towns of importance, namely Bredasdorp and Napier, although there are a number of smaller villages and settlements such as Klipdale, Proteem, Cape Agulhas, Struisbaai, Arniston and the Coloured settlement, Elim.

The Bredasdorp district ranges between 220 and 880 feet above sea level, with a gradual increase in height from Bredasdorp in the south up to Proteem in the north. The fairly uniform altitude is extremely suitable for wheat

and sheep farming. Of this area 78.7% is already under cultivation. Both Bredasdorp and Caledon have a Mediterranean sea climate with a cyclonic rainfall. The area receives 73% of its rainfall in the winter between April and September. Over the past 83 years the average rainfall at Bredasdorp was 482.5 millimeters. At Caledon over the past 45 years it was 477.1 millimeters. During 1969 - 70 both the Caledon and Bredasdorp districts experienced the most severe drought of the century. This directly influenced the labour conditions.

Communication by means of road and railway is fairly good in both districts, but industrial development of any significance is absent. These districts are geographically and sociologically demarcated areas with a homogeneous climate and a homogeneous soil type. The only significant difference appears in the Caledon district where the western and north-western areas surrounding Villiersdorp and Grabouw, are suitable for fruit and wine farming. Wheat and sheep farming form nevertheless the most important activities in both districts. The high cost of land and of mechanisation led to an increased capital investment which requires a more effective utilisation of the soil, capital, and manpower.

E. Changes Investigated

It is sometimes not recognised that the system of agriculture in South Africa and in other parts of the world is determined not only by physical factors such as climate and soil, and by marketing factors, but also by social and political factors. These last have immensely influenced labour, the subject of research.

Farming is undergoing a revolution. In anthropological terms this change consists of an increasing degree of functional differentiation in the social structure. For the farmer and the farm worker these changes have the following implications:

The characteristic traditional life of farmer and farm worker, is undergoing rapid change. More specialised training for both farmer and farm worker is required. Increased differentiation in agriculture requires a greater variety of defined roles. This creates a need both for more specialised training and for a more differentiated wage structure. An increasing variety of organisations which promote specific agricultural needs and interests require willingness of farmer and farm labourer to work together in these organisations. This development is in contrast with the traditio-

nal individualism and independence which was characteristic of the agricultural industry. The farmer and farm worker stand at the beginning of a revolutionary adaptation.

Agriculture in South Africa has become an industry rather than a way of life, for it is no longer a family undertaking. Indeed, agriculture ceased to be strictly a family undertaking from the importation of the first slaves more than 300 years ago. Today our agriculture is like all the other branches of industry, based on the use of wage labour. In 1960, approximately only one tenth of the total agricultural labour on White-owned farms consisted of family labour of the farm occupants. Nine out of every ten persons involved in farming are, like industrial workers, only connected to farming by their employment. This system is further characterised by the fact that, almost without exception, the White acts as farm occupant, while the labour (excluding the labour of the few family members of farm occupants) is almost exclusively supplied by Non-europeans. The only important difference between labour in agriculture and labour in other industries is that, while in other industrial workers are absorbed as individuals, the general pattern in the Western Cape is that workers are engaged in the agriculture together with their families. Social services (housing, etc.) in this case, often form part of the wage.

The following statistics will illustrate the condition further. According to the agriculture census of 1960 there was in June that year only 158 475 White, Coloured and Asiatic family workers in the Republic, and 5 640 managers, as against 750 757 regular employees and 591 882 irregular workers in agriculture. Of the more than 1 300 000 regular and irregular workers, only 9 185 were Whites. White workers in agriculture thus form the minority group on farms. The majority of these White workers are employed as farm managers or supervisors. The latter are generally known as foremen who normally supervise Non-white labourers.

In the Western Cape, the pattern differs somewhat from that of the rest of the Republic. In the Western Cape there are relatively more White employers on farms than in any other part of the country. The reason for this is that the Western Cape is the fruit and wine area, where there is scope for intensive and specialised farming and a small farm is profitable. The Western Cape is relatively far from the mines - and centres of heavy industry of the country which draw Whites of rural origin from other parts of the country. The Western Cape differs, furthermore, from other areas in that relatively less African labour is used. Africans are used mainly to supplement the Coloured labour. In some areas of the Republic the whole agricultural labour force consists of Africans. It must be kept in mind that the nature

of agricultural production greatly influences the size and nature of the labour force.

In the research area, wheat and sheep farms make up 88.9% of the total number of farms in the area, and occupy by far the greater area (see map). This influences the labour force which consists mainly of permanent established workers. Seasonal and contract labour varies with the crops grown. The migration of Coloured workers to the villages and cities is an important factor in the situation. They are free to settle in towns as Africans are not. So, for a variety of reasons a one-way current of migration draws away labour from farms.

The multi-racial composition of the labour force provides a fruitful field for anthropological research. The situation of different legal categories of people defined by colour and manner of life, can be compared, together with the changes in the pattern of social relations.

PART I

CHAPTER II

RACIAL GROUPS ON FARMS

When we examine farm labourers in the Western Cape, we find that they come from a variety of racial groups. It is thus necessary to make an analysis of the background of the different races and their position in the South African social structure.

A. THE COLOURED PEOPLE

The Coloured population of South Africa has its origin in contact and assimilation between various ethnic and racial groups at the southern tip of the African continent over a period of more than 300 years.

Four elements were involved in the formation of the Coloured population: Hottentots, Bushmen, slaves of Negro and Malay origin, and Europeans.

During the immediate past a fifth element, due to mixing between Coloured people and Africans, has become of increasing importance. Bantu speakers, mainly men coming as migrant labourers without their families, have penetrated in in-

creasing numbers to the Western Cape which is the traditional centre of concentration of Coloured people.

Racial heterogeneity is marked: The different components have not yet fused to such an extent that homogeneity is reached.¹⁾ Negro and Malay features are much less evident in the north and north western Cape than in the Cape Peninsula, because the slave population was relatively unimportant in those areas. And it is in the south-western Cape that intermixture is most evident.

The arrival of settlers from Europe in the seventeenth century at the most southern tip of the African continent, was the most important event in the origin of the Cape Coloured population.²⁾ The policy of Jan van Riebeeck and his successors concerning the Bushmen and Hottentots was quite clear. They wanted to limit the contact between the Europeans and the aborigines. The only contact the Europeans made at that time, was for trade, domestic labour, and to maintain peace and order.³⁾

1) See Bruwer, J.P.: "Ontstaangeskiedenis" in Theron, E.: "Die Kleurlingbevolking van Suid-Afrika". 1964, p. 1 - 7.

2) See Patterson, Sheila: "Colour and Culture in South Africa". 1953, p. 16.

3) See Du Toit, A.S.: "Kontak en Assosiasie van Kleurlinge met Bantoe in die Kaapse Skiereiland". 1958, p. 37 - 38.

The European population at the Cape increased rapidly and was strengthened considerably by means of immigration.

The contribution of the European towards the origin of the Coloured population, was by means of the legal matrimony, illegitimate cohabitation and coincidental association. There was a considerable shortage of European women, and their places were taken by female slaves.⁴⁾ The unions between female slaves and European men took place particularly during the first years of existence of the settlement;⁵⁾ 75% of the children born from female slaves, were of mixed origin.⁶⁾

At the time of the first Europeans at the Cape, the Hottentot tribes were scattered over a large area of what is now the Cape Province.⁷⁾ They were pastoral people and practised no agriculture whatsoever. Consequently they were not settled and easily formed splinter groups which broke away from the tribe in search for new pastures. It was partly because they were nomadic and had no centralised authority that they lost their land to Europeans; though in fact they fought for it and were defeated. Further dis-

4) Nesor, L.: "Die Kleurling van Potchefstroom", 1967, p. 16.

5) See Marais, J.S.: The Cape Coloured People 1652 - 1937. 1957, p. 9.

6) De Kock, Victor: Those in Bondage. 1950, p. 123.

7) See Marais, J.S.: op cit, p 5 - 6.

organisation of Hottentots were due to the loss of their cattle and land through trade with Europeans. Simultaneously their numbers were remarkably diminished by small pox epidemics in 1689, 1755 and 1967. The Hottentot tribes at the Cape became disorganised and feeling for identity as separate tribes diminished. During the 18th century the Hottentots settled as labourers on European farms where they for the greater part accepted the customs of the European people. Their language, customs and traditions gradually fell into oblivion. On farms increased mixture with slaves took place. 8)

When European settlers first arrived, Bushmen hunters were thinly scattered over the whole of the Cape interior. They lived in small bonds and had no centralised authority.

Like the Hottentots, Bushmen were employed as farm labourers by Europeans with consequent cultural adoption. Early accounts made no systematic distinction between Bushmen as hunters and Hottentots as herders or pastoralists. The latter were generally known as Khoi-khoi, while the distinctive hunters were known as San-people to Hottentots. 9)

8) See Schapera, Isaac: The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa. 1930, p. 246 - 251.

9) Wilson, M. and Thompson, L.: The Oxford History of South Africa. Vol. I (South Africa to 1870) 1969, p. 40 - 45.

The slaves of the Cape were all brought there by Europeans.

During Van Riebeeck's time several hundred slaves from the western coast of Africa were offloaded at the Cape. This experiment was not repeated because in the years that followed, slaves were imported from East Africa, Mocambique,¹⁰⁾ Madagascar and from the Company's territories in the East.¹¹⁾ The majority of these slaves from the East were Moslems who did the more skilled work. The slaves from Madagascar and Africa were less skilled and were employed in unskilled manual labour.

By 1822 there were 32 532 slaves in the Colony and when slavery was abolished in 1834 the former slaves were all settled in the Western Province.¹²⁾ Here they undertook skilled and semi-skilled labour, with the result that they were completely integrated in the economy life of the European. The Dutch language and customs were taken over to a great extent. Moslem beliefs were retained by Malays and at present still differentiate them from other Coloured

10) The Mocambique slaves spoke a Bantu language. Coloured people of these Negroid heritage are at present still called "Masbiekers".

11) These slaves came from Madagascar, Bengal, Ceylon and the East Indian Islands. The majority were from Madagascar.

12) See Marais, J.S.: op cit, p. 75.

people. The slaves accepted the Western Province as their home and their descendants today still recognise this area as their traditional home. A more recent admixture has been that of the African. Unions between African and Coloured sections of the population have added large numbers to the Coloured community. This process is taking place today on an extensive scale, especially in those areas in and near towns and cities where Coloured people and more or less de-tribalised Africans are living together. This everincreasing entry of the offspring of Coloured African unions into the ranks of the Coloured population, constitutes a matter which is causing grave concern to the more enlightened class of Coloured people in whom there is evidence of the race consciousness and pride.

The customs and conditions of the Coloured people's ancestors over the last three centuries has an extensive influence on their present way of life and the attitude that they display.

With exception of the Malays who had a number of influential leaders amongst them, it is remarkable to observe with what speed the slaves lost their cultures of origin. No mention was found of any cultural element that were kept by them. Marriage as a social institution seldom occurred

amongst the slaves because of the numerous limitations it was subjected to. ¹³⁾ Extra-marital unions were common and were acknowledged by the authority and public.

The rapid growth of the Moslem belief created anxiety for the authorities. As a result thereof efforts were made to put this under restraint. In 1820 there were nevertheless already 1 326 Moslem slaves, which included converts of all races. ¹⁴⁾ In 1770 Christians were forbidden to sell their slaves to Moslems. ¹⁵⁾

A feature of this slave period in the Coloured people's history is the excessive drinking. ¹⁶⁾ Marais mentions that all the money slaves received from their masters as well as from private efforts, was for the greater part spent on liquor. Especially in the agricultural districts there was no shortage of liquor. ¹⁷⁾

13) For further detail, see: Marais, J.S.: The Cape Coloured People. 1937, p. 170.

14) See Macrone, I.D.: Race Attitudes in South Africa. 1937 pp. 44 - 45 and Cruse, H.P.: "Die Opheffing van die Kleurlingbevolking". 1947, p. 76.

15) See Marais, J.S.: op cit, p. 172.

16) Marais, J.S.: op cit, p. 166,

17) Marais, J.S.: Ibid.

Slaves lived in very close contact with their European owners. They thus became well-acquainted with the European's way of life. Most of the slaves were employed either in Cape Town itself or in the agricultural areas of the Western Cape. There they were in contact with a more cultivated Western way of life than that of the Cape interior. In the research area, namely the Caledon and Bredasdorp districts, there are still remnants of slave living quarters to be found.

Although the Hottentot tribes were seen as sovereign political and cultural entities, individual Hottentots attached themselves to the European community in the course of the first ten years and thus became economically dependent on Whites. Towards the end of the seventeenth century several groups lost independent existence owing to loss of cattle and land. Marais puts it as follows: "Unlike the Bantu they were surprisingly ready to barter away their cattle" 18)

It became common for farmers to employ teams of Hottentot labourers for certain seasons while more and more of them became economically dependent from the Europeans. They included

18) Marais, J.S.: op cit, p. 71.

- (a) landless people and
- (b) migrants from organised groups.

The first attempt to convert and educate Hottentots were by the Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, in 1737.¹⁹⁾ He did not work among the detribalised Hottentots of the Cape Peninsula, but among the more or less independent groups living around Baviaanskloof,²⁰⁾ in the Caledon district. Genadendal mission station in Baviaanskloof and its offshoot, Elim, today still have a great influence on the Coloured population as will be shown later.

The conclusion can thus be drawn that the established and traditional customs of the Hottentots were largely destroyed. The focus of the Coloured people's cultural life in the research area came from the mission stations: Genadendal in the Caledon district and Elim in the Bredasdorp district. Church itself was the centre for the social and cultural life of the community.

Like the White population of South Africa, the majority of the Coloured group wants to be regarded as Christians.

19) See Cruse, H.P.: "Die Opheffing van die Kleurlingbevolking". 1947, p. 140.

20) Baviaanskloof includes Genadendal (the mission station) and the immediate surrounding area consisting of small agricultural holdings.

According to the census of 1951, more than 90% of the Coloured population group of South Africa, belonged to some or other church or sect while about 7% were adherents of Islam. 21) To outward appearance at least, the religion which was followed by their ancestors, has disappeared completely among the Coloured people.

George Schmidt endured much opposition from the Dutch Reformed Church and the authorities who favoured a State Church. He could not get permission to form a congregation separate from the State church, but the activities of the Moravian Broedergemeente nevertheless continued at Baviaanskloof (today Genadendal). 22)

Towards the end of the 18th century and through the course of the 19th century, the Dutch Reformed Church played an important part in the stimulating of the missionary action in the country and rural areas. 23) About 36 missionary

21) State of the Union Year Book, 1960 - 1961, p. 66.

22) See Spoelstra, C.: Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerken in Suid-Afrika; 1906 - 1907, p. 35, and Kriel, C.J.: "Die Geskiedenis van die N.G. Kerk in Suid-Afrika." 1963, pp. 9 - 10 and Krüger, Bernhard: The Pear Tree Blossoms. 1967, chapter II.

23) See Dreyer, A.: "Kruisgesante in Suid-Afrika." 1927, pp. 26 - 33.

institutions of other church societies among the Coloured people which already developed to independent congregations were taken over by the Dutch Reformed Church during the 19th and 20th century. ²⁴⁾

(1) The Origin of a Group Identity

Today, the Coloured people are a category differentiated by law from the other population groups in South Africa. The question is often asked: Why are the Coloured people of South Africa regarded as a separate group? What are the implications resulting from the classification of the Coloured people as a separate group?

In Act 36, 1957, (section 5 bis as inserted by Section 26) a "Coloured person" is defined: "Coloured person" means any person of mixed European and Native descent and shall include any person belonging to the class called Cape Malays'. ²⁵⁾

A person proving by preponderance or probability that he is a Coloured person cannot be classified as a Native under Section I. ²⁶⁾

24) See Kriel, C.J.: op cit, pp. 290 - 296. (Appendix No. 6).

25) Section I.

26) Rex vs Jackson, 1957 (2) S.A. 199 (C).

It should be noted that the average Non-whites previously was regarded as pagans and formed the labouring class. They thus formed a lower social stratum. These characteristics were later associated with race and the colour of the skin, with the result that the racial factor, which was initially regarded as a secondary importance, soon became primarily. 27)

During the first years of the settlement at the Cape, religion was the main criterium in the forming of different classes, in other words, if a person was not a slave, he was either a pagan or a Christian, irrespective of his race. 28)

On the basis of social status, this system of classification became confused as a result of the mixing of slave mothers and Christian fathers (Europeans). 29) As far as mixed marriages were admitted by the law the legal children of European fathers and slave mothers were regarded as Europeans. 30) During the first decades the children of slave mothers were inclined to adopt the status of the mother. Various writers refer to the fact that half-blooded slaves

27) See MacCrone: op cit, p. 131.

28) See Bester, F.A.: op cit, p. 170.

29) See Nesor, L.: "Die Kleurlinge van Potchefstroom". 1967, pp. 35 - 36.

30) See Marais, J.S.: op cit, p. 9 and Cruse, H.P.: op cit, p. 13.

were regarded as more valuable than full-blooded slaves. ³¹⁾
At this stage (1685) marriages with half-blooded slaves were
not forbidden as the case was with full-blooded slaves. ³²⁾
Religious status gradually yielded more problems. A regula-
tion of the seventeenth century stated that the children
of European men had to be christianed. Nevertheless, the
physical appearance had to turn the scale in many a matter
because the fathers were sometimes unknown.

During the first part of the eighteenth century the dif-
ference in status between European Free Burghers ³³⁾ and Non-
european released persons, was small. As consciousness of
race developed under the Europeans, together with the growing
national consciousness of the Afrikaner, the Non-europeans
were regarded more and more as an outside and separate group. ³⁴⁾

This national consciousness was very closely linked
with the amalgamation of the different European population
elements, i.e. French, Dutch and members of other European
population groups. It is there where the term "Afrikaner"
came into common use. MacCrone states:

31). See MacCrone: op cit, p. 76.

32) See MacCrone: op cit, p. 77.

33) First Cape colonists to receive charters.

34) See MacCrone: op cit, p. 71.

"Although the differences that divided Hollanders and French Hugenots had by no means disappeared, we hear of 'Africanen' as well, for a generation was beginning to appear upon the scene of those who had been born in the country and who would soon displace the older generation that had come from overseas." 35)

Already during the 18th century a dividing line originated which was based on racial grounds. In this dividing line there was a very important factor represented, namely, that the Non-white part of the population was judged as an inferior group.

During the 19th century this racial demarcation and colour dividing line also shifted to the northern provinces where Non-whites were regarded as inferior. The colour dividing line here was also connected with political and administrative differentiation. 36)

By the beginning of the 18th century, Whites already held that mixed marriages were undesirable. The Commission of the Investigation of Mixed Marriages reported in 1939 that opposition to mixed marriages had already become an

35) MacCrone, I.D.: op cit, p. 85.

36) See Agar-Hamilton, J.A.: The Native Policy of the Voortrekker. 1928.

"article of faith". 37)

The official acknowledgement of a separate identity spread over the whole of the Union after unification, and in the course of time, the idea of separate development gained strength. During the years 1950 - 1960 the idea of separate identities was manifested in certain important statutes. The legislator thus saw the South African population as consisting of four different entities, namely White, Coloured people, Asiatic and African. 38)

Today the Coloured people of South Africa possesses a group identity which developed over more than three centuries. The process of the demarcating of the Coloured people in a separate group in different respects, mainly emanated through and from the Whites. Only a small percentage of the Coloured population claims a group identity, the majority expresses no group pride whatsoever, and are not inclined to accept their status.

In legislation today racial groups are divided in South Africa.

37) U G 30/1939.

38) e.g. The Group Areas Act, 1957, Act No. 77/1957.
Mixed Marriages Prohibition Act No. 55/1949.
Population Registration Act, 1950. Act No.
30/1950.

(2) The Socio-Economic Position of the Coloured People

It stands to reason that the discussion about the socio-economic position of any group, should be based on its history and its present position, but it is not only the conceptions, aims and actions of a particular category on itself that are of importance, but also that of other groups that co-exist and live with them in the same area. It thus follows that in an investigation like this, not only the Coloured population should be kept in mind, but also the Whites and Africans.

This investigation is concerned primarily with the socio-economic position of the Coloured farm labourers in the southwestern districts of the Western Cape, more particularly the districts of Caledon and Bredasdorp. The labour pattern on farms are directly connected with the socio-economic position of the neighbouring urban centres, especially Cape Town. Any economic centre in an area creates a demand for labour. The Theewaterkloof dam which is being built in the research area, will benefit the surrounding farms, but it is also a threat to the grain- and sheep farmer because Coloured farm labourers leave to take employment in this project. The direct implication of this will later be discussed.

The Coloured people form the greatest single population group in the urban as well as the rural areas of the Western

Cape. They are the backbone of the semi-skilled and skilled urban and rural labouring class in the Western Cape. The research area differs from other areas in the Western Cape in certain respects, particularly in its distance from Cape Town and the adjoining towns of Paarl, Stellenbosch and Worcester. Caledon and Bredasdorp districts do not compare with the metropolitan area in population and labour supply.

The semi-skilled urban and rural working class of Coloured labour have characteristics typical of an unskilled class anywhere; namely, a very high birth rate; a high death rate - especially with respect to children's death; a fast tempo in gain of population as a result; large families; a severe extent of family disruption; low income level; a high degree of consumption spending with a resulting low rate of saving and the forming of capital; a relatively low education level and the leaving of school at an early age; bad housing and crowding.

The semi-skilled form the majority of the Coloured population. A minority are in skilled employment and they show the social characteristics of a middle class. The importance of this group cannot be over-estimated, because it often is their behaviour, initiative and stability that form the basis of the growth and progress of the Coloured population. But the number in such a middle-class group is limited. The middle class group finds it difficult to

maintain its position because public opinion concerning the Coloured population are often generalised.

A middle-class Coloured group in the grain- and sheep areas in the Western Cape is about totally absent. The single ones that can be found are situated in towns or teach on farms. This follows that there is a minimum of contact between the unskilled farm labourer and his middle class group.

The Coloured population in the past two decades shared in the prosperity of the Republic. But they did not share in the economical growth to the same extent as the Whites. An investigation which was done in the early forties, indicated that the total financial assets of the Coloured people in general, relative to those of the Whites, were more or less in a relation of 4:10. Thus the income of the Coloured people averaged somewhat less than the half of those of the Whites. ³⁹⁾ If the circumstances during the sixties are compared, it is found that the total financial assets of the Coloured people - especially in urban areas - in comparison with the Whites are in the proportion of 1:4. The economic position of the Coloured population thus shows a relative decline during the past twenty years. Cilliers states: "Dit beteken natuurlik geensins dat die Kleurling tans in

39) See Cilliers, S.P.: Unpublished lecture before the Paarl City Council, 5th November, 1969.

absolute terme swakker daaraan toe is as gedurende die veertiger jare nie. Inteendeel, die gegewens toon dat daar in werklikheid 'n aansienlike styging was in die inkomstes van die Kleurlinge in hierdie tydperk." 40)

The rise in the income must be compared with the rise in the cost of living during this period to determine whether the Coloured people reached a relatively lower or higher economic level. During the past 20 years the income of the Whites rose twice as fast as those of the Coloured people. According to Cilliers, the explanation for this can be found in the nature of the economic growth in South Africa during the past quarter century, the political distribution of power between Whites and Non-whites, and the relative labour supply between the different classes.

When the labour structure during the years of the last war is investigated, it is found that the economic development at that time created a shortage of unskilled labour. Allowances for cost of living for the different income groups were stagnant, because it is linked with the rising costs of provisions. The result was that the wage scales of unskilled labourers (lower income groups) relatively showed more increased rises than those of the middle and higher income

40) Cilliers, S.P.: Ibid. 1969.

groups. During the war years the labour structure also had to change out of necessity because the Coloured people had to enter the unskilled field of the Whites who left this work category to join the war.

The past fifteen years are marked by the rising demand for more skilled labour. As a result we find a fast rise in the wage scales for such categories of labour opportunities. By this the Whites were extremely favoured.

Together with this a considerable number of Africans moved into the Western Cape with the result that a very good supply of labour in the unskilled labour field was experienced. The Coloured people were especially affected because the wage structure did not rise accordingly at a relative rate.

The political power of the White voter puts him in a favourable position to enforce higher wages. On the other hand the Coloured person finds himself in a less favourable position. As a result of the change in the franchise of the Coloured people which was introduced in the fifties⁴¹⁾, the Coloured people in the Cape constituencies had very little or no influence concerning higher wages.

41) Here is referred to the separate representing of voters. Law No. 46 of 1951.

A severe shortage of skilled labour still exists (1970), with a resulting increase of wage scales for Whites as well as Coloured people. This rise in wage scales differs though from industry to industry. In the agricultural industry this wage structure showed gradual tendencies as we will see in Chapter X.

Cilliers maintains that a relaxation of the colour bar on the labour market will favour the Coloured people on the one hand while further sharp rises in wage structures could be counteracted on the other hand. This would result that the wages of Coloured people and Whites would be brought closer together. ⁴²⁾

The combatting of the influx of Africans into the Western Cape, together with the repatriation of Africans to their homeland of origin, has brought at present a tremendous demand for unskilled labour with a resulting rise in unskilled wages. This is clear in the wage structure of farm labourers. The effect of withdrawal of Africans from farms in the Caledon and Bredasdorp districts was that the Coloured unskilled labour on farms not only became almost unobtainable, but also more expensive.

42) See Cilliers, S.P.: Ibid, 1969.

Research that was done on the Coloured people over the past recent years, indicates that more than half the Coloured people of the Western Cape have too low an income to provide a minimum standard of living. Nevertheless, a considerable percentage of the Coloured population (especially farm labourers) spend a great share of their income highly injudicious on liquor. The fact remains though that the level of income is low, nevertheless, there is an unbalanced pattern of spending. Such a pattern on the other hand, is the direct result of an unfavourable socio-economic environment.

The influence of compulsory education and its divergent implications will be discussed in the chapter "The Education of the Farm Labourer".

Demography of the Coloured Population

To form a concept of the place of the Coloured population in the population structure of the Republic of South Africa, it is necessary that the most important demographic aspects of this particular group should be investigated. For the aim, and object of this research project it is impossible to deal with the demographic data in detail. A synoptic review will be adequate. It should be accentuated though that population statistics should always be inter-

preted against the ruling socio-economic background. Statistical data can only be of value when a clear concept exists about the specific values, standards and socio-economic principles that form the basis of the particulars.

In this analysis of the demographic aspects of the Coloured population, the Coloured people of the rural areas will be accentuated. From a point of tradition anthropologists and sociologists distinguished between the rural and the urban, while their approach to the subject was often in terms of an antinomy between the two conceptions. During the past few years the questions originated whether this distinction still could be fruitfully maintained because of the changes that took place in the structure of the socio-economic life of people in rural and urban areas. We also find that the lives of both these groups entwined to a great extent during the last decade due to circumstances.

Other far-reaching changes that also originated in the last decade took place in connection with the demographic position, not only those of the Western Cape, but also of the whole Republic. Urbanization had the result that a greater proportion of the population were put in a market relation to agriculture. Thus the rural areas got a new meaning by implication.

When attention is drawn to the Western Cape, it is found the proportional contribution of this area to the total geographical income of the Republic, shows a gradual decrease. Industrial development thus does not keep pace with the tempo of development in the rest of the country.⁴³⁾ This fact gets its meaning when it is seen in relation to the population situation in the Western Cape. Analysis of the population data shows very clearly that the Western Cape is no more a centre for fast European population growth. On the other hand the Western Cape is the homeland of the Coloured population, which as a population group, has one of the highest birth rates in the world at present. Because the Coloured population does not migrate over long distances like the Whites, there is still no question about the emigration of Coloured people from the Western Cape. Thus the Coloured population multiplies at a very high rate. One set of figures will prove this statement. It is calculated that the White population of the Cape Peninsula will increase from 305 000 to 831 600 in the year 2000, while in the case of the Coloured people, they will increase from 418 000 to 1 412 700.⁴⁴⁾

The Coloured people form the greatest population group in the Western Cape. In 1960 they constituted 49% of the

43) See Cilliers, S.P.: Lecture op cit. 1969.

44) See Cilliers, S.P.: Ibid. 1969.

population of the Peninsula; 62% of the West Coast population and 63% of the North Western areas. At present there are all indications that the Coloured people incline to concentrate in the urban areas of the Western Cape. It can also be expected that the tempo of urbanising of Coloured people will increase in the future. This fact has a direct relation on the problem of farm labour where the migration of farm labourers to towns and cities is concerned. On the other hand there are also indications at present that the Coloured people like the Whites will find refuge elsewhere outside the Western Cape in the future.

Attention should also be drawn to the rural Coloured areas. Eighteen rural Coloured areas are administrated in terms of the Law on Rural Coloured Areas of 1963. Although these areas are large, totalling 1 947 748 morgen, they had only 41 833 inhabitants in 1967. This only represents 2.3% of the whole Coloured population of the Republic. It is thus clear that these areas at present, play no important part whatsoever in the present position of the Coloured population as a whole. Nevertheless, most of these areas are situated in the Western Cape.

The high rate of growth of the Coloured population has already been pointed out. The Western Cape is thus getting a stronger Non-white character, but unlike other parts of

the country it is the Coloured people who increase fastest in this area. The relative growth rate of the Coloured people at present is still so much higher than that of the Whites, that their proportion in the total population will continually increase.

This position also is a function of the age grouping of the two population groups. The White population of the Western Cape is relatively old so that fertility is relatively low. But the Coloured people is a young population, which means that the growth rate of this population group will be maintained in the foreseeable future.

When the place of the Coloured people in the total population structure of South Africa is observed, we find that according to the preliminary results of the census of 1960, the total population of South Africa was as follows at that date:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Whites	3 088 492	19.33
Coloured people	1 509 258	9.44
Asiatics	477 125	2.98
Africans	<u>10 907 789</u>	<u>68.25</u>
Total	15 982 664	100.00

According to these figures, the Republic at that time had a population of almost sixteen million people, of which 9.4% are classified as Coloured people. It should be remembered that this number naturally includes a rather heterogeneous group of people, since according to the classification used by the Bureau of Census and Statistics, people not classifiable as a member of any of the other three population groups are usually classed with the Coloured group. Cilliers states that: "Naturally, however, the overwhelming majority of the people in this group are by descent members of what has traditionally been distinguished as the Cape Coloured population group." 45)

It is significant that the vital statistics of the Coloured people commonly differ completely from the other population groups. We thus bear the following facts in mind.

<u>Coloured Racial Group.</u>	1961	46)
Birth rate	(per thousand)	47.9
Death rate	(per thousand)	15.0
Infant deaths	(per thousand)	126.8
Natural increase	(per thousand)	12.0
Ex nuptial births	(per thousand)	36.76% 47)

45) Cilliers, S.P.: The Coloureds of South Africa. 1963, p. 14.

46) Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, Vol. XLI/5, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Pretoria.

47) Figures for 1958.

Expectation of Life (at birth) ⁴⁸⁾

Males	44.82
Females	47.77

When the attention is drawn to the residences of the Coloured people in the Western Cape, the demographic statistics show the following:

	<u>%</u>
City	32
Large town (Population more than 10 000)	12
Town (Population from 2 000 - 9 999)	14
Small town (Population up to 1 999)	10
Small holding	2
Farm	<u>30</u>
	<u>100%</u> ⁴⁹⁾

The single factor which exercises the most influence on the demographic statistics of the Coloured people of the Western Cape, is the migration of farm labourers to towns and cities.

48) South African Life Tables, UG49/60, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Pretoria.

49) National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, Research Series No. 39, 1967, p. 5.

B. The African

1. The African as a Separate Racial Group

Africans at present constitute a distinguishable population group in South Africa. They share many characteristics with Africans north of the Limpopo. The Bantu language family, which constitutes more than 200 languages and dialects across Africa, is a unity of grammatical structure, phonetics, etc., clearly distinguishable from other language families in Africa. From the top to the southern coast these languages show such a remarkable similarity that they have an indisputable common origin.⁵⁰⁾ There is also a marked similarity in the cultures of Africans in South Africa.

Taking into consideration language and cultural systems, and to some extent also traditional homelands, one can divide the Africans of South Africa into the following main groups:

- 1) Nguni
- 2) Sotho
- 3) Venda
- 4) Tsonga (- Shangana)
- 5) Herero - Ovambo⁵¹⁾

50) See Bruwer, J.P.: "Die Bantoe van Suid-Afrika", 1956, pp. 8 - 9.

51) Bruwer, J.P.: op cit, p. 13.

This research project mainly concerns the Nguni group, and to a much lesser extent, the Sotho group. No detailed analysis of the groups will be made, while sub-groups will merely be mentioned.

The following sub groups can be distinguished among the Nguni: (i) The Swazi; (ii) the Zulu; (iii) the Ndebele; and (iv) the Xhosa.⁵²⁾ With Xhosa are classed formerly distinct groups - Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Mfengu and others who speak Xhosa.

The overwhelming majority of Africans on farms in the Western Cape are Xhosa-speaking and come from the Ciskei and the Transkei, but a few Sotho-speakers come in sheep-shearing teams.

2. The Entering of Africans in the Western Cape

(a) Historical Review

(i) Entering before 1910

The entrance of Africans into the Western Cape before 1910 is due on the one hand to the philanthropic

52) This group forms the majority of African labourers in the research area.

and liberal policies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and on the other hand to the demand for labour in the Western Cape.

The "pass laws" were the first measure by which it was attempted to control the entrance of Africans into the White area. "In vroegen dagen was hun (passwette) doel hoofdzakelijk gemeent om te waken tegen een instroming van naturellen uit de naburige barbaarse stamme en voor de bescherming van vee en eigenaar van grensboeren." ⁵³⁾ However, the policy of the British government ⁵⁴⁾ underwent various changes ⁵⁵⁾ while the philanthropic movements ⁵⁶⁾ opposed any restriction placed on the Africans.

In 1848 Sir Harry Smith announced in a proclamation (published in the Government Gazette) that African labour, especially farm labour, would be encouraged

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- 53) Inter Departmental Committee on Native Pass Laws of 1920, U G No. 41 of 1922, Pretoria, p. 2.
- 54) Minutes of the Legislative Council of 1855, p. 2, as quoted by Van der Horst, S.: Native Labour in South Africa, 1942, p. 12.
- 55) See Van der Horst, Sheila: Native Labour in South Africa, 1942, p. 12.
- 56) See Philip, J.: Researches in South Africa, pp. 320 - 331, and Van Biljon, P.: Grensbalans tussen Blank en Swart in Suid-Afrika, 1952, pp. 102 - 103.

according to a "Forum of Identure".⁵⁷⁾ Montagu, the Colonial Secretary, was soon swamped by applications for labourers.⁵⁸⁾ The demand for labour was urgent, as was reflected in the applications of farmers. From Caledon, the centre of the research area, 197 landowners and farmers complained to the Government about losses sustained as a result of the deterioration of the Hottentot labourers. It appears that: "The Farmers in many of the country districts are so crippled by want of a steady supply of labour, as to be unable to work their farms with efficiency and success."⁵⁹⁾ They complained about the dishonesty and drunkenness of the Coloured people, as well as the illegal manner in which they regularly broke their labour contracts.

Circulars were sent to a number of magistrates in British Kaffraria requesting them to recruit young African men to work in Cape Town. In October 1857 Maclean shipped 150 men, women, and children from East

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- 57) See Du Toit, A.E.: The Cape Frontier: A Study of the Native Policy with Special Reference to the years 1847 - 1866, 1954, p. 249.
- 58) See Du Toit, A.E.: op cit, p. 250.
- 59) Marais, J.S.: The Cape Coloured People (1652 - 1937), p. 200 and also pp. 203 - 204.

London to Cape Town. An additional shipment of 50 more Africans followed in November of the same year. 60)

In December 1857 Crouph, a Transkei merchant sent 139 Africans.

In the course of time various groups of Africans arrived in the Western Province, while others moved from district to district in the direction of the Cape. 61)

On 5th August 1879 the following statistics regarding the presence of Africans in the Western districts were made known in the Colonial Parliament: 1 242 men, 1 164 women, and 1 472 children, being a total of 3 878 Africans. Travelling expenses amounted £ 29 607:10^s:6^d. 62)

Van der Horst mentions that "In 1884 owing to the difficulty experienced in obtaining labour, the largest firm of landing and delivery contractors erected a location within the Docks area, where it housed and

60) See Du Toit, A.E.: op cit, p. 225.

61) Ibid, p. 256.

62) A 43 - 1879: Office of the Secretary of Native Affairs, Cape Town, 5th August, 1859.

fed approximately five hundred natives, most of whom were obtained in the Transkei." 63)

During the years 1899 - 1902 more Africans were employed in the Cape Town docks, owing to the Anglo-Boer War, although after 1903 up to and including 1909 a decrease can be noticed. The African population in Cape Town itself increased from 779 in 1891 to 3 341 in 1904. In 1911 it was only 1 388. 64) At this stage the Africans were mainly concentrated in and around Cape Town. There were very few African farm labourers in the grain and sheep areas. The few who worked on farms, however, already showed a tendency to prefer city labour to farm labour. Van der Horst states that: "Many natives preferred to seek work in the towns where cash wages were higher, hours of work shorter and life freer than on the farm." 65) This tendency continued after 1910.

(ii) Entering after 1910

According to census statistics there was a total

63) Van der Horst, S.: op cit, p. 95.

64) See Van der Horst: Ibid, p. 235.

65) Van der Horst, S.: op cit, p. 97.

of 6 334 Africans present in the Western Cape in 1911. Of this total 5 125 were men and 1 209 were women. In the four districts of the Cape Peninsula, viz Cape Town, Simonstown, Wynberg, and Bellville, there were 3 500 Africans. 51.3% of the total African population of the Western Cape were thus working in the Cape Peninsula, and the majority of them lived in the Ndabeni location. 66)

Thus the Africans were clearly becoming part of the economic organisation of the Cape Peninsula. No restrictions were placed on the entrance of Africans, and they could even possess land, although this privilege was only partially exercised. For all practical purposes the Africans in the Western Cape had freedom of movement.

After 1911 the Africans streamed to the Western Cape at an increased tempo, and the African population in the years 1911 to 1921 tripled, viz from 3 250 to 10 668. In 1936 the total African population was 15 485 (11 763 men and 3 722 women). At this stage the authorities had already made attempts to exercise

66) Ndabeni location was established under Act No. 40 of 1902 after the outbreak of the bubonic plague.

control, over the Bantu in the Western Cape. 67)

After 1936 the tempo of increase of Africans did not increase very rapidly.

On the other hand this was the beginning of the era in which Africans started moving eastward from the Cape Peninsula to take employment as farm labourers in the districts of Caledon and Bredasdorp.

During the years immediately following 1936 little or no competition existed between the African and the Coloured labour market. The presence of large numbers of Coloured people sufficed to meet the need for labour. However, Africans showed a tendency to concentrate in the cities, and particularly in Cape Town. Up to 1939 the Bantu were compelled by the Municipality

67) For further details see the decisions of the Commission for Native Affairs (1903 - 1905); the Naturellen Grond Wet (Act No. 27 of 1913); the Naturelle-trust- en-Grond Wet (Act No. 18 of 1936) and Act No. 46 of 1937. According to this Bantu could not freely possess ground and were compelled to seek accommodation in prescribed areas. See too Die Naturelle (Stadsgebieden) Wet of 1923 (Act No. 21 of 1923) and the Naturellen (Stadsgebiede) Konsolidasiewet (Act No. 25 of 1945) which controlled the entrance and residence in particular in the urban areas. See in particular the latter Act 25/1945 and articles 23, 24, 10, 10 bis, 12, 13, and 15.

of Cape Town to register their labour contracts. ⁶⁸⁾
In the same year the Government announced drastic measures to control the increasing influx of Africans in the Western Cape, and which compelled them to accept labour contracts immediately. ⁶⁹⁾

By 1940 direct competition developed between the African and the Coloured people on the labour market, and the danger existed that the level of unemployment among the Coloured people would increase. In this connection the Cape Flats Committee reported that whenever the Africans obtained work, he ousted the Coloured people in all spheres of unskilled labour, resulting in a drop in the standard of living among the Coloured people. ⁷⁰⁾

In spite of the above-mentioned restrictions, a number of factors were responsible for further entrance of the Africans into the Western Cape. In 1941 the Mayor of Cape Town made the following statement:

68) According to Art 12 of Act 21 of 1923.

69) According to Proclamation No. 105 of 1939, Art 5, put into practice on 9th June.

70) Report of a Committee of Enquiry into Conditions Existing on the Cape Flats and Similarly Affected Areas in the Cape Division, 1942, U.G. No. 18 of 1943, par 77, p. 7.

