

FARM LABOUR ON THE ZEBEDIELA ESTATES

by

J.P.M. STAPELBERG B.A., Dipl. Theol., B.Th.

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CHAPTER 1BACKGROUND

The orchards of the Zebediela Citrus Estates lie in the shadows of the Strydpoort mountains, on the northern boundaries of the farm, and are encircled to the east and the south by the Compies- and Mogoto Rivers. Beyond these rivers, which form the eastern and southern boundaries of the Estates, lies the domain of Zebediela (Sibitiela), chief of the Ndebele of Northern Transvaal.

The Ndebele of Zebediela are apparently the remainder of the followers of Mzilikazi who stayed in this area when he went to Rhodesia. They were raided, defeated, and subdued by the powerful Pedi ruler, in approximately 1823.¹⁾ The result of this encounter was that the Ndebele of Zebediela accepted to a large extent, the culture of the Pedi.

The Zebediela Citrus Estates derives its name from this Ndebele tribe. Important facts were reported by the Native Commissioner of the districts of Waterberg and Zoutpansberg in 1879.²⁾

According to the latter, Zebediela's tribe at that time numbering 3500 fighting men, was living on land granted them in respect of war services rendered to the South African Republic Government.

In the Sekhukhuni war, Zebediela supplied a contingent of about 400 men, besides supplies of corn and cattle. "For these services, the tribe was exempted from taxation in the year 1876. In June 1885, the Location Commissioner of the South African Republic visited Zebediela and a location was beaconsed off for him." ³⁾

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- 1) Wilson M., Thompson L. (editor), OXFORD HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA, Vol. 1, pp. 403, 404.
 - 2) van Blerk, A.R., ZEBEDIELA, Unpublished pamphlet 1968, p.1.
 - 3) Ibid, p.2.

It is not certain where the name Zebediela originated. It could be translated as "the cover". Local Bantu legend has it that when their safety was threatened by invasion, "Mamukebe hid his people in a mountain stronghold which now cradles the Mogoto dam"⁴⁾ in the Mogoto mountains.

The Schlesinger Organization was founded by the late Mr. I. W. Schlesinger immediately after the Anglo-Boer War. One of the first concerns established by the group was the African Realty Trust.

In the year 1917, this company acquired the farms "Uitkyk" and "Schaapplaats", in the district of Potgietersrus with the intention to establish there a modern and scientifically planned citrus plantation. After the necessary preparations were made, the first citrus trees were planted on the Estate.

The planting which began in 1918, was completed in 1926. In the course of these nine years, some 5,300 acres had been planted with 566,676 trees. The replacement planting which started in 1951, and the new plantings, resulted in a total tree population of 555,581 at the end of December, 1967. At the present the number is 565,060.

Since 1927 the handling of the large crop yielded by this citrus plantation, demanded new methods. Thus a light railway was introduced.

"Shortly after, the Zebediela light railway, as it was known, came into being, and for thirty years, fruit picking and handling from the orchards to the packhouse, followed the pattern set by this narrow gauge rail system: picked fruit, poured from picking bags into wooden field boxes for transport by mule trolleys to orchard sidings, there loaded on to open railway trucks and railed to the packhouse

4) Van Blerk, A.R., op. cit., p. 2.

receiving yard, from which a conveyor belt took the boxes and their contents on to the dumper belt, the boxes thereafter returning by rail to the orchards for the next round trip." 5)

This somewhat rigid system of crop handling was revolutionized in 1958. The change made was thus described by Mr. I. G. Blacklaws. 6)

"It had been increasingly apparent that a cheaper and more flexible system of transporting fruit had to be evolved. During the 1958 navel season, one of the three units at Zebediela was converted to bulk handling with such success that the entire plant was converted between 1958 navel and valencia seasons.

"The system evolved at Zebediela is the most advanced in use today. Briefly we have replaced 80,000 lug boxes, 320 mules, 100 railway trucks, 40 mule trolleys and 4 locomotives with 150 trailers and 12 tractors

"Fruit is now transported directly from orchard to packhouse in these bottomdrop trailers and the whole volume of fruit in one trailer, equal to that of 100 lug boxes, is dropped into a water trough in a matter of seconds. The fall is thus fully cushioned and the oranges travel by elevator into the packhouse at any required rate."

In 1927 7) the first Stebler Parker machinery for grading and sorting was installed. The ultimate handling capacity of this machinery and those planned at that date, amounted to about 10,000 cases per day. With the improvements made over the years, a ton and a half of oranges can be dealt with every minute at present. This means an equivalent of 20,000 cases per day.

Much labour is eliminated by bulk handling and auto-

5) van Blerk, A.R., op. cit., p. 10

6) Ibid.

7) Progress Report of Director. Quoted by van Blerk, A.R., op. cit., p. 10.

matic machinery. Mr A.R. van Blerk ⁸⁾ describes part of the progress as follows:

"On their way from the bulk handling water troughs to the grading tables, the oranges are soap sud washed, thoroughly but gently scrubbed, sprayed with clear water, dried and polished and 'flavorseal' treated to ensure lasting freshness of the fruit. In the progress the oranges pass through a series of baths, revolving fibre brushes, water sprays, brass water eliminators, drying fans and polishing brushes, and finally the flavorseal applicators."

Until the stage where the oranges reach the grading tables, no human labour is needed again. For grading and packing European women were used up to 1952, but from 1953 this work is being done by Bantu maids under European supervisors. In 1966 the citrus industry switched over from the wooden case to the cardboard container for the packing of export fruit. This change eliminated the box-assembling and box-closing divisions equipped with automatic machinery.

Little change took place in the technique of cultivation as the work in the orchard remained the same and hand weeding is for instance still necessary.

The scarcity of water, however, forced the Estate to employ more economic methods of irrigation. Different forms of spray as well as drip irrigation are employed in some groves. These new methods made it possible that women could be employed. In some cases it is possible to do the work with fewer labourers now.

A permanent European staff of 70 is employed by the Zebediela Estates. They are "accommodated either in staff houses or in flats at the Centre.

8) van Blerk, A.R., op. cit., p. 12.

The latter originally was the Ladies' Hostel, converted into a staff accommodation and recreational centre, when the switch was made to Bantu graders and packers." 9)

Such recreational facilities as a bioscope hall, a billiards' room, tennis courts, a swimming bath and a nine-hole golf course and club house, are provided for the European staff.

The facilities for the non-European workers are different. On the soccerfield local and inter-club soccer competitions are held. Many workers, however, take part in the traditional dancing competitions, which are usually held during weekends. Nearly every village has its own group of dancers. These men of the different groups are usually of the same tribal background. During most exhausting dancing sessions these groups are joined by other men, women and children in tribal dress. Such a session usually starts on a Saturday afternoon and is ended some time on Sunday.

This provides for much of the recreational needs of the Bantu workers. Most of the workers also appreciate visiting their families in the neighbourhood when they are off.

Since 1943 a fully equipped mission hospital, with a medical staff at present of eight doctors, a matron, European and Bantu sisters and nurses, caters also to the health of the entire community on the Estates. A yearly donation is made to the hospital board in recognition for the services rendered to the employers of the Estate.

Primary school facilities exist on the Estate for all the children of the European and Bantu staff.

The European children of the Estate and the neighbour-

9) van Blerk, A.R., op. cit., p. 12.

ing farms are provided with a daily school bus service. The system of school buses was introduced by the Government in an effort to reduce farm schools for Europeans, an aim which was only partly successful up to now. People living within three miles from a bus route have to use it, or make their own arrangements. As the system of farm schools is still recognized for the Bantu, no Government provision is made for school bus transport in this case. Schools are allowed to be established near enough to one another so that all children will be in reach of a school. Three miles is also in this case recognized as reasonable. It was found that most of the children on the Estate live within a radius of 2 miles from the primary school, and those in the most remote villages are 3.5 miles away. In the nearby reserve, about three miles from some villages, but much farther for most, is a high school. It could be attended on bicycle, daily.