"Despite the fact that the entry of the Natives was restricted as from 1st July, 1939, by Proclamation No. 105 of 1939, Natives continue to come here, attracted principally by the higher wages they can earn in comparison with other parts of the Union." 71)

Stricter control over the Africans was immediately exercised by the authorities. 72) In spite of this, the years immediately following the war are characterised by a high tempo of African influx resulting from rapid industrial development. 73)

According to calculations, the African population in the Western Cape increased by 52 - 47% in the years from 1921 to 1936, and by 281.05% from 1936 to 1951. The following statistics clarify the position:

71) The City of Cape Town: Minutes of His Worship the Mayor, 1941, p. 46.

In this connection also see Olivier, M.J.: Stedelike Naturelle Administrasie in Wes-Kaapland, M.A. Thesis, 1955, p. 94.

72) See Olivier, M.J.: op cit, pp. 95 - 96.

73) Smit, J.P.: Naturelle-Arbeid in Wes-Kaapland.

AFRICANS IN THE CAPE PENINSULA 1911 - 1954

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1911	2 477	773	3 250
1921	8 544	2 124	10 668
1936	11 763	3 722	15 485
1946	30 722	12 254	42 976
1951	40 756	19 518	60 274
1954	-	-	97 700 ⁷⁴⁾

After 1950 every possible attempt was made to eliminate the Africans from the Western Cape, and to repatriate him in the Homelands.⁷⁵⁾

Attention will now be given to the proportion of Africans in the South Western Cape, relative to other population groups in the area. This can be illustrated by the following statistics. Since the Asiatic population comprises less than 1% of the total population in the Western Cape, this group has been included with the Coloured people.

74) Eiselen, Dr. W.W.M.: Die Kleurling en die Naturel, Paper read at the sixth annual meeting of SABRA in Stellenbosch, 1955, p. 110.

75) See also Olivier, M.J.: op cit, p. 105.

RACIAL GROUPS 76)

YEAR & %	WHITES	COLOURED PEOPLE	AFRICANS	TOTAL
1911	196 085	207 529	6 600	410 214
%	47.7	50.5	1.6	100.0
1921	240 410	239 442	17 675	497 527
%	48.3	48.1	3.6	100.0
1936	318 556	348 849	26 752	694 157
%	45.9	50.2	3.9	100.0
1946	380 673	444 565	72 790	898 028
%	42.4	49.5	8.1	100.0
1957	423 042	551 766	113 763	1 088 571
%	38.9	50.6	10.5	100.0
1960	467 292	752 136	135 304	1 356 732
%	34.6	55.4	10.0	100.0

The increase in numbers was thus the greatest between the years 1936 to 1946, thus including the war years. From 1951 to 1961 the rate of increase of the African population in the entire Western Cape was $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum. (196 435 - 241 801). 77) The White population of the Western Cape increased by 12.22% in the period from

76) Jooste, P.G.: 'n Kartografiese Studie van die Nie-blanke Bevolkingsgroepe van Suidwes-Kaapland, 1968, p. 64

77) De Klerk, N.O.: Bantoe-Arbeid en beleid in Wes-Kaapland, in Journal of Racial Affairs, Vol 14, No. 2, March 1963, p. 121.

1951 to 1960, as against the 35,77% growth of the Coloured people and the 20,22% of the Africans. Calculations based on existing tendencies indicate that the number of Coloured people in the Cape at the end of this century will exceed that of the Whites to an extent of more than 2 000 000. ⁷⁸⁾

After 1950 attempts were made to exercise strict control over the influx of Africans into the Western Cape.

(b) Factors responsible for Africans entering the Western Cape

During the first half of the century the Africans had almost complete freedom of movement, according to the demand for labour in the Republic. There was no remarkable progress in the African homelands. ⁷⁹⁾ Nor could the economy of the Transkei and the Ciskei absorb the growing supply of labour. A new labour market was required, and the Western Cape was an obvious industrial area. The South African economy during the period immediately after the Second World War

78) "Die Burger", 1st December, 1961.

79) The reference here is particularly to the Ciskei and the Transkei, which are also referred to as African 'Reserves'.

is characterised by rapid industrial growth.

It is self-evident that since there are no seaports in the African homelands of South Africa, any economic development would take place in those areas which could facilitate the import and export of products. From all the African Reserves in South Africa there has always been migration to and from the mines where the Africans were employed as ordinary miners. However, the Transkei and the Ciskei are situated furthest from the mining centres; industrial work is preferred to mine work; and wages in the Western Cape are relatively higher than elsewhere. An increasing percentage of the Xhosa-speaking people became dependent on the industrial development of the Western Cape.

Because of the large scale migration of the Coloured people to the towns and cities, farmers were short of unskilled labour, a shortage which the Africans were eminently qualified to fill. They preferred working on stock farms to fruit farms which were near Cape Town. For this reason, and because they preferred a drier climate, numerous Africans settled in the grain and sheep districts of Caledon and Bredasdorp during the two decades from 1950 to 1970. At this stage farmers were also capable of supplying the Africans with better accommodation than did the local authorities in the urban areas, where squatter camps had developed.

African labour was increasingly welcomed in the cities, particularly during and shortly after the second world war. The Mayor of Cape Town stated in 1943: "The continued influx of Natives to the Cape Peninsula brought about chiefly through extensive building operations on Defence and other works has caused serious concern." ⁸⁰⁾ Alongside defence, Industrial development was a major cause of the influx of Africans into the Western Cape. Mr. Slake reported in 1943 "in the years following the outbreak of war industrial and military demands have increased so rapidly as to necessitate almost unrestricted admission of Natives and the relaxation of carefully built up safeguards against undue influx. During the latter half of 1942 the demand for labour exceeded the supply and unco-ordinated efforts by naval, military and civil employers and contractors to remedy this position have materially contributed to the present state of congestion in the Peninsula." ⁸¹⁾

Employers in the urban centres as well as in the rural areas considered the African to be a better employee than the Coloured person. Farmers favoured the African because he was less addicted to alcohol than the Coloured person

80) "City of Cape Town: Minutes of His Worship the Mayor", 1943, p. 9.

81) Report on Inspection of Conditions of Natives in the Cape Peninsula, 1943, p. 1, as quoted by Olivier, M.J.: op cit, p. 88.

and also because of his superior physical strength. Consequently employers encouraged the influx of Africans - in particular those employers whose production was dependent on regular work attendance and habits. The Secretary of Labour declared in a letter to the Secretary of Native Affairs: "Many of the larger employers of unskilled labour in Cape Town prefer Natives to Coloureds on the ground that the Native is hardier and more able to stand up to hard work, and also that prospective employers do not always pay regard to the existing supply of Coloured labour available before engaging Natives from areas outside Cape Town." 82)

The position has, however, been radically changed because of the measures announced by the Central Government for the purpose of removing the African people from the Western Cape (See Chapter V).

C. The White Worker

Although White workers form a small minority, they merit attention. They compromise 1.09% of the total number of farm

82) See letter in files of the Administration Office, Langa, Cape Town.

workers employed ⁸³⁾ in the districts of Caledon and Bredasdorp. During the past fifteen years farm units have tended to become bigger and large companies have to come into being. The White farm worker has had to make room for cheaper and more effective Coloured and African labour. Where Whites remained they were used mostly in a supervisory capacity. But many White farm workers moved to the cities and larger towns which offered better working conditions and social facilities than were available on farms.

Today White farm workers can be divided into three categories: labourers, Foremen and Managers.

A few White labourers do skilled and semi-skilled farm-work on the same level as Coloured and African labourers. In the entire research area however, only 7 of these White farm labourers were to be found. For all practical purposes this type of farm labour had disappeared by 1950. Formerly this group of labourers consisted mainly of single isolated workers who were housed by the farmer in his own house, and who were involved in personal service to the farmer. This labourer very seldom acted in a supervisory capacity. He was however, selected above farm labourers of other racial groups to do responsible work. The two cases of families

83) This excludes farmers and their families.

which exist today are characterised by a large family circle and a low level of education. Foremen comprise the majority of White farm workers, viz 82.7% of the total group.

In the research area the employment of White foremen dates back to as early as 1915. However, 28 kilometres from the boundry of the research area, at Groot Vaders Bosch, three or four Scottish apprentices' were employed by Captain Benjamin Moodie in 1825, as farm labourers. This was not however, a widespread pattern.⁸⁴⁾ This category of worker was connected with the growth of farming units. These units necessitated the employment of so large number of labourers of different racial groups, that the farmer could not exercise personal supervision over them. A graph⁸⁵⁾ shows a decrease in this labour group as a result of the rise of the Coloured people and better working conditions for Whites in the urban areas.

Farm managers, although numerically fewer than the foremen, show an increase in numbers. Aside from a few

84) Burrows, E.H.: The Moodies of Melsetter, Cape Town, 1954, p. 87.

85) Sources of Evidence for this graph were as follow: Initial evidence came from reports of Mission stations at Genadendal and Elim; family reports; reports from magistrate's offices at Caledon, Bredasdorp and Swellendam, local agricultural co-ops; diaries from ex-farmers and information of present farmers.

exceptions, this category of farm workers only originated after the Second World War. In most of the cases which will be referred to later, the White foreman had to give way to the appointment of farm managers who exercised direct supervision and authority from a managerial level, over the ordinary non-white labourers. The appearance of farm managers showed a marked increase towards 1955. This is closely related to the founding of large farming companies which specialise on a big scale. In this case the landowner is not always present on his property because of other interests elsewhere.

PART II

CHAPTER III

THE SUPPLY OF FARM LABOUR IN THE WESTERN CAPE : HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND

It is of great importance to ascertain the precise historical background of farm labour, in order to establish the present trends. The findings of the research are that the present-day tendencies in farm labour have their origin in the past fifteen years only. Under historical background is included the period up to 1955. The history of Coloured, African and White labour differs greatly and the three groups will thus be discussed separately.

A. The Coloured People

The history of Coloured farm labour can be subdivided according to the various farming activities in the area, and it is influenced by various Coloured settlements and their geographical position.

When the area was occupied at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the farm labourers were slaves, supplemented by free Hottentot and Coloured labourers. This

continued up to the Emancipation of slaves in 1834. By then there were already a considerable number of Coloured people in the employ of farmers.

The supply of Coloured farm labour is closely related to the development of mission stations in the area. The largest of these is Genadendal which is situated about eighteen miles northeast of Caledon, along the Riviersonderend mountains. From Genadendal there sprang other settlements such as Elim, in the district of Bredasdorp. Genadendal came into being on 23 April 1738 when the missionary George Schmidt, of the Moravian Mission Society, settled at the end of the Baviaanskloof with 18 Hottentots. ¹⁾ By the end of the first year there were already 38 permanent inhabitants. ²⁾

During the eighteenth century Schmidt and the Moravian mission society met with opposition from two directions. In the first place the Dutch East India Company, through the Here Sewentien, objected to the German mission society which had originated in Herrnhut in Germany. In the second place they experienced intense opposition from the surrounding

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- 1) Schmidt, George: Diary and Reports of George Schmidt, in: Documents from the Herrnhut Archives on Microfilm at Genadendal.
 - 2) Müller, K.: George Schmidt, 1923, p. 49.

farming community. One by one the regular farm labourers living on farms in the area moved to Genadendal. This resulted in a labour shortage on farms. The concentration of Hottentots at Genadendal brought about unemployment in the settlement itself. In the area around the mission station cattle and cash crop farming could be practised and the families were thus selfsupporting and free of a compulsory term of labour on the farms.

Because facilities for the grinding of corn did not exist, the inhabitants of Genadendal were obliged to take their corn to the neighbouring farms for grinding. In exchange for this the owner of the corn was expected to render unpaid service on the farm for a specified length of time. This continued until 1797 when a mill was erected at Genadendal.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century an epidemic of bilious fever swept through the settlement. ³⁾ Fearing contamination, the farmers ceased to keep families living on their farms and sent their own sick labourers to the Baviaanskloof. The statistics show that 162 people died during 1800, that is one in every eight inhabitant. ⁴⁾

3) Diary of Genadendal, op cit, 17:11:1800.

4) Ibid: 31:12:1800.

In the years immediately following bad harvests led to famine, as a result of which large numbers of the inhabitants of Baviaanskloof wandered off to live on food which they gathered from the veld.

A growing number of inhabitants of Genadendal were Coloured people. Lichtenstein, who visited the settlement in 1801 wrote about them as follows: "Those who are baptised are all Bastards, since among the pure Hottentots exhortation alone cannot produce a sufficient effect to induce them to throw aside their careless and indolent ways." 5)

Soon after 1800, when the Cape was handed over to the Batavian Republic, the Governor, Janssens visited Genadendal with a burgher, Dirk van Rheenen, who controlled several farms in the district. He told the Governor privately that, in his view, the Hottentots would be of more value to the country if they lived dispersed on the farms. Quite a number of farmers had sunk into poverty because of a shortage of these "creatures". According to him, many thousands of Hottentots had left the farms; moreover, the neighbours of Genadendal were complaining that the wages for labourers had risen from two shillings to six or even eight shillings a month; the inhabitants used their earnings from the har-

5) Minutes of the Missionkonferenz, op cit, 7:5:1802.

vest to live for the rest of the year in idleness; most of their cattle had perished through sickness under the crowded conditions at Genadendal in the Baviaanskloof.

This then, was the problem of the Hottentots from a farmer's point of view. Still, the majority were farm labourers. Some were hired by the week, some by the month, and some by the year. About the families of the farm labourers, Burchell states in 1811: "Their families remained in Genadendal, because their wages covered hardly more than their own daily requirements." 6)

Between the years 1828 and 1836 during the emancipation of the slaves, the farmers lacked free labour. In fact after emancipation only unskilled labour by Hottentots (Khoikhoi) and Coloured people was available. According to the attached graph the supply of farm labour up to 1850 was declining. With the Cape under British rule from 1815, the farmers in the area of Caledon again objected to the mission stations, and in particular came in confliction to Rev. Dr. John Philip. The missionaries worked feverishly to establish rights for the Hottentots (Khoikhoi) and the Coloured people. These were secured in Ordinance No. 50 of 1828. The farmers did everything in their power to curb

6) Burchell, W.J.: Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa, (Two Volumes), 1844, Vol. I, p. 114.

the movement of Hottentots and Coloured people to mission stations because they wanted them as labourers domiciled on their farms.

Farmers from the surrounding farms regularly visited Genadendal in search of farm labourers who had left their service and had gone to live at the mission station. An agreement was made that before being allowed to settle at Genadendal, farm labourers would have to present a letter from their previous employer. 7)

The Company at the Cape also summoned men from Genadendal for military campaigns against the Bushmen and the Hottentots in the North. 8) By 1808 nearly a hundred men from the village of Genadendal - with a population of about eight hundred - were serving as recruits in the Cape Regiment, and they sometimes outnumbered Whites on commando. 9)

From the time the slave trade was prohibited, Hottentot labourers were very much in demand. The farmers complained about their vagrancy, the Hottentots themselves

7) Minutes of the Missionkonferenz at Genadendal, 1793 - 1846, Genadendal Archives.

8) See Krüger, B.: The Pear Tree Blossoms, 1966, p. 26, 55, 68 - 9.

9) Wilson, M. and Thompson, L.: The Oxford History of South Africa, Vol. I, p. 247.

about their treatment. Therefore, Caledon applied with new vigour the law that Hottentots travelling, must carry passes and he laid down strict conditions for labour-contracts. His successor reinforced the provision that children of Hottentots, growing up on farms, must be apprenticed to the farmer until their eighteenth year. 10)

Meanwhile on Genadendal mission land there developed one of the largest settlements in the Cape Colony. "When the Brethren made a survey of the settlement in 1799, they found 1 234 people in 228 dwellings within an hour's distance around the institution." 11)

During the British occupation of the Cape there were conflicts between the farmers around Genadendal and the Hottentots, concerning the exact boundaries of the mission grazing areas. 12)

As a result of the growth in numbers at Genadendal it was decided to establish a second mission station in the vicinity. On 12 May 1824 the farm Vogelstruiskraal was bought from a certain Johannes Petrus van Schonke, on be-

10) For further information see:

Walker, E.A.: A History of Southern Africa, 1959, p. 149, and Marais, J.S.: op cit, pp. 116 - 119.

11) Diary of Baviaanskloof/Genadendal, 1792 - 1800, 12:1:1800, at the Genadendal Archives.

12) Marais, J.S.: The Coloured People of South Africa, 1652 - 1937, 1939, p. 140.

half of the "Zending-Direktie der Broederkerk". This was the beginning of ELIM. This mission station is situated in the district of Bredasdorp, about 45 kilometres from Cape Agulhas. Elim, in its turn, developed into a source of labour for the surrounding farms - in particular seasonal labour.

Government and farmers alike regarded the mission stations as reservoirs for cheap labour. Referring to the results of this, Krüger notes the following: "In consequence, the spiritual work among the men suffered from their periodic absence and the remaining women and children, together with the sick and the aged, were an economic burden. Farmers asked for labourers for transportriders." 13)

The country around Genadendal was incorporated into the district of Swellendam in 1811 and a sub-district was established around the Warm Bath, where a village developed, which received the name of Caledon. 14)

Various courts which visited Genadendal after 1812, noted the fact that no-one came from Genadendal when Hot-

13) Krüger, B.: p. 113.

14) See Theal, G.M.: History of South Africa since 1795 - 1908, pp. 167 - 169.

tentots were conscripted for military service. Normally the false excuse that the Hottentots were employed on farms was given. This was taken as evidence of the laziness of the inhabitants of Genadendal, to which the neighbouring farmers objected so strongly. 15)

The majority of the inhabitants of Genadendal and Elim were however, still dependent upon farm labour for an income. During the last half of the nineteenth century missionaries did everything in their power to render the inhabitants of mission stations independent and selfsubsisting. Their complaint against farmers was that they supplied the labourers with too much strong liquor - especially during the ploughing and the harvesting seasons. 16) By way of countering this the mission society announced celebrations during the ploughing and harvesting seasons, and during the sheep shearing season. 17)

In the middle of the nineteenth century the farmers were still at loggerheads with the mission stations, com-

15) See Theal, G.M.: Records of the Cape Colony, 1793 - 1827, pp. 88 - 91.

16) This position regarding liquor continues to exist today, in fact on many farms this still constitutes a part of the payment, while liquor also plays an important role in the recruiting of farm labour.

17) See Krüger, B.: pp. 223 - 224.

plaining that they lured away farm labourers. According to the graph of labour supply* we find that the lowest point during the nineteenth century occurs around 1850. The farmers persisted in their complaints to the Government about the shortage of labour resulting from the liberation of the slaves and the abolition of pass laws.

About five hundred farmers submitted a petition in which they wrote: "Your petitioners also beg to call your Excellency's particular attention to the evils arising from the withdrawal of so many thousands of farm labourers from permanent service on farms, to reside in idleness and im-productive habits at the numerous missionary institutions throughout the colony, and to the mischievous effect of missionary interference with temporal affairs, affecting not only the interests of the large bodies of people monopolised by them, but the agricultural interests generally" 18)

Another factor which was largely responsible for the shortage of labour was the development of wool farming in South Africa between 1828 and 1850. The districts of Caledon and Bredasdorp were already large wool-producing areas,

* Sources of evidence for this graph came from: (a) Documentary sources from the Beyers family, Genadendal and Cape Town; (b) Early accounts from magistrate's courts at Caledon and Bredasdorp; (c) ex-farmers now retired in towns and ex-labourers who still retire on farms and Coloured settlements such as Genadendal and Elim.

18) Master and Servant Documents and Addenda, Vol. II, Cape Town, 1849, p. 18.

and additional labour was required. 19)

WOOL PRODUCTION IN LBS 20)

1828	-	1833	51 418
1834	-	1838	315 297
1839	-	1843	1 136 957
1844	-	1848	3 222 920

In the production of grain the reverse was true. In contrast with wool production in the nineteenth century, grain production required relatively more manual labour as production increased. The production figures for grain during the same period is as follows:

PRODUCTION OF GRAIN (MUIDS) 21)

1828	-	1833	35 315
1834	-	1838	29 028
1839	-	1843	14 100
1844	-	1848	10 911

19) Thom, H.B.: Die Geskiedenis van Skaapboerdery in Suid-Afrika, 1936, p. 384.

20) Theal, G.M.: History, Vol. II p. 78. Although these figures represent the Cape Colony, the wool production areas were dominantly confined to the South Western Cape at this stage.

21) Theal, G.M.: p. 78. Grain includes wheat, flour, barley and oats.

The marked decrease in grain production after 1838 is mainly a result of the emancipation of the slaves in 1834. ²²⁾

From 1848 the distinction between Hottentots and Coloured people on farms became clearer. Marais notes that "though the term 'Coloured People' is used, a distinction is still quite frequently drawn between 'apprentices' and 'Hottentots'. As far as the Colonial Hottentots are concerned, this fact need not necessarily mean that the statement that they had ceased to be a "pure race" by 1850 is incorrect; ²³⁾ but it does mean that there were still numbers of Coloured people exhibiting pronounced Hottentot characteristics. Where a distinction is drawn between the two sections of the Coloured people, it is still the Hottentot who are accused of vagrancy." ²⁴⁾ Today all people of mixed descent are classed as Coloured people.

A study of the graph of labour supply shows the following tendencies:

From the beginning of the nineteenth century up to 1850 a sharp decline in the supply of labour occurred in

22) Compare Marais, J.S.: p. 195.

23) Compare also MacMillan, W.M.: The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey, 1927, pp. 251, 265, 273.

24) Marais, J.S.: p. 196. Usually the accusation is levelled at the "Labouring Class" in general.

the research area. The explanation for this is twofold: the emancipation of all slaves, and migration to two mission stations, Genadendal and Elim. Up to 1834 the major part of farm labour was done by slaves, supplemented by Hottentot labour. There was no question of mechanisation and all labour was unskilled. Wages paid to farm labourers, began to increase because of the labour shortage.

From 1850 the shortage of labour diminished. This does not really reflect a greater supply of manpower, but a decrease in the demand resulting from the introduction of the earliest forms of mechanisation, for harvesting. A balance in demand and supply continued until 1920, when a sharp decrease in the supply of labour was experienced. This was largely due to the development of better opportunities of employment in industry in urban areas. The Coloured people employed in industry could maintain a higher standard of living and, in comparison with life on the farms, their economic circumstances were far better. Although considerable mechanisation took place in the grain industry, a decrease of 12% in the labour supply was a restricting factor. Sheepfarming, however, was not affected in the same way as grain farming, because use was made of migratory African labour. Ninety two per cent of the teams undertaking shearing were Africans.

From 1940 the labour supply declined, but it declined slowly. Farm labourers did not move easily into industry at that time. If mechanisation had not taken place the shortage of labour would have been 38% greater.

From 1955 mechanisation proceeded fast on grain farms. This was mainly directed at reducing the number of labourers required and in particular of Coloured labour. At the same time farmers tentatively began to concentrate on obtaining higher productivity from their Coloured farm labourers.

From 1960 to the present, the position shows a constant tendency. During the past decade three factors affected supply and demand for labour.

The first is mechanisation which created a demand for more skilled Coloured labour. The second is the availability of African labour which depends upon official policy. The third is the rapid industrial development in the urban areas accompanied by an increase in wages for unskilled and skilled labour.

B. The African

The history of African labour in the research area differs in many respects from that of Coloured labour.

In the first place the Western Cape is not the traditional homeland of the African. A few individuals came to mission stations or schools, but by far the greater number of Africans came into the area in response to the demand for labour. The first African of whom note was taken in the research area arrived at Genadendal in 1808 and was christened there. 25)

During 1809 various African families settled at Genadendal, but they lived separately from the other inhabitants. According to a report by the British officer, Colonel Richard Collins, it was recommended to the authorities that all Africans be repatriated to the other side of the Fish River. Those Africans who preferred to stay in the Cape Colony were to move to Moravian mission stations and were to live under missionary control. Africans thus arrived at Genadendal with a letter from Collins, which also forbade them from returning to the Eastern districts. 26)

25) See Diary of Baviaanskloof/Genadendal, 1792 - 1880, 5th Vol, pp. 247, 267, 268, 292 at Genadendal Archives.

26) From collections of letters received from the Second British Occupation, 1806 - 1839, at Genadendal Archives.

The first record of employment of Africans dates from between 1840 and 1850 when Xhosa speaking peoples worked on roads in the Western Cape. By 1879 there were already 3 778 Xhosa working in the area. ²⁷⁾ By 1890 large numbers of Africans had replaced Coloured people as dockworkers.

The first Africans were seen in the research area in 1920, when the Divisional Council of Caledon employed them to work on the roads, but the employment of Africans as farm labourers only commenced during 1937*. ²⁸⁾ They came as labourers.

Immediately after the Second World War the number of African farm labourers increased. They came from the eastern Cape either from reserves, or from farms and country towns near the reserves. The Western Cape was conspicuous at that time for its rapid industrial development. This not only brought about the movement of Coloured labourers to the urban centres, but also brought the Africans and Coloured people into direct competition in the unskilled labour market. Rivalry existed particularly in the field of unskilled farm labour. No real restriction was placed on the supply of

27) See A 26 - 79 Cape of Good Hope, Department of Native Affairs, Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1902, pp. 85 - 95, as quoted by Wilson, M., and Mafeje, A: LANGA, p. 1.

28) *Information obtained from ex-farmers in the district.

African farm labour²⁹⁾ and consequently the farmers could easily obtain labour that was cheaper than the prevailing rate. In the north western parts of the research area which have a highly developed fruit industry, Coloured labour was replaced by African labour to an extent of 97%.

From 1950 Africans also received the same wages as the Coloured labourers.³⁰⁾ Exceptions to this rule however existed, and continue to exist in those cases where Africans prefer to receive a part of their wage in the form of rations.

A study of the attached graphs of the supply of African labour reveals the following main tendencies:

Employment on farms in the research area began in 1937. Up to 1945 there is a relatively sharp increase of 27%. No effective government mechanism existed for influx control, and the labour demand in the urban areas of the Western Cape was enormous.

From 1945 to 1955 the agricultural sector shown an increase of 40% in African labour. Large scale migration of

29) See attached graph and note the tendency between 1945 and 1955.

30) See Chapter X: Wages, Income and Expenditure.

Coloured farm labour to the towns and cities had already begun, and the African could supplement this loss of farm labour.

The year 1955 is the turning-point in the supply of African labour on the farms. As a result of the government's policy ³¹⁾ the gradual process of repatriation of Africans to the African reserves was started.

From 1960 the graph shows a sharp decline. It is at this point that the most critical problem of farm labour has its origin. As a result of the unrestricted movement and employment of the Coloured people, the stream of migration of these people to the towns and cities continued, while African farm labour was drastically curtailed. This condition hit the grain and sheep farmers the hardest, while fruit farmers could still obtain African labour on a contract basis.

For the majority of farmers in the research area ³²⁾ the supply of African labour has dropped by 65% in the past

31) See Tomlinson Report, U.G., 61/1955. This policy was actually initiated by Eiselen : See Eiselen, W.W.M.: The Native in the Western Cape, SABRA, Jan. 1955.

32) Reference is here made in particular to mixed or grain and sheepfarming units, and to farmers in the Bredasdorp district.

decade. During this decade farmers also did everything in their power to limit labour requirements by means of mechanisation and specialisation. However, the problem is that there are specific aspects of farm labour which will, for a considerable time still, have to be done by unskilled manual labour. Because of the shortage of Coloured farm labour for this purpose, African labour will thus be indispensable.

Over a period of thirty years Africans have become an integral part of farm labour in the research area. The questions thus arise: What is to serve as a replacement when it is withdrawn? Where are Africans to be employed in order to earn a living for families in the reserves?

C. The Whites

Although White farm labour dates just as far back as that of Coloured farm labour, it constitutes an insignificant factor.

Today one can barely talk of White labourers on the farms - at least not on the same level as Coloured and Bantu labourers, as was the case at an earlier stage. Today Whites are found on farms only in a supervisory capacity or as seasonal labourers. The era of the White farm labourer,

doing manual labour, came to an end in the early fifties. The main reason for this was the competition from Coloured and African labourers who are far more economical for the farmer.

The Coloured people, who are numerically superior in the field of unskilled labour, have their domicilium in the Western Cape. They have long competed with and tended to oust the unskilled White labourer. The Coloured farm labourer accepted a lower wage than the White labourer would accept.

Particular attention was focused on White farm labourers after 1920. An investigation into the poor-white question,³³⁾ laid the emphasis on the impoverished condition of White farm labourers. Even then a general depopulation of the rural areas could be preceived. According to a survey in the research area the farm labour force in 1925 still consisted of about 12% White farm labourers. By 1950 this percentage had decreased to 3%.

The stream of migration of White farm labourers flows to the towns and cities. During the past decade (1960 - 1970) the position has thus been that the only Whites working on farms are the farmer, his working sons, manager, and foremen.

33) See: Die Armblanke-vraagstuk in Suid-Afrika, Verslag van die Carnegie-kommissie, 1932.

D. Factors which influence the supply of farm labour

The attached graph which indicates the tendencies in the supply of farm labour must be seen against the background of various factors which influence it. This includes wage scales, industrial development, mechanisation, legislation, and labour unions.

Wage scales are the most important factor in the migration from farm to farm: in other words, some people move from a farm in the research area to another farm outside the area. ³⁴⁾ Within the area the movement is from privately owned to company farms. In the past wage scales on farms undertaking the same type of farming were practically all uniform. About 1960 large farming companies appeared, and there notably higher wages were paid to workers of all races. The difference in wages is closely connected to the industrial development in urban areas, and the need for the farmer must compete with industry in wage scales.

Two hundred farmers allege that they lost as much as 10% of their labour between the years 1945 to 1950 because of the migration of farm labourers to the cities, where the

34) Reference is here made to farms with intensive farming where higher wages are normally paid.

demand for unskilled workers in industry was increasing fast. 35)

Industry not only offers higher wages for unskilled labour but also provides certain social attractions for the worker. 36)

Farmers mechanise in order to cut production costs. Every possible attempt is thus made to restrict the labour force to its minimum. On the one hand mechanisation reduces the unskilled labour force, but on the other hand it creates a demand for semi-skilled and skilled labour. A fluctuation in the tendencies regarding the availability of labour is thus brought about.

In the historical sense legislation exercised its influence mainly with regard to African labour. 37) Particular reference is made here to the Government's policy regarding the removal of Africans from the Western Cape, according to which farmers in the research area are more or less compelled to employ Coloured people. In accordance with the attached graph there is also a sharp declining

35) See Chapter XI: The Migration of Farm Labourers.

36) Ibid.

37) See Chapter V: The Removal of Africans from the Western Cape.

tendency in the supply of Bantu labour immediately after 1955, when the Tomlinson report and Eiselen's statement were published.

Africans can legally form unions but these are not recognised under the Industrial Conciliation Act (Act No. 25 of 1956). Coloured people, however, can form trade unions which are recognised.

Many Africans on farms in the Eastern Cape were reputed to be members of the I.C.U.* about 1925 - 1933 but thereafter membership of farm labourers lapsed. The White farm worker does not belong to an organised labour union which looks after his interests. In urban areas he may legally join an organised labour union, which assures him of diverse privileges. It can thus be expected that the advantage of labour union membership will exercise an influence on the migration of White farm workers, and consequently cause a drop in the tendency of the availability of White farm labour. Coloured people on farms can form legal trade unions, but organisation of any trade union is difficult because they live scattered over a large area.

* Industrial and Commercial Workers Union.

CHAPTER IV

THE LABOUR FORCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS ON FARMS

Any geographically defined agricultural area requires a labour force of a specific strength. In the Western Cape this is supplied by farm workers of all three racial groups. And any particular farming unit requires a diverse labour force including seasonal labour, contract labour, permanent workers, migratory labour, and, to some extent, occupational specialisation.

An increase or decrease in this labour force rarely occurs simultaneously in all these categories.

The distribution of farm labourers is never uniform but differs in the various parts of the research area, according to local needs and sources of supply. There is a larger concentration of African migratory labour in fruit-growing areas than in grain producing and sheep districts, because of the demand for unskilled manual labour. And on farms in the vicinity of Coloured settlements, Coloured labour is more plentiful than elsewhere and relatively cheap because the farmer is not responsible for labourers' accommodation.

A. Sources of Labour

There are two sources of Coloured labour : those domiciled on farms, many of whom have been born on farms and those in Coloured settlements. The largest Coloured settlement in the district of Caledon is Genadendal, and thereafter Hawston, ¹⁾ while Elim serves the district of Bredasdorp.

In 1965 the population of Genadendal consisted of 2 792 Coloured people, ²⁾ of whom about 28% of the men and women were employed as full-time agricultural workers on farms in the district. In 1950, 42.7% of the male inhabitants were thus employed. The decrease can be directly ascribed to wages paid; as early as 1950 complaint was made about the meagre wages paid on farms. ³⁾

Seasonal labourers come from Genadendal for three types of work: they come to the area along the Riviersonderend-river for onion planting and plaiting; to the Elgin basin and Grabouw area for pruning fruit trees, picking and packing apples, and to the vineyards around Villiersdorp, for picking grapes.

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- 1) Hawston is on the boundary of Hermanus and Caledon - see map in appendix.
 - 2) Report of the Divisional Council of Caledon, 1965, p. 11.
 - 3) See Warnich, P.G.: Genadendal: 'n Gemeenskapstudie van 'n Sendingstasie, Stellenbosch, 1950, p. 57, and p. 66.

The Coloured settlement, Elim, which is of missionary origin resembling Genadendal, is situated in the Bredasdorp district. In 1960 it had a population of 1 079 Coloured people. ⁴⁾ Whites and Africans in Elim number 7 and 2 respectively. The male inhabitants are mainly employed as farm labourers in the surrounding district. Because Elim lies nearer the coast than Genadendal, a certain percentage of the men are employed in fishing. During April 1948, 22.9% of the Coloured males past the age of school attendance were employed full-time as farm labourers. ⁵⁾ Today there are fewer farm labourers. A large number of men are employed in towns, and some work as seasonal labourers during the planting, harvesting and wine pressing seasons.

Genadendal, Hawston and Elim thus constitute the main local sources of Coloured labour aside from permanent farm labour, ⁶⁾ where the labourers are domiciled on the farms.

African labourers in the research area come from the following districts:

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- 4) Jooste, P.G.: ’n Kartografiese studie van die nie-blanke bevolkingsgroepe van Suidwes-Kaapland, 1968, p. 190. No later figures are available.
- 5) De Villiers, J.J.: Elim, 1948, p. 60.
- 6) A very small number from Caledon and Bredasdorp townships are employed in some peak seasons as in wine pressing and fruit picking.

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE OF AFRICAN LABOUR FORCE (1969)</u>	
<u>TRANSKEI</u>		
Umtata	20.4	
Mount Fletcher	3.4	
Willowvale	25.5	
Matatiele	6.8	
Mqanduli	2.7	59.7%
Cofimvaba	.9	
<u>CISKEI</u>		
Stutterheim	3.4	
Keiskammahoek	5.4	
Whittlesea	7.1	
Sterkspruit	7.1	
Lady Frere	6.8	36.7%
Lady Grey	1.7	
Molteno	3.4	
Sterkstroom	1.8	
MISCELLANEOUS	3.6	
TOTAL	100.0%	

B. The Permanent Labour Force

The permanent labour force of a farming unit is composed of those workers of all races who are permanent inhabitants on the farm and who are in the employ of the farmer.

The extent and nature of a permanent labour force differs in accordance with the type of farming involved. They thus form the majority of the full-time labour force. The jobs they occupy are permanent, but most of the incumbants are Africans who are prohibited by law from remaining more than 360 days at one spell in the area, and who therefore change each year. Only 4% of the African labourers are classified as permanent inhabitants of the area and legally entitled to continue in their jobs. The majority are migrants, but they are distinguished from seasonal labourers who are engaged only for short peak periods. All the migrants, whether in permanent jobs, or seasonal jobs, are housed in compounds, erected according to specifications laid down by local authorities.

(i) Fruit Farming

Graph No. 1 shows that relative to the other branches of farming fruit farming has a large African labour force of 483 labourers in the full time employ of 21 farmers. However, the question arises as to why African farm labourers form the majority of full time workers.

Much of the labour required in fruit farming is unskilled; it is not directly connected with the actual handling of the fruit, but with the cultivation of the

soil in the orchards. 7) The Coloured people are increasingly refusing to undertake unskilled labour. Farmers are compelled to make use of all available African labour.

Furthermore, because Africans are paid relatively lower wages, African labour is far more economical than any other available form of labour. 8) The regions in which fruit is cultivated are situated closer to the larger urban areas of the Western Cape than stock, grain and vegetable farms and communication with the cities is easy. Coloured labour has become far more expensive. In comparison with labourers of the other racial groups, unskilled African farm labourers make few demands 9) on the employer.

The nature and extent of the permanent Coloured labour force in the fruit industry has undergone great changes in the past decade. Since the Coloured people are leaving the field of unskilled labour to a marked degree, the permanent Coloured labour force in fruit farming is mainly being utilised for the operation of

7) This does not involve seasonal labour.

8) See Chapter. X with regard to wages.

9) Reference is here made to socio-economic demands.

machinery; machinemen are paid higher wages.

The permanent White workers do no manual labour whatsoever, but only hold management posts or serve as supervisors in charge of non-white labour. The relation between white and non-white labour in this industry is 1:37, so that the Whites comprise only 2.79% of the total labour force of the 21 farming units concerned in the fruit industry. 10)

(ii) Grain-, Sheep- and Dairy Farming

The permanent labour force on the grain-, sheep- and dairy farms differs in practically every respect from that of the fruit farming. Far fewer labourers are required per farming unit, and the racial composition of the farm labourers differs. Of the 730 farm labourers of all racial groups in the employ of 138 farmers, 550 are Coloured labourers. They thus comprise 75.3% of the total permanent labour force, as against the 18.4% of the African labour force, and the 6.3% of the permanent White labour force. In this type of farming Coloured labour is involved in unskilled as well as skilled labour. Coloured settle-

10) This does not include owners or members of families. Farmers' sons nowadays seldom work on the farm.

ments are situated in the grain- and sheep districts, and these farms constitute the traditional labour area of the Coloured people in the neighbourhood. 11)

The permanent African labour force is limited to a minimum, viz. 136. African farm labourers are difficult to obtain. The average is less than one African labourer per farmer. In the few instances where a farmer employs more than one African labourer it is for the dairy production. The African is the most efficient labourer for the handling of cattle, for this is a part of his traditional way of life. In addition, the African labourers are also far more punctual, which is essential for dairy production. The hours of work are long and awkward and African labourers are tolerant of this. Coloured labourers nowadays demand week-ends off. Ancestors of many Coloured people were stock owners but the present generation of Coloured farm labourers did not grow up with stock.

The 44 White farm workers hold either the position of manager, or that of foreman on the farm. The number of White workers on farms is decreasing because working conditions in urban areas are better. Competition for White workers thus exists amongst employers.

11) In Chapter XI a detailed exposition of the migration of labourers between farms and desertion of the Coloured labourers on these farms is given.

(iii) Vegetable Cash Crops

A relatively large permanent labour force is the outstanding characteristic of this type of farming.

As with grain farming it is also the traditional field of Coloured farm labourers. The Coloured people constitute 91.8% of the total permanent labour force, while the Whites and Africans comprise 2.3% and 5.9% respectively in this sample of 41 vegetable farms.

As a result of the policy of removing Africans from the Western Cape, it is not possible for migrant African labourers to remain in the area or to bring their families. It is also difficult for a single African to mix with a group of Coloured labourers. The African labourers who are permanent inhabitants of the area, have, without exception, lived there for more than thirteen years. They are employed where the handling of cattle is linked with vegetable production.

This type of farming is the only one in which a minimal amount of unskilled White labour is found. Two decades ago it was the general practice for the farmer to take a number of White workers into permanent service.

Of the three branches of farming discussed above, the latter two are hit the hardest by the drastic decrease in the number of permanent workers available. The immediate causes of this are discussed in Chapter XII.

C. Seasonal Labour

Seasonal labour is the additional labour which a farmer requires at particular times of the year, such as sowing, planting, and harvesting seasons.

Until approximately a decade ago, 78% of the 200 sample farming units practised mixed farming. With this low degree of specialisation a minimum of seasonal labour was required; the permanent labour force was capable of meeting most labour requirements. Today, farmers to a large extent specialise in one branch of farming. This enables them to train labourers in a specific field, e.g. the pruning of trees, or the manipulation of certain types of farm machinery, and trained men get higher wages when employed in such work. Coloured labourers move from farm to farm doing specialized jobs. Fruit, sheep and dairy farmers also employ Africans as seasonal labourers, because sufficient Coloured labourers are not readily available for fruit picking, shearing or milling.

(i) Fruit Farming

In comparison with other branches of farming, the fruit farmers require a relatively large seasonal labour force, mainly unskilled manual labourers. The semi-skilled and skilled labour is done by the permanent labour force. Approximately $\frac{4}{5}$ of the additional seasonal labour consists of African migratory labourers who come from the Transkei and Ciskei to work in the fruit producing areas on a short term basis. Because the peak of the season may vary from year to year, the six largest fruit farmers use private transport to bring African labourers to and from the reserves.

The majority of labourers are employed between February and May in fruit picking and packing. Coloured and White labour is also used for packing. Mainly Coloured labourers are employed in pruning during June to August. Semi-skilled labour is required for pruning and the Coloured labourers are trained and experienced in this work. The permanent labour force is used supplemented if necessary by seasonal labour. Coloured seasonal labourers are available for pruning because higher wages are paid. Fruit farming is the only type of farming in the research area in which a more or less satisfactory supply of labour is available. However,

there are indications that the supply of Coloured labourers will decrease because of the movement of Coloured labourers to town.

Coloured seasonal labour is obtained from towns and Coloured settlements in the district, and also from other farms. At least $\frac{1}{3}$ of this seasonal labour force comes from other farms in the same or neighbouring districts. In particular the wine industry attracts large numbers of farm labourers because liquor is supplied as part of wages. The labourers include men, women, and grown-up children who come with permission of the farmer on whose land they live.

(ii) Grain-, Sheep- and Dairy Farming

These types of farming can be considered as a unit because they supplement each other. Normally all three are found on the same farming unit.

Relative to other branches of farming these require a lesser labour force, and the type of labour also differs, resulting in the use of more Coloured labour. The demand for skilled and semi-skilled labour has increased, especially during the past decade, as a result of intensive mechanisation. Grain- and stock farms are the most numerous and occupy the

the largest area, but the number of labourers employed per unit is far less than in other types of farming.

The effect of rapid mechanisation is threefold. Mechanisation requires semi-skilled and skilled labour. This limits the labour force available. Seasonal labour is restricted. However, certain factors compel the farmer to make use of a certain amount of seasonal labour. He requires a specific type and amount of skilled labour at a particular time of the year, and it is not economical for him to keep a permanent force of the standard required.

Of the 138 units of grain-, sheep-, and dairy farms investigated, all involved at least two of these three activities and all are dependent on seasonal labour at some time of the year. Graph No. 2 shows the following tendencies: In comparison with the fruit industry, much less use is made of seasonal labour. Labour is also more specialised, and the members of the permanent labour force of a particular farming unit are trained to execute a specific type of task. Even when making use of seasonal labour, the farmer requires labour of a skilled nature. However, such labour is difficult to obtain because these farmers cannot compete with the wages paid in fruit farming because

they receive a much lower profit on capital invested. One very large difference does, however, exist between African and Coloured labour as employed for seasonal labour in this branch of farming. The Africans who are employed as seasonal labourers to shear sheep do so according to a contract. In other words, a group of ten to twelve people undertake to do a certain piece of work at a predetermined figure. There are one or two Whites in charge of each such group. To execute the work concerned within a limited time, a number of groups are recruited in the Transkei, Ciskei, Lesotho and border areas by a central organisation. The selection and organisation is discussed in Chapter XIII. This is the only case in which a certain amount of skill is required of seasonal labourers. Out of season, when the occasion arises for work of this type to be done on a small scale, the farmer makes use of his permanent labour force. In these instances the work is mainly done by Coloured labourers. Normally Coloured labour is regarded as unsuitable for the handling of animals. During the past fifteen years these shearing teams have included only African members, although during 1970 Sotho and Griqua people of mixed origin were included. The small number of Coloured seasonal labourers employed are used for the sowing and harvesting of grain. However, 86% of farmers in grain, sheep- and dairy farming make use of their

permanent labour force. Additional Coloured labour is obtained from those Coloured labourers who move continually between the farms in the area, as discussed in Chapter XI.

White workers who are employed for seasonal labour are normally those who are in charge of shearing teams. Without exception they have been trained in the wool industry.

(iii) Vegetable Cash Crops

The labour requirements of vegetable farms differ considerably from those of other types of farming. A relatively larger permanent labour force is kept because of the continuous need for unskilled manual labour. Desertion is one of the biggest problems faced by vegetable farmers.

Graph No. 3 shows the following tendencies in vegetable farming: Seasonal labour is limited to Coloured labour. White and African workers are not employed. Such labour is now practically unavailable. The position was different two decades ago when the depopulation of the rural areas was at an early stage and White labour was still relatively cheap and easily obtainable. Whites in the low income groups settled

on farms, and their entire families were involved in agricultural labour. The higher wages offered in industry along with other factors, completely eliminated this group of White farm workers. Coloured farm labourers took over the work.

In vegetable farming African labour is unobtainable. As a result of the Government policy with regard to the removal of Africans from the Western Cape, ¹²⁾ it is particularly difficult for the small farmer to obtain temporary African labourers during the season. It was also found that, without exception, Africans show a low productivity in the production of vegetables. However, the additional Coloured labourers who are employed during peak seasons are not all adult men. In practice the whole family, including the wife and children are employed. In the research area Coloured people are already familiar with techniques of growing vegetables at a very early age. The various techniques like the plaiting of onions are passed on from generation to generation; Coloured seasonal labourers come almost exclusively from Genadendal and Hawston. In 73% of the cases investigated seasonal labour for jobs such as plaiting onions, is on a contract basis.

12) See Chapter V, Section A.

When the main tendencies of all three graphs are studied, it is plain that there is a minimum of overlap in the seasonal demand for labour in the three types of farming. Different racial groups are normally employed in different jobs.

B. Contract Labour

For the purpose of this project contract labour is defined as follows: A person or a group of people undertake to execute a particular task on a farm at a predetermined tariff.

Although certain types of contract labour are at the same time a form of seasonal labour, much of it is unrelated to seasonal labour, and can be executed at any time of the year. The position varies in the three different branches of farming. Nor do all branches of farming require labour with the same degree of skill.

(i) Fruit Farming

Fruit farmers make use of various types of labour but the amount of contract labour is limited. Of 21 cases examined in the fruit industry, all make use of contract labour for the pruning of vineyards and fruit

trees. Contract labour is supplementary to the farmers' permanent labour force, which does the same work. Some degree of skill is required, and labourers are trained on the farms. Without exception use is made of Coloured labour for this purpose because Africans are regarded as incompetent in semi-skilled labour in the fruit industry.

Of the 21 cases twelve farmers pay the contract labourers a daily wage, while nine farmers pay contract labour for piecework. In the latter case the work is usually done inadequately, and White supervision is indispensable.

The packing of apples also takes place on a contract basis, and payment is in accordance with the number of cases packed. Coloured females are primarily responsible for this work. However, there is a tendency among individual farmers to eliminate the packing of apples, leaving it to a central organisation. This reduces the labour required and capitalisation on e.g. apple farms. Co-ops make use of both White and Coloured women for packing fruit.

Labourers are recruited from the Coloured settlements and from towns in the area. The employer is responsible for transport and housing. Contract and

seasonal labour are thus both used in fruit farming.

(ii) Grain-, Sheep- and Dairy Farming

This type of farming requires a minimum of contract labour because it is independent of sharply divided seasons. Because of this the farmer can make extensive use of his permanent labour force for the execution of additional labour.

In certain cases, however, the farmer is obliged to make use of contract labour. Attention will now be given to these cases.

The shearing of sheep is undertaken by a group of Africans under White supervision. The contract is settled with a central organisation, and payment is made in accordance with the number of sheep shorn - regardless of the amount done daily by the shearing team. Semi-skilled labour is required for this purpose, so that it is not economical for the farmer to employ a shearing team on a fulltime basis.

Additional services for which 93 of the 138 grain-, sheep- and dairy farmers make use of contract labour, is the construction of stock ponds, the erection of fences, cartage of rocks and stones from arable land,

and the eradication of weeds. Although these services must be executed according to predetermined specifications, use is made of unskilled labour. For this type of work 75% of those employed are Africans. They are men who qualify as permanent residents of the area according to Article 10 of Act No. 25 of 1945. These Africans organise themselves into groups of four to six and undertake contracts for work of diverse nature on the grain and sheep farms falling within the Divisional Council area in which they qualify as residents. As a result of the restrictions on African residence this category of labour is showing a distinct decrease.

Except in the shearing of sheep, the farmer usually supplies the contracting group with the necessary tools and implements because the contractors cannot afford their own. The Whites only conclude full scale contracts with Coloured and African help who supply their tools in the case of extensive building and construction works.

(iii) Vegetable Cash Crops

Characteristic of this type of farming is that use is primarily made of Coloured labour, also for contract labour. In the research area, the production

of onions comprises the most important part of vegetable cash crop cultivation. Although the units are relatively small, these farmers maintain a large permanent labour force in comparison with other branches of farming. In one operation, however, use is made of contract labour, namely, in the plaiting of onions. Exclusive use is made of Coloured labour, which comes from Genadendal. Compensation is calculated per hundred bunches of plaited onions. During the past eight years the availability of contract labour decreased by 70%. Labourers regard the provision of liquor as additional compensation as indispensable.

E. Prison Labour

A limited amount of prison labour on farms is available. For a number of reasons, farmers around Villiersdorp and Caledon do not make great use of goal labour. These prisoners come from ordinary prisons; there are no farm goals in the research area built by farmers.

Vegetable farmers in particular, can utilise prison labour economically because of their consistent demand for unskilled labour. However, the areas where vegetables are grown, are situated far from the prisons, near the mountain ranges, where the average annual rainfall is higher

than elsewhere and it is impractical and uneconomical to transport prison labour daily over relatively long distances. Of the 200 cases investigated, only nine farmers make use of prison labour. Prisoners are mainly used for manual labour like the planting of onions, cleaning of arable land, and types of work where they are compelled to work together. Prisoners are normally sluggish about working, because this does not entail for them the advantage of full compensation. On the other hand permanent farm labourers feel that prisoners working on farms, injure their status.

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CHAPTER V

THE REMOVAL OF AFRICANS FROM THE WESTERN CAPE

Policy

The availability of labour is one of the most critical problems in farming. In the Western Cape, generally, including the research area, the supply of labour is limited by the Government policy which is followed, viz. the removal of Africans from the Western Cape.

For the purpose of this project, it is necessary to give brief attention to the immediate causes and implications of this policy.

Various factors are responsible for the acceptance of this policy by the authorities. The Coloured community in particular is affected by the large scale presence of the African in the Western Cape. Africans create strong competition for the Coloured people especially in the unskilled labour market, and create the risk that in the course of time the Coloured people will be completely ousted from the labour market in the Western Cape. Because the Africans tolerate a lower standard of living than the Coloured people, they can execute unskilled labour at relatively lower wages.

This is apparent particularly in those types of farming in which large numbers of unskilled labourers are employed. Accordingly, it can be expected that the larger scale employment of unskilled Africans will cause the wage scales for unskilled labour to remain relatively low.

The cohabitation of Africans and Coloured people in the Western Cape results in mixed marriages. It appears that this is more frequent in the rural areas, where the Africans in the employ of farmers are more isolated from other members of their tribes. Although official census returns do not supply marriage statistics specifically for the Western Cape (and the South Western Cape in particular), it is apparent from statistics pertaining to the whole country that the number of marriages legally performed yearly, according to civil or religious rites, between African and Coloured people since 1925 has increased from 251 to 847 in 1951. ¹⁾ It is generally accepted, however, that these statistics are not a true reflection of the extent of inter-racial mixture between these two groups. Alongside those marriages which take place officially, there is extensive contact and association between Coloured people and Africans on a pre- and extra-marital level. Aside from the

1) Government Printer : Marriages (All Races). U.G. 38/58, p. 68.

drop in the level of morality of the Coloured people, this also results in a more complicated racial composition and race-problem.

The equality of the treatment received by Africans and Coloured people causes dissatisfaction among the more highly developed section of the Coloured community.

These factors were the explicit reasons given by the Government for removing Africans from the Western Cape to the reserves.

S A B R A²⁾ made the following suggestions with regard to the formulation of this policy:

(a) That any further permanent settlement of Africans in the Western Cape should be terminated immediately, that is, no more African families or wives should be allowed to enter the area.

(b) Attempts should be made towards the systematic removal of those African families and wives already in the area, and provision made for them to settle in the homelands.

2) South African Bureau of Racial Affairs: "Gesigspunte in verband met die Kleurling en sy plek in die Samelewing", Journal of Racial Affairs, Vol. 5, No. 3, April 1954, p. 22.

(c) Prostitution and mixed marriages between Coloured people and Africans should be forbidden by law.

In effect this means that, in addition to Coloured labour, only migratory African labour may be used in the Western Cape. This implication is applicable to all labour sectors, and thus also to all branches of farming.

One of the most important steps in the decreasing of the number of Africans in the Western Cape was taken by freezing the African labour force by means of a ministerial declaration on 21 December, 1966. ³⁾

The statement contains four main points viz.:

(a) The Bantu labour complements (i.e. registered employees plus notified vacancies) of all employers in the Western Cape are frozen as at 31st August, 1966. For those employers who use seasonal labour the freezing dates are 28th February, 1966 and 30th November, 1966. The complement of an employer who, on the freezing date applicable to him, did not have any registered employees, or notified vacancies is, therefore, frozen at nil.

3) Circular of Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, 20 January, 1967.

(b) New development and expansion cannot be based on African labour, but cases with exceptional merit will be considered at ministerial level.

(c) For certain categories of work contract labour will no longer be supplied and employers in those categories are limited to the services of Africans who, as a result of birth or long residence, have acquired residential rights.

(d) It is the duty of all employers and of employers' associations to do their utmost towards obtaining Coloured labour and to give preference to Coloured labour at all times.

In accordance with the above resume, it is thus apparent that Coloured labour should serve as substitute for the African labour which is removed. Of course, African labour cannot be totally supplanted by Coloured labour - especially not as unskilled labour. Accordingly, use is made of African migratory labour. This necessitates the recruitment, in the homelands, of employees to come to work in White areas for a predetermined period, and under predetermined conditions.

Legal principles in terms of which Africans are removed from the Western Cape, do however exist, in other words principles which restrict Africans from becoming permanent inhabitants of the area. Reference is here made in particular to Article 10 of Act No. 25 of 1945 with Amendment Acts. The key provisions of this Act are the following: ⁴⁾

"No Native shall remain for more than seventy-two hours in an urban area, or in a proclaimed area in respect of which an urban local authority exercises any powers unless -

(a) he has, since birth, resided continuously in such area; or

(b) he has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than ten years or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period of not less than fifteen years, and has thereafter continued to reside in such area, and is not employed outside such area and has not during either period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding fifty pound or to imprisonment for a period exceeding six months; or

4) Natives (Urban areas) Consolidation Act (Act No. 25 of 1945).

(c) such native is the wife, unmarried daughter or son under the age at which he would become liable for payment of general tax under the Native Taxation and Development Act, 1925 (Act No. 41 of 1925), of any native mentioned in paragraph (a) or (b) of this subsection and ordinarily resides with that native; or

(d) in the case of a Native who is not a workseeker as defined in Section one of the Native Labour Regulation Act, 1911 (Act No. 15 of 1911), and is not required to be dealt with by a labour bureau as provided for in any regulations framed under paragraph (O) of subsection (1) of section twenty-three of that Act, permission so to remain has been granted to him by an officer designated for the purpose by the urban local authority concerned or in the case of a native who is such a workseeker, permission has been granted to him by such labour bureau to take up employment in such area."

The aim is to resettle African families and single Africans in the African homelands of the Republic,⁵⁾ and to resettle them there, at the same time making provision for employment opportunities.

5) Particular reference is made here to the African reserves in the Eastern Cape, viz. the Ciskei and the Transkei.

Of course, this policy has far-reaching implications in the Western Cape, and also in the homelands. In the Western Cape the employer in the agricultural sector is gravely affected because of the necessity of having manual labourers which, accordingly, cannot be obtained.

For the African the complications are both social and economic and may even lead to starvation in the African reserves due to the lack of jobs there.

The principle of migratory labour is found all over the world, e.g. the Mexicans who go to work during the season on the fruit farms in California, or the Italians who accept work in Germany for specified periods. There are also numerous cases where complete labour forces have been removed along with the relocation of economic growth points. In certain respects, however, the position with regard to the Western Cape is unique. Employment is normally linked with economic development. But with the removal of Africans from the Western Cape to their homelands, there is no equivalent relocation of economic growth points to the homelands. The economic development which does take place does not serve to absorb the extensive supply of labour.

With regard to the agriculture in the research area the supply of labour is eliminated with little or no replacement of this African labour. Under no circumstances

can any agricultural growth point be relocated. A perfect balance must thus be maintained between the African labour removed from the area, and the Coloured labour taking its place. But an imbalance exists because there is an insufficient supply of Coloured labour in the research area.

The second aspect with regard to which the removal of Africans from the Western Cape, and also from the research area, is unique, is that it takes place in the context of the policy of separate development. In the cited cases of Mexico and Italy, migratory labour in the area of employment are treated on the same level and enjoy equality in socio-economic rights. However, in the Western Cape the situation is that the African migrant labourer in the Western Cape is subjected to certain legal institutions and regulations because of his presence in the particular area which is regarded as a White area.

CHAPTER VI

HOUSING ON FARMS

Housing for farm labourers is regulated by law (see appendix No. 2) and also affected by the type of farming and economic position of the farmer. The numerical ratio of Whites, Africans and Coloured people, and the ever increasing number of single migratory labourers, also affects housing.

Observation suggest that about 65% of all houses for Non-white farm labourers were built after 1950. The majority of these houses are of a good quality and in a habitable state. Characteristic of the older type of homes is the diversity of architectural styles, which are often impractical. Building material was of low standard, and houses frequently had to be rebuilt.

While the Non-white labourers have no property rights on the farms, the provision of housing has traditionally been the responsibility of the farmer, their employer.

The traditional tendency was to scatter the houses over the farm. In contrast, the modern idea is to group the houses of Non-white farm labourers together in order to provide communal conveniences. Tentative attempts at

the provision of conveniences have only been made during the past two decades.

The type of farming is a main determinant of the situation of homes for labourers. On intensively cultivated fruit and vegetable farms houses are grouped together, ¹⁾ while those on grain and sheep farms are sometimes spread out.

In 107 of 200 cases studied, the houses of the Non-white farm labourers were situated within a distance of 500 metres from the homestead of the farmer and the farmstead. This is the central meeting place for farm labourers before they embark on the day's work. On 18 farms of the sample use is made of outposts, and then houses for the labourers were built far from the main homestead, in order that they may be as close as possible to the place of their activities.

In the fruitgrowing areas accommodation for single migratory labourers is supplied in the form of compounds which are erected in semi-detached form. These compounds are isolated from the Coloured houses, and labourers are taken to the area of work by lorry.

1) This refers to the fruit farming and vegetable cash crop farming in particular.

(a) Overcrowding was formerly general and there was a minimum of effective control. Since 1950, however, the Divisional Councils of Caledon and Bredasdorp have been exercising strict control over the erection, specifications and maintenance of Non-white housing in the research area.

(b) With regard to the accommodation of White farm labourers, the traditional patterns are practically identical to the pattern which is followed today. When the farmer builds himself a new home, his old one is used for White employees.

In order to determine the attitudes of Non-white farm labourers to housing a sample of 30 African and 200 Coloured heads of families was investigated. In addition, a sample of 50 White farm workers of various status categories were questioned about various aspects of housing.

Since the accommodation of single African migratory labourers is basically uniform, ²⁾ only those African persons who qualify for permanent residence in the area according to Art 10 of Act No. 25 of 1945 were used.

2) In accordance with Bantu Labour Regulations, G.N.R. 1892/1965, Chapter VII.

Although the present tendency is to group labourers' houses together for economic reasons, some of the labourers nevertheless prefer scattered housing facilities. The reason they give for this preference is that scattering provides the opportunity for gardening to supplement the household income.

	<u>Coloured People</u>	<u>Africans</u>
Grouping of accommodation	123	11
Separate accommodation	64	17
No preference	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	<u>200</u>	<u>30</u>

The difference between the Coloured people and Africans with regard to the grouping of accommodation is two-fold nature. There is a definite tendency among the Coloured people indicating a decrease in the desire for produce gardens. Farm employment is becoming the sole source of income. In contrast with this African informants contend that they prefer housing which is more isolated, since this enables them to keep livestock and/or to cultivate a garden to supplement the family income.

During the past five years employers have aimed at separating the living-quarters of Africans and Coloured people. However, numerous instances of Coloured and African

farm labourers accommodated in one group of houses still occur.

The labourers themselves hold diverse opinions in this connection.

	<u>Coloured People</u>	<u>Africans</u>
Grouping of population groups	33	7
Separation of population groups	147	21
No preference	<u>20</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	<u>200</u>	<u>30</u>

White farm labourers are excluded because each of the fifty cases investigated for the purpose were accommodated separately from the Non-white labourers.

In the case of African quarters erected exclusively for African labour, and in particular for single migratory labourers, certain regulations are in force which restrict or forbid admission to such quarters. With regard to single quarters for Africans, no permission may legally be granted for female persons to enter or live in such quarters. ³⁾

The sizes of houses for Non-white farm labourers vary because such houses were erected at different stages in

3) Ibid, Chapter VII, 14.

accordance with the needs of the employer. As a result of the strict regulations laid down by labour legislation with regard to the control of African labour, it can be expected that farmers will modify their housing facilities accordingly. Farmers in 113 cases out of 200 have already made attempts to adjust housing according to the circumstances. Because the entrance of African families into the research area is completely forbidden, only single quarters will henceforth be erected for African labour. Only established African families still live dispersed on the farms. Besides single quarters for Africans, employers concentrate on family quarters for Coloured families.

Farmers allege that on the whole the Coloured people are not much concerned about housing, and that a constant watch must be kept to prevent unlawful overcrowding.

The position of the White farm labourer differs radically from that of the Non-white labourers. Only 13% of the 200 farming units investigated have more than two White employees.

Employers do everything in their power to provide their White workers with good housing, and no criticism was made by White workers. Of the fifty Whites questioned for this purpose, only 7 pay rental for their accommodation, while in 31 cases electricity is also provided.

The expansion of the agricultural sector during the past few decades brought about an increasing number of demands and a rise in standards. It can naturally be expected that the attitude of farmers to the accommodation of farm labourers is primarily determined from an economic point of view. A larger turnover along with expansion results in an increased demand for Non-white labour, which in turn develops the need for housing and requires the efficient utilisation of accommodation.

As a result of the strict regulations enforced by the Divisional Councils of Caledon and Bredasdorp, many of the existing forms of accommodation have been rejected. On 36% of the farms the farmers had to renew their accommodation partially, and thus had to endeavour to erect new houses for Non-white farm labourers. 41% of farmers had to erect additional conveniences according to the specifications laid down. This brought about increased expense because of the high wages paid in the construction industry.

However, relief in the cost structure was brought about by the adoption of the Amendment Act on Agricultural Credit, Act No. 45 of 1968, which introduced various amendments to the Agricultural Credit Act of 1966. In accordance with the amendment of Article 10 of the main Act, the Agricultural Credit Board was authorised to grant loans

to approved farmers for the purpose of erecting houses for Non-white farm labourers.

In spite of this, housing causes the farmer considerable expense, which, considering the circumstances of farming over the past five years, he can ill afford.

The attitude of 76% of the farmers in the research area speaks of dissatisfaction because of the fact that the Non-white labourers do not utilise the conveniences they provide. In this case particular reference is made to sanitary conveniences and those which are created to maintain a high standard of hygiene.

A four-roomed family house built to specifications costs a farmer between R1 100 and R1 500. This resulted in the situation where the employer, for economic reasons, could not always provide accommodation at the tempo of the labour demand.

Informants attest that the housing provided bears no relation to the migration of Non-white farm labourers to the towns and cities. In this connection 50 Coloured farm labourers who had previously migrated to towns and cities were questioned, and in only 3 cases was the reason given as being that of inadequate housing on the farms. We can

thus conclude that accommodation as such is not one of the factors which hampers farm labour, but rather, that it attracts it. ⁴⁾

As such, however, housing can be a determining factor in the expansion of agricultural activities, in the sense that capital expense for expanding housing facilities as required in accordance with the above circumstances, cannot be afforded.

In contrast with the position in urban areas, housing erected on farms constitutes a form of dead capital from which no direct income is obtained. Farm labourers do not pay house rental as labourers in the urban areas do.

However, with regard to White housing, the farmer experiences minimal problems. Only 4.5% of the farmers report that they are not in a position to provide adequate housing to White farm labourers. It was found that, as a result of White depopulation of the rural areas, there is unused White housing on 21% of the farms. With the gradual decrease of White labour farmers are converting this accommodation for Coloured labourers.

82% Of farmers support the principal that efficacious housing schemes on the farms should be partially subsidized

4) In the case of Coloured farm labour.

by the authorities, as is already the case with urban housing schemes. Apart from this, however, the farmers are constantly doing everything in their power to deter the migration of labourers to the towns and cities by means of making effective provision for housing as far as possible.

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CHAPTER VII

COLOURED AND AFRICAN FAMILIES ON FARMS : THEIR RELIGION AND
VALUES

Two factors affecting the family life of each racial group are the level of income and the place of abode.

The family is defined as a social group, characterised by a common abode, economic co-operation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, of whom at least two maintain a socially sanctioned sexual relationship, as well as one or more children, real, or adopted by the sexually cohabitant individuals. The nuclear family consists of a man and a woman who are married, and their children. This is the family type which is dominant in South Africa. "Household" is used to include additional members - related or unrelated - who dwell with the family in such a way that the family along with the additional members form a functional socio-economic unit.

A. The Coloured Family

The number of Coloured farm labourers investigated constitute 50 males and 50 females who are representatives of 150 families. Because information with regard to some families is incomplete, a sample of 100 families has been

used. All these families dwell on farms in the research area. Free accommodation is supplied to these labourers by the farmer. Families live in individual homes, of which some may be grouped together in the vicinity of the farmer's homestead. Without exception the Coloured people in the research area follow a Western way of life, and they can quite rightly be regarded as Westerners.

Of the 100 families studied, 57 provide lodging for additional members. Sixty-two per cent of the additional members taken in by families were relatives, but an analysis of the type of relatives who lived in showed no fixed pattern.

The size of the nuclear family varied between 5 and 11. The average number of children was 5.5, which, when compared with the 3.7 of the White farm worker, is particularly high.

Of the 100 families investigated, there were 43 instances in which a legal marriage had been celebrated. In 58 cases no legal tie existed. Of the marriages 80% were performed in church, while the remaining 20% were civil marriages. Illegitimate children of mothers and daughters form a common phenomenon.

The father is the accepted head of the house, although there were cases in which the wife took over leadership in

general. Because the father works daily on the farm, the mother is in charge of the upbringing of the younger children.

One particular Coloured family was taken as an illustration. The family consists of the father who is a permanent unskilled labourer, the mother, together with five children - two sons and three daughters. The father is an employee on a vegetable farm near Riviersonderend, and was born at Elim, a Moravian mission station in the Bredasdorp district where his parents are still living on old age pension. His (the labourer's) father worked as an unskilled farm labourer on several farms in the Bredasdorp district.

Two daughters and one son of this family are still at school on the farm while one son is employed together with his father on the farm. The remaining daughter is an illegitimate child of the mother whom she had before her marriage. This daughter is now working in a clothing factory in Cape Town. Her parents do not know where she lives or whether she is married or not.

The particular farm labourer under discussion is one of nine children of whom four died as children. Two sisters married unskilled farm labourers, and live on farms in the neighbourhood of Elim. The remaining two brothers are fishermen at Arniston.

The labourer's wife is the daughter of another unskilled labourer on the same farm. She was never employed on any other farm, and does seasonal labour whenever domestic affairs permit. Her deceased mother is buried on the farm. She is one of seven children - four daughters and three sons. One of her brothers is employed on a fruit farm near Grabouw while the other two work in Caledon as skilled labourers. Two sisters are still of school-going age while one is married to a skilled worker in Cape Town.

For lack of transport visiting amongst relatives seldom takes place and is virtually limited to the husband's parents at Elim. To get to Elim use is made of lifts from the employer or other farmers.

Often a labourer does not know where his relatives are living or working at any particular time; contact between kinsfolk is limited.

In Coloured farm families the wife instructs her daughters to manage the general household chores, while the sons are taught by their father. This would include gardening, in other words, the cultivation of a variety of crops, the handling of livestock where necessary, and the manipulation of machinery.

Responsibility for discipline is undertaken by both parents, but the father, as the head of the house, has the chief responsibility.

Coloured labourers on farms have little leisure time. Of the 300 men interviewed, only 21 participate in some form of sport. Investigation revealed that this is not because of a lack of interest, but of opportunity; twelve per cent of the labourers were within reach of sports facilities but their hours of work were long. On five days of the week work continues until the late afternoon, when it is already too late to take part in sport. Even where facilities are provided - and they are available on 9% of the farms in the area - the farmers have complained that these are neglected. No cases were found where labourers took part in sport on Sundays. This is mainly because of religious considerations.

There is a total absence of self-organisation within the community of Coloured labourers on farms. The percentage of labourers who stay on one farm for more than eighteen months ¹⁾ is very low and any category of people who are constantly moving are difficult to organise. In one particular instance, however, the composition of a sports team

1) See Chapter XI: The Migration of Farm Labourers to Urban Areas.

was studied. The organizers of the team tended to favour certain members of the team on the basis of friendship and kinship, rather than the abilities of a member. This led to dissatisfaction and dissention.

However, facilities for sport and recreation are part of the Western way of life. In the future it will be essential for farmers or groups of farmers to consider the need for recreation in the building up of an efficient labour force.

(i) Religion and values

Since the White settlement at the Cape religion has played an important role in the Coloured society.

As is the case with the White population group in South Africa, the overwhelming majority of the Coloured group want to be known as followers of the Christian religion.

To all appearances, at least, the primitive religions which the ancestors of many of them followed, have completely disappeared.

As noted earlier (Chapter III) the first Protestant missionary at the Cape was George Schmidt of

the Moravian Mission Society. He worked among the Hottentots in the Baviaanskloof from 1737 to 1744, and the establishment of Genadendal had an indelible influence on the Coloured community in the research area. The departure in 1744 of George Schmidt was not unrelated to the fact that he was forbidden by the authorities to administer the sacraments. 2) The cause of this tension was in particular that the Dutch Reformed Church and the authorities, in accordance with their views about a State Church, were unwilling to allow the establishment of a congregation which was not connected with the acknowledged church. Neither was mission work outside the State church to be allowed to take place. In spite of this, the labours of Schmidt prepared the way for a more lenient attitude with regard to mission work outside the State church.

By the end of the 18th century and during the 19th century a number of different mission societies were granted entrance into South Africa. Various of these societies undertook to work among the Coloured people. In 1892 the Moravian Mission Society resumed its work at Baviaanskloof, (later Genadendal). Since 1926 the mission station has been managed by a Board of control, of which the Caledon Magistrate is normally chairman. This has greatly reduced

2) Cruse, H.P.: Die Opheffing van die Kleurling, 1947, pp. 90 - 101.

the power of the Moravian Mission Society. In the research area the activities of the society have, since 1962, become almost completely limited to Genadendal. Mission work in the rural areas and on farms is now practically all done under the auspices of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church. This church also undertook the task of education until it was taken over by the Department of Coloured Affairs. (See Chapter VIII: The Education of Farm Workers).

To belong to a church is one of the behavioural codes prescribed by the community. Of the 300 Coloured farm workers (men and women) questioned, 203 belong to some Church. The most prominent religious groups are the Anglican Church, the Apostolic Faith Mission, and the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, of which the latter is the largest and most important. The religious affiliation of the sample group was as follows:

Dutch Reformed Mission Church	167
Apostolic Faith Mission	27
Anglican Church	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	<u>203</u>

Former Moravians living on farms join the Dutch Reformed Mission Church. Because the vernacular of the Coloured farm labourers on the farms is Afrikaans, a very small percentage of Coloured people belong to the English speaking Anglican Church. Nor are facilities for this

church services available on farms or smaller towns. As the lowest class of the Coloured population, the farm labourer is usually unable to speak English. The reason can also be put forward that the White farmer is predominantly Afrikaans speaking, and labourers are inclined to follow the religious affiliation of their employer.

The development of the Apostolic Faith Mission has only taken place during the past five years. Its impact is small because among the conditions of membership, is total obstinence, and few farm labourers qualify.

The attachment of a high percentage (82%) of Coloured farm workers to the Dutch Reformed Church, can be ascribed to various factors. The language medium is that of the Coloured worker and most often that of his employer, also the farmer is most often himself a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, and is more readily inclined to make transport to and from church services available to his farm labourers if they attend a Dutch Reformed Mission Church.

For generations the farm labourer has had the language and culture of his employer as model for identification, and attempted to adopt and practise this culture. It can thus be expected that he will also follow the equivalent faith and religious affiliation. Until recently the Dutch

Reformed Mission Church also undertook Coloured education, and the doctrines of the Church were spread through its educational institutions. Ministers of the church had considerable power in the appointment of teachers, and only teachers who were members of the Dutch Reformed Church were appointed.

Church services and bazaars provide the Coloured people with occasions for social gatherings; in particular during mission church bazaars, by means of which money is collected for the mission congregation. Farmers and labourers co-operate in this instance.

Church attendance among Coloured farm labourers is closely connected with the control of education by the church. Two phases can be distinguished, viz. the period up to and including the handing over of Coloured education by the Mission Church to the State Department of Coloured Affairs in 1963,³⁾ and the period thereafter.

The Dutch Reformed Mission Schools' control of education in the research area during the first phase, bound the Coloured people to the Church, and there was high

3) Transfer in accordance with Coloured Persons Education Act, No, 47 (1963).

church attendance figure. School buildings were often used for church services and for other church activities. These buildings were centrally situated within the Coloured community and this considerably facilitated church attendance. Ministers of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church claim to have had an attendance figure of as much as 60% up to approximately five years ago.

Characteristic of the second phase is the division on administrative level as well as in practice, of church and educational facilities. This restricted the ties which had existed between the family of the Coloured farm labourer and the church. An important medium of propaganda had also been eliminated.

According to ministers of the Dutch Reformed Mission congregations, attendance dropped to as little as 35%, and they attribute this to the church's loss of control of the schools. Many Coloured farm labourers use religious institutions mainly for the christening of children, and the celebration of marriages and funerals.

Nevertheless, 85% of the church members admit that they are given sufficient opportunity to attend church services. In those instances where church gatherings cannot be reached on foot, the employer normally supplies

transport by putting his lorry at their disposal. Of the 300 cases of Coloured farm labourers investigated, 22 Coloured men had at some stage served on a church council. They were responsible for the organisation and control of church activities, including the collection of funds. It was found that, without exception, each of the 200 cases of farmers investigated in the research area, gave a gift or some form of donation to the Coloured church of his labourers at least once a year. Further funds come from collections within and outside of the church, church bazaars, and support from the Mother church of the area within which the Mission church is situated.

It is noteworthy that 97% of church members amongst the Coloured farm labourers prefer a White minister to a Coloured minister! Although informants were loath to discuss the subject, it seems that force of habit is predominant in this connection. ⁴⁾ In the past Coloured ministers only preached occasionally. School principals, teachers and persons in accepted positions of authority were also allowed to preach. Today, as formerly, White ministers are regarded as the leaders in the religious field.

However, the church has a minimal influence on the daily pattern of life of the Coloured people. The re-

4) See Appendix No. 1: Questionnaire No. 2.

searcher found no signs of religious influence in the daily activities of the farm labourer. Church services are held on Sundays, and mostly in the afternoons. Then it is expected of everyone to be well dressed, whether attending the service or not. This practice dates from earlier times when it was expected that everyone should attend the church services.

Mission congregations do not have the essential financial support to carry out regular church activities. The ministers of mission congregations are responsible for covering a very extensive area and many Coloured labourers move from farm to farm and do not live permanently in any one place. The result is that the minister of the mission congregation is often not acquainted with his parishoners and their homes. The position differs in those few cases where permanent communities are found on farms. Then there does exist a definite pattern of church attendance, to which both children and adults are subjected. Some cases of farm labourers serving on the church council were found, in which circumstances they are compelled, in accordance with their position, to set an example to the rest of the Coloured community on the farm, but these are isolated examples.

People in all communities wish to be accepted by their fellowman; they want to be respected. People need acceptance,

acknowledgement and prestige. These needs are universal. In order to satisfy these requirements, a person's behaviour must be in accordance with these expectations. Such expectations are known as culturally established values.

When a community acknowledges certain people as being of a high status, it must necessarily have some scale or method according to which such people are evaluated - the criteria of judgement, which are known as values. Values are thus the personal characteristics and patterns of behaviour which the members of a community regard favourably - those aspects which give prestige to an individual and which procure him the favour to the society.

A distinction is made between status symbols and values. On the one hand, values can be material as well as spiritual in nature, e.g. it can be the possession of a precious article, or it can be the character of a person's behaviour. Status symbols, however, are only material. Coloured farm labourers work long hours and have little leisure. Their values and status symbols are closely related to their work.

The amount of manual labour done during a particular period, and under specific circumstances often serves as a criterion of physical strength. Competition based on physical strength is common. Physical violence is a general

phenomenon, particularly when labourers are under the influence of liquor - circumstances under which physical strength is particular valued.

In the second place skill and ingenuity are determining factors in status. As a labourer becomes more skilled, there is a corresponding rise in his status within the community.

Ability to drive a lorry, tractor or combine entitles a Coloured farm labourer to claim certain privileges from which the others are debarred. In 58% of the cases investigated, a driver received wages approximately 12% higher than an unskilled man, and greater responsibility. The driver of a vehicle accepts the responsibility for it. The community regards someone who drives and handles vehicles highly.

Furthermore, the learning of various techniques increases a man's status in the community. Amongst these are the pruning of fruit trees and vineyards; the plaiting of onions; the injection and shearing of sheep; dehorning of cattle; other jobs connected with stock; and speed in packing fruit. Competitions are held in fruit packing, and the champion is honoured.

Holding a drivers' licence also assures a particular status to the licencee. In this questionnaire it was found that only 23% of all Coloured farm labourers who drive vehicles have valid drivers' licences. Thus people who have one are considered to possess an outstanding qualification.

In the third place the length of service is one of the most important grounds of status, especially on farms with a limited number of labourers. After a long term of service a labourer who is particularly skilled in some category of labour is sometimes put in charge of a group of fellow workers. Along with this a position of status is ascribed to the labourer in accordance with the years of service rendered. Newly appointed labourers are compelled by older ones to do the work which carries little prestige. Years of service also play a major role in wage determination. Of the 200 cases of farming units investigated, it was proved in 143 cases that remuneration takes place on the basis of length of service as well as the nature of work executed. Of the 300 permanent Coloured farm labourers 198 receive wages and bonus in terms of these criteria but length of service is secondary to skill in determining wages.

For the Coloured women working on the farms employment in the household of the farmer carries status. In this case dress is the main form of distinction and wages play a minor part.

One of the most important status symbols for the Coloured farm labourer outside the context of his work is that of display.

Houses for labourers are built according to specific prescribed standards. Nevertheless, the farmer allows his labourers to decorate their homes with gardens, enclosures, and other adornments. The appearance of the house thus provides status to the owner.

Along with this, the possessions of the farm labourer also play an important part. These may include his cattle, furniture and other more general household effects. The economic prosperity of the farm labourer is normally reflected in his own and his family's dress.

The number of children of a farm labourer is seen as a form of wealth and provides him with status. In the course of the research 26 cases of households with more than 10 children of the same biological mother and father were recorded.

The position to which a labourer is appointed by the farmer or organisation is accepted as symbol of status by the community. Nine cases of Coloured farm labourers who had been appointed as foremen were found. The status thus achieved is not limited to the work situation: these foremen are inclined not to mix socially with the ordinary farm labourer.

An additional factor in status is physical appearance, any trace of physical characteristics resembling those of the Whites carries prestige.

B. The African Family

Africans on farms are in very close contact with the Coloured community of the area. As a result, not only cultural but also marital intermingling takes place. This creates numerous problems; among them the difficulty of settling Africans in the reserves. Furthermore, the Africans on farms are in constant competition with the Coloured people in the unskilled labour field, where the latter see them as a threat to their existence.

Ninety-five per cent of the Africans are migratory labourers in the area and must come as single men whether they are married or not. The remaining 5% are Africans

who qualify for permanent residence. African women constitute only 2.2% of the total number of Africans in the research area. Women who do not qualify under Act 25 of 1945 are immediately removed to the Bantu homelands; so complete African families are few.