A consumer's co-operative in the form of a general dealer and butchery business, is run by the European staff to provide for their needs and that of the Bantu workers.

Besides the local congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church, with their minister living on the Estate, the spiritual needs of the European staff are catered for from the neighbouring towns of Potgietersrus and Pietersburg.

The local "N.G. Kerk in Afrika" is subsidized by the Management of the Estates, and is required to provide for the spiritual needs of the non-European workers, although many of them belong to other recognized and separatist churches.

About 2,000 Bantu workers are employed by the Estates as regular and seasonal workers. Mr. van Blerk ¹⁰⁾ says about these labourers:

10) van Blerk, A.R., op. cit., p. 14

"When the first citrus trees were planted in 1918, Bantu labour was plentiful and continued to be so until the mid-1930's, by which time the Estates' labour needs had grown apace. In addition, South Africa had moved into a period of prosperity following the depression, and the demand and competition for labour had increased greatly.

"In these circumstances Zebediela was compelled to turn to labour recruiting, and workers were brought from along the Limpopo river, crossed annually by thousands of Africans, seeking more remunerative employment than offered in their own northern countries. However, these men, were easy prey to labour racketeers: of some 30,000 workers recruited over 13 years, only 40% completed their contracted time. This was hole-in-the-bucket policy and called for reform in the approach to Zebediela's labour problem. This reform was three-phased: shelter, food and welfare."

"In providing shelter, the compound system, which had become part of the pattern of industrialization of the Bantu in South Africa, was scrapped in favour of three-hut family units in kraals or villages, modelled on traditional tribal lines." 11)

The same type of housing is provided for the seasonal single women of the packing staff. They are accommodated in four-hut units resembling the three-hut units for married workers.

A special village with communal washing and toilet facilities adjoining the village for married workers near the packhouse, is occupied by them during the packing season. The single men are accommodated in semi-detached concrete rooms, with concrete roofs, which originally replaced the selfbuilt shacks of the workers. These concrete buildings

11) van Blerk, A.R., op. cit.

in every village were employed as a measure against relapsing fever, which was a very serious problem in the early days. 12) About the new housing scheme developed at Zebediela, Mr van Blerk writes:

"When it is said that prior to completion of these compounds, the average number of Relapsing Fever cases treated in our Native Hospital, and later the Groothoek Mission Hospital, was as high as 70 per month and the maximum cases treated in one month since February 1950 number 3, the efforts and the expenditure over the years were certainly worthwhile. More important still, the Relapsing Fever death rate in one year (1944) reached the frightening figure of 40 whereas in the 15 months following the completion of the compounds, there has been one death from this disease. 13)

The feeding program is at the present in a transitional period, as far as the unmarried workers are concerned. Towards the end of 1970 a modern kitchen was employed at the packhouse village. Besides the married quarters in this village, a number of single men are accommodated here. The village set aside for single seasonal women, is also situated at the same place. Although there is a kitchen at every village for the single workers living there, it is visualized that in future the central kitchen at the packhouse, might be employed to prepare food for the whole body of single workers on the Estate.

At first the porridge was cooked daily and every worker received two pounds of uncooked meat once per week, which he had to prepare for himself. At present everything is done to supply every worker with a properly cooked meal daily. Formerly 50 pounds of discarded porridge was

12) Relapsing Fever at Zebediela Estates. A.R. van Blerk unpublished pamphlet, 28th May, 1951. p.5.

13) Ibid.

collected every day at the packhouse, but now it is hardly possible to find 5 pounds a day. As the hours of duty differ for the different workers, food is available at the kitchen for twenty four hours a day. It is also possible for a worker to get a second helping if he feels the need for it.

In the preparation of food for single men and women, the following rations are used per person:

TABLE 1

MEALIE MEAL POR:

Mageu (fermented porridge)	.48 lb
Porridge	<u>1.72 lbs</u> (per meal)
	<u>2.20 lbs</u>

Dehydrated beans cooked daily for every single worker amounts to 2 ounces.

FISH:

Mondays and Tuesdays .48 lbs per day

MEAT:

Wednesdays to Sundays .25 lbs per day

Potatoes are cooked when available as an extra ration.

The feeding of the married workers is organized differently. Only the Mageu is prepared for them, of which more than half a gallon is available per person daily. This is mostly used by men, as the women prefer this liquid in an unfermented state. The dry rations issued to married workers are as follows:

TABLE 2

RATIONS	MARRIED MEN	MARRIED WOMEN EMPLOYED BY THE ESTATE, WHOSE HUSBANDS ARE ALSO ON THE ESTATE
Mealie meal	21 pounds per week	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ pounds per week
Meat	2 pounds per week	2 pounds per week
Fish	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pounds per week	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pounds per week
Dried beans	1 pound per week	14 ounces per week
Potatoes when available	2 pounds per week	2 pounds per week

According to an estimate made by the Estate on the 22nd October, 1969, the prices of the rations were as follows:

Mealie meal	2.130 cents per lb
Meat	22.097 cents per lb
Fish	10.25 cents per lb
Beans	2.900 cents per lb

On this basis it was estimated that the rations for the workmen cost an average of 13.882 cents per worker, for all workers.

For twenty years labour recruiting has played no part in the maintenance of Zebediela's labour force, which has been stabilized into a settled and contented community of workers.

At the moment, a shortage of labour is occurring again. It is thought that this shortage is partly due to restrictions on migratory labour and partly to the

fact that there is a slight lag in the labour policy of the Estates. Therefore improvements are being made in the food supplies, and also better accommodation is provided for single men.

During the existence of the Zebediela Estates, several important changes in the composition of the labour force took place. The first was the shift from European female packing staff to Bantu females. The second was a shift from foreign migrant male labourers together with a small percentage of local settlers to a permanent settled staff of which the majority is South African Bantu. The third change took place in the recent years in which a tendency occurred for women to replace male labourers in the orchards.

The change from European women packers to Bantu women is discussed in chapter four. When it became clear after World War II that it would not be possible to obtain sufficient European staff for the packhouse, it was apparent that a change would have to be made to Bantu packing staff. This was effected between the navel and valencia seasons of 1953. The results were satisfying, and the practice of using Bantu women in the packhouse has continued up to the present.

During the early years of the existence of the Zebediela Estates the majority of the labour force consisted of local Bantu, which was supplemented after 1935 by migrants from countries North of the Limpopo, who were recruited along the Limpopo. Even in 1949 these foreign labourers still formed 70.11% of the regular male labour force. This number decreased sharply after that, for in 1959 it was 51.90%, and in 1969 only 38.30%. This decrease is partly due to the development of the countries from where these migrants originate, as well as stricter

internal control in the Republic as regards foreign Bantu.

In the third place, it was found that the labour supply of local male Bantu, willing to work on the Estate, was not enough to compensate for the decrease of foreign migrants. Those available are prepared to work in the other departments but not in the orchards. Therefore women are engaged for this and other work, which used to be done by men, with satisfactory results as will be discussed later in the thesis.

Since the Estate was started in 1918, the wages of the Bantu workers, were adjusted from time to time. In the early years after 1918, a grown up male worker received R1.50 per month, together with a daily portion of cooked porridge for himself (about 45 lbs of mealie meal per month) without relish. No housing was supplied.

On this basis it is estimated that the income for an average family amounted to R2.25 per month. By 1928 it amounted to a cash income of R4.00 plus R2.40 in kind; a total monthly income therefore of R6.40 per worker.