Africans often accept employment on farms as a starting point towards employment in urban areas at a later stage.

Of the 200 African farm labourers (180 men and 20 women) who were used as a sample, 146 of the 180 men were married. Only 20 of these existed in complete family units, i.e. living with their wife and children in the research area. This constitutes a percentage of 13.7% of all the married men. These 20 families were all monogamous.

A typical African family is traditionally an economically independent unit with its own possessions, food supplies, and its own house or houses (in the case of a polygynous marriage). This production function as well as a consumer function has changed to a purely consumer function as the result of cultural contact and Westernisation. Therefore the continued existence of the members of the family is dependent upon the wages of the breadwinner, as earned outside of the house as a farm labourer. In each of the families the wife and the non-schoolgoing children periodically provided an additional income.

On an average, each family consisted of 8 children, (own children of the married parents) and in 11 of the 20 families, children belonging to relatives and illegitimate children had been admitted as members of the family.

Amongst the African farm labourers newly-married couples commonly settle with the parents of the husband. As the result of economic circumstances non-related persons also are sometimes allowed to reside with this extended family. This state of affairs existed in 13 of the 17 extended families. In 4 cases only married sons and no un-related people resided with the extended family.

No cases were found where the daughter and her husband resided ⁵⁾ with her father. The traditional patrilocal family pattern of the Xhosa thus persists.

Apart from patrilocal residence, certain other factors exist which determine residence of a different kind. In 7 cases the following situation arose: a brother of the head of the family arrived from the homeland as a migrant labourer on the same farm. In this case it is normally accepted that he will reside with his established married brother. Informants maintain that this is done to

5) The term "to reside" includes the division of a house between the two families where circumstances make this possible.

strengthen family ties, as well as for economic reasons. Such a resident then pays a stipulated amount of his earnings to his brother as head of the family. One case was found where the mother's brother of the head of the family took up residence as the result of the traditional rights which he may claim as "umalume".⁶⁾ In 14 cases resident relatives were the illegitimate children of unmarried daughters of the head of the family.

In each case the extended family formed a firm unit both socially and economically based on their common economic interest, viz. farm labour.

Although in each case the marriage⁷⁾ examined was monogamous, yet not one legal marriage existed which did not indicate a strong traditional influence.

Theoretically three forms of marriage are legally recognised in the case of Africans, namely the customary union, the religious and the civic marriage, and each of these is valid in its own right.

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- 6) The "umalume" is the maternal uncle of the man. He is entitled to certain rights because the man (head of the family) will also inherit from him some day.
- 7) Reference is made here solely to marriages between African and African.

Fourteen of the 20 African marriages came about on the basis of a customary union. On close examination only two of these marriages were found to be legal as they had been executed in the Bantu area,⁸⁾ according to traditional requirements. The basic requirements for such a marriage are diverse. The choice, arrangements and negotiations in such a marriage concerns not only the individuals, but also the two families or related groups as represented by the two individuals. In the research area 12 of the 14 customary unions were executed without the complete representation of the two wider related groups which were involved.

In 7 cases the consent of the father of the man was not obtained before the customary union. Such a marriage is invalid according to the principles of The Natal Code⁹⁾ but Olivier¹⁰⁾ maintains that it may be assumed that the man may act within his own rights when he is above 21 years of age and is selfsupporting.

Besides the traditional African marriage (the customary union) there exist also the religious and the civil marriage in respect of which the principles of common law¹¹⁾ are

8) In this case one in the Transkei and the other in the Ciskei.

9) See The Natal Code of Native Law, Art 57 (1), Art 59 (1).

10) Olivier, J.J.: Die Privaatreg van die Suid-Afrikaanse Bantoe, 1969, p. 41 - 42.

11) Common law here indicates the Western common law.

applied. Of the 6 non-traditional marriages, 5 were religious and one a civil marriage. In each case the religious marriage blended to large extent with the traditional African marriage. It was ultimately based upon a combination of the two components.

Traditional forms of marriage are modified on farms but in all cases certain principles of traditional law could be observed.

Each man had to be recognised as an adult by the fellow members of his community before he could contract a marriage. This admission to adulthood takes place in the form of an initiation school with all the accompanying procedures. Of the 20 marriages, only 13 men passed through the initiation schools on farms while the others were initiated in the reserve. Only 8 of the 20 women went through the "intonjane" initiation at the onset of adulthood.

Without exception, the marriages were preceded by negotiations between the men (alone or accompanied by their fathers) and the fathers of the prospective brides, with respect to lobolo. Informants maintain that negotiations are entered into by the men alone in cases where he is economically independent, or where the father resides in a reserve, and is unable to be present.

On the day of the marriage the lobolo, or part thereof, is handed over to the father of the bride. Marriage ceremonies on farms in the research area are held on Saturdays, because this is not considered a working day, and in this way an opportunity is provided to other Africans in the area and to members of the same clan ¹²⁾ to attend the ceremony. Meat and beer are supplied by the father of the bride. In seven cases it appeared that the White farmer had provided the ox free of charge. Festivities can last up to two days, depending upon the economic state of the father of the bride.

In the case of the religious and one civil marriage, the delivery of lobolo and the festivities commenced immediately after the formal ceremony had been completed.

Because of surrounding circumstances, it is seldom possible to deliver cattle as lobolo, but cash was paid instead, and in the relevant cases the sum ranged from R65 to R275. In 9 cases articles of value were included in the lobolo.

In cases where the full lobolo was not delivered outright, it was delivered over a period of time, as previously agreed.

12) The requirement of Bantu law that in a Xhosa marriage, persons belonging to the same clan may not marry, was maintained throughout.

Marital intermingling amongst farm labourers in the research area is considered a serious problem by the researcher. The increasing and extensive social disorganisation which accompanies this gives rise to diverse evils.

Marital intermingling can be defined as a union or cohabitation of an African man and a Coloured woman. In the research area no cases of intermingling between African women and Coloured men could be traced.

Large numbers of Africans enter the Western Cape for economical reasons i.e. to reside in this area for a certain time and to sell their labour. The wife of the migratory labourer is left behind in the African reserve with the children born of the existing marriage. As a consequence the African migratory labourer resides in the White area for a period of time which is 12 months ¹³⁾ in most cases. Once the African labourer enters the area from his homeland, he enters into a relationship with a Coloured woman, and out of this relationship children are born. The Coloured women attract Africans because they are the only Non-white women in the area. On the other hand, Coloured women are often attracted to Africans mainly because of their stability, their physically stronger build, and their moderate drinking.

13) According to law, 360 days.

Another important cause is the fact that except on fruit farms, the Africans are rather scattered on farms in the research area; the number of Africans within walking distances are few. As a result of economic integration and the learning of the language of the Coloured people, the African eventually is absorbed by the Coloured community, and in many cases is accepted as a member of this community. In the sphere of material culture a rapid Westernisation takes place.

In the places where larger groups of Africans are concentrated on farms, marital intermingling takes place to a lesser degree. This can be ascribed to the fact that these Africans are generally regarded as a group and form a closed labour unit. Tribal attachment and traditional way of life are maintained as far as possible. This pattern was found mainly in the fruit producing areas.

Therefore we can conclude that most cases of marital intermingling exist in areas where Africans live in isolation. A sample of 180 marriages showed the following:

<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
African man married to African woman in area	20
African man married to Coloured woman only	14
African man married to African woman living in homeland	79

<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
African man married to Coloured woman in area, and to African woman living in homeland	32
Unmarried African men	<u>35</u>
TOTAL	<u>180</u>
African woman married to African man in area	20

<u>MARITAL INTERMINGLING</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
Cohabiting with Coloured woman	38
Married to Coloured woman according to civil law	3
Married to Coloured woman according to Bantu law ¹⁴⁾	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	<u>46</u>

Consequently 46 out of a group of 180 male African farm labourers in the research area are involved in marital intermingling of some kind, i.e. a percentage of 25.5%. This figure applies only to cases where a union exists, and does not include the numerous cases in which Coloured women bear illegitimate children by African men but do not cohabit with them. In most cases illegitimate children of mixed blood of this kind, are the result of a relationship between a Coloured woman and an African migratory labourer who is employed for a short term in the area.

14) In each of these 5 cases the Coloured father of the woman was paid lobolo in cash, and all the marriages have existed for over 15 years.

The number of children in the 46 cases of marital intermingling ranges from one to 12 children a case. The average number was 7. These children are absorbed into the Coloured community, regardless of colour and features.

The legal position is that Non-whites are not forbidden to have intercourse, whether extra-maritally or when a civil marriage has been contracted. Where a legal marriage has been contracted, the child is classified as an African; where no marriage has been contracted, the child is classified as Coloured, according to the race of the mother.

On analysis it is found that only 6.7% of these marriages were contracted under civil law. Therefore 93.3% of the children thus conceived, were given the race classification of the mother.

In pursuance of the policy of removing Africans from the Western Cape, Africans who do not qualify for permanent residence in the area, are repatriated to the reserves. Cases exist where Africans, who have resided in the area for a considerable time, ¹⁵⁾ are removed as a result of failure by them to fulfil certain legal obligations. This may be the result of offences with convictions of R100 fines or 6 months imprisonment, or omission of registration.

15) The time may vary from 10 to 18 years.

Where the man is the head of a family and is involved in marital intermingling in the area, a disintegration of the family takes place. In most cases the wife refuses to accompany the man to the homeland. If she and the children do accompany him, she and the children run the risk of being unacceptable in the man's home area. The usual result is that the wife and children remain in the White area without the head of the family. The man may apply again to come as a labour recruit to the Western Cape, although the period of absence from his family may last as long as over a year. Should he be recruited again, his chances of being employed by his previous employer in the area where his family resides, are limited.

Cases are found where the man has a wife in the homeland as well, in which case he sometimes does not return. Informants claim that in some cases the family disintegrates after a certain time, in spite of the fact that the man remains with his family in the research area. The financial obligations of a man who has a wife in the reserve as well, become impossible for him to cope with. If there is no additional income in the family, the man is forced into a permanent choice. In the research area, 3 cases were found where heads of families elected to emigrate permanently to their area of origin in the Transkei. Another result of marital intermingling, give present policy, is that numerous problems are created regarding race-classification.

Two children with the same physical features may be absorbed into the same community, but they are differently classified.

The researcher concludes that, given present policy, marital intermingling has a disruptive effect on families.

The African farm labourers form a minority group in the research area and this inevitably means that there exists little or no possibility of a complete social structure. Few African families can legally reside in the area and only males above the age of 16 years, in possession of a valid reference book, are recruited as labourers. Boys who do grow up in the area are scattered and have little contact with each other. Traditional education amongst the Xhosa-speakers ¹⁶⁾ occurs mainly on a group basis, and the organisation of initiation schools on farms in the Western Cape is difficult.

The fact that the African farm labourers constitute a minority group, accelerates the process of cultural assimilation and Westernisation of the African in the area. The permanent presence of established Coloured farm labourers with their Western way of life, exerts a positive influence on the traditional customs of the Africans. The most important aspect is the inevitable absorption of the African

16) I.e. African farm labourers who speak mainly Xhosa, and who originate from the Ciskei and the Transkei.

youth into the ranks of the Coloured youth; they are reluctant to submit to any traditional initiation school. This causes a lack of the parental discipline, which generally characterises an African family.

Primarily the African child is instructed about the codes of behaviour regarding relatives and people belonging to the same clan. Furthermore the African child is instructed as to his contribution to the household, in particular regarding his economic obligations towards his father.

Secondly, organised initiation schools involve boys only, and no important ceremony involving African girls takes place.

On an average, two initiation schools per annum are organised in the research area, occurring during winter. The researcher attended one such initiation school, and the most important and dominant characteristics follow:

White flags at the house of the African labourer who is organising the initiation school, give notice of the intended initiation school, which will involve two to five sons of farm labourers. Notification is also given by word of mouth, enabling men in the vicinity to attend the opening ceremony. The fathers of the intended initiates enter their sons, and apply to the employer for permission to attend

the initiation school, in the case of boys who are already employed as farm labourers.

On the morning of the date of commencement, the adult men erect a hut for the initiates near a mountain or a river. The proceedings are characterised by festivities which include dancing, drinking of beer, and eating of meat. Circumcision is performed by a senior member of the group, and the initiates gather in their hut, where they receive instructions and orders from the leader of the initiation school. No visitors are allowed, and during their stay in the hut, the initiates are instructed about tribal customs, laws and codes. Initiates are subjected to physical tests, and members of the family are responsible for their nourishment. A blanket serves as their sole garment. When they appear in public, they move as a group, and they are characterised by the fact that they have been whitened with clay, and that their hair has been shaved. The regular routine includes knobkierie contests, learning of songs, making of fires and trials of strength. Often fights with Coloured groups who ridicule them, break out.

After about 4 to 6 weeks the initiation school is terminated with the burning of the hut and its contents. The initiates wash the white clay from their bodies and proceed to the house of the organiser of the initiation school. During this they are forbidden to look back. The burning

of the initiation school symbolises the youth which is being left behind.

Finally certain ceremonies take place, and new clothes are received from relatives.

Adulthood has now been entered, and the initiates are now entitled to marry, to take part in discussions relating to tribal matters, etc.

It was found in the research area, that White farmers as employers on farms are sympathetic towards the traditions and customs of the Africans in his employ, but some churches are strongly opposed to traditional initiation.

Although African boys who were born and grew up in the area, are reluctant to attend the initiation schools, no cases of total refusal to attend, were found.

Because initiation schools take place in winter, and as African seasonal labourers are present in limited numbers only at that time in the research area, the Africans taking part in the proceedings, are mainly those belonging to the permanent labour force. Informants claim that some African fathers send their sons to the reserves for initiation.

The initiation ceremony concludes the time during which the African receives informal education from relatives and members of the community.

The Nguni people generally, including the Xhosa-speaking farm labourers, are organised in a number of units, which can be described as clans. The members of a clan consider themselves related by virtue of the fact that they all descend from the same supposed ancestor, although their genealogical connection with each other is no longer known. They nevertheless believe that they are all the descendants of the founder of the clan in the distant past.

As a result of the distribution of labourers on farms, it is difficult for clan members to arrange meetings. Nevertheless, every possible effort is made to assemble members of the same clan from surrounding farms from time to time.

The function of the clan on farms is dual in nature : mutual aid and maintenance of traditional custom. A case was found where members of the Amaxira clan collected money to bail out a fellow member of the clan who had been imprisoned in Caledon. Another case was found where money was collected to send two misreçant African youths to an initiation school in a reserve.

The further function of the clan in the research area is to prevent members of the same clan from marrying each other.

Age is an important factor in African communities; older members occupying a position of respect. Traditionally the members of a community were divided into age groups, those of approximately the same age, passing through certain stages in life together.

Since 95% of the African farm labourers are recruited on a migratory basis, there are few children or old people.

The average age of the 200 Africans which formed the representative group in the area, is 38 years. Basically only three groups are found, viz.

- (a) boys who have not yet attended the initiation school;
- (b) circumcised men up to the age of 50;
- (c) elderly men,

The latter group consists mainly of permanently settled Africans. Normally the groups mingle with each other during their leisure time, when they discuss matters of common interest. Informants maintain that the wider function of age groups as it exists in the Bantu areas, has lapsed in the research area.

Age groups play a larger role in the fruit producing districts where larger numbers of Africans are concentrated, and therefore live together.

Recreation facilities such as organised sport, societies or clubs, do not exist for Africans in the research area.

Leisure exists mainly during week-ends, when African labourers visit to and fro. They discuss agricultural conditions in the reserves, and the nature of work on the farm going on.

(i) Religion and Values

As opposed to the Coloured farm labourer, with an established religious pattern, cast in a Western mould, African farm labourers display divergent religious patterns.

The majority in the research area, came from a reserve where traditional religion was practised. The traditional religion displays the basic characteristics of a vague belief in a Supreme Being, who is responsible for the creation. In conjunction with this, a strong belief exists in the spirits of the Ancestors. In fact, this is the dominant form of religion amongst the African farm labourers. The spirits of the Ancestors are

honoured in various ways, as they can control the misfortunes of people. Sacrifices to the ancestral spirits are made.

Connected to this we find the Africans belief in the power of some individuals to injure others directly by witchcraft and of others to manipulate material substances (medicine) to the advantage, or disadvantage of people.

The above-mentioned two basic aspects of the African religion form part of the daily life of the African farm labourer, as opposed to the Coloured labourer, who completely dissociates his religious activities from his general daily activities.

Normally it could be expected that mutual influence would be exerted. On the contrary: the African farm labourer more readily adopts norms and codes of behaviour regarding religion from his Coloured fellow farm labourers, than vice versa. This adoption is very superficial, as will be shown later.

Different factors influence the religion of African farm labourers. All African labourers are employed by White farmers. The farmer with a Western way of life, serves as a model to the African, also as regards religion. In some instances the farmers provide transport to churches.

However, these are not churches for Africans, but churches for Coloured people.

The isolated cases where African labourers attend the meetings of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church for Coloured people, is as a result of a marriage to a Coloured woman who belongs to the Dutch Reformed Mission Church. Because the Coloured school facilities are forbidden to them, they thus feel unwelcome in church.

The policy of migratory labour means that complete African families are few. This eliminates the spreading of the Western religion since the Church concentrates mainly on families. Furthermore, the migratory labour system prevents the formation of a permanent community in the research area.

Opposition of various kinds originated from religious institutions against the traditional African religion and customs. The lobolo-system and initiation schools were strongly condemned by some denominations.

With the occasional admission of African children to a Coloured school, the African was taught the religious principles as applicable to the Coloured people. By implication this led partially to the undermining of the parental authority, because the Western pattern of parental

discipline differs from those of the traditional African system.

Although Africans were found in the research area, who belonged to various Mission churches, no organised church facilities exists, where African farm labourers are able to take an active part. Communication and transport are limited, therefore, effective organisation for church meetings is restricted.

Those migratory labourers who belong to a Western Mission Church, became members of the church concerned, while still in the reserve. It was found in several cases that as soon as church members were recruited as migratory labourers on farms, they reverted to the practice of traditional African religion, because of the lack in facilities for their particular religion in the research area together with the religious power of the majority of African farm labourers.

The church affiliation of 200 farm labourers was as follows:

<u>CHURCH AFFILIATION</u>	<u>NUMBER OF MEMBERS</u>
Methodist Church of S A	7
Roman Catholic Church	5
African Methodist Episcopal Church	9
Dutch Reformed African Church	4
Apostolic Faith Mission	3
Bantu Presbyterian Church	6
Others	12
No church affiliation	<u>154</u>
TOTAL	<u>200</u>

Therefore, in a representative group of 200 Africans, 23% belong to a church of some kind. This percentage is lower than that of the rest of the Republic because it is mostly conservatives whom are recruited.

Diviners (amagqira, 4 were found in the area) play an important role in the provision of traditional medicaments, as well as in the celebration of rituals directed to ancestors.

Sacrifices in order to secure the favour of the ancestral spirits, usually consist of the slaughter of cattle or goats and the brewing of large quantities of beer. The researcher attended four such ceremonies of which two were on invitation. It took place in the Grabouw area where migratory labourers are concentrated in large numbers. Rituals take place on

Saturdays on a central farm with the permission of the farmer concerned,

When tidings of severe drought are received from the homeland, the migratory labourers gather for a rain ceremony. This ceremony is not always limited to a specific clan, and normally takes place when fellow-labourers arrive for a period of labour on a farm in times of drought. One particular ritual took place on a fruit farm in the Elgin-area where migratory labourers from the same area in the reserve are employed on a rotating basis.

Religion amongst the African farm labourers forms an invisible link with the homelands. This explains why migratory labourers take a more active part in religion than permanently settled farm labourers in the research area.

The ascribed status of the farm labourer is an aspect to which he himself can bring about little or no change. Age is the most important factor. The older person cannot do the same amount of work as the younger one. Nevertheless he is treated with esteem and respect by virtue of his age. The value and status which the Africans attach to age, is not understood by the Coloured people, and this has often led to conflicts amongst farm labourers. Africans of an advanced age often act as leaders at ceremonial occa-

sions on farms, and the religious significance of age is emphasised. Because of his exceptional knowledge of the past, younger people will often seek his advice. Ascribed status is also determined by the person's kinship, in other words, his genealogical connections. Amongst African farm labourers 17 cases were found where migratory labourers were the sons of chiefs. As a result of their ascribed status, they were treated with respect. Without exception, each of these maintained that he was working in a White area, because this carried prestige in his homeland. In these cases we find a combination of ascribed and achieved status.

The number of children per family gives status to both the husband and the wife. It indicates that success is achieved in the primary function of the family. In the same context, the amount of lobolo, as predetermined by the two families, is closely connected to the status of the African woman amongst the members of her group.

Achieved status is acquired as a result of the abilities of the person himself. Achieved status amongst African farm labourers indicates a certain degree of adoption of Western culture.

Possessions as such play the most important role, and can range from the possession of valuable articles

to cattle. Africans who own cattle, use these for ceremonial purposes, payment of lobolo and redemption of any other debts which may have been incurred. The herd of cattle belonging to a man give him status and cash is often converted into cattle.

Possession of means of transport also carries prestige and in the area 7 African farm labourers were found who possessed motor cars or light trucks. To the owner, these are also sources of income, as he can transport people for a fee.

The various types of farm labour in which the African may be involved, also serve to differentiate status-wise between labourers. The handling of machinery not only endows the labourer with status, but also brings him a relatively higher wage. Machine drivers wear distinctive clothing which further enchances this status.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EDUCATION OF FARM WORKERS

Up to and including the fifties of this century, the education of farm labourers in the research area played a secondary role. The economic development in the larger urban areas which followed the Second World War only influenced the research area deeply a decade later. The demand for education is very closely related to urban economic development. After 1950 a new phase began in the history of farm labour. It was characterised by a growing consciousness of formal education and affected at first the Whites, then the Coloured people, and lastly the Africans.

A. The Coloured People

(1) Schools

Provision for schooling for slaves dates from 1658. The emphasis was on religious and moral development. In 1841 Government aid was extended to mission schools and until the beginning of the 20th century Coloured education was exclusively the task of churches and religious institutions. In 1909, by virtue of the South

African Act, all education except higher education became the function of the Province. In 1924 all technical education was transferred to the Central Government.

A departmental commission was appointed in 1959 to investigate the advisability of transferring the education of the Coloured people to the Department of Coloured Affairs. In 1960 a Government Commission continued the investigation, and, as a result, the Department was charged with drawing up an educational plan to fit into the Government's programme for the socio-economic advancement of the Coloured people. This plan was put into effect by the Coloured Persons Education Act, No. 47 of 1963.

The present position is that the Department of Coloured Affairs has full control of all education; and for the better implementation of the educational programme, professional and administrative services have been created.

In the research area the Moravian Mission Society were responsible for the original establishment of and also made the largest contribution to the development of education, in particular with the founding of Genadendal in 1737, and of Elim in 1828. At the time of the take over of Coloured education by the Department of

Coloured Affairs, the Dutch Reformed Mission Church was mainly responsible for the education of Coloured people.

Farm labourers are provided for by farm schools which are spread over the area. ¹⁾ Without exception these are primary schools, while the few high schools are located in semi-urban areas.

The distribution of schools in the research area is as follows:

High schools	2
Secondary schools	1
Primary schools	<u>76</u>
TOTAL	<u>79</u>

The division of schools between the towns and the farms is the following:

Town schools	26
Farm schools	<u>53</u>
TOTAL	<u>79</u>

The administration of all schools, rent of school buildings, appointment and payment of teachers, fall

1) The rural area of Caledon, e.g. has 39 Coloured schools.

under the Department of Coloured Affairs, which has its regional office at Worcester. 2)

School buildings on the farms which belong to the owner of the ground or to the Dutch Reformed Church, are rented from them, and the owners are held responsible for the maintenance of the buildings. Schools in the semi-urban areas which belong to the State are entirely controlled by the State, while those schools which are not government property but which belong to other individuals or bodies and are supported and administered by the State, are known as State supported schools. The numerical distribution between the two types of schools is as follows:

State schools	10
State supported schools	<u>69</u>
TOTAL	<u>79</u>

The two high schools and one secondary school in the area which are located in semi-urban areas, are State schools.

2) This regional office controls all matters in the research area.

The 79 schools provide educational facilities for 12 418 children ³⁾ and an average of 157.1 pupils are found per school. The total number of pupils are instructed by 399 teachers, which is an average of 31.1 pupils per teacher.

Although the schools in the area are relatively well dispersed, school attendance for approximately $\frac{1}{5}$ of the children of school-going age is made difficult because of distances, want of transport, and accommodation in those cases where farm children attend high schools in the towns. In only one instance is accommodation provided in a semi-urban area, and transport is restricted. In both cases use is made of the subsidies granted by the Administration of Coloured Affairs. However, distance from school remains a limiting factor in education, as is illustrated by the following statistics:

<u>DISTANCE FROM SCHOOL</u>	<u>PUPIL PERCENTAGE</u>
Less than 1 kilometre	21
1 - 3 km	15
3 - 5 km	24
5 - 7 km	17
7 - 9 km	14
More than 9 km	<u>9</u>
	<u>100%</u>

3) Data obtained from the regional office of the Administration of Coloured Affairs, Worcester.

Although it is not situated in the research area, there is a training centre where farm labourers are instructed in practical schooling which is related to daily farm labour. On August, 4, 1964, the training centre, Khromme Rhee, was founded in the district of Stellenbosch. It is at present under the control of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs. ⁴⁾ The training of farm labourers takes the form of 14 day courses, at a fee of 50c a day, which is paid by the employer of the farm labourer. ⁵⁾ The largest part of the training programme is made up of courses in the pruning of vines and fruit trees, the cultivation of crops, and the operation of farm machinery. In the years from 1964 to 1969, 31 farmers from a total of 200 made use of the opportunity to send 46 labourers to the centre for training. ⁶⁾

(2) Qualifications of Coloured Farm Workers

The Coloured person is not subjected to compulsory schooling to the same degree that the Whites are.

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- 4) The original Department of Coloured Affairs split into two separate departments on the 1st July, 1969; viz. the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs and the Administration of Coloured Affairs.
- 5) The fees of the course are subsidised to an extent of 90%.
- 6) See No. 3 of this section, under "The Attitude of the Coloured People towards Education" for the implications of this training course.

The only obligation in this connection for the Coloured people is that when a pupil enrolls as scholar at any particular school, he is compelled to attend the school as a pupil for the whole year.

However, in the research area the past decade is characterised by a definite awareness of the importance of school education, and parents try to let their children obtain as much training as possible at school.

The educational qualifications of Coloured farm labourers in the research area are represented by the following figures:

<u>QUALIFICATION</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Up to Std I	27	9.0
Std II	19	6.3
Std III	21	7.0
Std IV	18	6.0
Std V	24	8.0
Std VI - VIII	4	1.3
Std IX - X	3	1.0
Formal technical training ⁷⁾	17	5.7
Informal trade instruction	32	10.7
No educational qualification	<u>135</u>	<u>45.0</u>
	<u>300</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

7) Organised technical training as e.g. at Khromme Rhee.

Up to 95% of the labour executed by Coloured people on the farms is unskilled, and on itself requires no formal training worthy of mention. Young farm labourers who are loath to undergo school training are thus able to go straight into the service of the farmer without any particular educational qualifications being demanded of them. In the 5% of instances where semi-skilled work is required, the employer makes use of those few labourers who have in fact had some training at school. This latter group remain on the farms simply because the profession of the father is traditionally followed, rather than because of some or other obligation. The view of the old established farm labourers is furthermore that formal education is a waste of time and thus also of money.

The distance from the schools and the lack of means of transport are often the cause of schools not being attended. It can be accepted that at least 23%⁸⁾ of Coloured people fall in this category. The farm labourer lacks the economic means to overcome these shortcomings without outside help.⁹⁾

8) Pupils who live more than 7 kilometre from their school and have to reach school on foot.

9) See Chapter X on "Wages, Income and Expenditure".

Furthermore, the economic level of the farm labourer makes it essential for him to exploit every means possible in order to raise the level of family income. Thus all the available manpower in each household is applied to supplement the income of the father. Accordingly, children are taken into service as soon as they reach an age ¹⁰⁾ at which farm labour can be done. Before a member of the household leaves the home to become economically independent, ¹¹⁾ it is expected of him to contribute the major part of his income towards the family budget. Thus school attendance is severely limited by the poverty of the Coloured people.

(3) The Attitude of the Coloured People towards Education

Particularly up to and including the past decades the Coloured communities on the farms had not been keeping pace with the socio-economic development of the Coloured communities in the urban areas. This is partly as a result of the want of communication with urban activities and partly as a result of the low level

10) The age varies and is determined by the father. Normally it is between 11 and 14, depending on whether the child is going to school or not.

11) E.g. when a daughter gets married.

of development on farms.

The past decade, however, introduced a new phase which was characterised by a totally new approach towards education.

Every farm labourer now does everything in his power to enable his children to undergo all possible education, so that the existing educational facilities are exploited to the maximum. It was found that in spite of the need for childrens' earnings, 87% of all Coloured farm labourers keep one or more of their children at school up to the age of sixteen years.

Education enables Coloured labourers to enter semi-skilled jobs in the urban and semi-urban areas, and to earn higher wages. This results in potential farm labourers migrating to the cities and towns, and an imbalance in the labour supply and -demand on the farms is created.

The attitude of the present farm labourers tends to be particularly positively inclined towards technical training such as at Khromme Rhee because this is practical and has direct bearing on farm labour. However, the farmers are not inclined to send their labourers to that institution for training because there

is a tendency for labourers to leave their service immediately upon their return from the course. Of the 46 Coloured labourers who have to date completed the course on the farmers' expense, only 17 are still in the farmers' service as farm labourers. The training centre is situated in the proximity of urban and industrialised areas, so that the labourers come into contact with new and more lucrative work opportunities, which lead to urbanisation after employment.

One can thus conclude that only 26.56% of farm labourers in this category remain in service on the farms. Informants contend that this tendency stems mainly from wage scales and socio-economic circumstances.

It thus is apparent that the desire of Coloured people for education, and the requirements of farmers for labour are out of proportion and imbalanced, due to inadequate provision of facilities.

B. The African

(1) Schools

Education for African farm labourers in the research area is limited to the absolute minimum.

This is connected with the removal of Africans from the Western Cape. In the research area no provision is made for African schools. In only one instance, viz. on a farm in Lindeshof, African children ¹²⁾ were allowed to attend the local school for Coloured children. This is a temporary measure. The result is that illiteracy exists to a large extent amongst the African farm labourers.

The numbers of the Africans in the research area, as well as their age composition, is such that a minimum of Africans fall within the school-going category. To create facilities exclusively for such a limited group would not only be uneconomical, but also highly inefficient because those Africans who qualify for e.g. school tuition, are spread over the area. Distance from the schools and the maintenance of the latter would thus make school attendance for children impossible.

This difficulty, together with the Government policy with regard to the removal of Africans from the Western Cape has meant that no special facilities for the education of Africans have been created. Should an African child want to gain a school education, his parents

12) Only those African children from the farm concerned were admitted as pupils.

are obliged to send him to somewhere outside the area. Up to and including 1970 only one single exception was made; eleven African children were allowed to attend one school with Coloured children. In all other cases Africans are excluded from Coloured schools.

The 20 complete African families out of the 200 African farm labourers used in the sample, have a total of 140 children, which is an average of 7 children per household. Of these 75 of the children are of the age of school attendance, that is an average of 3.75 children per family. Of these children 16 were accommodated in Coloured schools, making the percentage of school-going children approximately 4.2%. Without exception this percentage constitutes children of Africans who qualify for permanent residence in the area.

Before an African from the research area is admitted to an African school in Cape Town, certain prescribed regulations must be met. The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner gives an explanation of this in Circular No. 7 of 1968, and notes the following points:

- (i) Children from elsewhere may not be unprovisionally allowed into schools in the urban areas.

- (ii) Before anyone from elsewhere may be enrolled at the school, a permit for the purpose must be obtained from the African Labour Officer of the local Administration.
- (iii) The school principal concerned must have the above permit in his possession, which also indicates the scholars legal presence in the area.
- (iv) In view of the State Policy for the Western Cape, it is clearly apparent that children whose parents themselves are not legal inhabitants of the urban area, will not easily be admitted to a school in that area and that the "importation" of children must discontinued.

The distance between Cape Town and the central part of the research area is approximately 200 kilometres, and no scholars from the research area attending schools in the urban areas were found.

For all practical purposes no educational facilities exist for the children of African farm labourers in the research area.

The consequences of this are particularly relevant in the case of the children of mixed marriages.

As has been mentioned previously, the children of a mixed marriage, ¹³⁾ which has been concluded according to civil law, are classified with their father as Africans. Admission to the Coloured schools is thus forbidden to them.

However, should such a marriage not be legally concluded but simply be a matter of cohabitation, the children are classified with their mother as Coloured if the marriage breaks up. These children are then admitted to Coloured schools. In reality there is no difference between the two categories. This gives rise to serious conflicts.

(2) Qualifications of African Farm Labourers

Of the three population groups in the research area, the African has the lowest educational standard.

An investigation of the educational qualifications of 200 African farm labourers between the ages of 16 and 68 years, in the research area, reveals the following:

13) An African male and Coloured female.

<u>QUALIFICATION</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Up to Std I	19	9.5
Std II	12	6.0
Std III	5	2.5
Std IV	6	3.0
Std V	8	4.0
Std VI - VIII	1	0.5
Std IX - X	0	0.0
Formal technical training	0	0.0
Informal trade instruction	27	13.5
No educational qualification	<u>122</u>	<u>61.0</u>
TOTAL	<u>200</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

With regard to school education 25% of labourers have qualifications up to and including Std V, while only 0.5% have higher qualifications, viz. Std VIII. The 23.5% who have undergone informal trade instruction, received this in the White area during their period of service as migratory labourers, or during their time on the farms as permanent labourers. No type of formal technical training is available to African farm labourers in the research area, although such training may be obtained in the African homelands. Informants allege that persons who have undergone technical training there, normally do not seek employment as migrant labourers, but are employed by

the Administrative Authorities of the African homelands, so that they may apply their knowledge within their own areas.

Along with educational facilities there are other factors which must be taken into consideration when evaluating the educational qualifications of the African farm labourer. The most important of these is the traditional way of life of the African farm labourer, to which he was informally introduced in his homeland. Under their traditional circumstances one of the most prominent values of the African society is that every member should contribute towards the support of the family at the earliest possible stage. However, Western values in turn emphasise the value of a formal education, such as school qualifications, and that to such an extent that is the legally compulsory for the Whites. This leads to a conflict of values for the African farm labourer, and in particular for the migratory labourer.

Although they constitute two different entities, their position may be compared with that of the Mexican migratory labourer of whom mention has been made in Chapter V. In this regard Harland Padfield and William Martin write:

"..... Children have little opportunity to remain in school beyond the legal age limit, if that long. The influence of education during the time they are in school is seriously hampered by a conflict of values. The Anglo middle-class-oriented school system stresses the value of self development as opposed to the value that an individual's prime responsibility is to help support his parents and brothers and sisters. The only responsibility which takes precedent over this obligation is an individual son or daughter's responsibility to her own spouse and children - still family." 14)

C. Whites

(1) Schools

Of the various groups of farm labour, the position of the White farm labourer with regard to education differs radically.

The cause of this is found in diverse aspects of the historical development of the White, and his socio-economic and political position within the context of the South African society.

14) Padfield, H and Martin, W: Farmers, Workers and Machines, 1965, p. 199.

Schools for other racial groups were established by White initiative after the settlement at the Cape three centuries ago. Since then the Whites have always been in control of the primary economic and political power.

Educational facilities for White farm labourers are unlimited because every emanity is supplied and facilities are created to make school attendance possible.

Along with this the Whites are also subject to compulsory education up to Std VIII or up to the age of 16 years. This principal first found effect with the School Boards Act of 1905. School Boards were inter alia given the power to make school attendance between the ages of 7 and 14 years compulsory in their districts. Children were permitted to leave school on passing Standard IV. Some school boards demanded a higher standard of those who were not yet fourteen years old.¹⁵⁾ Under Dr. W.J. Viljoen as Superintendent-General of Education the school leaving age was raised to 15 years or Standard V and later to 16 years or Standard VI in 1919. In 1948 compulsory school attendance was up to the age of 16

15) Behr, A.L., and MacMillan, R.G.: Education in South Africa, 1966, p. 101.

years or Std VII; in 1952 it became 16 years or Standard VIII. These developments ran parallel to the provision of free education. 16)

In 48% of cases the White farm labourers utilise the farm school facilities, while 52% attend schools in towns and cities. The tendency to make more use of town schools shows a sharp increase as the economic position of the farm labourer and communication media constantly improve. Since town and city schools are mostly residential schools, there are no limitations with regard to the areas of school attendance. The State undertakes the cost of supporting those children whose parents cannot afford to pay for their lodgings.

Diverse forms of higher educational facilities exist, as do opportunities for technical training and trade instruction.

(2) Qualifications of White Farm Workers (employees)

Statistics concerning the education of White farm employees are not representative of the White community on farms in the area. The employees constitute only

16) For the Cape Province.

32.5% of the adult White population on 200 farms, and there exist radical differences between the highest and lowest forms of farm work. It covers unskilled labour to the managing of an extensive farming complex, and educational qualifications of Std II up to a University education.

<u>QUALIFICATION</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Up to Std II	5	10
Std III	2	4
Std IV	3	6
Std V - VI	19	38
Std VII - VIII	7	14
Std IX - X	4	8
College diploma	2	4
Formal technical training	5	10
University degree	1	2
No educational qualification	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
TOTAL	<u>50</u>	<u>100%</u>

Up to about two decades ago farm labour was a way of life for the Whites, and it was often expected that sons should follow the profession of their father. The present position is, however, exactly the opposite. In every way children are encouraged to proceed to higher education, and even to obtain post school training

for some or other profession which must necessarily be practised in urban areas. The income from farm work, as will be shown in Chapter X, is totally out of proportion when compared with the wages and income scales of the urbanised industrial areas.

With regard to unskilled and semi-skilled labour on the farms, it can be accepted that the present generation will be the last in this sector of labour. Tendencies indicate that White workers on the farms will in future only hold supervisory positions over Non-whites and managerial posts.

Along with the White depopulation of the rural areas which is being drastically accelerated, the number of farm schools is diminishing. Whites on farms are sending their children to town and city schools where the educational facilities are better. This has had led to the closing down of a number of farm schools.

CHAPTER IX

SKILLED AND UNSKILLED LABOUR

Agriculture, like industry, is dynamic, and development which varies in tempo and intensity according to the factors involved, takes place continually. Aside from mechanisation, general cultural development, agricultural administration and legislation, the nature of labour in agriculture is one of the most important factors which must keep pace with any development.

There is change not only in the number of agricultural labourers required, but also the kind required - skilled or unskilled labour. Mechanisation requires increasingly skilled men especially in the Non-white labour force. White workers are ceasing to be available.

Up to approximately two decades ago agricultural labour in the research area was mainly unskilled; the work was mostly done by Coloured people, with a few Africans and White workers. The influx of Africans into the Western Cape, especially after the Second World War, resulted in an additional racial group being employed, which did not at first replace the Coloured farm labourer, but rather a supplementary force. The Coloured people first entered the field of semi-skilled and skilled labour in agriculture.

Mechanisation as it is found today requires not only that the farmer employ skilled labour, but also that he provides better conditions of work and wage scales. This does not, however, apply uniformly to all sectors of labour. In comparison with fruit-, grain- and sheep farming, vegetable cash crop farming has remained relatively static in the numerical relation of skilled and unskilled labour.

A. Skilled Labour

On the farms skilled labour is used mainly for the manipulation of machinery, such as the driving of tractors, lorries and combines. On fruit farms, trees are also pruned and various sorts of machinery necessary for fruit farming are used.

For African labourers the maximum employment period is 360 days, therefore the farmers make no attempt to train them in any particular category of skilled labour. The Africans must leave the farm and in the majority of cases are not recruited again by the same employer.

Skilled White workers are mainly employed as foremen or in a supervisory capacity. This category is decreasing in number because of the better working conditions¹⁾ in

1) Of these wage scales and educational facilities play the most prominent role.

the urban areas. This means that the farmer is compelled to an ever increasing extent to employ Coloured people for semi-skilled labour.

Of the various sample groups in the farming industry the following numbers did skilled labour on farms:

TABLE NO. 1

FRUIT FARMING : PERMANENT LABOUR FORCE 1969

	Skilled		Unskilled		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Whites	13	0	2	0	15	0
Coloured People	12	2	46	15	58	17
Africans	14	0	459	12	473	12

An analysis of the above statistics in the fruit industry reveals the following proportions of skilled and unskilled labour:

TABLE NO. 2

	<u>Skilled %</u>	<u>Unskilled %</u>	<u>Total%</u>
Whites	86.6	13.4	100%
Coloured People	18.6	81.4	100%
Africans	2.8	97.2	100%

It is thus clearly apparent that the majority of labour in fruit farming is unskilled labour, which is performed by Non-whites. Twenty-one farmers report that skilled labour has increased by about 12% in the past decade, mainly because of mechanisation and intensive farming. The harvesting of fruit however, requires an ever increasing amount of unskilled labour as the expansion of production takes place, because this task has not yet been mechanised.

During peak seasons, when seasonal labourers of all three racial groups are employed, it can be expected that the percentage composition of skilled and unskilled labour will differ.

TABLE NO. 3

FRUIT FARMING : SEASONAL LABOUR (PEAK SEASON 1969)

	Skilled		Unskilled		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Whites	32	0	63	0	95	0
Coloured People	10	3	64	58	74	61
Africans	12	0	490	13	502	13

PERCENTAGE

TABLE NO. 4

	<u>Skilled %</u>	<u>Unskilled %</u>	<u>Total %</u>
Whites	33.7	66.3	100%
Coloured People	9.6	90.4	100%
Africans	2.3	97.7	100%

Seasonal labour is additional to and does not include the permanent labour force.

With regard to White workers in particular a sharp decrease in unskilled labour has been experienced. Co-operative packing sheds where numbers of White women are employed in season, are not considered because this is a pure commercial enterprise.

For a number of reasons, grain-, sheep- and dairy farming differs radically from fruit farming. Farming is more extensive and a smaller number of labourers are employed per unit. In numbers and in the nature of work performed, African labour plays a secondary role to Coloured labour. Farming is highly mechanised, and only labourers of the permanent labour force are used on a semi-skilled and skilled

basis ²⁾ for the handling of expensive machinery.

The permanent labour force of 138 farmers in this type of farming is divided as follows:

TABLE NO. 5

GRAIN-, SHEEP- AND DAIRY FARMING : PERMANENT LABOUR FORCE 1969

	Skilled		Unskilled		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Whites	39	0	6	0	45	0
Coloured People	238	0	249	63	487	63
Africans	23	0	99	13	122	13

An analysis of the above statistics in grain-, sheep- and dairy farming shows the following relationship between the percentage of skilled and unskilled labour.

2) For this purpose semi-skilled labourers are grouped with skilled labourers.

PERCENTAGE

TABLE NO. 6

	<u>Skilled %</u>	<u>Unskilled %</u>	<u>Total %</u>
Whites	86.7	13.3	100%
Coloured People	43.3	56.7	100%
Africans	17.0	83.0	100%

It is conspicuous that the percentage balance between unskilled and skilled White workers is practically the same as in fruit farming in spite of the smaller sample in the case of fruit. The Coloured and African skilled labour force are respectively 25% and 15% higher in grain-, sheep- and dairy farming than in fruit farming. This is due to the degree of mechanisation.

Seasonal labour in grain-, sheep- and dairy farming is characterised by the fact that the labourers of each particular population group are used for a specific type of seasonal labour. African labour is used for the shearing of sheep while Coloured people are employed during the sowing and harvesting seasons. The small number of Whites are normally in charge of shearing teams or do contract labour during the sowing season.

Seasonal labour in this industry which is employed additionally to the permanent labour force, is classed as follows:

TABLE NO. 7

GRAIN-, SHEEP- AND DAIRY FARMING - SEASONAL LABOUR (PEAK SEASON 1969)

	Skilled		Unskilled		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Whites	25	0	0	0	25	0
Coloured People	44	0	56	0	120	0
Africans	193	0	87	0	280	0

The percentage relation between skilled and unskilled seasonal labourers in this type of farming is as follows:

PERCENTAGE

TABLE NO. 8

	<u>Skilled %</u>	<u>Unskilled %</u>	<u>Total %</u>
Whites	100	0.0	100%
Coloured People	36.6	63.4	100%
Africans	68.9	31.1	100%

Here 100% use is made of skilled White labour during the season. A further characteristic is the high percentage of skilled African labour used. This is due to specialisation in the shearing of sheep. During the past decade Coloured labourers as shearers have been almost totally replaced by African shearing teams.

Vegetable cash crop farming differs from the other types in a number of ways. In both the permanent labour force and the seasonal labour force, skilled labour plays a secondary role to unskilled labour. Mechanisation in vegetable farming is limited, and planting and harvesting require a minimum of skilled labour. The numerical analysis of skilled and unskilled labourers in the service of 41 farmers in vegetable farming is as follows:

TABLE NO. 9

VEGETABLE CASH CROP FARMING : PERMANENT LABOUR FORCE 1969

	Skilled		Unskilled		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Whites	4	0	1	0	5	0
Coloured People	44	0	173	28	217	28
Africans	0	0	13	2	13	2

PERCENTAGE

TABLE NO. 10

	<u>Skilled %</u>	<u>Unskilled %</u>	<u>Total %</u>
Whites	80	20	100%
Coloured People	18	82	100%
Africans	0	100	100%

No skilled Africans are employed in this sector; the number in service is limited to an absolute minimum. The production of cash crops is traditionally done by Coloured labourers, while African labourers mainly work with live-stock. Because of this, the African labour bureaux are normally not inclined to grant permits for Africans in this type of farming.

Seasonal labour in vegetable farming is characterised by the employment of labourers' families. Wives and older children are also employed for the planting of onions and as helpers with the plaiting of onions.

TABLE NO. 11

VEGETABLE CASH CROP FARMING : SEASONAL LABOUR (PEAK SEASON
1969)

	Skilled		Unskilled		Total	
	Men	Women	Men + boys	Women + girls	Men + boys	Women + girls
Whites	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coloured People	6	0	118	206	124	206
Africans	0	0	0	0	0	0

PERCENTAGE

TABLE NO. 12

	<u>Skilled %</u>	<u>Unskilled %</u>	<u>Total %</u>
Whites	0	0	0
Coloured People	1.8	98.2	100%
Africans	0	0	0

For seasonal work use is made of Coloured labour alone. Women are in the majority because the labour is unskilled. A very small percentage of additional skilled labour is employed in the peak season. Labourers for seasonal work

mostly come from Genadendal and Hawston. The former is located in the vegetable cash crop region and labourers (often with their families) are provided transport by lorry to the farms daily, or more rarely, weekly.

Reference has already been made to the role of mechanisation with regard to supply and demand in each of the three agricultural sectors. The continual movement of labourers from farm to farm, along with the increasing tendency of the Coloured labourers of the research area to migrate to the urban areas, makes it uneconomical for the farmer to train labourers in the handling of expensive machinery. Labourers tend to leave the farms as soon as they have become skilled in some category of labour. The logical solution would thus be to make educational facilities available in the research area, rather than outside it. It is generally expected that farmers should pay higher wages to skilled labourers. Of 200 farmers, 83% paid higher wages to men performing skilled labour, while 17% only distinguished between labourers on the grounds of length of service. Concessions with regard to wage scales are mostly insufficient and this gives rise to the skilled labourers entering employ in the urban areas, in particular with construction companies. As will be noted in Chapter XI, there is a basic imbalance between skilled labour and wage scales.

The number of skilled African labourers has shown a considerable decrease since the announcement of tentative regulations with regard to the removal of Africans from the Western Cape. Farmers are compelled to limit African labour to a minimum and to employ Coloured labourers.

B. Unskilled Labour

The proportion of skilled to unskilled labour has already been dealt with in Tables 1 to 12 in Section A of this chapter. Nevertheless, there are tendencies to note in all three the sectors.

Unskilled White labour is disappearing from the agricultural labour market. Competition from the Coloured people and Africans, along with opportunities of better paid work in town are eliminating it.

In fruit farming Africans constitute the largest part of the unskilled labour force because Coloured labour in the large numbers required is not available, and African labour is cheaper to employ. This applies to the permanent labour force as well as to seasonal labour. African labourers are employed as migratory labourers, available, and the present expansion of fruit farming involves a massive expansion of the migratory system of labour. In comparison with the other agricultural sectors it is easy for fruit farmers to obtain African labour, and the costs are relative low.

Large numbers of labourers are required and the employers can provide their own means of transport to and from the African homelands quite cheaply. Accommodation is provided in the form of compounds, where provision only has to be made for single labourers. Family accommodation for Africans is not provided.

In the case of grain-, sheep- and dairy farming unskilled labour ³⁾ plays a diminishing role. As a result of mechanisation there has been a relative decrease ⁴⁾ in the demand for unskilled labour, and the demand for skilled labour has increased. ⁵⁾

In vegetable cash crop farming unskilled labour plays the primary role. To date the cultivation of vegetable cash crops has not been mechanised to the same extent as other types of farming and no decrease in the unskilled labour demand will take place. Expansion thus requires an increase of unskilled labour, and is hampered because the unskilled labour available, remains constant.

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- 3) Unskilled labour in this industry still comprises a numerical majority.
- 4) Relative decreases in the sense that expansion of farming requires a minimum of additional permanent unskilled labourers.
- 5) See Section A.

While skilled labourers tend to migrate to the larger urban areas such as Cape Town unskilled labourers mostly migrate to the smaller towns, or to large fruit farms which are managed by companies, and where Coloured labourers are also concentrated in large numbers.

C. Contract Labour

Contract labour refers to workers who do not live on the farm permanently, but who execute a certain type of work on a contract basis. An agreement between the farmer and the labourer or group of labourers is concluded beforehand, with regard to the nature and extent of the piece of work, the remuneration, and in some cases the date of completion of this particular task. ⁶⁾

As far as could be determined from the diaries of former farm owners, contract labour in the research area dates back as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. Originally all contract labour was done by Coloured people and Whites who moved from farm to farm doing work such as fencing, extermination of weeds, shearing of sheep, and the building of stock ponds.

6) Reference is not made here to African migratory labourers who enter service on a fixed period contract.

In the course of time, however, the pattern of contract labour has changed radically. It has become a form of specialisation, while certain types of work such as fencing and shearing require a certain amount of schooling.

A team has a permanent membership which generally varies from 4 to 12 people. One person takes the lead and organises the team. He is responsible for the payment of his labourers, since the farmer concludes the agreement only with the team leader, and is responsible to him alone for payment.

White contract labour disappeared about two decades ago, because Non-white teams could execute contracts more cheaply since they were prepared to accept lower wages.

With the disappearance of White contract labour after 1950 African contract labourers came to the fore. Control over the movements of Africans in the various districts was limited. Recruitment by the leader took place on ethnic grounds. Families all centralised in one place, in houses which were rented from the owner. In some cases certain services were rendered to the farmer instead of the payment of rental money. The custom was to move from farm to farm in order to obtain work. The farmers found that the African contract labourers were particularly suited for routine work, which includes specifically the building of stock ponds and

the extermination of weeds.

An African contract team formed a close-knit unit, with kinship as basis, although Africans of other clans were also taken into service by the leader of the group. The shearing of sheep with ordinary hand shears was a very popular service among sheep farmers. With the mechanisation of the shearing process those shearing teams which were either still present in the area, or which came from the African reserves, were largely eliminated because the capital expense of shearing machinery and the transporting of it could not be covered.

Previously shearing teams consisted of groups which were organised by different African leaders. Membership was based on kinship or locality. Since a central organisation in Bloemfontein took over shearing teams, groups consisted of individuals who were not necessarily related.

Up to the time that the policy of removing Africans from the Western Cape was implemented, African contract labourers afforded strong competition for Coloured people in the same field. After 1954 the freedom of movement of African labourers was restricted, while the prescribed regulations were such that they could not be complied with by the contract group as a whole. These members who did not qualify for permanent residence in the area in accordance with Art 10 of Act No. 25 of 1945, were compelled to leave

the group to return to the African homelands. Any further service by such persons in the research area could thus only take place on a contract basis.

Eighty-six per cent of farmers contend that African contract groups showed the most initiative, and accordingly they were also the most effective of the contract groups. Today African shearers still do all the shearing on the farms, but in the service of a White commercial company, which operates chiefly from Bloemfontein.

For contract labour at the present time, farmers are dependent upon Coloured people who dwell in the locations of towns or in Coloured villages such as Genadenda, Elim, and Hawston.

88% Of farmers in the research area make use of contract labour. Although without exception, farmers contend that in principle contract labour is a satisfactory method of doing certain types of labour, complaints are lodged against the laziness of Coloured contract labourers who leave employment and never complete a piece of work. Although it is to the financial detriment of the group itself, for it does not receive full payment, the farmers suffer the inconvenience, and must conclude another contract for the same piece of work.

In only 2% of cases do contract groups, consisting of 4 to 12 Coloured people, move to the farm where the work is done. The lack of sufficient accommodation is generally the most important cause of the fact that only the heads of the families live together on the farm concerned. Wherever practically possible, the farmer provides the transport to and from the permanent living area of the group. Of 11 groups of contract labourers investigated, 6 of the groups have their own means of transport. Dependent on the type of work done, a particular number of members of the group are skilled labourers. In instances of construction work, 60% of the group are skilled workers, while 40% act as helpers. Teams who do pruning on the fruit farms are skilled up to 95%, while those teams which erect fences or clear stones from the lands are 25% and 10% schooled respectively.

The recruitment of group members follows no particular set pattern as was formerly found amongst Africans, but depends solely on whether the prospective worker is prepared to accept the service conditions as laid down by the leader of the contract group.

Coloured contract workers who work on the farms in the fruit and vegetable cash crop regions, make the unconditional demand in 96% of cases, that liquor should constitute a part of the remuneration. Only 7% of farmers provide food for contract labourers, while in 93% of cases labourers must

supply their own food. In those instances where contract labourers work far from their abode, so that they cannot eat at home, problems and inconvenience with regard to the preparation of food do exist.

Farmers contend that in contrast with the position in the past, when African labourers did not mix with members of the permanent Coloured labour force,⁷⁾ Coloured contract labourers today readily mix with permanent labourers. The reason for the isolation of the African groups is obvious, viz. the method according to which the group was composed.

Farmers all allege that contract labour amongst Coloured labourers is showing an increasing tendency, mainly because of the elimination of competition from Africans. However, the general feeling is that the execution of labour on a contract basis can be organised far better by the foundation of a central organisation for exercising effective control in the area.

7) To a minimal extent, however, mixing with other African labourers did take place.

CHAPTER X

WAGES, INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Some authors maintain that wages of farm labour is the most important factor in connection with the labour problems of the farmer, while others maintain that wages constitute only a contributory factor. Wages of farm labourers ¹⁾ do not necessarily consist solely of cash remuneration, but often include payment in kind. Therefore it is essential to do intensive research on wages of labourers over a relatively long period in order to ascertain their complete function in the pattern of life. Data concerning the income from wages is more easily obtainable than data on expenditure. Data obtained from labourers through interviews is often untrustworthy. A thorough knowledge of the farm labourer's social structure and cross-checking of data is necessary.

The factors influencing wage-scales fluctuate continually. In the past for example, payment in kind played a greater role than at present, whereas increase in urban wages during the past decade, has had more influence than in the past. Farm labour is seen today as an occupation rather than a way of life as has been the case in the

1) Here we refer chiefly to permanent farm labourers who spend their entire lifetime on farms.

past. 2)

The nature of payment and the extent of wages paid to farm labourers differ according to areas in South Africa, due to geographical, administrative, and political factors. Limited means of communication and educational facilities in rural areas modify working conditions for farm labourers. The research area is within a hundred kilometres from Cape Town and this proximity influences the pattern of wage-scales on farms.

A. Historical Survey

As has already been mentioned in Chapter III, the first farm labourers in the research area were slaves and Hottentots. 3) With the exception of a few skilled slaves, all labour was unskilled and even these slaves had to perform unskilled tasks while resident on farms.

Data concerning cash wages during the latter part of the 18th and the 19th centuries is very limited and it appears that remuneration of slaves and Hottentots consisted mostly of payment in kind.

2) See Chapter XII on: "The Farmer's Labour Problem and the future of farm labourers".

3) These two groups were later to be known as the "Cape Coloured People" due to intermingling.

Commandant Jakobus Linde of the farm Twistwyk ⁴⁾ does, however, mention that by 1795, although labourers had to work without payment until their 25th year, wages were payable thereafter. ⁵⁾ The farmer was only responsible for clothing and feeding the labourer. As noted earlier farmers were always adverse to the mission stations such as Genadendal and Elim, due to farm labourers being 'lured away'. Farmers did everything in their power to stop this migration with the result that farm labourers remained illiterate and entirely dependent on the farmer. ⁶⁾

Up to and including the latter part of the 18th century, cattle farming was the most important agricultural activity until grain farming was introduced in 1797, on an extensive scale. Residents of Genadendal were forced to take their wheat to farms to be ground. In return they had to work on the farms for a certain period without remuneration. ⁷⁾ This situation, however, was amended on the erection of a mill at Genadendal in 1797. ⁸⁾

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- 4) In the area which is today known as Lindeshof.
- 5) Diary of Jakobus Linde at the Archives, Genadendal.
- 6) Krüger, B.: The Pear Tree Blossoms, 1966, p. 74 - 75.
- 7) Jakobus Linde, Diary, 1797.
- 8) Krüger, B.: p. 77.

During the years 1805 - 1808 the tendency of slaves and Hottentots to concentrate their forces on mission stations once more gathered strength. Labour demand was limited and wages increased accordingly. Krüger comments as follows:

" the Hottentots would be of more value to the country, if they live dispersed on farms. Quite a number of farmers had sunk into poverty because of a shortage of these creatures many thousands of Hottentots had left the farms; moreover, the neighbours of Baviaanskloof were complaining that the wages for labourers had risen from two shillings to six or even eight shillings; the inhabitants spend the earnings from the harvest for the rest of the year in idleness; " 9)

In 1808 labourers living without their families were hired for a week, a month or a year. Wages were so low that they scarcely provided for the needs of the labourer himself, while his family had to make ends meet on the mission station. 10) An increase in wages was inevitable as the shortage of farm labourers became more acute : Burchell comments:

9) Ibid, p. 94.

10) Burchell, W.J.: Travels in the Interior of South Africa, Londond, 1822 - 24, p. 114.

"Since the slave-trade had been prohibited, Hottentot labourers were very much in demand. The farmers complained about their vagrancy, the Hottentots themselves about their treatment." 11)

Although no further mention of definite wage-scales could be found in the first half of the 19th century, it has nevertheless been pointed out that in January, after the harvesting-season, the labourers brought their wages to Genadendal where savings bank facilities were established. 12)

Already during the first half of the 19th century liquor in the form of wine, constituted part of the labourers' wages. For example, farmers in the Caledon district supplied their labourers with wine in order to retain their services on the farms. 13) During the years 1840 - 1850 it was customary for the farmers to present their labourers with wine after the harvesting season. This ensured that no farm labourers deserted during harvesting-time. The same procedure was followed during

11) Ibid.

12) Ledger of the Savings Bank of Genadendal II, 1835 - 1859.

13) See Anshelm, Carl.: Bischof Hans Peter Halbeck der erste schwedische Missionar in Afrika: Lund, 1917, pp. 81 - 84, 88 - 91. (Kept at Genadendal.)

the winter months, in the ploughing season. ¹⁴⁾

At this stage it became clear that farm labourers in the research area did not merely work for food and clothing as had been the case earlier, but that wages in the form of ready cash (even if not much) was the general practice. On the mission station Zuurbraak in the Swellendam district, ¹⁵⁾ it was reported that by 1834 the average wages of the Coloured farm labourer amounted to 4s 6d a month. At the same time the wages in the research area ranged from 4s 6d to 8s a month. ¹⁶⁾

By 1848 farmers were already paying their labourers higher wages in season and were also erecting huts for them as part of their remuneration. This applied to labourers on a monthly as well as a daily basis. A tendency arose to remunerate labourers in advance in order to be sure of future labour supply. At the same time the amount of liquor per labourer was increased and it was said that farmers who offered the most liquor were always ensured of

14) Diary of Groenekloof, 1808 - 1925; 7:1:1841; 13/14:1:1842; 29:1:1843; at the Genadendal Archives.

15) Adjoining the research area.

16) Marais, J.S.: The Cape Coloured People, 1652 - 1937, p. 185.

sufficient labour. 17) In this connection the Justice of Peace at Caledon wrote:

" for those farmers who make the most liberal offers of wine, will always obtain the most servants. I have scarcely known an instance of a Hottentot, accepting money compensation for his wine." 18) In the grain- and sheep areas anything from 10s 6d up to 20s a month was paid by the middle of the 19th century, together with food, accommodation and wine, as well as plots of arable soil for personal cultivation. 19)

The Master and Servants Blue Book (1849) further states:

"Besides this, all corn and wine farmers, whether they had hired their servants by the month or by the day, had to pay extra wages as well as give an extra allowance of wine, during periods of exceptionally hard work farmers asserted that they had to pay 1s 6d to 2s per day during the barley, rye and oats harvest, and 2s 3d to 3s during the wheat harvest with five times wine per day." 20)

17) Master and Servants Blue Book (1849), p. 118, 150, 168.

18) Ibid, pp. 74 - 75.

19) Ibid, pp. 234 - 6.

20) Master and Servants Blue Book (1849), p. 219.

A visible change took place at the end of the eighties (the Depression of 1882 - 1886) amongst a large part of the farming community.²¹⁾ This depression influenced the labourers' wage-structure - White and Non-white alike.

MacMillan comments:

"It is still commonly forgotten that low-grade labour makes low-grade employers, and in a country where, at best, economic and social conditions made the masters themselves but poor and unprogressive, the constant disregard for the interests and improvement of the labourers has reacted disastrously on the Whites themselves. Constructive reform was left to chance."²²⁾

Few changes in wages occurred during the first quarter of the twentieth century. By 1925 wages amounted to an average of 2s 6d a day, and in cases where remuneration was offered in the form of natura, i.e. food, accommodation, tobacco and wine, it amounted to 1s a day.²³⁾

"Die Kommissie van Ondersoek insake die Kaapse Kleurlingbevolking van die Unie, U.G. Nr. 54, 1937", differen-

21) See: Report of the Carnegie Commission: "Die Armblanke-vraagstuk in Suid-Afrika", 1932.

22) MacMillan, W.M.: The Cape Colour Question, Reprint 1968, p. 252.

23) Report of the Economic and Wage Commission 1925, U.G. 14/1926, p. 13.

tiates between permanent farm labour and seasonal labour as regards wages. The former were remunerated by means of cash payment as well as goods in the form of natura, while the latter were remunerated solely in cash payment.

Informants in the research area allege that by 1933 permanent labourers were paid between 2/- and 3/- in cash daily, together with a plot of arable soil for contributing towards the food supply of the family, the right to keep cattle, firewood and water free of charge, and a food ration. The latter varied according to availability of the products. Women earned 2/- a day during the season and children received up to 5/6 a week, depending on their usefulness. Male labourers earned an extra 3d daily during the season.

Since the depression of the thirties, wage-structures have taken a few turns. Differences in the wages of farm labourers occurred on account of several basic reasons:

(i) Differences in the general economic position of the different types of farming influenced the standard of wages. Regions producing fruit initially inclined towards paying higher wages.

(ii) Differences in wages were made on the grounds of capability of labourers, i.e. skilled and unskilled labour.

(iii) The wages of White labourers relatively began to rise above those of the Coloured people.

(iv) The process of urbanisation of White farm labour began increasing in tempo and intensity.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned factors and irrespective of economic well-being, the farmers endeavoured all to pay the same wages in order to dispense with any form of mutual competition. ²⁴⁾

Wages are informally discussed at meetings of farmers' associations and farmers agree to pay more or less the same wage. This agreement, however, does not prevent a farmer paying higher wages when he regards it as necessary and can afford it. Farmers experience severe competition in the paying of wages from companies which manage large farms with virtually unlimited capital at their disposal.

It is, however, difficult to compare the various wage-scales at various periods as the value of money changes in time, for example if a labourer received £1 in 1930 for a specific period of service, it does not equal the R2.00 which is paid today. Although £2 is supposed to equal R4.00, the value of R4.00 is at present much lower than £2 in 1930.

24) Referring to competition within a specific area.

For this reason one cannot draw a comparative graph in respect of wage-scales in two different monetary systems in which the rand supplanted sterling. One can nevertheless compare the wages of different categories of labourers²⁵⁾ at a specific point of time.

The average wages of White skilled workers in the survey area:

Date	Monthly Wages	Remuneration in kind
1932	£ 1- 0- 0	Accommodation, firewood, one sheep, tobacco.
1933	£ 3- 0- 0	do.
1934	£ 3- 2- 6d	Accommodation, $\frac{1}{2}$ sack of corn, one sheep, one sack of corn is sown for worker, own livestock and garden.
1937	£ 2-15- 0	do. Plus $\frac{1}{2}$ bag of meal.
1940 to 1949	£ 10- 0- 0	Accommodation, firewood, milk and slaughter-sheep.
1952	£ 15- 0- 0	Accommodation, slaughter-sheep.
1953	£ 20- 0- 0	do.
1954	£ 22- 0- 0	do. Plus garden and keeping livestock.

25) Different in respect of race; skilled and unskilled labour, men, women and children.

Date	Monthly Wages	Remuneration in kind
1955	£ 30- 0- 0	Accommodation, slaughter-sheep. Plus garden and keeping live- stock.
1956	£ 37- 0- 0	do.
1957	£ 40- 0- 0	Accommodation, garden and use of implements for cultivating private garden.
1958	£ 44- 0- 0	Accommodation.
1960	£ 48- 0- 0	do.
1961	R 110 - 00	do.
1965	R 190 - 00	do.

INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES : ALL ITEMS : SOUTH AFRICA*

1910	-	74.5	1937	-	96.5
1911	-	78.4	1938	-	100.0
1912	-	81.1	1939	-	99.9
1913	-	82.0	1940	-	105.4
1914	-	81.4	1941	-	108.2
1915	-	85.5	1942	-	117.3
1916	-	90.8	1943	-	124.4
1917	-	99.6	1944	-	128.8
1918	-	106.4	1945	-	132.2
1919	-	117.7	1946	-	134.1
1920	-	145.8	1947	-	139.7
1921	-	132.0	1948	-	147.8
1922	-	110.1	1949	-	153.2
1923	-	106.8	1950	-	159.3
1924	-	108.3	1951	-	171.0
1925	-	107.9	1952	-	185.9
1926	-	106.3	1953	-	192.4
1927	-	106.9	1954	-	195.9
1928	-	106.9	1955	-	202.1
1929	-	106.9	1956	-	205.9
1930	-	104.1	1957	-	212.0
1931	-	100.2	1958	-	219.4
1932	-	95.8	1959	-	222.0
1933	-	93.2	1960	-	225.1
1934	-	94.5	1961	-	229.3
1935	-	94.0	1965	-	250.1
1936	-	94.3	1969	-	278.6

*Bulletin of Statistics, Department of Statistics, Republic of South Africa, Pretoria.

It can, however, be expected that one will not find absolute uniformity in respect of wages of White farm workers; here the average wage-scale is used.²⁶⁾ Nonetheless certain characteristic traits can be noted.

With the flourishing of industries immediately after the Second World War, wages increased by almost 400% in order to compete with wages of urban areas. Since 1950 - 1955 wages have been increased by 100% and it can mainly be ascribed to the rise in the price of wool and the accelerated tempo of fruit export. Although a further increase in wages of 50% occurred in 1960, it is noticeable that remuneration in kind decreased until by 1958 only accommodation was supplied. Workers were therefore fully remunerated in cash and were free to use their own discretion as regards expenditure.

With the commencement of the fifties complete distinction between skilled and unskilled workers, i.e. foremen and ordinary workers, was made for the first time. By the end of the fifties the White unskilled worker had practically been eliminated and was found only in isolated cases. At the same time a clearer distinction was drawn between foremen and farm managers.²⁷⁾

26) For variation of wage-scales in the different agricultural sectors, see Section B.

27) See Section B.

In contrast to the wages of White workers, the wages of permanent Coloured labourers show a more gradual increase over the years, as becomes evident from the following tables:

A. Wages in Cash Without Remuneration in Kind Daily

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wages</u>		
	£	s	d
1936		2-	6
1937		2-	9
1940		3-	0
1950		5-	0
1956		5-	6
1958		6-	0
1960		7-	0
1965	R	0-	80
1969	R	1-	20

B. Wages in Cash with Remuneration in Kind Monthly

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wages</u>			<u>Remuneration in Kind* (Housing and water included in all cases)</u>
	£	s	d	
1936	2-	2-	6	A - C - D - E - F - J - L
1937	2-	5-	0	A - C - D - E - F - J - L
1940	2-	10-	0	A - C - D - E - F - J - L
1950	4-	17-	6	A - C - D - E - F - J - L
1956	5-	10-	0	B - C - E - F - G - J
1958	7-	0-	0	B - E - F - H - I - J
1960	7-	10-	0	B - C - F - H - I
1965	R	15-	00	E - F - H
1969	R	19-	00	E - H

KEY

- *A 100 lb meal
- B 150 lb meal
- C 1 slaughter-sheep
- D Firewood
- E Garden soil
- F Keeping livestock and poultry
- G Vegetables
- H Clothing
- I Milk
- J Liquor
- K Tobacco
- L Daily meals for the individual employed.

The above-mentioned tables indicate the average wages paid for Coloured labour by 200 farmers in three different agricultural sectors. Certain factors must, however, be taken into consideration.

Accommodation and the supplying of water are included under all circumstances, and have always constituted part of the remuneration of permanent farm labourers. Supplying houses with water is, however, enforced by the law and the farmer has no other choice than to see to an appropriate water-supply.

Rations usually vary according to the type of farming concerned. In the grain-, sheep- and dairy industry it has been found that meat and meal constitute a part of the rations throughout, while vegetables and garden soil are supplied by vegetable cash crop farmers. Except in the case of the fruit farming where relatively large numbers of labourers' homes are grouped together, labourers are allowed to keep livestock and poultry in order to supplement the family income.

In 1960 remuneration in kind constituted about 60% of the basic cash wages of labourers, while the percentage had decreased to almost 45% in 1969; the reason being that labourers are more and more electing to receive their wages

in cash and to buy food for themselves. Two hundred and twenty-three out of three hundred Coloured labourers prefer that their wages be paid fully in cash. In contrast with this, labourers who have already left farms allege that the value of rations and especially free accommodation is not properly appreciated. A tendency also exists amongst farmers rather to pay cash wages without rations as it suits them better economically. Meat and vegetables, e.g. are not always readily available.

Clothing for labourers is a principle introduced by company farmers in the research area. It usually includes overalls and in some cases, boots. This principle was established in order to obtain uniformity in the clothing of labourers. Private farmers, and especially in cases where the number of labourers is limited, prefer that labourers supply their own clothing. Fruit farmers, however, supply oil skins for labourers when spraying fruit trees with dangerous chemicals.

56% Of the labourers receive their wages on a monthly basis while 44% receive theirs weekly. Labourers employed on a daily basis usually work according to a contract or a seasonal basis and are therefore not in the permanent service of the farmer.

Since 1955 there has been differentiation between wages of Coloured labourers on the ground of being skilled or not. In 1955 labourers handling machinery were paid an additional 1s 6d a day. As soon as these labourers perform ordinary tasks of unskilled nature together with other labourers, corresponding wages are paid. Since 1960, however, skilled labourers have received a permanent increase in wages, although it is only a 10% - 15% increment as the farmer himself normally undertakes the schooling of the labourer. The same principle applies in cases where labourers received training at Khromme Rhee,²⁸⁾ namely that only 36% of the candidates receive higher wages on farms after completing their training. Costs in respect of training in the above-mentioned cases are without exception borne by the farmer. Nevertheless these trained labourers expect higher wages, with the result that desertion of service commonly occurs as labourers are employed in cities and towns.

A further distinction in the wage-structure is drawn by 86% of the farmers on the ground of term of service. Additional remuneration is made either on a monthly basis or by means of an increase in the annual bonus. A labourer who has, for example, been 6 years in the service of one

28) Technical training college for Coloured farm labourers.

farmer receives up to 20% of his wages as a bonus together with his basic wages.

To counteract the migration of farm labourers and to prevent labourers from leaving farms in order to undertake seasonal employment of employment under a contract, farmers normally pay up to an additional 20c a day more during harvesting or during the sowing season. Bonuses are usually paid at the end of a season or at the end of the year. The extent of bonuses usually depend on the length of the term of service, although no definite scale or uniformity exists. Bonuses vary from R4.50 to R56.00 a year for a term of service of 1 year and 10 years respectively.

Supplying liquor in the form of wine constitutes a much disputed means of remuneration. As already shown, it is traditional that liquor should be supplied, especially in the case of Coloured seasonal labour. Labourers demand it and refusal to supply it is often the cause for desertion of service.²⁹⁾ The comparative figures for farmers supplying Coloureds with liquor in the different branches of farming are as follows:

29) See Chapters XI and XII.

Fruit farming	: 82%
Grain-, sheep- and dairy farming	: 18%
Vegetable cash crops farming	: 52%

The trend exists for Coloured labourers and their families to seek employment on wine-farms in order to receive wine as remuneration. Farmers sanction this tendency by forbidding labourers to return to their permanent places of residence on farms where they formerly worked, if they are temporary employed on wine farms for vintage time.

The wages of Coloured labourers who are employed under contract during seasons, are basically the same as those of permanent labourers who receive higher wages in season. Although those employed under contract show a slightly higher annual income in contrast to those employed permanently, the latter have realised the higher value of permanent accommodation on farms.

The lowest wages for Coloured labourers that were come across in the research area amount to R16.50 a month without remuneration in kind, while the highest wages were R52.00 a month together with one slaughter-sheep, 150 lb meal, the right to keep livestock and poultry, clothing and milk for a skilled man.

As a result of a serious shortage of White farm workers who are able enough to manage farms and control Non-white labour, it has been found that an increasing number of farmers appoint Coloured people in key positions. On one particular farm a Coloured farm manager was found who was furnished with all managerial powers. No White labour, however, was employed.

The employment of African labourers in the research area only commenced on a wide scale after the Second World War. 96% Of the farmers who do employ Africans do not differentiate between wages of Africans and Coloured labourers. 30) Cases have cropped up where African labourers in fact receive higher wages than Coloured labourers, especially in cases where labour involves irregular hours. In dairy farming, for example, Coloured labourers refuse to take care of the milking during week-ends, while Africans are willing to perform these tasks at irregular hours, with the result that they receive higher wages.

The repatriation of the Africans from the Western Cape furthermore has the result that farmers are not willing to train African labourers in some labour category or other during a limited term of service. The numbers of skilled

30) Here we refer to unskilled labour.

labourers are therefore confined to those who qualify for permanent residence on farms. In cases where livestock is concerned as well as in fruit farming, 76% of the farmers prefer Africans to undertake unskilled labour on account of their exceptional sense of responsibility towards their work.

Africans prefer to receive their wages on a monthly basis in order to facilitate saving or in order to send a sufficient amount to the reserves at each possible opportunity. Normally money is sent home by each individual himself or the particular leader of the social (drinking) group a person belongs to.

The trends in the wage-structures of African farm labourers are set out below:

Wages in Cash Without Remuneration in kind daily

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wages</u>		
	£	s	d
1945		4-	0
1950		4-	6
1955		5-	0
1960		7-	0
1965	R	0-	85
1969	R	1-	00

Wages in Cash With Remuneration in kind monthly

<u>Date</u>	<u>Wages</u>			<u>Remuneration in kind*</u>
	£	s	d	
1945	2-	17-	6	A - B - C - E
1950	4-	5-	0	A - B - C
1955	5-	0-	0	A - B - C - D - F
1960	7-	12-	6	A - B - D - F
1965	R	19-	00	A - B - F
1969	R	23-	00	A - F

<u>KEY</u>	
*A	100 lb mealie meal
B	Keeping livestock and poultry
C	Garden soil
D	Milk
E	Daily meals
F	Meat

African families prefer remuneration in kind of various sorts, while single labourers who make up the majority and usually live together in single quarters prefer to receive only mealie meal and meat in order to save on cash. Africans also prefer cash remuneration instead of being supplied with wine.

B. Additional Earnings

Additional earnings of farm labourers show a downward trend.

As a result of increasing specialisation in the different fields of labour on the part of the White worker in, for example, administrative posts, less attention is paid to cultivating gardens and keeping livestock. The improved economic position of the White worker further enables him to procure transport and to visit towns where all essentials can be bought. Children go to school in the towns and gardens are not cultivated by members of the family. Keeping a profitable number of animals is, however, under no circumstances permitted by farmers as employers.

A decade ago it was common practice for permanent Coloured farm labourers to earn an additional income, mainly by keeping livestock and poultry and by means of horticulture - despite long working-hours that have always applied and the fact that labourers have little time to tend to their gardens. Now only women and children can be used for this specific type of labour, and since more children go to school they do less work in gardens.

Farmers nowadays prefer to build labourers' homes grouped together and usually there is no garden soil immediately adjoining the house over which control can be exercised. Soil surrounding the accommodation area is usually devoted to the expansion of farming activities.³¹⁾

Keeping livestock and poultry is limited to cases where animals (excluding fowls) can be kept in pens, etc. Animals wandering around freely often cause problems on farms. Additional family earnings in the case of Coloured people are further obtained by children who undertake seasonal labour such as planting and haversting onions, as well as the picking and handling of fruit.

Additional earnings of African farm labourers are limited to Africans who qualify for permanent residence in a certain area. Single labourers in the research area mostly occupy single quarters and have no facilities for keeping livestock or practising horticulture.

Four people who make pipes for smoking that are sold in the reserves on their return were found in the research area. On fruit farms 9 cases were found in which labourers collected wire from fruit-trays, plaited it and also sold

31) This is also the reason for the elimination of the traditional White "Bywoner".

it in the reserves. In 2 cases Africans with private means of transport, transported passengers to and fro to towns and other gatherings for a small fee.

It is clear that more intensive farming adversely affects the additional earnings of farm labourers. 97% of the farmers forbid their labourers to undertake any labour except farm labour in, for example, surrounding areas. Additional earnings are therefore limited to earnings in kind and not necessarily to earnings in cash.

An analysis of the additional earnings of 50 White farm workers, 300 Coloured farm labourers and 200 African farm labourers are set out in the following table:

<u>Nature of Additional Earnings</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Coloureds</u>	<u>Africans</u>
Horticulture	9	72	16
Keeping livestock and poultry	14	153	21
Seasonal labour by families	3	223	43
Income from members of a family working in urban areas	0	61	0
Pipe-makers	0	0	4
Transport	2	3	2
Diviners	0	0	7
Tailors	0	5	8
Other methods ³²⁾	4	0	9

32) Repairing vehicles in the case of White workers and collecting and plaiting wire in the case of Africans.

As no uniformity exists, it is not possible to estimate what percentage additional earnings make up of the total income.

The 7 diviners who practise in the area, basically fulfill the same function as in the homelands. The extent of the remuneration is determined by the nature of the services rendered.

On the fruit farms where large numbers of single labourers are found, a need for domestic help often arises. In the research area 8 Africans were found who repair other migrant labourers' clothing at a minimal charge.

Some Coloured people receive an income from children working in urban areas. Although these children are economically self-reliant, this principle originated through the custom that children usually contributed towards the household until they married. Informants allege that although this is still practised in some instances (20.3%) of households it is diminishing.

C. Expenditure and Debts

The pattern of expenditure of farm labourers remained fairly consistent as opposed to that of city dwellers (especially Non-whites). Labourers who accept employment in

urban areas indicate a somewhat different pattern of spending to that followed by farm labourers. Spending patterns are to a certain extent controlled by the type of labour executed. Remuneration in kind is, in the case of farm labourers, one of the main factors that causes a specific pattern to develop as regards expenditure. There is nevertheless a tendency for these patterns to become more uniform as payment in kind diminishes.

Spending patterns vary as regards racial groups and are influenced by economic as well as social factors. However, it still does not change any of the basic needs of every household.

Two basic spending-patterns are found amongst Coloured people, namely that of families who receive wages purely in cash, and that of families who receive remuneration partly in kind. In each case spending is limited mainly to daily needs.

The wife plays the main role as regards expenditure as she is responsible for feeding and clothing the family. Expenses incurred by the husband are mainly in respect of personal necessities. An analysis of the spending-pattern of Coloured farm labourers who receive remuneration in kind, reflects the following averages in the case of a household with six children. In this regard 23

families were investigated over a period of 5 months.

<u>Article</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Meat and vegetables	3
Meal	2
Groceries	41
Clothing	18
Furniture	2
Milk	3
Liquor	23
Other	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	<u>100%</u>

The averages for the same type of household (six children) without any remuneration in kind is as follows: (In this case 17 families were investigated over a period of 5 months.)