In 1938, according to some informants, a woman employed here received 8 pennies and male workers 16 pennies per day, together with porridge, cooked beans and three pounds of meat per week. These and other privileges amounted to 12 pennies per worker per day. In all it amounted to an equivalent in cash and kind of R7.60 for male labourers per month.

In 1948 the family income was R126 per annum, consisting of a cash wage of R6 per month and R4.50 in natura. ¹⁴⁾ The income increased to R18.42 per month in 1969. In 1969 the income of an average family was

14) The sum received in natura represents the average per worker of what was spent by the Estate per month on food, housing, water, medical and social care. (14c per shift)

R10.92 in cash and R7.50¹⁵⁾ in kind (R221.04 per annum). In the few cases where the wife also worked, another R184.80 per annum should be added to the income of the family. In that case the income of the family would have been R405.84 a year.¹⁶⁾

The aged and ill workers are cared for in a special way. The aged workers are given lighter work according to their ability, without losing any of the usual privileges.¹⁷⁾ On reaching such a stage that they become totally unfit for work, a pension of R48 per annum is granted while the other privileges are retained. At present three widows of deceased workers are cared for in the same way, as their husbands rendered long services to the Estate. In the case of foreign workers they are given the choice of repatriation. In such a case the trainfare is paid to the railway station nearest to his home, and a gratuity depending on the period of service is paid. A worker might receive R40 after twenty years of service.

Every worker on the Estate is covered by the workman's compensation insurance, as required by law. Workers who become ill while in employment, do not receive pay for the first three days. From the fourth day onwards till the end of the fourth month, a sick worker receives 75% of his basic salary.

In cases where the illness is of long duration the workers are transferred to the aged and semi-fit category where they receive the same treatment as the unfit aged workers until such a time as they are able to resume

15) Vide: footnote 14. Payment in kind amounting to 30c per shift.

16) Cf. table 34, p. 63

17) See above, footnote 15, p. 13

duty. Cases are recorded where workers were cared for in such a way for ten years and longer.

The labour researcher at Zebediela Estates experienced a difficult problem as all the records in connection with the Bantu labourers, prior to 1942, are not available. It is therefore not possible to find written evidence about the number of workers and salaries, etc. prior to that date. One is therefore dependent on the memories of informants.

In the research programme we experienced the cordial co-operation of the director and his personnel. We therefore had access to all the records and documents available. This made it possible to obtain invaluable information in connection with the project.

In drawing the sample, we used the record cards of the workers. These cards are filed in numerical order, kept separately for men and women. Cards were drawn with regular intervals separately for the seasonal packing staff, and the regular labour force. This gave us samples of approximately 20% and 10%.

We found, however, that during the eight months in which the field work was done, some of the workers in both samples left. To bring the samples again to the original numbers, new random samples were drawn on the same principle as the originals, but with larger intervals.

In the research programme the fieldwork was done by eight field workers. They were trained as a group before they started the field work. The purpose and programme of the field work was explained to them, and the questionnaire was worked through and explained. All the field workers were Bantu men. Four of them were em-

ployees of the Estates, with many years of experience in taking labour censuses at Zebediela. Three of them passed standard six, and the other one passed Junior Certificate. Two of the remaining field-workers were evangelists who had worked at the Estates for some time. They also know the people and have their confidence. These evangelists both have standard six, with an additional evangelistic training of three years. The other two field workers were students in training for the ministry. One of them was an evangelist previously in the reserve, adjoining the Zebediela Estates. He went for further training as a minister. The remaining one is a student evangelist in his first year of training, who had completed his Junior Certificate course. All of them are capable men with a fairly good control of English and Afrikaans.

Prior to the field work, a circular was drawn up explaining the proposed research programme and the purpose thereof. It was found afterwards that the people expected the field workers, and were at ease with them.

It was found that 79.45% of the male employees and 76.93% of the women gave their satisfactory co-operation to the field workers, in completing the questionnaires. The others did not refuse to answer the questions that were put to them, but their co-operation was not so spontaneous as with the majority.

The interest of the writer in the farm labour at Zebediela, being a missionary himself, was aroused by what was written by Dr C. H. Badenhorst, Secretary for Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church, in a publication entitled "Christian Missions" in which he noted that Dr Quin's reform of labour conditions at Zebediela showed that:

"A normal and sound family life is of the utmost importance for high labour efficiency;

"A christianized and educated African is economically a greater asset than an illiterate non-Christian;

"The feeling of security produced by the care of the employer for his employees enables workers to realise their potentialities." 18)

It was not the intention of the present researcher to find proof for the statements of Dr Badenhorst, but rather to give a factual description of the present farm labour situation at Zebediela Estates.

18) The Star, 13th May, 1968

CHAPTER IITHE REGULAR LABOUR FORCE: MEN1. COMPOSITION

The labour force of the Zebediela Estates decreased from an inefficient group of 4,500 labourers in 1939 to a group of 2,163 in 1949, rendering more satisfactory services. By the end of 1959 there were 2,009, with a further decrease to only 1,963 in December, 1969.

The constancy in the labour force could be seen as a barometer of satisfaction among the employees about the labour conditions. This was the result of reforms that took place round about 1938 in connection with feeding and housing. The erection of permanent living quarters for married workers contributed much towards the stability of the labour force. The permanency of the labour force is illustrated by the fact that 54.78% of the male labourers have been in employment at Zebediela for longer than ten years, while 45.22% were employed for less than ten years; 31.50% of the male employees (a part of the 54.78%) have been at Zebediela for over twenty years. In 1938, a labour turnover of more than 50% a year was experienced. The working conditions such as housing, food and other domestic and social conditions were then drastically revised, with the result that a more permanent labour force resulted. Considering these facts, it becomes clear that the working conditions have an effect on the permanency of the labour force and therefore also on its efficiency.

Recently, after 30 years, it became necessary to

think of a recruitment programme again. However, drastic steps in this connection have not yet been necessary.

Fifty Malawians who were recruited and a further fifteen secured from other farmers in Transvaal, provided for the immediate need that existed.

It seems as if the slight shortage of labour experienced is due to rising competition from the industrial sector. In an effort to cope with the new situation a programme was introduced in which the single quarters were completely renovated and the feeding of single men revised.

Another development resulted from the shortage of male labourers in that more women are employed for work in the orchards. Although more women are needed in some cases to do the same amount of work, the wages of women are lower than that for men. In December, 1969 men earned an average of 42.48 cents per shift, while it was 30.40 cents per shift for women. Two women are needed in some cases, e.g. weeding, to do the same work as one male worker. In other types of work, as for instance watering of the trees, there is relatively no difference between men and women as workers. The regular women workers in the orchards increased from 220 in 1962 to 532 in 1969. In the more sophisticated types of work, such as in the laboratories, workshops, stores and clerical positions, enough men are available for service.

The change over to women seems to have another disadvantage, in that a higher percentage of absenteeism is experienced with women. For April, 1969 it was found that the percentage of absentees for the month was 4.95%. Among men it was 3.61%, while among women it was 8.20%. Absenteeism of women was 4.59% higher for the month.

On a specific day in 1969, taken randomly, absenteeism was due to different causes as can be seen in table 3.

TABLE 3

DAILY AVERAGE PERCENTAGE LABOUR			
REASONS FOR ABSENCE	% OF BOOKSTRENGTH		
	MEN	OMEN	TOTAL
Sick in Compound	1.11%	1.21%	1.13%
Sick in Hospital	.81%	.64%	.75%
Absent	1.30%	6.92%	3.39%
Gaol	.34%	.04%	.23%
Leave	3.26%	.55%	2.32%
TOTAL	6.82%	9.36%	7.82%

It is interesting to note that for that day, while the other factors were more or less the same, 3.26% of the men as against 0.55% of the women were absent with leave, and as against 1.30% of the men, 6.92% of the women were absent without leave. On the same day .34% of the men against .04% of the women were in gaol. Absenteeism among the women on that day was 2.5% higher than among men.