<u>Article</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Meat and vegetables	12
Meal	8
Groceries	32
Clothing	16
Furniture	3
Milk	5

<u>Article</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Liquor	18
Other	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	<u>100%</u>

The above-mentioned averages are representative of all three branches of farming. Exceptional cases, however, are by no means rare; for example the consumption of liquor sometimes constitutes as much as 68% of the total expenditure.

Incurring debts is a common phenomenon amongst Coloured labourers and this tendency has hardly shown any downward trend in the past decade. 164 farmers allege that labourers still regularly incur debts although in most cases the maximum amount allowed is R5. Debts are subtracted from the wages by the employers themselves as farmers know that labourers are loth to settle debts.

The tendency of Coloured labourers to borrow money amongst themselves often crops up and especially over week-ends when domestic necessities have already been bought and money is needed for procuring liquor from other labourers. Informants allege that up to 40% of the Coloured labourers (men and women alike) buy liquor from other labourers - often Africans - over week-ends.

The matter of expenditure and debts in respect of African farm labourers differs very much from that of Coloureds. These differences cannot be ascribed to wage-structure or remuneration in kind, but in fact to the circumstances surrounding the African farm labourer. (E.g. the economic position in the Reserves.)

The fact that migrant labour is mainly used and that men come alone to work is the dominant factor. The expenditure of African families in the research area reflects a closer resemblance to that of Coloured families. Differences that were noted in African families are mainly the following:

- (a) Expenditure in respect of liquor seldom constitutes more than 7% of the total of the wages in cash. In the cases where more is in fact spent, it is usually for sale to Coloured farm labourers over week-ends.
- (b) An average percentage of 15% is spent on meat and an additional 11% on meal.
- (c) Buying vegetables is limited to only that (e.g. pumpkins and potatoes) which can be procured on the farm concerned. Vegetables are only bought in the towns in exceptional cases and then only by those

who work on farms close to towns.

(d) A basic difference exists, however, in that African families spend an average of 21% of their wages on mealie-meal in order to make the porridge that is their staple diet.

Although single migrant labourers who are widely scattered on farms are personally responsible for food, the situation differs where labourers are concentrated. Migrant labourers have one trait in common, namely to save as much money as possible to send to the Reserves for the upkeep of their families. On fruit farms where there are large numbers of migrant labourers they form groups of four or six members. On the day of payment one member of the group takes all cash wages. He is responsible for buying food and he sends the remainder of the wages to the reserves to his own family. Every member of the group receives the wages in turn. Each group, without exception, is from the same area in or on the border of the Reserves and in 85% of the cases groups consist of members of the same clan. The primary reason for this situation is that when an employer applies for African labour, migrant labourers are normally recruited from the same area in the reserves.

In a sample of 100 African migrant labourers, an average of 18% of the wages was spent on food; 4% was spent on clothing and 5.5% devoted to personal expenses and spending. The sum sent home to the reserves therefore amounted to 72.5%.

Migrant labourers who enter the research area for a second or further period of service, sometimes avail themselves of the opportunity to manipulate a portion of their income in order to earn more money. One method which is fairly common, is illegally supplying Coloured farm labourers with liquor. Africans consume a minimum of the liquor offered for sale by bottle stores, as they brew their own traditional beer. Large quantities of liquor are nevertheless purchased for sale to Coloured people during week-ends. This selling liquor by Africans is found throughout the research area.

Farmers state that migrant labourers rarely incur debts. Permanent settled labourers who qualify to be present in the area, incline more towards debt. Farmers normally allow a maximum amount of R5 in debts on the same conditions as those applicable to Coloured labourers, as the above-mentioned labourers are usually married and work on the farms for long periods.

The latter is a minority group as 92.3% of all the African labourers in the area are migrant labourers. A mere 7.7% is made up by permanent, settled African farm labourers.

CHAPTER XI

THE MIGRATION OF FARM LABOURERS TO URBAN AREAS

The migration of farm labourers to urban areas ¹⁾ is no new phenomenon that recently originated, but has existed for more than two centuries. The tempo of migration has however greatly increased.

A. Historical Survey

The first signs of migration of farm labourers in the research area were noticed on the establishment of the Moravian Missionary Society at Baviaanskloof (Genadendal) during the first half of the 18th century. Various authors ²⁾ state that Hottentots, and later freed slaves, settled at Genadendal after leaving the farms. This migration later extended to Elim in the Bredasdorp district and farmers did everything in their power to keep labourers on the farms. This was effected by causing labourers to rely on them for remuneration in kind, and

1) Cape Town and its metropolitan areas, as well as villages in the research area.

2) Krüger, B.: The Peer Tree Blooms, 1966, p. 74, 75, 76, 112.
Marais, J.S.: The Cape Coloured People, 1652 - 1937, 1968, p. 145 - 149.
MacMillan, W.M.: The Cape Colour Question, 1968, p. 28, 149.

also for the supply of liquor. 3) Farmers were therefore not kindly disposed towards mission stations as they held the missionaries responsible for luring the labourers away from the farms.

When towns such as Caledon, Bredasdorp, Grabouw, Villiersdorp sprang up in the research area, new opportunities arose for farm labourers, offering better working conditions. This was the most important cause of migration during and up to the first half of the twentieth century.

The success of fruit farming in the western sector of the research area during the past two decades resulted in a different type of migration, namely migration from one farm to the other. Labourers from farms where more extensive farming was practised (grain-, sheep- and dairy farming) migrated to farms offering a more intensive type of farming (fruit farming) where relatively higher wages were earned.

In contrast with Coloured farm labourers who reflected a stable upward trend of migration over the years, White farm workers reflected a highly unstable pattern. De-

3) Marais, J.S.: p. 59 - 60, 64 - 6, 96, 161 - 4, 235 - 6, 259, 283 - 5.

pressions leading to impoverishment of the White man in the field of agriculture necessitated employment in the cities, ⁴⁾ while industrial development after the Second World War offered opportunities of employment and the corresponding wage-scales with which agriculture could not compete. This economic development in urban centres would, as time went by, exercise a more gradual influence on Coloured and African farm labourers. Although in the past the White farm worker was not really able to obtain any qualifications worth mentioning, he was very much protected in the cities by the establishment of job reservation. Competition with Non-white labourers was totally eliminated or limited to a bare minimum.

In the case of African farm labourers opportunities for migrating were limited to a period of more or less 12 years. This period extended from the time the African entered the area (+ 1940) up to and during the tentative enactment of policies to repatriate the Africans from the Western Cape (1954). ⁵⁾ During this period Africans often used farm employment in the Western Cape as a stepping stone. Although the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945, (Act No. 25 of 1945) applied, it was not rigidly enforced in the rural areas. The labourers were therefore

4) See: "Carnegie-Kommissie: Die Armbanke Vraagstuk".

5) Eiselen, W.W.M.: The Native in the Western Cape, 1955.

not in practice confined as much as today. As a result of the present enforcements of the law, migration of African farm labourers to cities is at present out of the question.

B. Reasons for Migration

The reasons leading to the migration of farm labourers remained basically consistent during the past decade, although these reasons differed in respect of each colour group. Differences depend upon the law, and the needs of each colour group.

(1) The White Farm Worker

On account of the large number of Whites leaving farms and the consequent depopulation of the country districts, the number of children attending schools dropped radically with the result that adequate educational facilities were eventually lacking. Educational facilities today still exist on farms in the form of small schools for the community concerned, but they cannot be compared to schools in the cities as regards facilities. This causes a tendency for White farm workers to seek employment in urban areas so that their children may benefit educationally.

The past two decades have further been characterised by the extension of agricultural activities which demanded specific skillers. White farm workers had to fill the position of farm managers. Those who had received no schooling or who did not possess sufficient qualifications, competed directly with Coloured and African farm labourers. As the latter were prepared to work for lower wages, the White unskilled worker was almost completely eliminated. To protect this White group, certain fields of labour were reserved for them by means of job reservation. Government departments, especially the Department of Railways and Harbours, have absorbed these White workers during the past two decades. Today migration of unschooled White workers from farms to urban areas is a process that has almost been completed.

The expansion of farming activities also affected the "bywoner". This group of Whites, strictly speaking, does not constitute a part of the White labour force, but consists mainly of people hiring a plot of land on a farm. ⁶⁾ Rent to the landowner was not in cash, but an agreed share in the harvest. Expansion of the farming industry resulted in the farmer requiring addi-

6) Mainly farms where vegetable cash crops are grown.

tional land to cultivate himself. "Bywoners" there fore had to accept employment in towns and cities. Since 1950 80% of the "bywoners" in the research area have moved. The higher prices of farming implements was a further reason for their diminution in numbers since each "bywoner" had to supply his own implements. "Bywoners" are today limited to the vegetable cash crop farming since it requires a minimum of ready capital.

Retired "bywoners" mostly settle at Stanford and Greyton where they cultivate a small plot of land as a pastime. This population group is characterised by an unique social mode of living and they find it rather difficult to adapt to the city pattern of life in their old-age.

The migration of African farm labourers is mainly constricted by enforcement of the law. Africans cannot leave farms and take employment in urban areas.

(2) The Coloured Farm Labourer

The greater portion of farm labour is undertaken

by Coloured people. 7) They do not only perform unskilled work today, but also undertake almost 85% of the skilled labour. Migration of Coloured labourers from farms to town and cities is probably the most serious problem that is faced by the agricultural industry, as mechanisation of farming activities does not always bring about a substantial decrease in the number of workers required.

The primary reason for the migration of the Coloured people is bound up with their development.

Class difference or social stratification in the Coloured community are growing, and Coloured farm labourers are considered to constitute the lowest order. Improved means of communication with city centres and better developed Coloured groups have led to the standards of the farm labourers being raised. This, however, demanded certain economic, educational and social requirements.

The awareness of education especially during the past decade, has caused Coloured families to migrate from farms to towns and cities to be near good schools.

7) Especially in growing vegetable cash crops and the grain and sheep farming areas.

Besides education, economic factors are also important. Wages are lower and working hours larger on farms than in town. Almost unlimited opportunities for employment in urban areas in the skilled and unskilled fields are available today, to the Coloured farm labourers. Cash wages are generally up to 25% higher than those paid on grain and sheep farms and on the vegetable cash crop farms. Free accommodation on farms is the only factor that to some extent curbs this migration. Nevertheless, overpopulation of urban Coloured locations in the research area has become quite general.

The urban working conditions especially hours of work are much more attractive than those offered by farmers. On farms the average working hours of labourers are:

Winter	:	7.30 am	-	5.30 pm
Summer	:	5.30 am	-	7.30 pm

In both cases 30 minutes for breakfast, 60 minutes for lunch and a 15 minutes tea-break in the afternoon, are allowed.

During sowing, planting, and harvesting working hours are lengthened by $1\frac{1}{2}$ - $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day on grain farms.

In urban areas a consistent pattern is maintained in working hours, and the hours are in any case shorter. Normal working hours are from 8.30 am to 5.00 pm with almost 90 minutes free for lunch and tea breaks. In factories where ex-farm labourers are normally employed no work is done over week-ends and factory workers therefore have more free time to devote to social activities. This is particularly valued by Coloured people.

Development in the construction industry lured large numbers of skilled labourers away from the farms, basically because it offers relatively higher wages for skilled labour. Farmers who have sent labourers to be trained at Khromme Rhee, the Coloured training centre, all allege that labourers having finished their training, leave farms in order to accept employment in cities, though the farmer carried the required expenses for the man's training and even paid him his full wages during that period.

The second type of migration of farm labourers is that which takes place from one farm to another within the survey area. A percentage of Coloured farm labourers are continually moving from one farm to another. A man moves, together with his whole family, at intervals of 6 months up to one year, to perform the same type of work each time. Out of a total of 300 labourers, 43 labourers, 14.3%, were in this category. Informants could not offer any positive reasons for moving. Working conditions, accommodation and wages basically remain the same. The labourers themselves state that this form of migration is a part of their pattern of life. On further analysis it was found that the parents of these 43 labourers had all, without exception, lived the life of nomadic labourers in the research area.

The third type of migration which takes place in the research area, is migration to fruit farms in the western part of the research area from other farms mostly situated in the eastern section. 8) Fruit farming is more intensive and shows a relatively higher turnover than grain-, sheep- and dairy farming. A higher wage-structure and more attractive working

8) Almost half of the Coloured labourers in the fruit areas formerly worked on farms in the eastern section of the research area.

conditions can therefore be offered to the labourer. Fruit regions in the research area had also not been hit so badly by drought as other regions. This contributed towards the fact that wages in drought-stricken areas remained relatively lower than on fruit farms.

The next step in the migration of this category of labourers is to move to urban areas in the Cape Peninsula. Informants state that the ration of liquor supplied on wine-farms in the north-western sections of the research area, also contributed greatly to the movement of Coloured labourers, and that labourers increasingly decline remuneration in kind (other than wine) in favour of wages in cash in order to have more ready cash available for the purchasing of liquor. 9)

In addition to all these reasons for migration, there is another dominant factor. This is the preference of Coloured workers for working in company. In contrast with, for example, Africans, 97% of the 300 Coloured labourers elect to live and work together in groups. Intensive farming creates opportunities for labourers to be together, whether working or not. For

9) In the fruit regions liquor can be obtained more cheaply than in the more remote parts of the eastern research area.

this reason farmers on remote farms find it difficult to recruit and keep Coloured labourers.

The opportunity for company therefore forms one of the primary attractions for Coloured farm labourers moving to town notwithstanding the loss of free accommodation and remuneration in kind received on farms.

To check these facts, 50 labourers who formerly worked on farms, were interviewed in locations of urban areas. They were chosen on the basis that they did farm labour for more than six years. They gave the following reasons for moving to town:

<u>Reasons for Migration</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Educational facilities	32	64
Wages	41	82
Working-hours	33	66
Nature of the work	12	24
Other reasons ¹⁰⁾	36	72

Although in this table wages seem to be the main factor in migration, informants reported that in fact social factors are more important.

10) "Other reasons" include social gathering, the presence of other relatives, availability of liquor, etc.

Of the 300 Coloured labourers in the research area who were used for the sample, only 4 had migrated back to the farms after working in town. These four gave shortage of accommodation and the cost of living as the main reasons for returning.

Municipal authorities in the towns of the research area allege that the increasing migration to towns causes over-population in the Coloured quarters of towns. It also results in a higher crime rate, and higher unemployment rate.

The migration of Coloured farm labourers from one farm to another show the following trends:

Period of service with previous employer	Number of Coloured labourers	Percentage of Total	
1 year or less	48	16	61.6%
2	62	20.6	
3	36	12	
4	39	13	
5	22	7.6	28.1%
6	16	5.3	
7	17	5.6	
8	17	5.6	
9	12	4	
10 years or longer	13	4.3	
No migration	18	6	
TOTAL	300	100.0%	

The influence that migration of the farm labourers had on the farming industry is one of the primary problems ¹¹⁾ with which the farmer is faced, as the expansion of farming activities largely depends on the available labour force.

University of Cape Town

11) See Chapter XII for the extent of migration, one of the farmer's problems.

CHAPTER XII

THE FARMER'S LABOUR PROBLEM AND THE FUTURE OF FARM LABOUR

Of all the problems that the farmer nowadays has to face in the research area, labour is the most important. Although labour has always presented the farmer with problems, the present situation differs radically from that three or four decades ago. This is a result of changing economic, political and social policies, of which the latter plays a dominant role.

A. Labour Force

Sufficient labour in the agriculture at a wage acceptable to the farmer could reduce all other problems to a minimum. At present labour demand greatly exceeds labour supply. As a result of its geographical situation, the nature of the farming activities, production costs, wage-structure, etc. the differences between labour supply and demand are not the same on all the farms.

The following table reflects the number of labourers employed for every 100 labourers who are needed by employers in each of the three branches of farming discussed. Skilled and unskilled labour are distinguished but not

colour groups. Although farmers prefer labourers of a specific population group to perform specific tasks, they are not, however, committed to do so through, for example, a system of job reservation. Skilled and unskilled labour therefore need not be undertaken by a specific population group, although the tendency has been that specific types of labour have been undertaken by labourers of a particular colour group. It is clear that skilled Coloured labourers are taking over duties from Whites such as supervising and managing farms.

Labourers employed for Every 100 Needed (as reported by employers)

Farming Industry	Number of Farmers	Skilled Labourers	Unskilled Labourers
Grain, sheep and dairy	138	54	63
Fruit	21	73	92
Vegetable cash crops	41	83	61
TOTAL	200		
Averages		70	72

This table shows that a considerable labour shortage exists. 63% of the farmers, however, allege that the shortage of labour does not necessarily mean that labour is not

available. In the cases where the older members of a Coloured family receive a pension of some kind or another, other members of the family tend to avoid employment and all exist on the pension which is received regularly. In the living-quarters of the Coloureds in country towns it is by no means rare to find that one person keeps an extended family, (which usually includes a husband and wife, their children and the daughters' illegitimate children.) There may be as many as 4 fit men, potential labourers, in the extended family.

B. Production Costs, Mechanisation and Wage-structures

Production costs, mechanisation and wage-structures are three factors that are closely linked, the one determines the extent of the other.

Farming has become more and more mechanised as time passes - and has therefore developed as of one of its major aims the elimination of human labour. Nevertheless, all the sectors of agriculture have not been and cannot be mechanised to the same extent. And mechanisation means that more skilled labour is required.

In grain farming mechanisation is being introduced at a very high cost in order to handle grain in bulk and

thereby to eliminate men handling the bags by hand. Although the farmer now needs a relatively smaller labour force for the same work, the labour that he does use for this particular purpose must be highly skilled. This skilled labour requires training, supplied at the expense of the farmer as employer (at Khromme Rhee). The trained and therefore skilled labourer demands higher wages from his employer. Rising costs of mechanisation in this instance, together with a relatively consistent price for products supplied, result in a rising production cost and the profit of the farmer decreases. The farmer can therefore do one of two things, namely:

(a) He can raise the wages of the indispensable skilled worker that will at the same time raise his production costs, with a subsequent lower profit, or

(b) the farmer can keep the wages of the skilled worker on the same level and watch him eventually migrate to another farm or urban area where he will receive higher wages.

In both cases the farmer competes directly with the urban employer as regards his labourers, not only in wages but in other ways also. The drought of the past four years in the research area further contributed towards the eco-

conomic decline of farmers in the eastern section of the research area who are mainly grain, sheep and dairy farmers.

Vegetable- and fruit farming offer good examples of farming activities that cannot be mechanised. Picking of fruit, planting, harvesting and plaiting of onions must be performed by hand. Expansion of these industries therefore necessitates an increase in the labour force. Coloured labour for this purpose is becoming more limited as families move to urban areas. Migrant African labourers from the Reserves offer the obvious solution. In the fruit industry large numbers of labourers are needed during a limited season. Fruit farmers receive labour quotas that ensure sufficient labour - the freezing of labour notwithstanding - while the extension of existing quotas is possible under certain circumstances. The onion farmer, as contrasted to this, employs a relatively smaller labour force. His unskilled labourers also migrate but on account of the small number of employees he cannot employ unskilled African labourers economically. Farming units for cultivating vegetable cash crops are normally much smaller than in the case of the other two branches discussed. The profit is therefore much smaller and labour (unskilled labour) is the main cost. The low prices received by the farmer for his products in relation to his production costs, therefore lead to unsatisfying wage-structures of

the labourers who consequently leave the farms to seek employment, at higher remuneration, elsewhere.

C. Repatriation of Africans from the Western Cape

Repatriation of Africans from the Western Cape mainly applies to grain-, sheep- and dairy farming and to vegetable cash crops as these two branches of farming in the research area require a relatively smaller labour force per unit. The opposite would normally be expected as fruit farmers employ a larger number of African labourers. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the fruit farmers needs unskilled African labour for a limited season only. As noted on p. 207 fruit farmers requiring many labourers can transport them cheaply to and from the African Reserves and accommodate them in compounds. These unskilled African labourers all come without their wives or families and are hired for a relatively short period (three months to a maximum of 360 days). They supplement the Coloured labour.

In the case of the other types of farming where African labour replaces Coloured labour which is not available, farmers naturally prefer to keep African labour for longer than 360 days. Alternatively he wants a guarantee that he will again be able to employ the same African labourer after a short absence, as the African concerned is then

trained and becomes a skilled labourer at the same wages as those accepted by Coloured labourers. In the past, some Africans lived permanently on the farm with their families, and adult members of the family were also employed by the farmer. Notwithstanding legislation ¹⁾ no strict control was exercised over African labourers. The tentative policy in respect of repatriation of Africans from the Western Cape resulted in the greater part of this African group having had to return to the Reserves. A farmer can therefore permanently be deprived of his labour force. Although some Africans had worked on a specific farm for a considerable period of time, the farmer perhaps had not complied with the requirements of registration. For the purposes of the local employment bureaux, the period of an African's sojourn in the area is now considered from the date of his first registration.

Another instance in which these African labourers are substituted for Coloured labourers is in the dairy industry. As noted on p. 235 Coloured labourers complain about irregular working-hours and routine jobs while the African is prepared to work at irregular hours for the same wages as those offered to Coloureds. Milking requires amongst other things working over week-ends which

1) Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945.

Coloured people refuse to do. Farmers without exception report that permanent African labourers who are trained by the farmer in some or another category of labour to undertake skilled tasks, show a higher productivity as a result of their excellent reliability, than corresponding Coloured labourers.

94% Of the farmers report that since the tentative repatriation of Africans from the research area Coloured people are demanding more from farmers as employers and these demands must necessarily be adhered to as a result of the shortage of labour in this area.

It is clear that this repatriation of Africans from the Western Cape limits productivity and expansion in farming in specific agricultural sectors. It has however been a factor in raising unskilled wages for farm labourers.

D. Abuse of Liquor

Although this has already been discussed, (p. 244) the extent and results of the problem needs to be emphasized, especially as regards Coloured people.

Up to the present day the provision of liquor as part of the Coloured labourer's remuneration still applies on

certain farms. This socalled "tot"-system has existed for more than two centuries and as time passed it has become an integral part of the Coloured labourer's way of life. Liquor in the form of tots ²⁾ is provided up to three times a day, while seasonal labourers sometimes receive as much as 1 litre of wine a day. 19% Of the farmers supply wine to full-time labourers, while 62% of the farmers who employ labourers by the season, supply liquor to them. The position has worsened to such a degree that 80% of the farmers who cultivate vegetable cash crops and 47% of the farmers who grow fruit ³⁾ allege that Coloured seasonal labourers from hamlets such as Genadendal, Hawston, and Elim refuse to undertake any labour unless liquor is provided. Farmers who provide the most liquor subsequently have the fewest problems in keeping labourers to help during the very important harvesting-time. Nevertheless, provision of liquor by farmers to seasonal as well as permanent labourers is showing a downward trend with the increase in cash wages. But Coloureds are buying larger quantities of liquor in the towns over week-ends. They comsume it on the same day, or on the following day. The illegal sale of liquor towards the close of week-ends by people who buy a large supply beforehand, is quite general. As a result of the purposeful

2) A "tot" more or less equals 225 millilitre.

3) Mostly wine farmers.

withholding of certain facts by informants, the extent of this practice could not be determined, but is clear that Coloured labourers increasingly spend a large percentage of their cash wages on liquor.

As already noted (pp. 292-3) African labourers differ from Coloureds in their drinking habits. Migrant labourers who live on the fruit farms in large numbers, brew their own beer, using Kaffir corn ⁴⁾ which they bring with them from the reserves. They commonly form drinking-groups of 6 to 10 persons. The groups are formed on an ethnic base and individuals take turns brewing the beer. The drinking-pattern of migrant Africans presents the farmer with no problems; they drink in moderation.

The extent of the abuse of liquor is a problem for the farmer in that the labourers' productivity is lowered and absence from work on Mondays is steadily becoming more frequent. Also farmers want labourers to work during week-ends when required during peak seasons. The excessive consumption of liquor leads indirectly to migration to urban areas where liquor is cheaper and more readily available.

4) When Kaffir corn is not available, other ingredients are used.

As regards the labourer personally, abuse of liquor leads to economic, physical and moral decline together with corresponding problems such as malnutrition and a decline in family life. Coloured informants (teachers in the research area) allege that the bad economic situation and no social opportunities in which to realise their ambitions are two of the major causes for abuse of liquor.

The fact that this occurs to a greater extent amongst unskilled labourers than amongst skilled labourers, indicates that there is some correlation between education, skilled employment and moderate drinking. Farmers themselves are one channel by which education and skill can be encouraged and rewarded.

E. The Future of Farm Labour

The future of farm labour will necessarily be influenced by the social and economic welfare of the labourer as a person.

The farm labourer, and especially the Coloured people who constitute the largest group have had a limited formal education and social structure as farms has been relatively static. In contrast with this the city reflects a much more dynamic pattern of development. However the

researcher, as a participant observer, came to the conclusion that the gap between the more developed and lesser developed groups is gradually becoming smaller as a result of an improvement in communication system between rural and urban areas. This communication applies to the White farm worker and Coloured farm labourers as there is no legislative restrictions on their movement. It does not apply to Africans who are restricted.

Contact with cultural development does not necessarily mean immediate social changes for the Coloured farm worker. Farm labour is still an accepted way of life for Coloured people - as a job in which to specialise as it was with the White worker up to two decades ago. Activities are mainly centred around the everyday business of making a living and social changes take place within this context. It does not mean that the community of Coloured farm labourers remains absolutely static and that no signs of development can be observed. The increasing demand for the expansion of formal educational and social facilities have already been noted.

It is clear that the farmer as employer will in the near future be confronted by the economic and social development of his labourers. The development of any one group who continually come into contact with a more highly developed group, cannot be kept static or stopped by

physical planning or legislation. Agriculture will have to be adapted to fit with the development of farm labourers. One of the first changes to be observed is the slow rise in the standard of living. This is inspired by the rapid rise in the standard of living of urban communities. Coloured people more often visit friends and relatives in urban areas, and therefore need better clothes. Better education demands better living conditions, like housing. Shopkeepers in the smaller towns and villages maintain that farm labourers increasingly buy better furniture and household goods. Because of the shortage of arable land for labourers, they have to buy food in shops.

Although farm labour is the labourer's only source of income and his social existence and activities are mostly limited to the farm, change in town and expectations in the country must affect the planning of a future labour policy. Under the present circumstances where isolation of farm labourers - as contrasted with the position only two decades ago - is decreasing, farmers as employers are being forced to view labourers, and especially Coloured labourers, not as a static but as a developing group. Such extensive migration as exists in the area east of the Hermanus - Villiersdorp region ⁵⁾ can be ascribed to the

5) Thus including the whole Bredasdorp district.

maintenance of traditional conditions which are no longer acceptable to labourers.

It can be rightly be asked: who is responsible for the socio-economic elevation of the farm labourer, and what methods can be applied in order to realise this aim? The writer has reached certain conclusions on this which are set out below.

Farmers as individuals will be forced to co-operate to improve labour administration. The expansion of social facilities such as recreation, and opportunities for social gathering, and the determination of definite working-hours will soon be necessary. On account of the relatively small number of employees per unit ⁶⁾ which makes it uneconomical for an individual farmer to offer his labourers many facilities, this duty must mainly be executed by chosen farmers' associations. Financing the venture will have to be undertaken either by the government or by the farmer, on condition that the government makes certain concessions as regards the prices of products received by the farmer, so that his profit may be higher. The Coloured farm labourer has up to the present always regarded the farmer as his "guardian" and one of the main shortcomings has in this way been filled. In urban areas medical and recrea-

6) Excluding fruit farms.

tional facilities for Coloured people are provided by a municipal or some other administrative authority, while in the country all such responsibilities have to be borne by the farmers themselves, due to separation from urban areas.

In addition to social development, the provision of sufficient educational facilities is required. This is the responsibility of the central government. Facilities for technical training should be established at strategic points in the research area so that the labourer can be trained locally and not lost to the area. Attention should be paid to the establishment of centrally situated Coloured communities in the research area, where essential public services, medical, educational, recreational and welfare, can further be extended. And there should be clearer differentiation in the status of the different types of labourers, as well as differentiation in the wages paid. Tentative promotion or gradation of the labourer will serve as inspiration to render better services. It will also require a change in relationship between farmer and farm labourer. The typical relationship between employer and employee in the research area, ⁷⁾ is that of guardianship.

Such a relationship is a success in cases where there

7) Excluding farms run by large companies.

is a surplus of unskilled labourers, where production costs are low, and where agriculture is seen as a mode of living and not as part of a flourishing market economy. Such a labour relationship is a burden in cases where scientific farming methods are applied. The labourer in such a relationship has as his sole aim the immediate satisfaction of his needs - his need for food, shelter, clothing and wherever possible, other consumers goods. He cannot see why he should work harder than is necessary to satisfy these needs. It is therefore difficult for the labourer to see his work as a profession.

As far as the Coloured person is concerned, strict and purposeful self-discipline will be required. One of the serious short-comings of the Coloured farm labourer is his irresponsibility which is the result of a lack of self-discipline. The practising self-discipline in the field of labour as well as in the social structure of every Coloured community concerned cannot happen overnight, but is in fact a reformatory process which takes time.

Concerning the future of African farm labour in the research area, no constructive changes can take place, if present policies continue. The present policy effectively provides for the repatriation of Africans from the Western Cape. The researcher nevertheless feels that, as far as

the immediate future is concerned, a better balance should be arranged between the extensive labour supply in the African Reserves and the serious labour shortage on farms in the research area. Both the unemployment in the reserves and the shortage of labour on farms can lead to economic and social decline. Farming in the Western Cape cannot operate without Africans. We thus find a conflict of values of present policy and productivity.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER XIII

C O N C L U S I O N

Changes in social structure are continually going on. In the research area changes take place in the farming communities in social as well as economic relations. Geographical situation and racial composition are the most influential factors modifying relationships. Geographical situation mainly refers to the location of the research area in relation to Cape Town. Racial categories of workers on farms also affect the tempo and intensity of change. Although social changes in every population group on farms can be observed, it is not possible to classify every community as pertaining to a separate culture. We can, however, state that change in one particular community occurs faster than in another. Changes taking place among farm labourers must necessarily be seen against a background of interaction and interrelation, for we are nowhere concerned with a community consisting of only one population group which is isolated. Cultural contact is furthermore a process which takes place daily, notwithstanding the fact that, for example, legislation and the maintenance of social distance will influence the existing cultural patterns and social changes in every community.

To summarise briefly, the changes which were observed in several aspects of farm labour in the research area, were as follows:

The racial composition in the proportion of race categories of workers on farms shows, especially as a result of legislative implications discussed earlier, radical change in respect of every separate branch of farming. Change in the racial composition of workers over one decade (permanent labour level) on 200 farms can be seen as follows: (See Graph No. 4 and 5.)

NUMERICAL RATIO 1959

	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Coloureds</u>	<u>Africans</u>
Fruit farming	1	5	32
Grain-, sheep- and dairy farming	1	12.3	3
Vegetable cash crop farming	1	49	3

NUMERICAL RATIO 1969

	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Coloureds</u>	<u>Africans</u>
Fruit farming	1	5.3	33
Grain-, sheep- and dairy farming	1	9	4
Vegetable cash crop farming	1	31	5

At the same time the numerical ratio in respect of skilled and unskilled labour changed as a result of the demand, for skilled labour, with modern farming methods, where mechanisation ¹⁾ occurs more skilled labour is required. As a result of increasing production, the demand for skilled and unskilled labour in fruit farming increased by 26% and 47% respectively over a period of ten years. The grain-, sheep and dairy farming reflects an increase of 53% and 13% for the same period in respect of skilled and unskilled labour, while vegetable cash crop farming reflects an increase of 7% and 18% respectively. It is, however, obvious that in grain-, sheep- and dairy farming the increase in skilled labour surpasses the increase in unskilled labour by more than 400%. This can directly be ascribed to increased mechanisation and the cost of agricultural implements. ²⁾

The increase in skilled and unskilled workers, as well as the extent of mechanisation, can be linked with the average number of labourers employed per farm. The number is necessarily determined by the type of farming concerned, while factors such as migration and legislation also contribute. The average number of permanent farm workers per

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- 1) Mainly grain-, sheep- and dairy farming.
 - 2) Commercial suppliers of agricultural implements in respect of this industry allege that rising costs at an average of 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ % are observed annually.

farming unit over 200 units, is the following:

	<u>Number of Units</u>	<u>Workers per Unit</u>
Fruit farming	21	27.26
Grain-, sheep- and dairy farming	138	5.29
Vegetable cash crops	41	6.46
	<hr/>	
Average of 200 units		7.85

It must, however, be borne in mind that farming units differ as regards size. Although in the past the tendency existed for a farmer to divide his farm into two sections for his sons, the opposite tendency now exists and farming companies buy up farms to incorporate. At the same time a decrease in the number of small-holders and the widespread elimination of "bywoners" was brought about. Informants state that nevertheless the average number of permanent workers per farm in the various types of farming set out above, it reflects an increase in labour demand of 47%, 20% and 23% respectively over the ten years 1959 - 1969. The natural increase in the population serves as the main source of labour supply of permanent workers. There is also an increase in the demand for migrant labourers. (See Graph No. 6.)

As in other types of employment, wages of farm workers increased. Since 1940 the wages of Non-white labourers increased by almost 340%, while the wages of White foremen increased by 900% over the same period. The latter therefore reflects an average increase ³⁾ of almost 30% annually.

The past decade has, however, been marked by a clearer distinction between skilled and unskilled labour. Such distinction did in fact apply earlier, although there was hardly any differentiation in wages received by a labourer depending upon the type of labour undertaken. During 1960 a skilled labourer's wages were 25% higher than those of an unskilled labourer. Up to and during 1969 an average difference of 48% existed in wages, which therefore reflects an increase of 23% for the past decade.

The gradual development of a distinction between skilled and unskilled labour at the same time resulted in the fact that a farmer's labour turn-over showed a small increase. Remuneration of especially skilled labour is not the same on all farms or in all regions. Labourers therefore inclined towards migration to farms especially in the fruit region where higher wages were paid for

3) Increase in the wages of Whites was effected very disproportionately.

skilled labour. Consequently skilled labour will show a higher turn-over than unskilled labour, as unskilled wages are uniform throughout the research area. Although it could not be determined precisely what the increase was in labour turn-over during the past ten years; farmers allege that the expected period of service of Non-white labourers between the years 1955 - 1960 was almost 3.8 years. If it is borne in mind that the labour turn-over in 1969 came to an average of 3.2 a year, ⁴⁾ it reflects a very small difference. The importance lies in the fact, however, that the labour turn-over and resulting migration do not necessarily occur from farm to farm, but also from farms to urban areas.

One of the few aspects of farm labour that remained static between 1959 and 1969, is schooling. The explanation for this lies in the fact that the majority of labourers' children who receive schooling do not choose farm labour as a job, but seek employment in urban areas where wages are considerably higher - together with social attractions of the urban community.

The increasing detachment from settled mission stations such as Elim and Genadendal where in the past religion

4) See Chapter XII.

was part of the daily life of Coloured people, is reflected in a downward trend in church attendance. When the Department of Coloured Education took over the Coloured schools, this decline in church attendance became more marked. According to missionaries, a small annual decrease, especially since 1960, continues. Membership of some church or another does not necessarily mean attending church. Membership is often acknowledged only at marriages, christenings, and funeral services. How church attendance on farms compares with that in town and Coloured reserves is not known. The proportion of families who were married legally over the past decade, remained more or less unchanged, but the illegitimacy rate shows an increase of 46% in 100 Coloured families between 1959 and 1969. This does not, however, mean that only Coloured labourers permanently working on farms are responsible for this increase. The presence of illegitimate children is mainly due to two factors, ⁵⁾ both of which developed during the last two decades. Firstly, up to 80% of the children of farm labourers now leave their homes on farms to accept employment in towns and cities, where the girls board with Coloured families. They bear children whose fathers usually cannot be identified, and conditions do not allow the mother to care for her child. Without exception illegitimate children are returned to the farm on which the parents of the mother live. The mother of

5) Both these factors positively appeared during the past two decades.

the child then normally pays her parents an allowance to care for her child who, for all practical purposes, is raised, educated and accepted by the grand-parents. The natural mother of the child continues to work in an urban area and continues to bear illegitimate children whom she sends to her mother.

Secondly, the increase in the number of illegitimate children is linked with the system of migrant labourers working as single men in the research area. Migration of African families is prohibited with the result that many African men remain in the research area without their wives for an uninterrupted period of 360 days. The physical attractions of the African for the Coloured women, together with a lack of normal family life for Africans, inevitably results in sexual relationships and illegitimacy. The system of migrant labour has as its result the absence of family life.

One of the most serious social problems encountered in the community of labourers on farms, is the steadily increasing rate of alcoholism. It is difficult to judge the extent of this but it is true that excessive consumption of liquor by Coloured people is as old as farm labour itself. Provision of liquor by farmers, (the so-called "tot"-system) has in the past greatly contributed

to this evil, and still today it increases the difficulty of limiting drinking.

Isolation on farms has decreased and liquor is more readily accessible. In contrast with the situation two decades ago when almost 30% of the total labour force in the research area could only visit towns ⁶⁾ on foot, this percentage has today decreased to only 1.5% amongst 500 Non-white labourers. In the research area 76% of the farmers provide their labourers with transport to the nearest town at least once every 14 days. Road transport and railway services provided by the S.A. Railways extend over 82% of the whole area. The 1.5% who have to reach towns on foot mostly live in the south-eastern sector of the research area. Labourers, however, generally own bicycles. Communication with towns has therefore been improved considerably and consequently nothing prevents the labourers from purchasing liquor every week.

Improved communications means more interaction with urban labourers, with the result that patterns of social relations have also changed noticeably during the past decade.

6) This also applies to places where daily consumers' goods can be purchased.

The most important change is in the relationship between employer and employee. In the past this was characterised by a guardianship on the part of the farmer, and dependence on the part of the labourer. Modern scientific farming methods and the greater extent of commercialisation in agriculture result in increasing social distance between employer and employee. Indications are that except on small farms, guardianship will disappear in the next decade. Large financial concerns taking over farms put the relationship between employer and employee on a footing corresponding to that in urban areas. Social distance between the White farmer and the Coloured worker is on the one hand upheld by the traditional social policy of the Whites, and on the other hand by present legislation (e.g. Immorality Act). This, however, does not necessarily mean that the position is always accepted by all members of the different racial groups.

The mechanisation and growth of the agriculture during the past four years inclined towards a clear distinction being made between skilled and unskilled labour. The execution of skilled labour in general became a status symbol, with the result that an increasing social distance was established. An unknown phenomenon amongst farm labourers, namely that of class-grouping, is therefore originating.

The relationship between the three different racial groups, White, Coloured and African, shows little change. During the past two decades the Coloured has seen the African as a threat to himself, his work and consequently also to his continued existence as a farm labourer. Although the two groups frequently have to work together (especially in the unskilled category), quarrels are quite frequent. It is, however, obvious that these quarrels are limited to Coloureds and single migrant labourers. The latter are considered primitive and inferior by the Coloureds. On the other hand African labourers prefer to keep together and mingling with Coloured families is limited to sexual approach. It is, however, significant that a minimum of change in relationship takes place with the increase of skill. Only in seven cases it was found that Coloured labourers returning from urban areas, dissociated themselves from permanent farm workers.

In contrast to this a diminishing in social distance is encountered amongst Coloureds and permanently settled African families who have already lived together on the same farm for a relatively long period. Each group accepts the other and often there is intermarriage. However, as soon as a Coloured labourer who has been friendly with Africans on one farm migrates to another farm, he once again maintains social distance with Africans. Unskilled

labourers usually associate more easily with Africans. Allowing African children to attend Coloured schools in the past necessarily contributed largely towards social integration of these two population groups. It is worth noting, however, that a group of unskilled Coloured labourers would sooner accept an African as one of them than Africans could accept a Coloured man. This can possibly be ascribed to the fact that a group of African migrant labourers who are recruited for a certain farm are often ethnically related and form a closed group, which excludes Coloureds. In contrast to the migrants, permanently settled Africans adapt as time passes to the mode of living of Coloured labourers, and thereby find easier admittance to Coloured families.

Two other changes in marriage patterns are noticeable. Firstly, class differentiation which inevitably appears between skilled and unskilled labourers, is beginning to influence the choice of marital partners. Men who are skilled labourers, however, differentiate to a lesser degree between the above-mentioned in classes when choosing a wife, than do daughters of skilled labourers who are not inclined to marry unskilled labourers.

The degree of isolation that existed in the past as a result of limited means of communication, led to the

Coloured men mostly marrying women from the same vicinity. Now however, Coloureds marry outside their native area up to a range of 70 kilometres.