Diverse reasons are given by the male employees for moving to Zebediela. A summary of the reasons is

given in table 4.

TABLE 4

REASONS WHY THE MALE EMPLOYEES MOVED TO ZEBEDIELA	
REASON	PERCENTAGE
More money	16.44
More freedom	10.96
The type of work desired	51.37
Following my family	13.01
Better facilities than at home	2.74
Illness	2.06
Old age	1.37
Good treatment given here	.68
Other reasons	1.37
TOTAL	100.00

The three outstanding motives according to the information, are: the type of work desired, more money, and following members of the family who had settled here before.

According to the records available, the foreign Bantu (i.e. from outside the Republic) engaged as farm labourers at Zebediela, decreased from 70.11% of the total labour force in 1949 to 38.30% in 1969. The local Bantu employed increased from 29.89% to 61.70% in the same period.

In table 5 the different groups represented in the body of workers at Zebediela, are shown.

TABLE 5

GROUPS PRESENT AMONG THE MEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE
AT ZEBEDIELA

COUNTRY of ORIGIN	STRENGTH OF LABOUR FORCE					
	1949	%	1959	%	1969	%
Rhodesia	440	24.77	354	18.90	190	14.45
Zambia	115	6.47	42	2.24	-	-
Malawi	495	27.84	402	21.52	226	17.17
Mozambique Republic	195	10.90	173	9.24	88	6.68
	532	29.94	901	48.10	812	61.70
Total	1777	100.00	1872	100.00	1316	100.00

From the schedule it is clear that there was a steady decrease of foreign Bantu among the workers at Zebediela during the past two decades.

The country of origin according to the records of the Estates slightly differs from the place of birth given by the workers in the questionnaire. (table 6)
This might be due to the fact that they did not grow up at the place of birth, but moved to a different place at least some years before they came to Zebediela.

TABLE 6

THE PLACE OF BIRTH OF THE MALE EMPLOYEES OF THE
ZEBEDIELA ESTATES

PLACE OF BIRTH	PERCENTAGE
Potgietersrus and Pietersburg	22.61
Zebediela Estates	.68
Nearby reserve and farms	8.90
Elsewhere in Republic	26.70
Lesotho	.68
Rhodesia and Moçambique	13.70
Malawi	26.73
Total	100.00

Of the children born on the Zebediela Estates, only a small percentage remain here or return for work.

The information gained, shows that the language of the group of the father determines the language spoken in the homes of the Zebediela farm labourers. In cases where the father in the family is a Malawian, it was found that 79.41% uses Nyanja as their home language; 2.94% English; 2.94% Venda and Tsonga; 8.83% Shona; 2.94 Ndebele, with a remainder of 2.94%. More or less the same pattern was found in the cases where the father belongs to the Shona group. In these cases 75% uses Shona, 5% Venda, 5% Pedi, 10% Nyanja and 5% Ndebele. With the Pedi fathers 78.05% speaks Pedi at home, and

21.95% Ndebele, which is common for the area. With fathers from the Venda, Shangani, Tswana and other groups, the home language is in all cases determined by the father's language.

Considering the fact, that practically all the women in the homes of the married male employees are local people, it is interesting to note in which groups the children of the male workers are classified by them. (table 7)

TABLE 7

THE GROUP UNDER WHICH THE CHILDREN IN THE FAMILIES OF THE MARRIED MALE EMPLOYEES AT ZEBEDIELA ARE CLASSIFIED

GROUP OF FATHER	SAME AS FATHER	SAME AS MOTHER	TOTAL %
Malawian	35.29%	64.71%	100.00
Shona	30.00%	70.00%	100.00
Venda	62.50%	37.50%	100.00
Tsonga	87.50%	12.50%	100.00
Tswana	100.00%	-	100.00
Pedi	100.00%	-	100.00

It is clear that in the heterogeneous marriages of the foreign men at Zebediela, the children are mainly grouped with the group of the mother. It should be considered that in these cases, the partners are cohabiting in loose associations by mutual consent, rather than being married legally. This is true of the Malawian

and Shona men and also for a section of the Venda and Tsonga groups.

It was found that 71.91% of the workers in this group were above the age of forty years, while only .68% was below twenty years of age. There was also a group of 7.53% between the ages of 20 and 29 years, and 19.18% between 30 and 39 years of age.

These figures show that the largest section of the workers at Zebediela are in the older age groups. This should be seen in relation to the fact that 86.28% of the men have been working at Zebediela for over ten years. A large group therefore was employed on Zebediela when much younger, but the fact that they remained here for such a long time, has increased the average age of the labour force.

2. EDUCATION:

More than half of the men received no formal scholastic training. The percentage of these employees that passed the different standards are given in table 8.

TABLE 8

THE EDUCATIONAL STANDARD REACHED BY THE MALE
EMPLOYERS

EDUCATION	PERCENTAGE OF MALE EMPLOYEES
No school	47.95
No school - able to read or write	15.07
Sub Standards A, B and Std. 1	10.27
Standards 2 and 3	9.59
Standard 4 and 5	10.96
Standards 6 to 7	4.11
Other	2.05
Total	100.00

Although some of them learned to read and write, it is seen from the schedule that 63.02% of the males in the regular labour force, received no schooling.

As could be expected, there exists a relationship between the standard passed by an employee and his occupation on the farm (table 9). It seems as if those with higher education are given more responsible types of work.

TABLE 9

SCHOOL STANDARD OF MALE EMPLOYEES COMPARED TO
THEIR OCCUPATION

STAND- ARD	OCCUPATION							
	Labour- er	Fore- man Labour- er	Domes- tic Waiter	Messen- ger	Clerk	Police	Driver	Per- cen- tage
No school	74.29%	10.00%	2.86%	-	-	5.71%	7.14%	100%
Read and write on- ly	72.73%	18.18%	-	-	-	-	9.09%	100%
Sub A to Std. 1 ..	40.00%	26.67%	6.67%	13.33%	6.67%	6.67%	-	100%
Std. 2 and 3 ...	64.29%	-	-	-	7.14%	28.57%	-	100%
Std. 4 and 5 ...	68.75%	12.50%	-	-	6.25%	-	12.50%	100%
Std. 6 to 8	16.68%	-	-	16.65%	50.00	16.67%	-	100%
TOTAL MEN								

From schedule 9 it is seen e.g. that 74.29% of those who received no schooling are labourers, with no clerks from this group, while in the category Std. 6 - 8 only 16.68% are labourers and 50% clerks. There are, however, some workers with lower education in jobs which usually require better training but this is due to the fact that in the past when generally

the education was lower, people were engaged and trained on the farm itself for different types of work. In the group with an education of between standards two and five, the largest proportion is in the labourer category. This seems to be due to the fact that the recent recruits in the orchards are better qualified.

Where the school standard passed is compared with the income of the workers (cf. table 10) a tendency is found that the higher income is also related to a higher grade of education.

TABLE 10

SCHOOL STANDARD OF MALE EMPLOYEES COMPARED WITH THEIR ANNUAL INCOME

STAND- ARD	ANNUAL INCOME IN CASH				
	R49 - 96	R97 - 144	R145 - 240	R241 - 300	Un- classified
No school	53.16	30.79	50.00	-	-
Read and write only	17.73	15.38	-	50	-
Sub A to Std. I....	11.39	15.38	-	-	-
Std. 2 & 3	8.86	15.38	-	50	-
Std. 4 & 5	6.33	15.38	-	-	100
Std. 6 - 8	2.53	7.69	50.00	-	-
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Those among the employees without schooling, are becoming less. In the past ten years, more were employed with an education of between Std. 4 and Std. 8.

Most of the men prefer the country life of their homeland to living in large cities (cf. table 12). This is clear as 74.66% of the sample declared that they prefer to live in the reserve or their own country of origin. It is also the case with the better educated, but in the choice between farm life and the city, the educated prefer city life.

TABLE 12

SCHOOL STANDARD OF MALE EMPLOYEES COMPARED TO THE PLACE THEY PREFER TO LIVE							
PLACE PREFERRED	STANDARD PASSED						
	No school	Read & write	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Std. 6 - 8	Other
Large city	10.00	4.55	6.67	7.14	37.50	33.33	-
Farms/ Zebediela	8.57	13.64	13.34	14.28	6.25		33.33
Reserve/ own country	80.00	81.81	79.99	57.15	56.25	66.67	66.67
Elsewhere Transvaal	-	-	-	14.29			
Elsewhere Republic	1.43	-	-	7.14			
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The preference for city life of the higher qualified who do not prefer the reserve, might be due to the fact that

there seem to be better facilities at the moment for work in the cities, which might be accompanied by better salaries.

Men are usually married to women of lower educational qualifications. In this connection we found that 87.50% of the men without schooling are married to women without any formal schooling. This is also true of 86.67% of those men who reached Sub. A to Std. 1; 78.57% of the group that passed Standards two and three are married to women with an education below Standard 1. The men in the category Std. 4 and 5 are in 62.50% of the cases coupled with women having Standard 3 and lower, while 66.67% of the men with Std. 6 and above are married to women of below Standard 5.

It could then be said of the Bantu male farm labourers at Zebediela that they are usually married to women with lower qualifications than their own.

The question that presented itself in this connection, had been whether those workers in the groups with higher qualifications, would perhaps mind less among whom they have to live. The information gathered in this connection, is tabulated (cf. table 13).

TABLE 13

SCHOOL STANDARD REACHED BY MALE EMPLOYEES AND THE GROUP THEY PREFER TO LIVE AMONG								
GROUP PRE- FERRED	SCHOOL STANDARD							
	No school	Read & write only	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Std. 6 - 8	Other	Total
Mala- wians	20.00	18.18	13.33	7.14	12.50	16.67	-	16.44
Shona	7.14	-	6.67	-	-	-	-	4.11
Pedi	18.58	-	20.00	7.14	12.50	33.33	-	14.38
My own language group	35.71	50.00	20.00	28.57	37.50	50.00	100.00	37.67
Other People	1.43	4.55	-	-	-	-	-	1.36
I do not mind	17.14	27.27	40.00	57.15	37.50	-	-	26.04
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

From the information it is clear that there was a growing tendency for the workers not to mind among whom they live up to a certain standard of education (Std. 3), with a sharp decline afterwards to zero in the category six to eight.

A relatively small percentage of the Bantu farm labourers at Zebediela does not drink strong alcoholic liquor or beer (21.24%). It was also found that 39.04% of the sample showed the inclination to drink all kinds of Bantu and "European" alcoholic beverages. The figures

(cf. table 14) also make it clear that another 39.04% use Bantu beer alone, while .68% uses "wine" only.

TABLE 14

SCHOOL STANDARD OF THE MALE BANTU LABOURER AT THE ZEBEDIELA ESTATES COMPARED TO THEIR DRINKING HABITS

Drink- ing of strong drink	STANDARD OF EDUCATION							Total
	No school	Read & write only	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Std. 6 - 8	Other	
Drink no strong drink	17.14	18.18	26.67	28.57	31.25	16.67	33.33	21.24
Bantu beer only	42.86	31.82	53.33	21.43	25.00	50.00	66.67	39.04
Wine only	1.43	-	-	-	-	-	-	.68
Most of these	38.57	50.00	20.00	50.00	43.75	33.33	-	39.04
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

In the different categories of education in question, it was found that the higher the education, the larger the group not using strong drink. This is only true for the categories below Std. 5, for in the group having Std. 6 to Std. 8, there is a sharp decrease again in the percentage using no strong drink. Up to Std. 5, where the percentage is 25%, it seems

as if the tendency is to use less Bantu beer alone as the education becomes higher, but in the group having Std. 6 to Std. 8, there is an increase in the use of this beer to 50% of those in that category.

As could be expected, there is a growing tendency among the male labourers in the higher educational groups to read newspapers (cf. table 15).

TABLE 15

STANDARD OF EDUCATION OF THE BANTU MALE EMPLOYEES ²⁵⁾ AT ZEBEDIELA COMPARED TO THEIR READING OF NEWSPAPERS						
READING OF NEWSPAPERS	SCHOOL STANDARD					
	No school	Read & write	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 6	Std. 6 - 8
Never	87.14	72.72	40.00	14.29	18.75	-
Sometimes	4.29	4.55	13.33	21.43	25.00	50.00
Regularly	1.43	9.09	6.67	21.43	37.50	33.33
When obtain- able	7.14	13.64	26.67	37.50	18.75	16.67
Other	-	-	13.33	5.35	-	-
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Of those that did not have any schooling, 87.14% said that they never read newspapers, while all those in the group with Std. 6 - 8 do read newspapers. It could be said therefore that there is a larger knowledge of, and interest in world affairs in the groups with a higher education.

25) The standard of education among the workers at Zebediela is lower than for the Bantu population of the Republic in the 1959 census.

Together with their reading of newspapers, one can also consider the interest those workers take in news broadcasts. This is shown in table 16. Those among the male employees at Zebediela that definitely declared that they do not ever give attention to the news reports on the radio, constituted 20.55% of the sample. There was therefore 78.77% that were interested in the news broadcasts.

TABLE 16

SCHOOL STANDARD REACHED BY THE MALE EMPLOYEES AT ZEBEDIELA, COMPARED TO THEIR INTEREST IN RADIO NEWS								
LISTENING TO NEWS REPORTS	SCHOOL STANDARD							
	No school	Read & write	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Std. 6 - 8	Other	Total
Never	31.43	27.27	6.67	-	6.25	-	-	20.55%
Sometimes	22.86	18.18	20.00	7.14	31.25	50.00	66.67	23.29
Regularly	17.14	13.64	20.00	57.14	43.75	33.33	-	23.97
When possible	28.57	40.91	46.67	35.72	18.75	16.67	33.33	31.51
Other	-	-	6.66	-	-	-	-	.68
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The workers with the lowest qualifications are less inclined to listen to radio news reports. If the three items "sometimes", "regular" and "when possible" are added together for each of the different educational groups, it is also clear that a growing interest is present in the progressive educational groups.

TABLE 17

SCHOOL STANDARD OF BANTU MALE EMPLOYEES COMPARED TO TYPE OF NEWS THEY ARE INTERESTED IN								
TYPE of NEWS	SCHOOL STANDARD							
	No school	Read & write	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 1 - 2	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Other	Total
Rugby	7.14	22.73	13.32	7.14	6.25	-	-	9.59
Soccer	52.86	31.82	60.00	35.72	50.00	83.33	100.00	50.68
War	2.86	-	-	7.14	12.50	-	-	3.42
Terror- ists	1.43	-	-	-	-	-	-	.68
Politics	20.00	27.27	6.67	14.29	6.25	-	-	16.44
United Nations	8.57	-	6.67	21.43	6.25	16.67	-	8.22
Church Matters	-	18.18	6.67	-	6.25	-	-	4.12
Every- thing	1.43	-	-	7.14	-	-	-	1.38
None	1.42	-	-	-	-	-	-	.68
Other	4.29	-	6.67	7.14	12.50	-	-	4.79
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Among the men workers at Zebediela 60.27% are interested in news (cf. table 17) about sports, while 28.76% are interested in news of a political nature. Those interested in church news are only 4.12%. The interest in political news is not limited to a specific educational group, being more or less the same in the group without schooling (32.86%) and in the group for Std. 6 - 8 (29.17%) with variations in between.

3. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE.

The marital and family life of the Bantu male labourers at Zebediela is rather complex. This is due to the fact e.g. that the Malawian marriage customs are determined by their matrilineal system, while the South African Bantu has a patrilineal system. Furthermore the parents of the women at Zebediela show a tendency not to allow them to marry foreigners. This results in illegal cohabitation of those men and women of different origin. These and other facts interest the researcher, and are to be discussed hereafter.

Only 4.11% of the male employees at Zebediela have never been married, while 13.70% had a wife at Zebediela before, but are now living as single men. In discussing the married male employees, the 13.70% is included.

It was said by 52.64% (cf. table 18) of the workers, that the wife they are living with now, is the only one they ever had, and 8.77% remained true to the wife at home. This gives a total of 61.41% having marital relationships. Polygamy occurred at the time of the research in only 1.75% of the sample cases.

TABLE 18

THE MARITAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE MEN SHOWN IN COMPARISON TO THE GROUP TO WHICH THEY BELONG

MARITAL RELATIONSHIP WITH WIFE.	THE GROUP TO WHICH THE MEN BELONG							
	MALAWIAN	SHONA	PEDI	VENDA	TSONGA	TSWANA	OTHER	TOTAL
The wife at Zebediela the only one ever	52.94%	50.00%	56.10%	37.50%	50.00%	100%	50%	52.64%
Had one at Zebediela before but not having one anymore	8.82%	15.00%	19.50%	25.00%	25.00%	-	50%	16.67%
Had one before and another one now	17.65%	15.00%	4.88%	25.00%	12.50%	-	-	12.28%
Have wife at home and one here	-	5.00%	2.44%	-	-	-	-	1.75%
Always remained true to the one at home	8.83%	5.00%	9.76%	12.50%	12.50%	-	-	8.77%
Have one at home but gave up the one at Zebediela	5.88%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.75%
Other	5.88%	10.00%	7.32%	-	-	-	-	6.14%
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

At the time of the research, it did not seem as if there was a definite accepted legal pattern for the confirmation of marriages. The situation is as reflected in table 19.

TABLE 19

ARTICLES OF MATRIMONY, GOVERNING THE MARRIAGES OF THE BANTU MEN	
HOW MARRIAGES ARE CONFIRMED	PERCENTAGE
At the Bantu Affairs Commissioner	.88%
In a Christian Church	.88%
With Lobola	33.33%
Two of these	1.75%
None of these	56.14%
Other	7.02%
TOTAL	100.00%

There has been a change in this position since 1954 when Quin ¹⁹⁾ found that 86.9% were living together only by mutual consent, while 10.5% were married by tribal custom and 2.6% in church. However, it should be kept in mind that a change took place in the composition of the labour force as the workers from the Republic constituted 49.3% of Quin's sample where as in the present study, it was found that they represent 61.70%.

19) Quin, P.J., Foods and Feeding Habits of the Pedi (Typed Copy of Ph. D thesis), Table 3, 1954.

According to the figures in table 20, there is no doubt that lobola is deeprooted marriage custom among the Bantu, and has not yet lost its place.

TABLE 20

VIEWS OF THE MALE LABOURERS ON LOBOLA	
THE LOBOLA CUSTOM	PERCENTAGE
It should be kept in use by all	68.49%
It is good for reserve people only	2.75%
It is refused by my wife's people	27.40%
Other	1.36%
TOTAL	100.00%

In 27.40% of the cases, lobola is refused by the family of the wife. Four main reasons seem to explain this attitude of the "inlaws". Firstly, a definite antagonism is found among the local people against people belonging to other groups, and therefore they would not agree to a "marriage". A "marriage" is contracted according to Bantu custom, only when an exchange of marriage goods (magadi) takes place. In a study of the marriage and family life of Malawi migrant labourers at Zebediela, Mabudafazi ²⁰⁾ came to the conclusion that:

"Although in daily contact with unmarried women packers, they do not accept love proposals of Nyasa men.

20) Mabudafazi, J., Unpublished notes, prepared for a M.A. thesis in Sociology, before his death. Department of Sociology, University of the North - Turfloop.

They seem to feel it a disgrace to be married to these men. Not a single Nyasa man succeeded in marrying a local girl.

"This state of affairs indicates that where two groups of completely differing cultures come into contact, even if they may be of the same colour, there is a tendency for the groups to look down on each other

"Women do not wish to reveal their cohabitation with Nyasa men, and children do not take the name for fear of ostracism by the society of their mother

"The mother's name is assumed even in some cases where lobola has been paid, and where lobola has been paid, it is not really considered as lobola, but as a means of letting it be known to the parents of the wife that they cohabit together. As the lobola was not done according to the customs and procedures, it is not recognized."

The feeling of cultural superiority is also demonstrated in the language, where the prepositions "Mo"- and "BA"- which are used for human beings, are not used when referring to other groups.

A proper marriage according to local custom, is furthermore not practical as the usual negotiations in connection with the marriage are not possible in the case where people come from afar. Local custom seems not to know how to cope with such a situation.

In the third place, it is un^hinkable that a member of the group could be allowed to go to a far country, where the traditional communication of the person with the own group including the spirits of the ancestors (Badimo) is not possible.

The fourth reason is found in the fact that lobola is not accepted twice for the same woman, that is, a woman can not be married twice, according to the dominating local custom. Where the women cohabiting with foreign men at Zebediela are mostly widows deserted and divorced women, this should also be seen as a reason why lobola is refused by the woman's family.

However, it is felt by 68.49% of the male employees that the lobola-practice is practical and should be kept in use by all people. Less than 3% feel that it is not practical and useful only for people in the homelands. Of these, .68% did not express a view on this matter.

It is not the intention here to get to the real meaning of lobola, but to analyse the views held about it, by the labourers. This is done in table 21.

The views that lobola "prevents divorce" and "secures the bride" emphasize the contractual value attached to this phenomenon by the Bantu labourers at Zebediela. The exchange of marriage goods ensures that both parties will honour their obligations.

TABLE 21

WHY LOBOLA IS USED, ACCORDING TO THE MEN EMPLOYED AT ZEBEDIELA	
VIEWS OF WORKERS	PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS
Lobola prevents divorce	34.93
It secures the bride for the groom and his family	26.03
It balances powers between the two families	17.81
It ensures the blessing of the ancestors	8.22
It secures the bride's childbearing powers	7.54
It ensures good treatment of women	3.42
Other views	2.05
TOTAL	100.00%

According to the men workers in 57.54% of the cases, the amount of the lobola is decided upon by the family of the bride, while 19.86% said that the decision comes from the clan. For 15.07% it depends on a decision by the family of the groom, while 6.85% is uncertain and .68% did not give their views.

Some years ago the Ndebele of Chief Johannes Kekana, fixed the amount to be given as lobola in the "Kgotla" (chief's council). It amounts to R120, being 6 head of cattle valued for this purpose at R20 per head.

The Pedi leave the decision of the amount to be handed over as lobola to the groom and his father, as 15.07% of the sample witnessed. It is, however, a matter

of honour for the family of the groom, that the "magadi" will not be too small.

The people questioned, were not unanimous about the form of the "magadi". There was 66.44% who felt that it could include cattle, other livestock and money; 21.93% said that it should be money only, while 10.27% thought that it should be cattle only. There was 1.36% from whom no answer on this point was received.

It is understandable that the foreign migrant labourers, when they have to "take out" magadi, have to pay in cash, while the people of this area insist on livestock being included in the magadi. A sum of about R40 is mentioned on the Estate, as the lobola required among the labourers.