Settled farm labourers are members of families and churches, but they form few associations beyond the network of kinship and church.

Coloured people form no drinking-groups; individual labourers drink on their own at home or in town bars, more rarely with a friend or two, in a bar. It is quite general for a man to drink up to six litres wine a day. A labourer sometimes lends a certain quantity to a friend, to be repaid the following week-end. Wives usually never drink with their husband although they might get liquor from them. Wives drink on their own or in very small groups numbering not more than three persons. Sons drink with their contemporaries while daughters seldom drink.

Africans and Coloureds never drink together although Africans will sometimes sell liquor to Coloureds over week-ends by means of smuggling. Alcoholism amongst Coloureds is therefore exploited by Africans, especially by those permanently settled on farms.

In contrast to Coloured labourers African migrant labourers form drinking clubs of four to six persons,

usually related. Each takes a turn in brewing the beer made from Kaffir corn which is brought back from the Bantu Reserves. Working-conditions and circumstances mostly result in drinking over week-ends. The beer is divided into equal quantities and each member of the group contributes towards the brewing expenses. Beer is only drunk on the premises on which it is brewed. Drinking wine or spirits rarely occurs as home brewed beer is much cheaper, the aim of the single migrant labourers is to save as much money as possible to send to their families in the Bantu Reserves.

No cases of abuse of liquor was found amongst White workers. Liquor is mostly consumed during social gatherings and does not play a very important role in the pattern of social relations.

Most Africans in the research area are migrants and therefore maintain traditional customs. Even the few who are permanently settled in the area maintain some traditional customs, notably circumcision and sacrifices.

Initiation ceremonies for boys are mainly organised by permanently settled African labourers as migration labourers are all adults and the ceremony has already been participated in the Bantu Reserves. It is nevertheless a general occurrence for migrant Africans from the same

tribal area as that of the organisers of the initiation ceremonies, to attend. The circumcision ceremony and procedures of the initiation ceremony are followed strictly according to tradition. In contrast to the Coloureds who do not understand these customs at all, farmers as employers fully acknowledge such traditional customs as mentioned above.

Belief in the power and importance of ancestors is still strong and sacrifices, in honour of the ancestral spirits, are offered at initiation ceremonies, gatherings by specific clans, funeral ceremonies, customary unions and rain ceremonies. Kinsmen join together in rituals which are strong stabilising factors in social relations. It has been noted that the social pattern of 200 African farm labourers reflected almost no change over the past decade. Departure from tradition must necessarily take place in cases where marital unions with Coloureds take place, and then only in cases where the African is isolated from his tribal brothers and is therefore prevented from participating in a mutual way of life characterised by traditional social customs.

This research project confronts us with certain basic conceptions and problems.

One of the most important aspects is that farm labour in the Western Cape cannot operate without Africans.

Labour shortage in South Africa does not only apply to the urban areas and their manufacturing industries, but also to the farming as such in rural areas. The removal of Africans from the Western Cape creates an unbalanced concentration of Africans in the reserves with increasing unemployment as a result. The migrant system which is enforced by law, on the other hand, creates numerous social problems regarding the family life of African families. Separation of family members leads to marital intermingling with members of other racial groups which again gives rise to further social problems. The presence of the African farm labourer in the Western Cape is predominantly to be employed in order to support his family in the reserves.

In relation to the urban Coloured worker the Coloured farm labourer finds himself in a subordinate socio-economic position due to divergent causes. The lack of mainly recreational, welfare and educational facilities in rural areas and on farms creates an alarmed tempo of depopulation of the rural districts of Caledon and Bredasdorp. The inevitable consequence of these shortcomings must be a further fall both in the standard of living and in the productivity of farm labourers, both of which are at present indisputably low. In this regard, it is the duty of the labourer, the farmer and the Government to improve the labourer's position. The researcher regards it as essential to guarantee the progressive farmer an adequate re-

turn for his efforts, and it would appear that this can be achieved only by increased standardisation of agricultural prices. While therefore, it is desirable to ensure that the progressive farmer who can offer adequate remuneration should have a sufficient supply of labour, it is clearly unjust and economically unsound to contrive a situation in which the efficient farmer has no difficulty in getting labourers. For this reason, and concerning African labourers, the system of influx control must be condemned as long as there exist no alternative economic opportunities for farm workers in their own reserves or other territories.

We therefore find a conflict of values of present policy and productivity regarding farm labour in the Western Cape.

APPENDIX NO. 1 - QUESTIONNAIRES

VRAELYS AAN BLANKE BOERE AS WERKGEWERS (VRAELYS NO. 1)

I. AGTERGROND

1. Naam.
2. Naam van plaas en distrik.
3. Tipe boerderybedryf.
4. In watter persentasie verhouding staan u verskillende boerderybedrywe teenoor mekaar?
5. Hoe ver is u van die naaste:
(a) dorp, (b) padvervoerdiens, geleë?

II. HISTORIESE AGTERGROND VAN PLAASARBEID

1. Watter noemenswaardige verandering het plaasgevind in die rasse-samestelling van plaasarbeiders oor die jare heen?
2. Was arbeid vroeër jare meer beskikbaar as vandag?
3. Watter lone en rantsoene is vroeër jare aan arbeiders betaal, en hoedanig het dit met die jare verander?
4. Hoedanig verskil die behuising van arbeiders in die verlede met dié van vandag?
5. Was daar in die verlede enige geriewe vir arbeiders beskikbaar?
6. Vanwaar het seisoensarbeiders in die verlede vandaan gekom?

7. Is daar in die verlede meer van kontrakarbeid gebruik gemaak as vandag?
8. Wanneer is die eerste Bantoes in diens geneem?
9. Wanneer het u die eerste Bantoes in u distrik gesien?
10. Vir watter diens is Bantoe in die verlede in diens geneem?
11. Is Bantoe op u plaas meestal betrek in (a) seisoenarbeid, (b) kontrakarbeid, of (c) permanente arbeid? Het jare enige verandering aan hierdie patroon aangebring?
12. Wat was die houding van die Kleurling toe die eerste Bantoe hul intrek op Wes-Kaaplandse plase ingeneem het?
13. Doen Kleurling plaasarbeiders nog dieselfde tipe van werk as in die verlede? Wat is dieselfde posisie ten opsigte van die Bantoe?
14. Wat is min of meer die gemiddelde ouderdom van u Kleurlingen Bantoewerksmense?
15. Het hierdie gemiddelde ouderdom veel verander sedert die verlede?
16. Indien wel, hoedanig is die verandering?
17. Is daar in die verlede in u omgewing van die dopstelsel gebruik gemaak?

III. WETGEWING

1. Is wetgewing ten opsigte van Bantoe-plaasarbeid vir u 'n stremmende faktor?
2. Is daar voldoende wetgewing om plaasarbeid te beheer?
3. Welke addisionele wetgewing sal u voorstel?
4. Hou arbeiders (a) hulleself of (b) uself verantwoordelik t.o.v. wetgewing op hulle van toepassing?

IV, OPVOEDINGSFASILITEITE

1. Watter opvoedingsfasiliteite is vir die kinders van u arbeiders beskikbaar?
 - (a) Primêr tot welke standerd?
 - (b) Sekondêr tot welke standerd?
 - (c) Tegnieese opleiding
 - (d) Informele ambagsopleiding
2. Hoe ver is die naaste nie-blanke skool van u plaas geleë?
3. Is die skool binne loopafstand?
4. Indien nie, is daar enige vervoer beskikbaar?
5. Maak u arbeiders gebruik van die bestaande skoolgeriewe?
6. Dink u dat verbeterde opvoedingsgeriewe op die dorp 'n oorwegende faktor is vir die migrasie van arbeiders na dorpe en stede?
7. Wat is die hoogste opvoedkundige kwalifikasies onder u arbeiders? (Bv. Skoolstanderd of Khromme Rhee)
8. Het u werk op die plaas wat spesifieke kwalifikasies vereis?
9. Bestaan daar enige verband tussen beskikbare opvoedingsfasiliteite en die huidige arbeidsprobleem?

V, BEHUISING

1. Is u arbeidershuise saam gegroepeer of verwyder van mekaar?
2. Is die huise van Bantoe en Kleurlinge saam gegroepeer?
3. Het die wetgewing met betrekking tot behuising van arbeiders vir u aansienlike uitgawes teweeggebring?
4. Maak arbeiders gebruik van geriewe wat u aanbring?
5. Aan watter tipe van huis gee arbeiders voorkeur?

6. Hoeveel vertrekke het die huise van arbeiders normaalweg?
7. Dink u dat die grootte van huise aanpas by gesinsgroottes?
8. Is die huise op dorpe en stede van beter gehalte en geriewe voorsien?
9. Sou die migrasie van arbeiders na dorpe iets te doen hê met behuising?
10. Het u enige aanmerkings m.b.t. verband tussen behuising en die verhuising van arbeiders na dorpe en stede?

VI. ARBEID

A. BESKIKBAARHEID VAN ARBEID

1. Is plaasarbeid geredelik beskikbaar?
2. Indien daar 'n vermindering in beskikbare arbeid is, waaraan sou u die tendens toeskryf?
3. Het u aanvraag na arbeid die afgelope vyf jaar vermeerder/verminder?
4. Verkies u Bantoe- of Kleurlingarbeid? Waarom?
5. Is daar 'n vermindering in die aanvraag en/of aanbod van blanke-arbeid?

B. DIE VERWYDERING VAN DIE BANTOE UIT WES-KAAPLAND

1. Veroorsaak die verwydering van die Bantoe vir u enige ongerief?
2. Welke invloed het die verwydering op u boerdery?
3. Het die houding van die Kleurling verander a.g.v. die verwydering van Bantoe?
4. Wat is die houding van die Bantoe op u plaas t.o.v. hul verwydering na tuislande?

5. Sou u sê dat die verwydering van die Bantoe ontwrigting in hul huishouding veroorsaak?
6. Is daar genoegsame Kleurling-arbeid vir u beskikbaar om die leemte wat verwyderde Bantoe laat te vul?

C. SEISOENARBEID

1. Maak u gebruik van seisoenarbeid, bv. met oestyd?
2. Indien wel, watter tipe werk verrig seisoenarbeiders vir u?
3. Welke maande van die jaar maak u gebruik van seisoenarbeid?
4. Maak u van Kleurling-, Bantoe- of Blanke seisoenarbeid gebruik?
5. Watter persentasie vorm seisoenarbeiders van u permanente werksmag?
6. Vanwaar kom u seisoenarbeiders?
7. Is u verantwoordelik vir hulle vervoer?
8. Meng seisoenarbeiders met u werksvolk?
9. Is u seisoenarbeiders gewoonlik gesinne of enkel-arbeiders?
10. Voorsien u kos aan seisoenarbeiders of is hulle self daarvoor verantwoordelik?

D. KONTRAKARBEID

Met kontrakarbeid word bedoel dat werksmense wat nie permanent op die plaas woon nie, 'n sekere tipe werk verrig op 'n kontrakbasis. Hier word nie gedink aan Bantoe migrasie-arbeiders wat op 'n tydperkkontrak by u werk nie.

1. Maak u van kontrakarbeid gebruik?
2. Vind u dat kontrakarbeid 'n bevredigende metode is om sekere tipes werk soos bv. draadspan of bouwerk te verrig?

3. Watter rasgroep doen die meeste kontrakarbeid op u plaas? Kleurling, Bantoe of Blankes?
4. Watter rasgroep toon die meeste private inisiatief vir kontrakarbeid?
5. Trek kontrakarbeiders met hul hele gesin na u plaas?
6. Is daar volgens u 'n verhoogde of verminderde tendens in kontrakarbeid?
7. Voorsien u kos aan kontrakarbeiders of is hulle self daarvoor verantwoordelik?
8. Hoeveel werksmense groepeer gewoonlik saam vir kontrakarbeid?
9. Is daar verskille ten opsigte hiervan by Kleurlinge en Bantoe?
10. Ontstaan daar dikwels onenigheid tussen kontrakarbeiders en u eie werksmense?

E. GESKOOLDE EN ONGESKOOLDE ARBEID

1. Watter persentasie van u werksmense is geskool en hoeveel ongeskool?
2. Watter tipe van werk verrig u geskoolde werksmense?
3. Watter opleiding het u geskoolde werksmense gehad?
4. Is u geskoolde werksmense meestal Kleurlinge of Bantoe?
5. Weier u geskoolde arbeiders soms om ongeskoolde arbeid te verrig?
6. Ontvang u geskoolde arbeiders hoër besoldiging?
7. Het u geskoolde arbeiders op die plaas grootgeword, of is hulle afkomstig vanaf ander plekke?
8. Watter tipe van werk is die voorliefde van (a) Bantoe-arbeiders (permanent) (b) Bantoe-arbeiders (kontraktydsbasis) (c) Kleurling-arbeiders?
9. Hoedanig is die vriendskapsverhouding tussen u geskoolde en u ongeskoolde arbeiders?

10. Hoeveel van u geskoolde arbeiders is Bantoe en hoeveel Kleurlinge?
11. Hoeveel van u ongeskoolde arbeiders is Bantoe en hoeveel Kleurlinge?
12. Watter mate van arbeidspesialisasie kom voor? Bv. opleiding vir bepaalde beroepe?

F. MEGANISASIE

1. Is u boerdery aansienlik gemeganiseer gedurende die afgelope tien jaar?
2. Watter invloed het dit op u aantal werksmense gehad?
3. Beteken meganisasie in u tipe van boerdery noodwendig 'n vermindering van u aantal arbeiders?
4. Indien daar 'n vermindering is, is dit t.o.v. Kleurling- of Bantoe-arbeiders?
5. Vereis toenemende meganisasie 'n vermeerdering in Blanke toesig?
6. Beteken meganisasie 'n noodwendige vermeerdering/vermindering in arbeidskoste, of bly die koste konstant?
7. Ontvang u arbeiders enige opleiding in die hantering van u plaasgereedskap? Indien wel, watter werksmense - Kleurling, Bantoe of Blankes?
8. Is u werksmense in staat tot ordentlike hantering van u masjinerie, soos stropers en trekkers?
9. Hoedanig is die verhouding t.o.v. die koste van meganisasie tot die prys wat u ontvang vir produkte wat u lewer? Is dit bv. buite verhouding?

G. MIGRASIE VAN ARBEIDERS

(a) BANTOES

Wanneer hier gepraat word van Bantoe-migrasie arbeiders, dan word daarmee bedoel Bantoe-arbeiders wat vir 'n kontraktydperk by u werk en van die tuislande afkomstig is.

1. Maak u van Bantoe-migrasie arbeiders gebruik?
2. Voel u dat dit onontbeerlik is?
3. Is daar sekere tipes van werk wat Kleurlinge eenvoudig weier om te doen?
4. Vir watter verblyftydperk kry u Bantoe-migrasie arbeiders?
5. Is daar 'n tendens dat Bantoe-migrasie arbeiders soms by u wil aanbly?
6. Is hulle tevrede met hulle verblyfsomstandighede?
7. Meng hulle met ander Bantoes op die plaas?
8. Meng hulle met Kleurlinge?
9. Uit watter gebiede of magistraatsdistrikte is hulle gewoonlik afkomstig?
10. Ondervind u gevalle van diensverlating t.o.v. Bantoe-migrasie arbeiders?
11. Wat is gewoonlik hulle redes vir diensverlating?
12. Vind u dat permanent gevestigde Bantoe op die plaas by diensverlating na dorpe en stede toe trek of terug tuislande toe?

(b) KLEURLINGE

1. Wat beskou u as die vernaamste rede vir die migrasie van Kleurlinge na dorpe en stede?
2. Is die werklike rede vir migrasie dieselfde as wat hulle voorgee?
3. Voel u dat migrasie vanaf die plase, werkloosheid in dorpe en stede bevorder?
4. Watter rol speel drankverskaffing in die migrasie van Kleurlingwerksmense?
5. Migreer geskoolde Kleurlinge makliker as ongeskoolde Kleurlinge?

6. Ondervind u vandag meer opstandigheid onder Kleurlinge as in die verlede?
7. Indien wel, waaraan skryf u dit toe?

(c) KLEURLING EN BANTOE

1. Welke van Kleurlinge of Bantoe vind u die mees betroubare?
2. Onder watter van die twee groepe is drankverbruik die hoogste?
3. By watter groep is die persentasie diensverlating die hoogste?
4. Wat is die onderskeid tussen die twee groepe t.o.v. misdaad?
5. Watter van Kleurlinge of Bantoes bly die langste in u diens?
6. Indien u huisbediendes gebruik, is hulle Kleurling of Bantoe?

VII. LONE EN UITGAWES

1. Wat is normaalweg die lone in kontant wat u u werksmense betaal per dag? Watter verskil bestaan t.o.v. Kleurling en Bantoe-arbeiders?
2. Verkies u om werksmense per dag, week of per maand te betaal?
3. Indien u rantsoene voorsien, op watter basis geskied dit?
4. Op watter basis maak u onderskeid tussen werksmense wat besoldiging betref?
5. Word werksmense toegelaat om ander inkomste te verdien buite hulle plaaswerk, en is daar sommige wat dit doen?

6. Voel u dat daar 'n onregverdige mededinging bestaan tussen lone wat u moet betaal en die wat in dorpe en stede betaal word?
7. Indien wel, dink u dat die winsgrens van u tipe boerdery hoër besoldiging regverdig?
8. Word u werksmense toegelaat om vee aan te hou en/of tuin te maak?
9. Waaraan bestee werksmense meeste van hul lone?
10. Is daar 'n verskil ten opsigte hiervan tussen Bantoe-en Kleurling-arbeiders?
11. Hou u soms geld van u werksmense in bewaring by u vir hulle eie voordeel?
12. Is u werksmense geneig om skuld by u aan te gaan?
13. Vind u dat hulle baie traag is om skuld terug te betaal?

VIII. TOEKOMS VAN PLAASARBEID

Wat is u opinie omtrent die toekoms van plaasarbeid, veral in u distrik?

VRAELYS AAN KLEURLING PLAASARBEIDERS (VRAELYS NO. 2)

I. AGTERGROND

1. Naam.
2. Adres (Plaas).
3. Geslag.
4. Ouderdom.
5. Huwelikstaat.
6. Getal kinders.
7. Geboorteplek.

II. HISTORIESE OORSIG VAN ARBEIDSVERRIGTING

1. Tipe werk van vader.
2. Watter tipes van werk het jy voorheen al gedoen?
3. Op hoeveel verskillende plekke het jy al voorheen gewerk?

III. HUIDIGE ARBEID

1. Hoe lank is jy al in diens van jou huidige werkgewer?
2. Watter tipe werk doen jy?
3. Werk jy permanent op een plek of is jy 'n seisoenwerker of kontrakarbeider?
4. Van watter tipe werk hou jy die meeste?

5. Is jy opgelei in jou werk en spesialiseer jy in een of ander rigting van plaasarbeid?
6. Indien jy getroud is, werk jou man/vrou?
7. Werk daar enige van jou familie saam met jou op die plaas?
8. Kan jy plaasmasjinerie hanteer soos bv. trekkers en stropers?
9. Is jy verantwoordelik vir die instandhouding van enige masjinerie, ens.?
10. Besit jy 'n bestuurderslisensie? Indien wel, swaar of lig?

IV. LOONSTRUKTUUR EN OMSET

1. Watter salaris ontvang jy in kontant, en hoeveel in rantsoene?
2. Sou jy jou rantsoene eerder in kontant verkies? Waarom?
3. Ontvang jy jou loon daaglik, weeklik of maandeliks? Hoe verkies jy dit en waarom?
4. Aan watter items bestee jy die meeste geld?
5. Verdien jou man/vrou/kinders ook geld vir die huishouding?
6. Het jy enige ander inkomste benewens jou plaaswerk?
7. Verkies jy 'n verminderde salaris plus 'n dopstelsel?
8. Hou jy enige vee aan en/of maak jy tuin?
9. Leen jy dikwels geld by die eienaar van die plaas of van ander mense?

V. MIGRASIE

1. Waar woon jou ouers, broers en susters?

2. Hoe dikwels gaan jy dorp toe?
3. Watter tipe van werk sal jy doen as jy nou in die dorp of stad moet gaan werk?
4. Het jy al voorheen in 'n dorp of stad gewerk?
5. Waarom trek daar so baie werksmense na die dorpe en stede?

VI. OPVOEDING

1. Watter opleiding het jy?
2. Watter opleiding het jou man/vrou/kinders?
3. Waar het jy skoolgegaan?
4. Gaan jou kinders skool?
5. Indien wel, waar? Indien nie, waarom?
6. Hoe ver is die naaste skool van jou huis af?

VII. BEHUISING

1. Is jy tevrede met die huis waarin jy woon?
2. Betaal jy huishuur?
3. Is die huise in die dorp beter en kan jy teen dieselfde prys daar bly?
4. Woon daar ander mense buiten jou gesin saam met jou?
5. Verkies jy jou huis saam met ander huise in 'n groep of losstaande?
6. Watter addisionele geriewe wil jy by jou huis hê?
7. Hoe groot is jou huis? (Vertrekke)
8. Hoe ver is jou huis van die plaashuis geleë?

VIII. SOSIALE OMSTANDIGHEDE

1. Is jou man/vrou ook 'n Kleurling?
2. Wat is jou opinie met betrekking tot 'n huwelik met Bantoes?
3. Het jy baie Bantoe-vriende?
4. Werk jy saam met Bantoes? Verkies jy dit?
5. Woon jy saam met Bantoes? Verkies jy dit?
6. Vereis omstandighede dit soms dat jy met Bantoes moet meng?
7. Watter vervoer is vir jou beskikbaar? Het jy 'n voertuig?
8. Hoe en wanneer en hoe dikwels gaan jy altoos dorp toe?
9. Watter ontspanning bestaan daar vir jou op die plaas?
10. Neem jy en jou kinders aan sport deel? Watter?
11. Watter tipe werk doen meeste van jou vriende? Waar woon hulle?
12. Watter organisasies bestaan in jou omgewing waarin jy deel kan hê?
13. Aan watter kerk behoort jy?
14. Is jou kinders almal lede van die kerk?
15. Is daar genoegsame geleentheid vir kerkbywoning?
16. Dien jy op enige raad of komitee?
17. Dien jy, of het jy al op die kerkraad gedien?
18. Verkies jy 'n Blanke- of Kleurling-prediker?

IX. ARBEIDSTOEKOMS

1. Sal jy in die toekoms maklik van werk verander?
2. Sal jy jou kinders aanmoedig om eendag ook plaaswerk te doen?

3. Beoog jy om op een of ander tyd in die dorp te gaan werk?
 4. Hoekom sou jy dink dat dit beter is om in die dorp te werk?
-

VRAELYS AAN BANTOE PLAASARBEIDERS (VRAELYS NO. 3)

I. AGTERGROND EN OPVOEDING

1. Naam.
2. Adres.
3. Geslag: Manlik, Vroulik.
4. Ouderdom.
5. Stamverband.
6. Huwelikstaat.
7. Getal kinders.
8. Is man/vrou teenwoordig? Indien nie, waar?
9. Is daar enige van jou familie teenwoordig in jou omgewing?
10. Waarom het jy na Blanke-gebied gekom?
11. Wanneer het jy na Blanke-gebied gekom?
12. Waar is jy gebore en het jy groot geword?
13. Het jy enige opleiding gehad of skoolgegaan?
14. Waar is opvoeding ontvang?
15. Welke tale is jy magtig?

II. HISTORIESE OORSIG

1. Watter tipes van werk het jy voorheen gedoen?
2. Was jy al in die stad werksaam?
3. Op hoeveel verskillende plekke het jy al voorheen gewerk?
4. Watter soort van werk het jou vader gedoen?

III. MIGRASIE

1. Wanneer het jy na Blanke-gebied gekom?
2. Hoe lank is jy reeds in diens op plase, en op die betrokke plaas?
3. Waarom verkies jy om op 'n plaas te werk?
4. Wanneer was jy laas in jou tuisland?
5. Waar woon jou (a) Ouers
(b) Broers en Susters
(c) Vrou en Kinders?

IV. ARBEIDSTRUKTUUR

1. Is jy (a) 'n permanente arbeider op die plaas,
(b) seisoenarbeider,
(c) onderneem jy kontrak-arbeid, of
(d) is jy op 'n tydskontrak by die Boer?
2. Watter soort werk hou jy die meeste van?
3. Beoefen jy een of ander ambag?

V. BEHUISING - INKOMSTE EN UITGAWES

1. Woon jy alleen of saam met ander Bantoes in die huis?
2. Is jy tevrede met jou huis?
3. Verkies jy jou huis saam met ander huise in die omgewing of losstaande?
4. Hoe groot is jou huis? Aantal vertrekke?
5. Verkies jy die huise in die dorp bo dié waarin jy nou bly?

6. Hoeveel verdien jy per dag in kontant?
7. Ontvang jy rantsoene?
8. Verkies jy kontant bo rantsoene?
9. Waaraan bestee jy jou geld?
10. Stuur jy enige geld na jou mense in jou tuisland?
11. Verdien ander lede van jou huisgesin geld of ander inkomste?
12. Het jy enige ander inkomste benewens plaas-arbeid?
13. Hou jy enige vee aan en/of maak jy tuin?
14. Leen jy geld aan jou vriende of clan-lede?
15. Besit jy enige vervoermiddel?
16. Kan jy plaasgereedskap hanteer?
17. Het jy 'n ligte- of swaar bestuurderslisensie?

VI. SOSIALE ORGANISASIE

1. Is jy met 'n Kleurling getroud?
2. Wat is jou opinie omtrent huweliksvermenging?
3. Het jy enige lobolo betaal?
4. Waar is jy getroud?
5. Gaan jou kinders skool? Indien wel, 'n Kleurlingskool?
6. Watter skoolgeriewe is beskikbaar?
7. Is dit binne bereikbare afstand?
8. Is daar enige byeenkomste van jou
 - (a) clan-groep, of
 - (b) stam?
9. Watter tradisionele seremonies word nog in jou omgewing gehou, en woon jy hulle by?

10. Watter tipe werk verrig die meeste van jou vriende?
 11. Wat is jou opinie aangaande wetgewing op jou van toepassing?
 12. Aan watter sosiale aktiwiteite het jy deel, bv. kerk, konserte, sportklubs?
 13. Behoort jy aan enige kerk?
 14. Wie is die prediker?
 15. Behoort jy aan 'n begrafnisgenootskap?
-

VRAELYS AAN BLANKE PLAASARBEIDERS (VRAELYS NO. 4)

I. AGTERGROND EN OPVOEDING

1. Naam.
2. Plaas en distrik.
3. Ouderdom.
4. Huwelikstaat.
5. Getal kinders.
6. Watter opvoedkundige kwalifikasies besit u?
7. Het u enige opleiding in die boerderybedryf?

II. HISTORIESE OORSIG

1. Watter tipes van werk het u al voorheen gedoen?
2. Hoe lank is u al met boerdery besig?
3. Waar het u groot geword en wat was die beroep van u vader?
4. Wat weet u van die loongeskiedenis van plaasarbeid?
5. Waarvandaan het die meeste werksvolk vroeër jare gekom?
6. Verskil die posisie t.o.v. dié van vandag?
7. Wat was vroeër jare die vereistes wat aan werksmense gestel is?
8. Hoedanig het hierdie posisie verander?
9. Wanneer het die eerste Bantoes op plase in u distrik begin werk?

III. ARBEIDSTRUKTUUR

1. Is u voltyds betrek in
 - (a) permanente plaasarbeid,
 - (b) kontrakwerk, of
 - (c) seisoenarbeider?
2. Is enige van u kinders betrek in plaasarbeid?
3. Watter tipe van plaaswerk verkies u by uitstek?
4. Is daar tipes van werk buiten boerdery wat u verkies?

IV. MIGRASIE

1. Het u voorheen van 'n dorp na die plaas getrek?
2. Voorsien u om in die toekoms op die dorp of in 'n stad te gaan werk?
3. Is werksomstandighede in stede beter as die op plase?
4. Is enige van u kinders werksaam op dorpe en in stede?

V. HANTERING VAN NIE-BLANKE ARBEID

1. Verkies u om met Kleurling- of Bantoe-arbeid te werk? Waarom?
2. Wat is die basiese verskille tussen Kleurling- en Bantoe-arbeid?
3. Hoedanig is die samewerking tussen Kleurlinge en Bantoes?
4. Vind u dat die Bantoetaal probleme oplewer wanneer daar met Bantoes gewerk word?

VI. LOONSTRUKTUUR

1. Ontvang u loon in die vorm van rantsoene benewens kontant?
2. Het u enige addisionele inkomste benewens plaasarbeid?
3. Verkies u u volledige loon in kontant?
4. Is u salaris genoegsaam om in u behoeftes te voorsien?
5. Sou u die salaris en lewensomstandighede van die stad verkies bo dié wat u tans ondervind?
6. Hou u vee aan en maak u tuin vir addisionele inkomste?

VII. BEHUISING

1. Is u huis voldoende vir vereistes van u gesin?
2. Kan u beter huise in die dorp of stad bekom?

VIII. TOEKOMS VAN ARBEID

1. Voorsien u om permanent op die plaas aan te bly?
 2. Sou u u kinders aanraai om betrekkings in boerdery te neem?
 3. Wat dink u is die toekoms van die Blanke as arbeider op plase?
-

VRAELYS AAN ARBEIDERS WAT PLASE VERLAAT HET (VRAELYS

NO. 5)

I. AGTERGROND OORSPRONG EN MIGRASIE

1. Naam.
2. Adres.
3. Geslag.
4. Ouderdom.
5. Huwelikstaat.
6. Getal kinders.
7. Geboorteplek.
8. Kleurling of Bantoe.
9. Waar het jy groot geword?
10. Wanneer is jy van die plaas af weg?
11. Hoeveel keer het jy sedertdien van werk verander?
12. Waarom is jy van die plaas af weg?
13. Sou jy teruggaan plaas toe indien dit moontlik is?
14. Werk daar nog familie van jou op plase?

II. HUIDIGE ARBEIDSOMSTANDIGHEDE

1. Watter tipe van werk doen jy?
2. Hoe ver van die werk woon jy? Is dit binne loopafstand?
3. Werk jy saam met ander mense of werk jy alleen?
4. Doen jy nou ook kontrakarbeid?

5. Hoe vergelyk jou lone met die wat jy op die plaas ontvang het?
6. Ontvang jy nou enige rantsoene?
7. Het jy nou enige addisionele inkomste?

III. BEHUISING EN OPVOEDING

1. Hoe vergelyk jou huis met dié op die plaas?
2. Woon jy in 'n lokasie?
3. Is daar vir jou vervoer beskikbaar?
4. Is skoolgeriewe vir jou kinders beter op die dorp?

IV. SOSIALE OMSTANDIGHEDE EN RELIGIE

1. Is daar enige ontspanningsfasiliteite beskikbaar wat jy nie op die plaas gehad het nie?
 2. Het jy deel in enige organisasie?
 3. Gaan jy nou meer dikwels kerk toe?
 4. Dien jy op die kerkraad?
 5. Is jou huisgesin almal lede van die kerk?
-

APPENDIX NO. 2

(P.N. 598/1957)

(25th October, 1957)

The Administrator has approved of the subjoined regulations, framed by the Divisional Council of Caledon.

CALEDON DIVISIONAL COUNCIL : BUILDING REGULATIONS

1. In these regulations -

"Council" means the Divisional Council of Caledon.

"Street" means any road shown upon any general plan or other plan of sub-division filed in the office of the Surveyor-General.

"Building" without in any way limiting the ordinary meaning of the word, includes -

- (a) any structure, whether of a permanent or temporary nature, erected or used for the housing or accommodation of human beings or animals, or for the storage, manufacture or sale of goods or materials, or for the destruction or treatment of refuse or other waste material, and covering an area in excess of fifty square feet, and

(b) a wall, swimming pool, swimming bath, reservoir, water tower, bridge, summer-house and hot-house, and any structure appurtenant thereto.

"New building" includes alterations to buildings involving the removal of the roof or the pulling down of any external wall, or the construction of any new room in or in connection with such building, but shall not include repairs or minor alterations to any such buildings.

"Division" means the area under the control of the Council.

"Public place" means any public place as defined in the Township Ordinance, 1934.

"Engineer", "authorised officer", "official" or "building inspector" means the person authorised by the Council to discharge such duties as are in terms of these regulations assigned to him by the Council.

2. No person shall erect any new building without the approval in writing, of the Council first obtained.

TEMPORARY BUILDINGS

3. No person shall erect or set up in any place any building of wood and iron or consisting mainly of wood and iron, rubber compounds on wood or iron, galvanised iron or slats sawn on at least three sides, tents, caravans or any structure of a movable or temporary nature without the prior written permission of the Council and in such permission shall be stated the period for which it has been granted, provided that the permit shall be valid for a period not exceeding twelve months. Any building so erected shall be demolished and/or removed on the expiration of the period stated in the permit or application may be made to the Council for the renewal of such permit at least thirty days before the date of expiration of such permit, failing which the Council may in writing direct the owner or other person in control of such building to demolish and/or remove such building. Should such person fail to effect such demolition and/or removal as directed by the Council, the Council may effect such demolition and/or removal at the expense of the owner or such person.

PERMANENT BUILDINGS

4. (1) Every person intending to erect any new building shall give at least 30 clear day's notice, in writing to the Council of his intention so to do, and shall at the same time deposit with the Council in duplicate the following:

Detailed plans drawn to scale of not less than 1 inch to 8 feet showing, "inter alia", the height of the foundations of such proposed building in relation to the street it is intended to face. In the event of such street or streets being unmade, due allowance shall be made for the future construction thereof, and levels shall be fixed to enable, if necessary, the discharge of water from the roof into the provision for surface storm water drainage on such street, and every building shall be so situated as will permit of the lowest floor thereof being property and independently drained by gravitation. In this connection the Council may require that any necessary works of excavation, filling, construction or of retaining walls shall be undertaken by and at the cost of the owner and satisfactorily completed.

(2) The fee payable in advance in respect of any building plan for the erection of any new building, or alteration of or addition to any existing building, submitted to the Council for consideration shall be as follows, subject to a minimum fee of R4.00.

- (a) R1.00 for every 200 square feet (18.6 square metres) or part thereof of the area up to 3 000 square feet (297 sq metres) area;
- (b) 40c for every 200 square feet (18.6 square metres) or part thereof of the area in excess of 3 000 square feet (279 square metres) but not exceeding 10 000 square feet (930 square metres) of the area;
and

(c) 15c for every 200 square feet (18.6 square metres) or part thereof of the area in excess of 10 000 square feet (930 square metres) of the area.

(3) For the purpose of sub-regulation (2) shall mean the total area of any new building or any alteration of or addition to any existing building, and shall include any verandah or balcony, stoep, basement, mezzanine or gallery.

5. The fixing of all levels and the class of architecture of buildings shall be subject to the approval of the Council and in determining the same, regard shall be had to the gradients of existing or proposed streets, the nature of the existing or proposed buildings in the vicinity and to the general environment. The Council may prohibit the erection of buildings which, in its opinion, shall be of an objectionable nature.

6. Every person submitting detailed plans shall show thereon the height and thickness of the foundation walls and the level of the ground floor, the position of the damp courses, the dimensions and positions of rooms and passages, the positions and dimensions of all windows, doors, chimneys and ventilating openings, and the sanitary conveniences and the intended mode of drainage, together with a schedule of specifications describing the material and method of construction and other particulars of the several parts of the proposed work. Attached to the former shall be a "key" plan drawn to scale of not less than one inch to twenty feet, whereon shall be shown the lines of the boundaries of the plot, the position in respect thereto of the building and appurtenances proposed to be

erected thereon, and also of the buildings and appurtenances of the properties adjoining, the width, line, and existing level of the road in front, and the road (if any) at the rear of such building, and also the lines of the adjoining buildings in respect to the centre line of the road to be faced. The plans, "key" plan, specifications and schedule herein mentioned shall severally bear the name and address of the person intending to defray the cost of the proposed work to which they relate, and shall be signed by him or his agent, and also by the designer or architect. The duplicate originals shall become the property of and be retained by the Council and all plans and sections shall be drawn in durable ink upon good material, and shall have the leading dimensions figured in, and a scale attached from which measurements can be made.

7. No person, whether owner, agent, builder or other person, shall proceed to erect, add to, or alter any new building without the previous sanction and approval of the Council; provided, however, that Council shall within thirty days after receiving the notice, plans, sections and specifications or schedules in the preceeding regulations referred to, signify to the person delivering the same whether or not it approves thereof, and if it disapproves thereof, shall give such person notice of the alterations thereto which it requires shall be adopted; and provided further that the sanction and approval of the Council shall be null and void unless the work so sanctioned shall be commenced within twelve months and completed within twenty-one months after the signification of such sanction.

8. No person shall alter or deviate from any plan, section specification or schedule after it has been deposited with an approved of by the Council, unless notice of such proposed alteration or deviation, together with plans, sections, and specifications or schedule thereof, shall have first been deposited with and approved by the Council in like manner, and within the same time as is required in the case of original plans, sections and specifications or schedules.

9. The engineer and all other duly authorised officers may inspect at any reasonable time any building or other structure, which is being erected, added to, or altered.

10. Every person, whether owner, agent, builder or other person who shall intend to erect a new building, shall before beginning to execute the work, deliver to the Council at its office notice in writing, specifying the date upon which it is proposed to commence such work, which date shall be at least seven days after the delivery of such notice.

11. If such person neglects or refuses to send any such notice to the Council and the Engineer or other duly authorised official shall find on inspection any such work as aforesaid, that such work is so far advanced that it cannot be ascertained whether or not the requirements of any regulations relating thereto have or have not been complied with, he may require that such work as prevents him from so doing shall be cut into, laid upon, or pulled down within a reasonable time to the extent necessary for the aforesaid purposes, and such person shall, at his own expense, within the time specified, cut into, lay open or pull down the work as required.

12. If any person erects any new building without the plan thereof having been approved of by the Council in terms of these regulations, or without a permit having been obtained, as the case may be, or in any way contravenes the provisions of these regulations, it shall be competent for the Council to serve upon such person a notice requiring him to remove such new building or to demolish such work as may have been done in contravention of these regulations, within the time to be specified in such notice.

Should such person upon receipt of the notice aforesaid neglect or omit to comply with the requirements thereof within the time stated in such notice, he shall be guilty of an offence, and the Council may remove such dwelling, hut or other structure or cause any work which may have been done in contravention of these regulations to be pulled down or altered at the expense of such person who shall have caused such work to be done.

13. Every person who shall erect a new building shall within a reasonable time after the completion of such building deliver or cause to be delivered to the Council notice in writing of the completion of such building, and shall at all reasonable times, within a period of seven working days after such notice shall have been so delivered, afford the engineer free access to every part of such building for the purpose of inspection, and the engineer shall inspect same within such period, and if the building is not in accordance with the regulations, the engineer shall specify the alterations which are required to be made.

No person shall occupy any new building until a certificate has been granted by the engineer to the owner that such building is in every respect in accordance with the requirements of these regulations and in accordance with the plans and particulars deposited with and approved of by the Council. The engineer shall grant such certificate or give sufficient reason for delay in withholding the same, within seven days after written application therefor shall have been made to him by the owner of such building.

14. Every person intending to erect a new building shall see that no part of such building, except boundary walls and fences, is erected within 10 feet (3 metres) from the rear boundary nor within 5 feet (1.5 metres) from any adjoining erf or side boundary. Measurements shall be taken from the nearest point of such building to the boundary of such erf or plot.

15. No person shall erect a new building upon any site or portion of any site which has been filled or made up by any material impregnated or mixed with any animal or vegetable matter or refuse until such matter has been removed and the excavation satisfactorily filled in.

16. Every person who erects a new building, where the dampness of the soil or the ground surface renders it necessary, shall cause the whole ground surface or site of such building to be properly asphalted or covered with a layer of good cement concrete rendered solid at least six inches thick, or adopt other means to prevent seepage or dampness. Whenever the intended site of a

new building may have formed part of a clay pit or quarry, or wherever by reason of excavation and removal of earth, gravel or stones or other materials from such site, the whole on any part of the surface thereof is below the surface of the ground immediately surrounding and adjoining such site, or where, owing either to the natural contour of the surrounding area or to artificial conditions, it is necessary to elevate the whole or part of the surface of such site for the prevention of dampness in any part of the building thereon, no foundation of a new building shall be constructed upon such site, or upon such part thereof which for the purposes aforesaid required elevation unless and until there has been properly deposited thereon a layer or layers of sand and suitable material to elevate such site, or such part thereof, to an adequate height and to form a healthy substratum for such foundation. If considered necessary, foundations shall be satisfactorily "stepped" into hillsides, and any retaining walls required, or any "benched" area, shall be built.