An analysis of the marital state of the wives of the married male employees at Zebediela, previous to their present marriage, was made. It was found that 59.65% were never married previously. The rest were divorced (1.75%), widowed (5.26%) and deserted (23.68%), leaving a balance of 9.66%. The group that was married previously taken together, is 30.69% of the sample.

The percentage of nearly 60% of the male workers married to maidens, nearly coincides with the 61.70% male labourers from the Republic. The other women therefore are attached to foreign workers.

A fact closely related to the previous marital state of these women, is the children they had before their present marriage. In 31.58% of the cases, they had children, ranging from one to six, before their present marriage, while 68.42% did not have children previously.

In 64.04% of the cases, the children have the surname of the father, and 32.46% that of the mother, leaving

a balance of 3.50%

All these aspects of the complex family life of the Zebediela labourers, seem to be related to one another.

Each family living-unit consists of three huts, of which one is usually used as a kitchen. The three huts are linked together in one unit by a ring wall. The open space enclosed by the wall among the huts, could be called the "living room". In Sotho it is named "lapa".

An important sociological aspect of the occupation of the house is how the room space of the living unit is used for sleeping at night. Some of the facts in this connection are tabulated in table 22.

TABLE 22

OCCUPATION OF THE HOUSE AT NIGHT BY THE FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE MARRIED MALE EMPLOYEES AT ZEBEDIELA

OCCUPATION	PERCENTAGE OF CASES
Husband and wife sleep alone in one hut	39.47
Parents and smaller children sleep in one hut	40.35
Parents and all children sleep together	2.64
Different Arrangements	3.50
Married males live as boarders	11.40
Other	2.64
TOTAL	100.00

The one thing which is clear in this connection, is that the parents seem never to sleep together with their older child-

ren. That seems to happen very seldom.

We found from our observation that different arrangements are made where the available space is not enough. For instance, the parents would occupy one hut as sleeping space, while the small boys and girls might have to sleep together in the kitchen, where the two sexes would sleep on opposite sides of the hut. The older children of two or three families might then group together, so that the third hut of a living unit may be occupied by the bigger girls of more than one family, while all the bigger boys would then use the third hut of the other family.

Another arrangement might also be that all the small children sleep in the parent's sleeping hut, with the bigger girls in the kitchen and the boys in the third hut.

Of the children in the families of the men workers at Zebediela it was found that 63.79% were below ten years of age. In the group of eleven to sixteen years of age, there were only 11.68%

TABLE 23

THE AGE OF CHILDREN IN THE FAMILIES OF THE MEN		
Age	Total number of children in the families	Percentage of total
Under 6 years	125	29.44
7 - 10 years	148	34.35
11 - 16 years	50	11.68
Above 16 years	105	24.53
TOTAL	428	100.00

For some reason, there is a sharp decrease in the number

of children after the age of ten years.

Quin made an analysis of the number of children per African family at Zebediela and found that it was not very high, as is clear from table 24.

TABLE 24

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY OF THE MALE LABOURERS ²¹⁾		
Number of Children per Family	Number of Families	Percentage of families having the number of children
Nil	173	32
1	144	26.6
2	108	20
3	62	11.5
4	30	5.5
5	21	3.9
6	3	.5
TOTAL	541	100.00%

In 32% the families had no children, while another 58.1% had fewer than three children per family. Only three families had six children, while there were no families with more than six children. Quin adds ²²⁾ "The relatively small families are accounted for by the custom of

21) Quin, P.J., Foods and Feeding Habits of the Pedi, Volume 1, Ph.D Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1954, Table 5, p.6.

22) Ibid, p.9.

sending children, as soon as they reach a serviceable age, to the tribal village to assist there". It could therefore be expected that in the higher age groups, there would not be many children present at Zebediela.

In connection with the whereabouts of the children in the families of the male employees in 1969, a summary of the information is given in table 25.

TABLE 25

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DOMICILE OF CHILDREN OF MALE WORKERS IN 1969							
NUMBER OF FAMILIES			NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES				
Having Children	No Children	Total	Children attending at Zebediela	Number sent home	Number away for training	Number that left school	Total
109	5	114	69	65	7	69	210
PERCENTAGE			32.85%	30.96%	3.34%	32.85%	100%

Only about one third (32.85%) of the number of children in the families is therefore present with their parents at Zebediela.

Information was obtained in connection with the initiation school for boys that was organized during the winter of 1970. It lasted eight weeks. The place where it is held depends on who is appointed by the chief to organize it. In 1970 the successful applicant diviner was one who preferred to perform his task on one of the farms near to the

Zebediela Estates, at the foot of the Mogoto (or Strydpoort) Mountains. While being a farm labourer in this area previously, he also practised as a "ngaka" (diviner). He is known by the people in this area, and has their confidence.

People usually delay the initiation of their children until the year the school is organized by a diviner whose "medicine" they trust. The relationship of families with diviners in this area reminds one of the relationship of European families with their family doctor.

The diviner has to pay R20 to the chief if his school is held in the Bantu homeland, and he pays about R20 - R30 to the owner of a farm for permission to organize the school, if it is held on a private farm.

When it is organized in the homeland, candidates are drawn from both the homeland and the neighbouring farms, and when it is held on a farm, children from the homeland also attend. Those coming from the "other side" usually pay more. An informant said that he, being on a nearby farm, had to pay R1:25c for his son, while those from the homeland, paid R1:50c.

While the school is in operation, other initiates are allowed to visit the place. This usually happens during the evenings, as most of the people are at work during the day.

The group of boys that was initiated in 1970, was seen twice by the researcher, when they passed by on the road carrying sticks in a hunting fashion, and wearing only short trousers. Other uninitiated children ran away when this group approached.

On completion of the course, a new initiate is supplied with new clothes by his family, while a goat is slaughtered on his return home, where members of the family and friends gather for a feast.

It was found that 86.84% of the married male workers at the Zebediela Estates, were circumcized, which means that more or less the same number also attended initiation ceremonies. Initiation ceremonies were celebrated for 92.99% of the wives of the married male employees.

The age at which initiation ceremonies are celebrated, could not be pinpointed, but for 93.4% the boys attended between an age of 8 and 20 years. Only 3.43% of the boys attended before 7 years of age, while no information is available about the other 3.43%. Most of the males however, attended between the ages of 11 and 15 years. This is also more or less true of the female members of the family, where 89.48% went between 8 and 20 years of age, 4.38% before 7 years and 6.14% being the balance. The places where initiation ceremonies are celebrated by the family members of the male employees, are given in table 26.

TABLE 26

PLACES WHERE INITIATION CEREMONIES ARE CELEBRATED BY THE FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE MALE LABOURERS		
Place	Percentage	
	Males	Females
Nearby reserve according to local tradition	89.73	82.19
Farms in the neighbourhood	8.90	6.85
Uncertain as to where initiation takes place	1.37	1.37
Other	-	9.59
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%

From this information, it is seen that there exist interaction between the workers at Zebediela and the labourers on the nearby farms as well as with the people in the adjoining reserve.

According to replies to questions, many of the male labourers appear indifferent about the future of their children. In 52.63% of the cases, it was reported that the parents 'do not mind' about the future of their children. Of the rest, 37.72% had definite ideas about what they wanted their children to become, while 9.65% was not clear whether they mind or not.

Included in the 37.72%, is the 18.42% who said they wanted their children to become teachers or nurses; 4.39% who would have them to become clerks; 7.02% drivers or mechanics; 4.39% agricultural supervisors; 2.03% any work in the city; .88% any work at Zebediela and .59% having

other ideas.

Although they remained at Zebediela for a long time, they, for some reason, do not desire it as a possible place of employment for their children.