17. Every person erecting a new building shall construct every external and party wall of such building of good sound brick, stone, concrete or other approved material, not less than nine inches thick in respect of single storey buildings, and not less than eighteen inches in respect of multiple-storey buildings, and every party wall in an attached building shall be carried through to a height of at least twelve inches above the roof of any building.

18. Every person erecting a new building shall ensure that the foundations of the walls thereof shall be solidly and efficiently constructed.

19. Every person erecting a new building shall ensure that the walls thereof are constructed with a damp-proof course at least six inches above the level of the ground on either side of the wall, but not nearer than three inches to the lower side of any joint, girder or wall plate of the lowest floor.

20. Every person erecting a new building shall provide for the efficient ventilation of all spaces under floor.

21. Every person erecting a new building shall ensure that it is constructed with proper eaves and guttering with rainwater pipes so as to conduct the water from the roof away from the foundations of such building. Every room in every new building shall be sufficiently lighted and ventilated by natural means. The back of every chimney opening from the hearth to a height of twelve inches above the mantle shall be at least eight and a half inches thick if in a party wall, and four and a half inches thick if not in a party wall, and no timber or woodwork shall be placed in any wall or chimney nearer than twelve inches to the inside of any flue or chimney opening. There shall be laid level with the floor before the opening of the chimney a slab of stone, slate, concrete or other incombustible material, at least twelve inches longer on each side than the width of such opening, and at least eighteen inches wide in front thereof.

22. Every person, whether owner, agent, builder, or other person, who shall intend to erect a new building, shall while so engaged in executing the work provide sufficient and suitable sanitary accommodation for the labourers or other persons so employed in executing the work.

23. (1) No person may erect a new building of frame construction of more than one storey in height, and no such building shall exceed sixteen feet in height above the ground to the eaves or top of the wall plates.

(2) No person erecting a new building in terms of these regulations shall erect it within a distance of fifteen feet from the nearest boundary of any road or street.

(3) Every person erecting a new building in terms of this regulations shall ensure that:

- (a) the walls shall be of a height of not less than seven and a half feet from the floor to the roof supports at their lowest point, properly erected and watertight;
- (b) doors and windows shall be substantially built and fitted with properly constructed door and window frames, and properly constructed and fitting doors and windows, capable of opening wholly or in part, and these shall be kept in good working order and repair at all times;
- (c) ventilation and lighting areas (excluding doors) of living and sleeping rooms shall be not less than one-tenth of the floor area;
- (d) doors and windows shall be so situated as to allow cross-ventilation;
- (e) roofs shall be watertight and properly constructed and fitted to wall plates and roof supports; and

(f) that such buildings are properly constructed and are at all times maintained in a good state of repair.

24. (1) No person shall use or allow to be used for the purpose of human habitation any building:

(a) which does not conform in structure with the regulations of the Council in that behalf in force at the time being, or any duly authorised written deviation from such regulations given in terms of regulation 23 above;

(b) constructed on the back-to-back system or so altered or adjusted in temporary or permanent manner that back-to-back rooms or dwellings are produced;

(c) not sufficiently lighted by a window or windows giving a total area of clear glass of not less than one-tenth of the floor area, and sufficiently ventilated by two or more ventilation openings or by windows capable of being wholly opened or to not less than one-half of their area, the windows and vents being so placed as to secure through- and cross-ventilation.

(2) No person shall use or cause or permit to be used as a place of human habitation any hut, cave, tent, vehicle, vessel or boat or any other place without the written consent of the Council.

(3) No person shall allow any latrine or any passage, staircase, landing, bathroom, cupboard, cellar or loft, which in the opinion of the Council is unfit for human habitation, to be used for sleeping purposes by any human being.

(4) No person shall allow any room in any premises to be inhabited which is not at least eight and a half feet (2.59 metres) high from the floor to the ceiling. Such height shall be measured from a point in the middle of such room where the ceiling has a slope.

(5) No person shall occupy or cause to or suffer to be occupied for human habitation any sub-ground floor area or foundation area or basement of any building which in the opinion of the Council is unfit for use as a human habitation.

25. No person shall allow openings such as doors, windows or fanlights to be boarded up, built up or constructed in any way so as to interfere with the lighting, cross-ventilation or access.

26. No person shall allow any room over a stable, privy or cowshed to be used for human habitation, nor shall he allow any room adjoining any privy, closet, stable or other building in which animals are kept, unless separated therefrom by a stone, brick or concrete wall carried up to the roof, to be used for human habitation.

27. No person shall occupy or cause or suffer to be occupied any premises so as to be injurious or dangerous to health, whether by overcrowding or otherwise.

28. No person shall allow his dwelling or premises or any part thereof to be verminous or dirty of rodent-infested or to be in any condition which is liable to favour the spread of any infectious disease.

If any room or other part of any premises is infected with bugs or other vermin, the owner thereof shall cause it to be deverminised satisfactorily.

29. The owner or landlord of any building used for human habitation shall provide sanitary accommodation for such building so that the number of closets shall be in the proportion of not less than one closet for every ten persons who may at any one time occupy the building for sleeping, and such sanitary accommodation shall be in accordance with the regulations of the Council in that behalf in force at the time being.

30. The owner of any building shall cause every part of the structure of every closet belonging to such building to be at all times maintained in good efficient order.

OVERCROWDING

31. No person having the control of any building shall cause or suffer the same to be occupied either by day or by night so as to cause overcrowding. Any building shall be deemed to be overcrowded which does not provide the following minimum accommodation per inmate, namely:

(1) In rooms occupied as sleeping apartment: per inmate under the age of ten years, 200 cubic feet of air space and 20 square feet of floor space; per inmate over the age of ten years, 400 cubic feet of air space and 40 square feet of floor space.

(2) In rooms occupied otherwise than sleeping apartments by occupants for consecutive periods of two hours or upwards; per inmate under the age of twelve years, 150 cubic feet of air space; per inmate over the age of twelve years, 300 cubic feet of air space.

(3) In schools, twelve square feet of floor space and 120 feet of air space per scholar.

(4) In determining the above cubic capacities, the height of any room or building in so far as the same may exceed twelve feet above its floor shall not be taken into consideration.

SANITARY CONVENIENCES

32. No person shall keep upon any dwelling or other premises any sanitary convenience so as to be offensive of a nuisance or injurious or dangerous to health.

33. Every person installing a sanitary convenience shall ensure that it complies with the following requirements:

(1) Pail closets shall:

- (a) be situated at least six feet distant from any building so as to give easy access for the removal of the pail from such closet and from the premises to which such closet may belong without carrying such pails or the nightsoil through any building;
- (b) be of not less than the following internal dimensions, namely depth from front to back, four feet six inches; breadth, three feet six inches; height from the floor to ceiling at the ceiling's lowest part, six feet six inches;
- (c) be properly and substantially constructed of impermeable material, roofed and have a proper

door and a floor laid in every part at least six inches above the level of the surface of the ground adjoining such closet;

- (d) be provided with sufficient means of ventilation as near to the roof as possible and with sufficient means of lighting, and
- (e) have an entrance door which shall not open directly on to or in view of any public street or thoroughfare, public building or place open to the public.

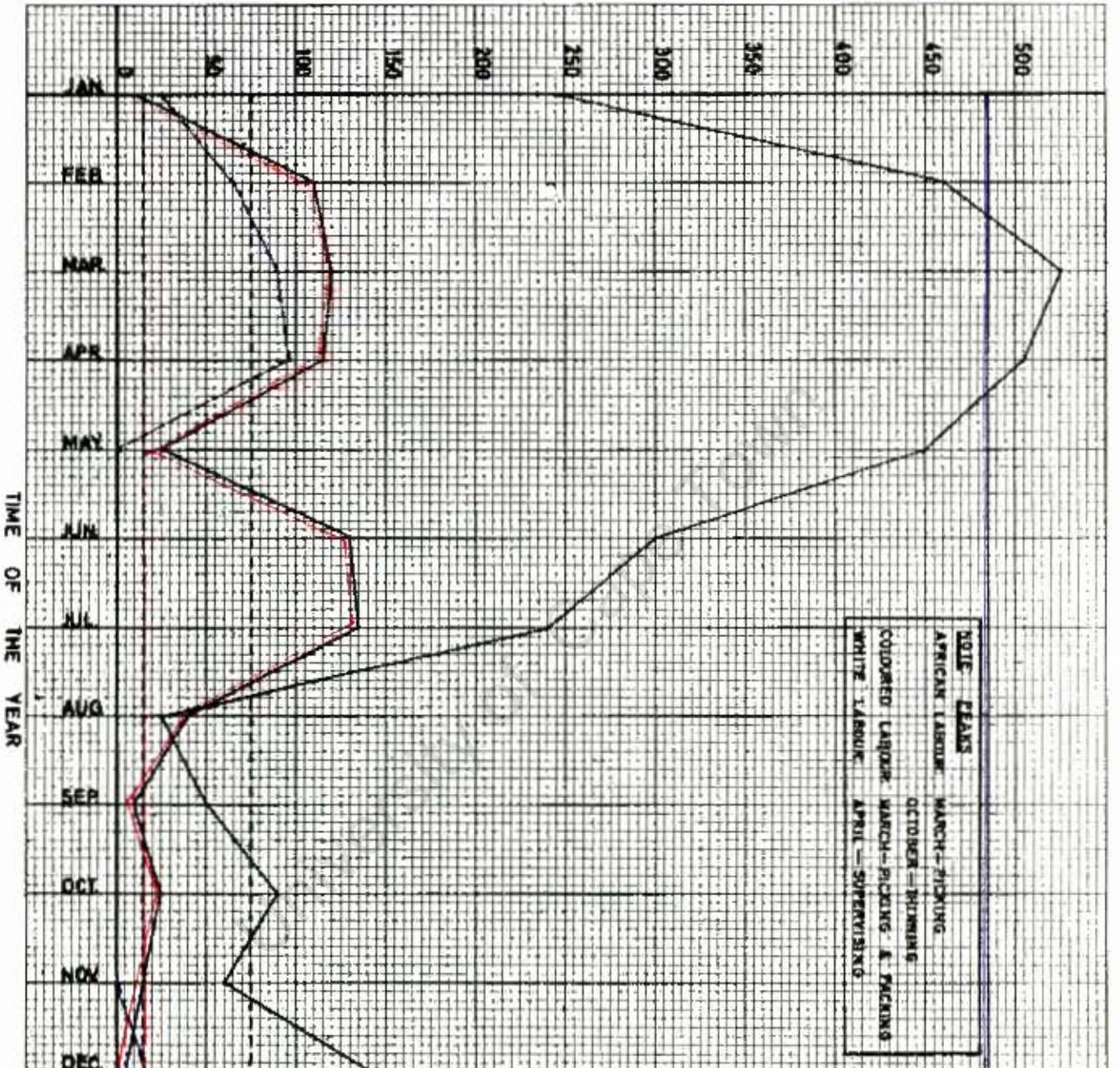
(2) Pit privies shall:

- (a) be situated at least 50 feet from any dwelling or public building or boundary;
- (b) be of not less than the following internal dimensions, namely depth from front to back, four feet six inches; breadth, three feet six inches; height from the floor to ceiling at the ceiling's lowest part, six feet six inches;
- (c) be properly and substantially constructed of impermeable material, roofed, and have a proper door and floor laid in every part at least six inches above the level of the surface of the ground adjoining such closet;
- (d) be provided with sufficient means of ventilation as near to the roof as possible and with sufficient means of lighting;
- (e) be situated on premises the area of which is not less than one quarter acre;

- (f) have an entrance door which shall not open directly onto or in view of any public street or thoroughfare, public building or place open to the public;
- (g) not be constructed in any geological formation where the ground is waterlogged, or within 50 yards of any underground domestic water supply or of any supply of water which the public or the Council has right to use, or does use;
- (h) be eight feet or more in depth and not more than three feet in diameter; and
- (i) be filled with earth when full to within three feet of the surface.

34. Any person contravening any of the provisions of the foregoing regulations shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a penalty not exceeding R50, and in the case of a continuing offence to a further penalty not exceeding R4.00, for every day such offence is continued after 7 days of a written notice thereof from the Council.

NUMBER EMPLOYED



NOTE YEARS

AFRICAN LABOUR: MARCH-PICKING
 OCTOBER-PICKING

COLOURED LABOUR: MARCH-PICKING & PICKING

WHITE LABOUR: APRIL-SUPERVISING

SEASONAL LABOUR SUPPLY 1968

ADDITIONAL LABOUR FOR 21 FARMERS IN THE FRUIT INDUSTRY DURING SEASONS

AFRICAN LABOUR
 COLOURED LABOUR
 WHITE LABOUR

PERMANENT LABOUR FORCE:
 AFRICANS
 COLOURED PEOPLE
 WHITES

PERMANENT LABOUR FORCE

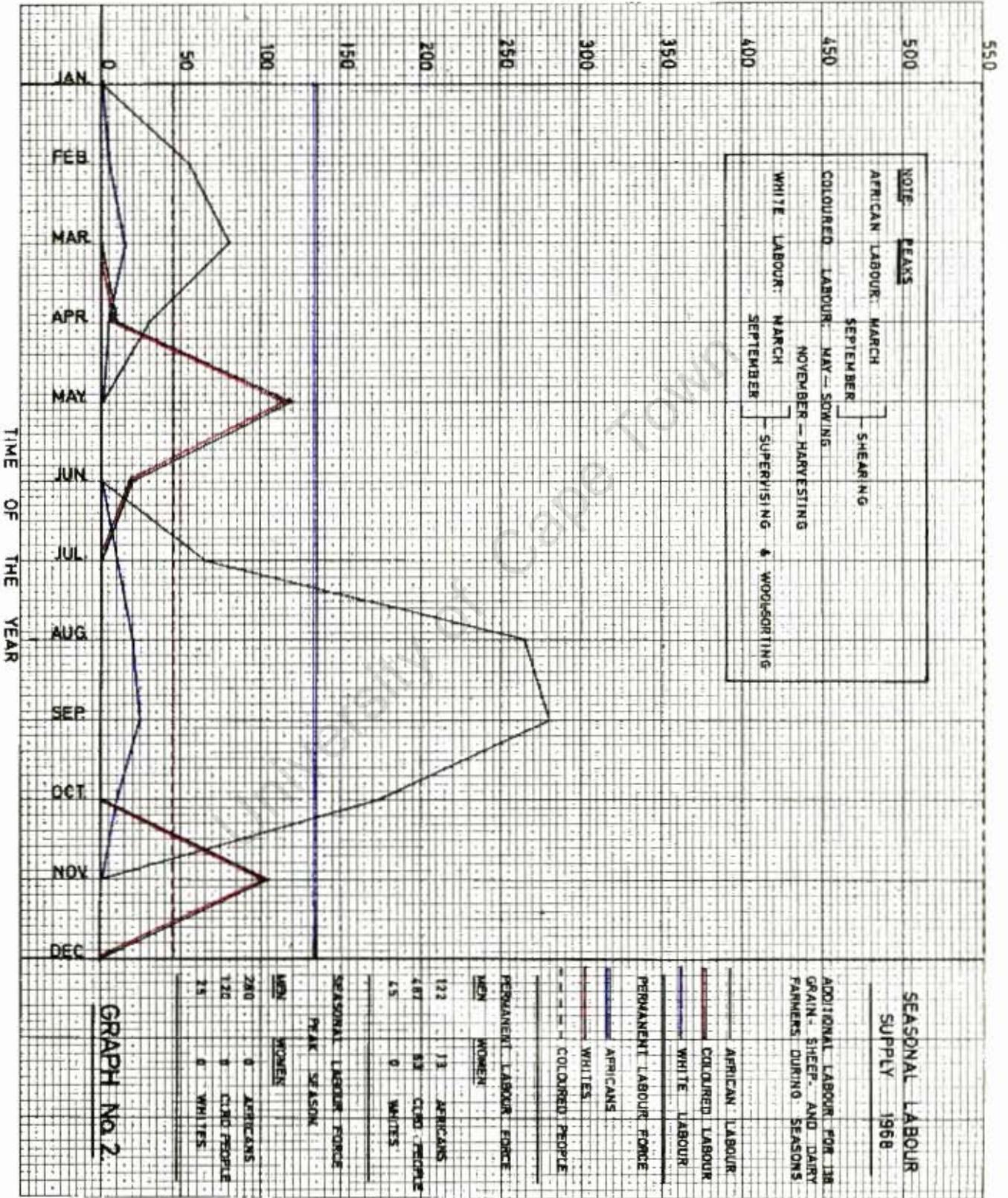
500	WHITES
473	AFRICANS
51	COLOURED
13	WHITES

SEASONAL LABOUR FORCE

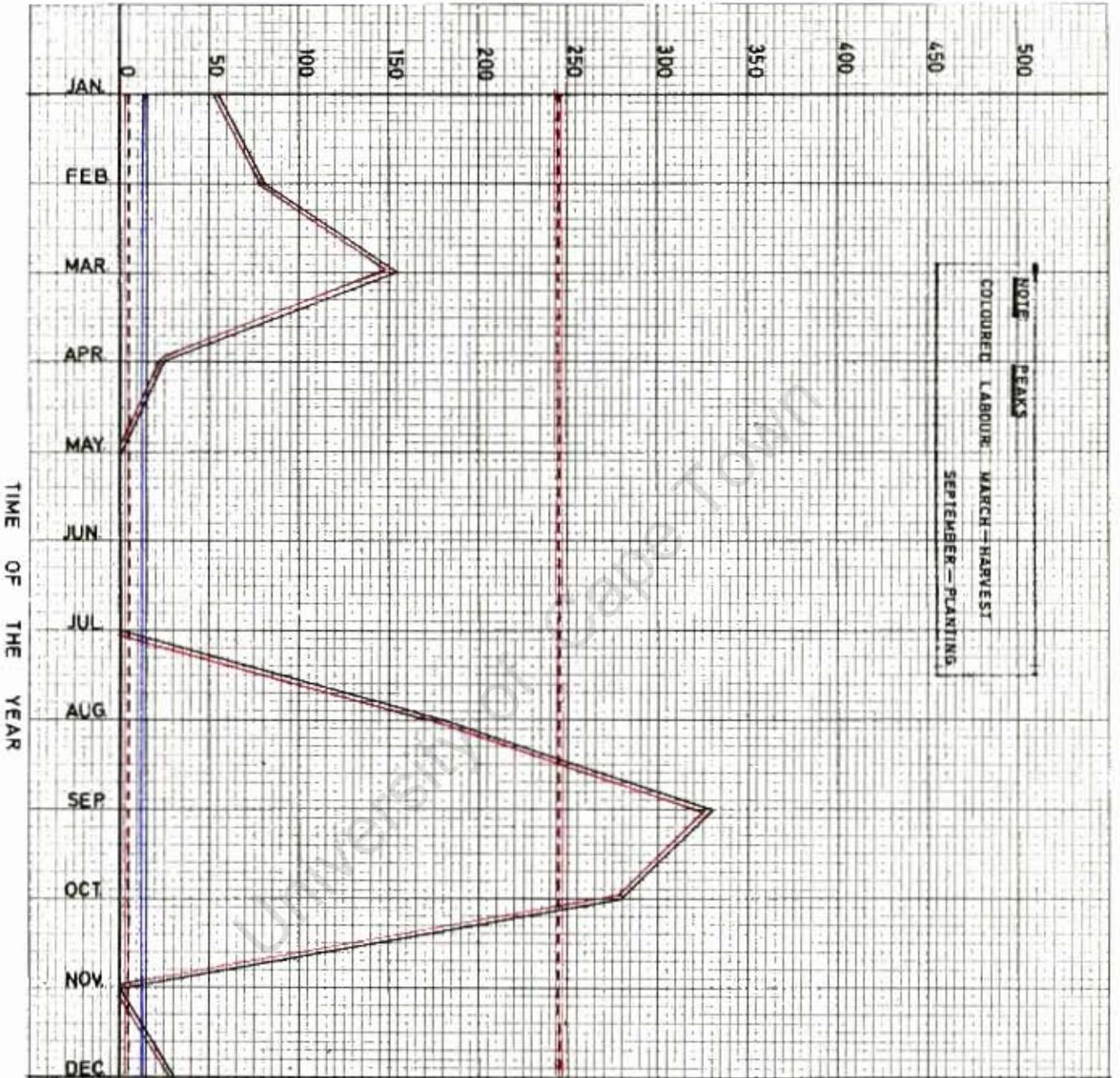
1122	AFRICANS
174	COLOURED PEOPLE
95	WHITES

GRAPH NO. 1

NUMBER EMPLOYED



NUMBER EMPLOYED



NOTE PEAKS
 COLOURED LABOUR: MARCH - HARVEST
 SEPTEMBER - PLANTING

TIME OF THE YEAR

SEASONAL LABOUR SUPPLY 1968

ADDITIONAL LABOUR FOR 4/ VEGETABLE CASH CROP FARMERS DURING SEASONS

AFRICAN LABOUR

COLOURED LABOUR

WHITE LABOUR

PERMANENT LABOUR FORCE

AFRICANS

COLOURED PEOPLE

WHITES

PERMANENT LABOUR FORCE

MEN

WOMEN

13 2 AFRICANS

217 26 COLOURED PEOPLE

5 0 WHITES

SEASONAL LABOUR FORCE

PEAK SEASON

MEN

WOMEN

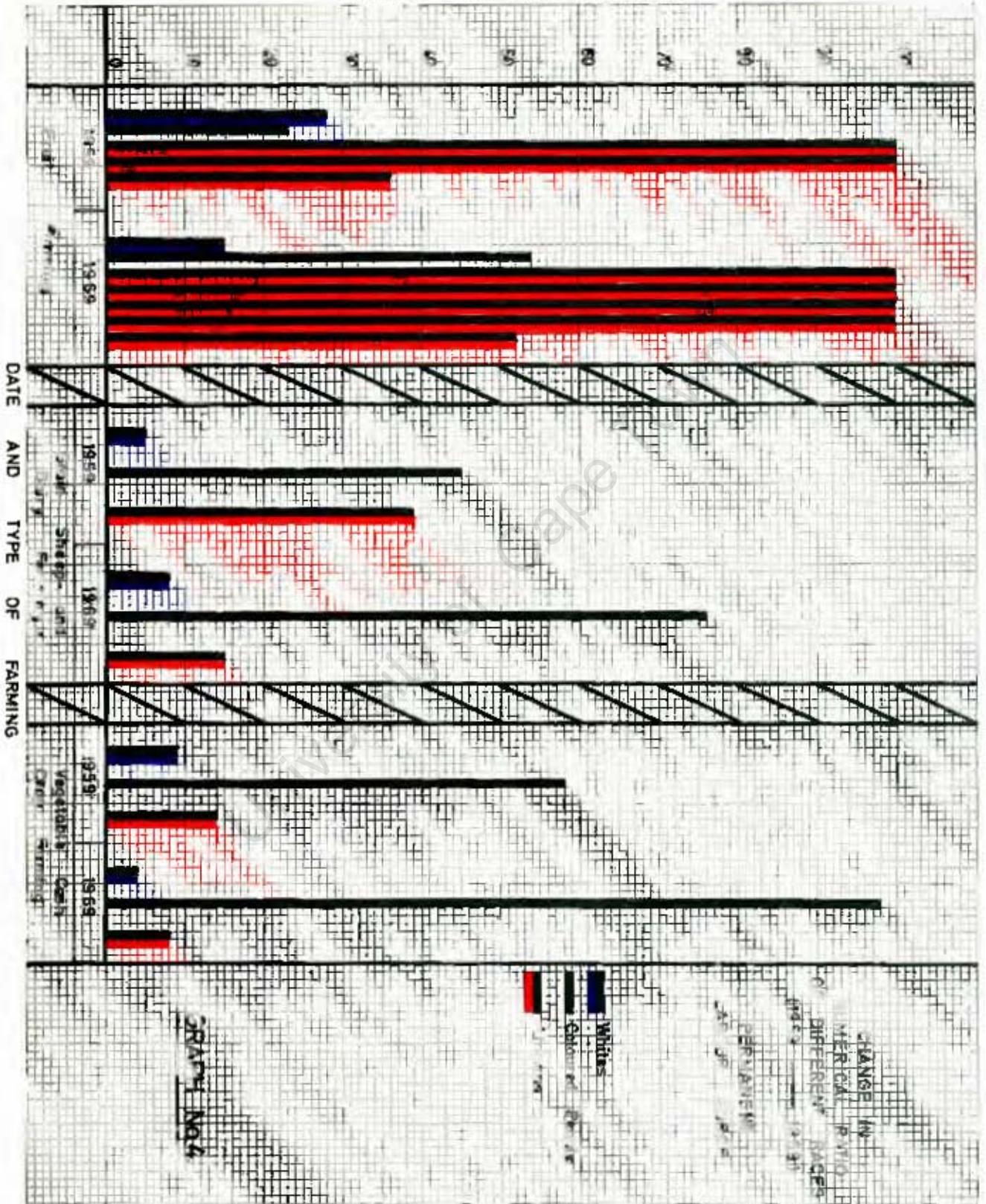
0 0 AFRICANS

126 206 COLOURED PEOPLE

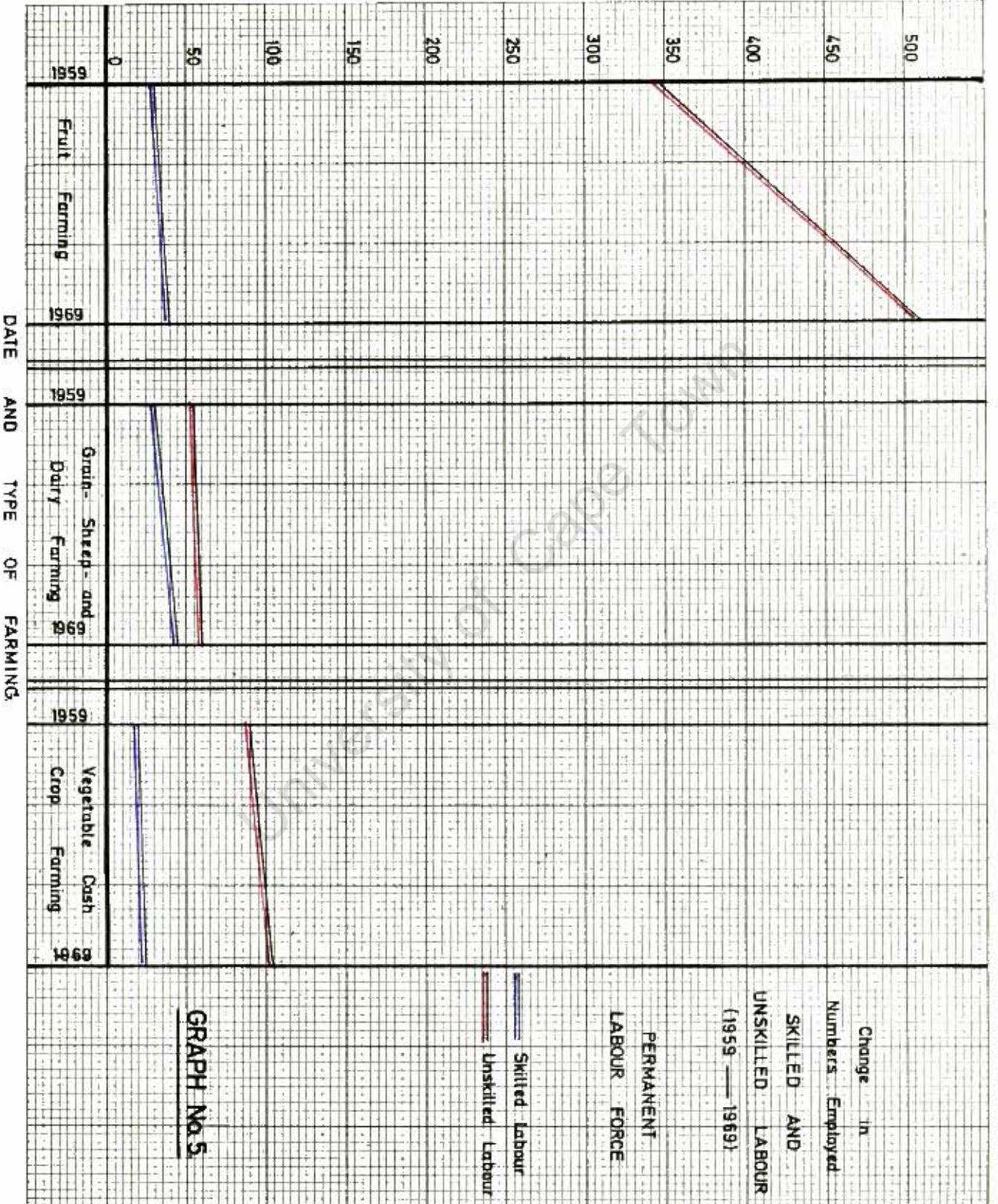
0 0 WHITES

GRAPH No. 3

NUMBER OF MEN EMPLOYED.



NUMBER EMPLOYED



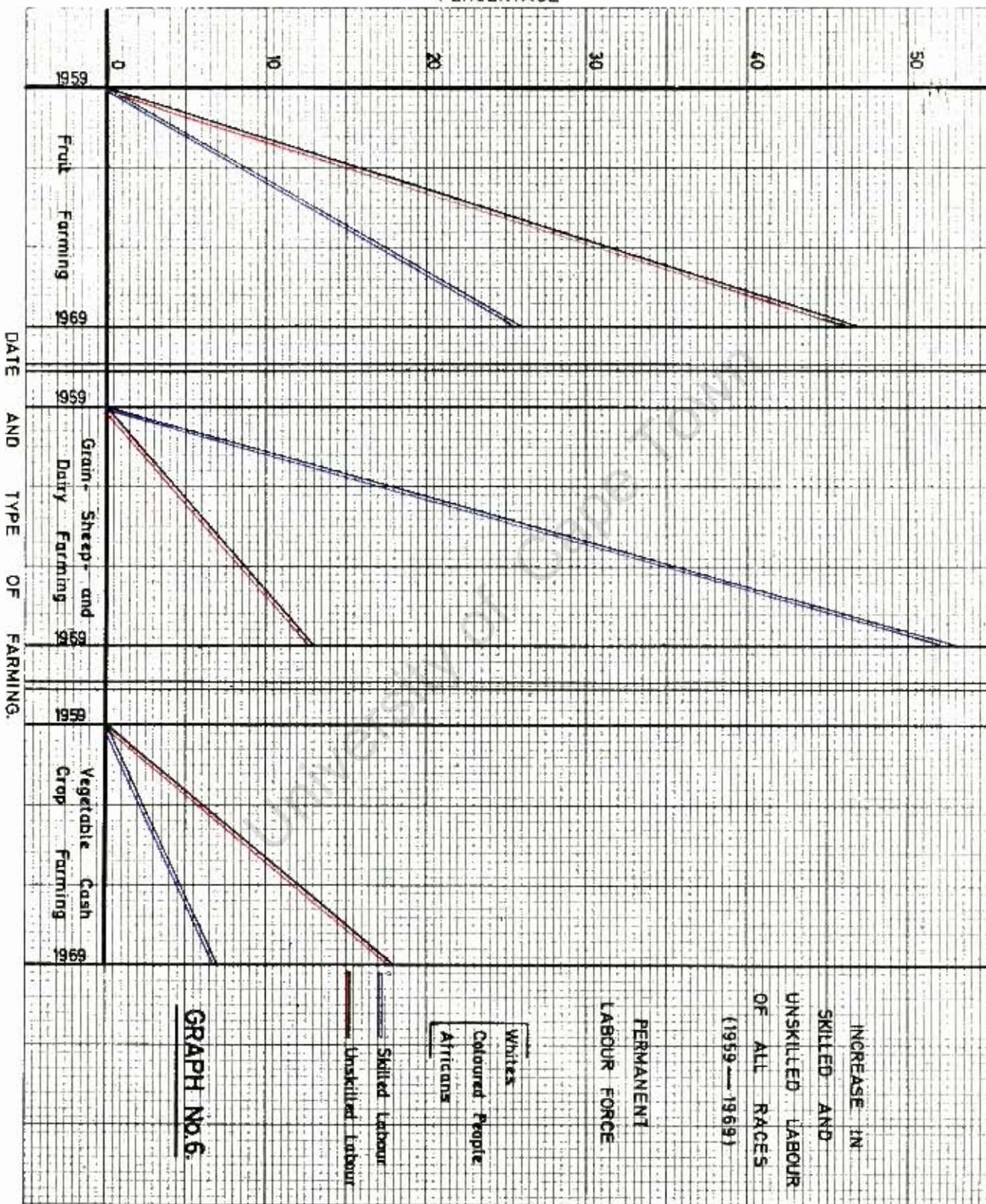
GRAPH No. 5

Change in
Numbers Employed
SKILLED AND
UNSKILLED LABOUR
(1959 — 1969)

PERMANENT
LABOUR FORCE

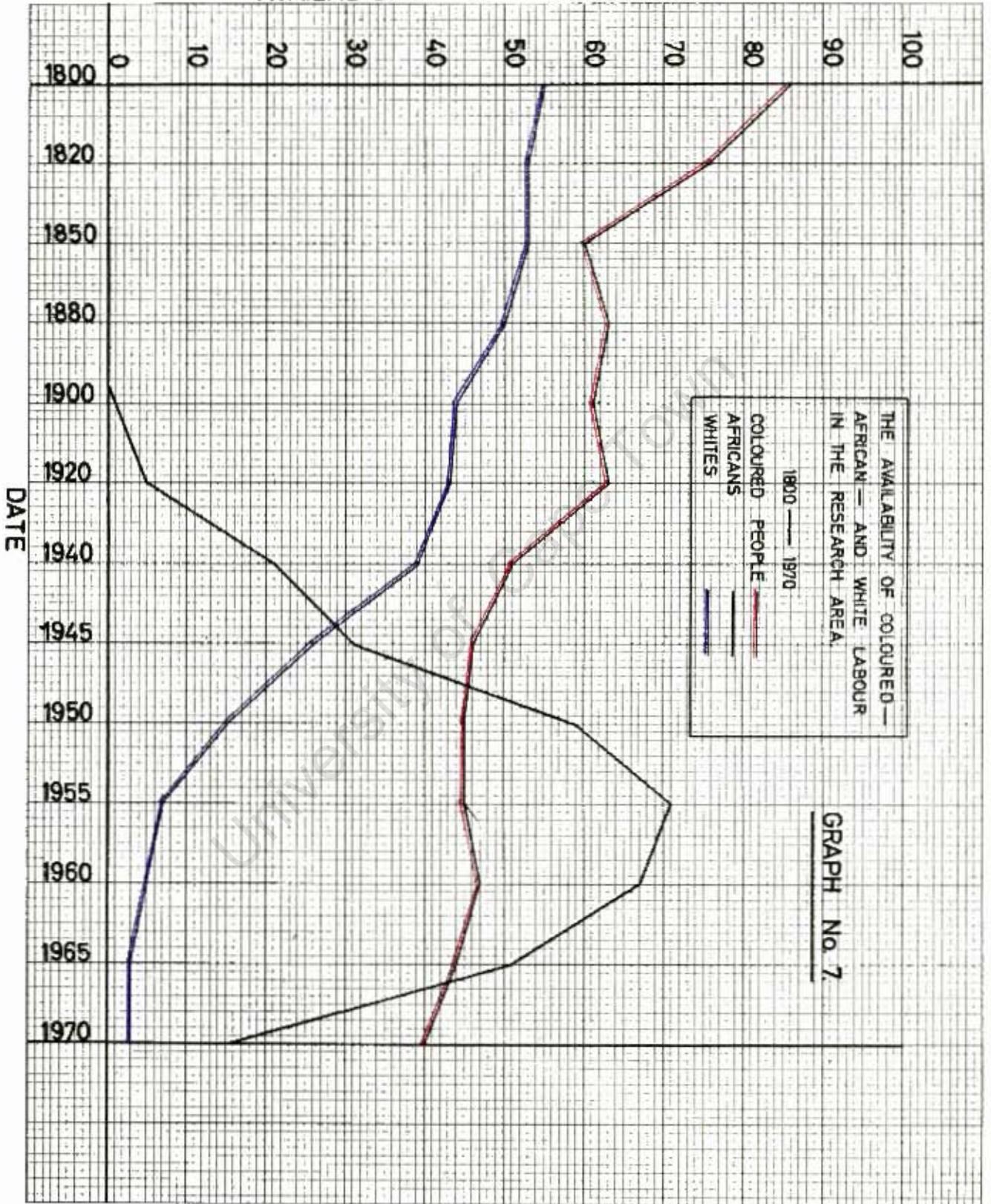
Skilled Labour
Unskilled Labour

PERCENTAGE

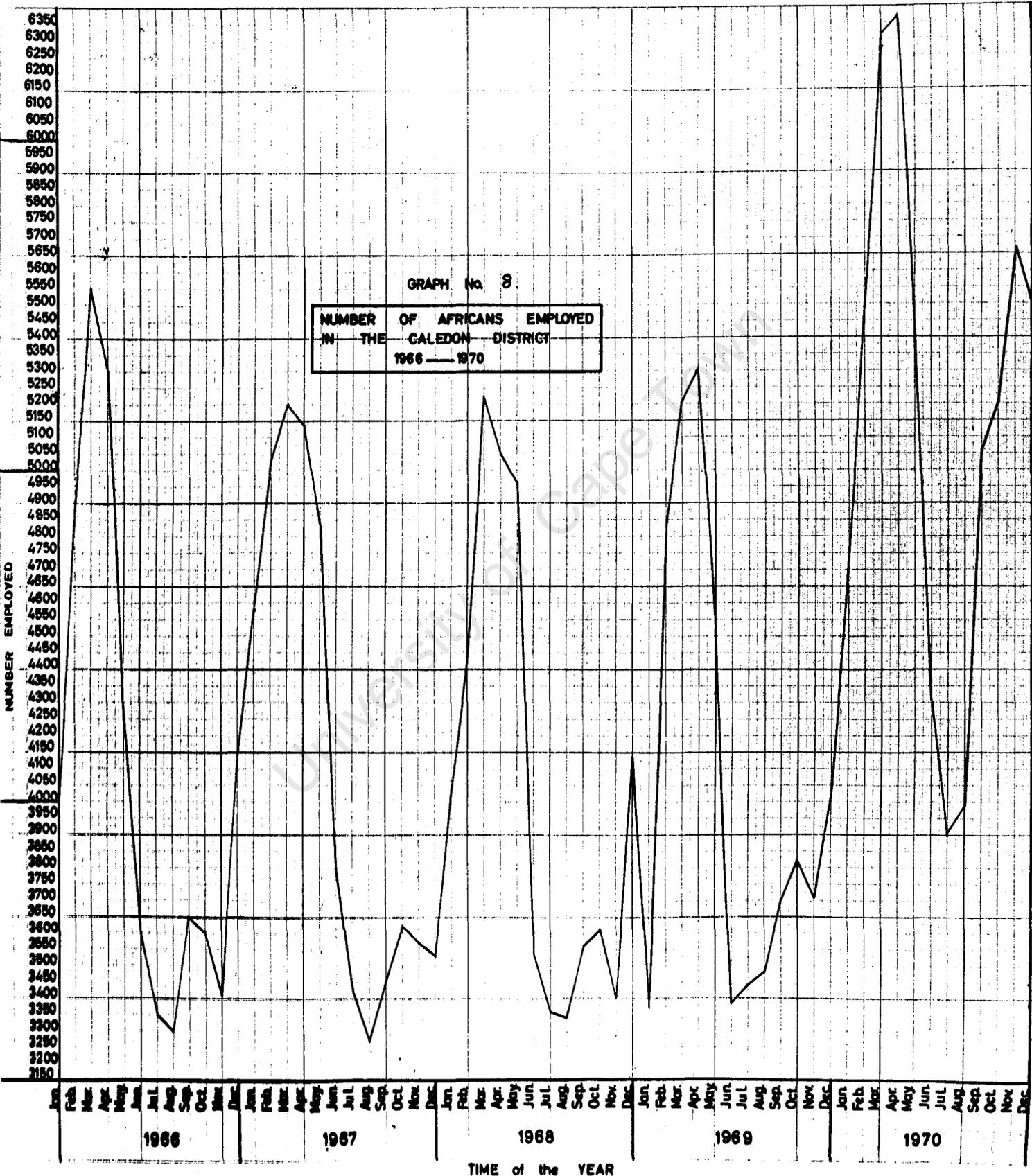


GRAPH No. 6

AVAILABILITY IN PERCENTAGE



GRAPH No. 7.





SCALE: 1: 500000

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