In the sample, it was found that 43.87% had a definite idea about the group from whom they would prefer their children to get a marriage partner. Less than two percent (1.75%) made qualifications a deciding factor, while 51.75% was altogether indifferent. There was 2.63% who did not give a clear answer.

The men workers were asked to explain what the courting habits of young people on the Estate are. The results of the inquiry are given in table 27.

The facts speak for themselves. It is seen that extra marital sexual relations play an important role in the courting habits of the young people of the Estates. This is the case in 34.23%. The next important fact is that they visit parties and dances in 19.86% of the cases.

TABLE 27

COURTING BY YOUNG PEOPLE ON THE ZFBEDIAELA ESTATES	
COURTING HABITS	PERCENTAGE PRACTISING THESE HABITS
Talk to one another at girl's home or elsewhere, while sitting or standing	17.13%
Accompany one another to parties and dances	19.86%
Sleep together often in obscure places	27.39%
Sleep together at girl's home	6.84%
By correspondence	14.38%
Make contact through mediator only	13.03%
Other	1.37%
TOTAL	100.00%

Most of the people questioned felt that extra marital sexual relations are wrong. The answers were as follows:

It is a good thing	1.37%
It is wrong	72.60%
We do not mind about it	25.35%
No opinion	.68%
	<u>100.00%</u>

When these relationships end up in children being born out of wedlock, the reaction towards that is mainly the same. It was found that the attitude of the male workers in that connection could be summarized as follows:

It happens to most young people	3.42%
It is a disgrace for the family	62.33%
We do not mind about it	25.35%
We care, because the lobola is affected	3.48%
Other	<u>5.42%</u>
	<u>100.00%</u>

Of those who do not mind about such births, 76.88% were without any formal education; 62.33% looks upon this as a disgrace for the family. This attitude is stronger among the workers with a higher education.

It was found also that in 16.67% of the families of the male workers at Zebediela, it was experienced that unmarried girls gave birth to children. In the case of the local people, the evidence is unanimous that compensation is demanded from the father of the unmarried girl's child. This compensation amounts usually to R20, which long ago was the price of one head of cattle. The migrant labourers from Rhodesia and Malawi seem to be uncertain what such compensation should amount to. If, however, there was the intention to marry, or negotiations for a marriage were started, compensation was not demanded.

It often happens that a Bantu man after having married according to the traditional lobola system, has also to go through certain rites at the Bantu Affairs Commissioner and also in the church. This brings about a very complicated situation for those who wish to comply with the requirements. The full payment of lobola (magadi) is not required, before permission for a marriage is granted among the labourers at Zebediela. It is proper, however, for the bridegroom-to-be to approach the parents of the

bride and to promise to make arrangements for the necessary "magadi". The largest percentage of workers' answers (46.58%) are in line with this, as can be seen from table 28.

It is clear from these figures that the people on the Zebediela Estates differ widely in their approach towards starting a marriage relationship and that they have not yet settled to a fixed pattern.

TABLE 28

HOW MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIPS ARE STARTED ON ZEBEDIELA ESTATES	
DESCRIPTION	PERCENTAGE
Here a woman is usually taken as wife on her suggestion to a man	15.78%
A woman is taken as wife if she agrees to a proposal of a man	4.79%
A woman comes to the lapa of a man when approached by a mediator	14.38%
A woman comes to live with a man when negotiations with her family is started	46.58%
She comes to the house of a man after negotiations with her family is completed	3.42%
She comes to the lapa of the man only after full payment of magadi	6.16%
Most of these are happening	6.16%
Other	2.73%
TOTAL	100.00%

4. CHURCH LIFE

It was felt by Dr P.J. Quin, a previous director of the Zebediela Estates, that a more vital Christian religious life could do much to stabilize the labour force. "Dr Quin then substituted a missionary for his compound manager and appointed African evangelists as his assistants.

"He insisted they be concerned with social matters and maintenance of African cultural values as well as instruction in the Christian religion." 23)

A change took place when instead of appointing a missionary as a social welfare officer, it was decided to grant a subsidy to the local Dutch Reformed Church in Africa to enable them to do the work instead. The fact that 15.75% of the male labourers belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, being the strongest church on the Estate, seems to point to the success of the work done by that church.

In table 29 the membership of the different churches present among the male labourers is analysed.

The group, not belonging to a church, is more than half of the male workers on the Estate, being 57.54%. The men belonging to a church therefore represent 42.46%.

23) The Star, "A married man worth five single men", 13 May, 1968; also, Personal interview with Dr P. Quin, 28 February, 1969.

TABLE 29

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS AT ZEBEDIELA

DENOMINATION	PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS BEING MEMBERS
Dutch Reformed Church	15.75%
Anglican and Roman Catholic	7.54%
Zionists	6.85%
Presbyterian and Methodist Churches	4.12%
Lutheran Church	2.05%
Apostle Church	2.05%
Muslim	1.37%
Jehova's Witnesses	.68%
Other Churches	2.05%
No Church	57.54%
TOTAL	100.00%

The group of non members is constituted of 53.57% Pedi, 14.29% Shona, 11.90% Shangani, 10.72% Malawian, 5.95% Venda, 1.19% Tswana and 2.38% others. The fact that such a large number of the Pedi is not christianized yet, is due to the fact that they do not live on the Estate and that they, being from the neighbourhood, return to their homes in the reserve during weekends. It is therefore not easy to include them in the church programme.

The members of the Dutch Reformed Church, being the subsidized body, include Malawians (65.22%),

Shona (13.04%), Pedi (17.39%) and Shangani (4.35%).

The fact that 67.12% of the male workers do not attend church, there being only 57.54% that are not in relationship with a church, shows that a certain percentage of those having church connections do not attend church meetings. The situation is shown in table 30.

TABLE 30

CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY THE MALE LABOURERS AT ZEBE-DIELA, ASSOCIATED WITH ONE OR OTHER CHURCH	
ATTENDANCE	PERCENTAGE OF CHURCH MEMBERS
Regularly	35.48
Often	3.24
Sometimes	22.89
Never	35.48
Other	2.91
TOTAL	100.00%

There are 35.48% of the church people therefore that have lost contact with the church to such an extent that they no longer go to church.

The relationship of the various workers to the church differs largely. There are people looking upon themselves as church members, but who have not yet been confirmed as members. It is therefore necessary to determine what their relationship to the church really is. Table 31 shows that only 21.23% of the male employees are full members of a church, while the others stand in different degrees of association to the churches.

TABLE 31

THE CHURCH RELATIONSHIP OF THE MALE EMPLOYEES AT
ZEBEDIELA ESTATES

CHURCH RELATIONSHIP	PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS
Full Members	21.23%
Baptized but not confirmed	4.12%
Catechumen	2.06%
Full member but lost interest	8.22%
Members under punishment	.68%
Interested, but never approached by church workers	2.74%
Lost contact with church when coming to Zebediela	2.06%
Visitor to church meetings	.68%
No church	57.53%
Other	.68%
TOTAL	100.00%

When adding together those baptized, but not confirmed, those that lost interest, those interested but not yet invited to join and those who lost contact when moving to Zebediela, these give another 17.14% that might be a fruitful field for church workers to exploit in order to increase their membership. It was found that more than half of the male labourers were not associated with any church, and that only 21.23% of them were actively associated with the church. Only 17.12% regularly attend church meetings. It was also found that 70.00% of the uneducated were not associated with a church, whereas this is the case in only 50% of the men in the category standards four to eight.

although only 21.23% are active church members, 47.19% seem to be contributing money for church work,

although only 19.11% contribute more than fifty cents per year.

The figures show that 57.53% of the male Bantu labourers at the Zebediela Estates have no church affiliation. ²⁴⁾ Among the churches the Dutch Reformed Church is the church with the highest membership, consisting of 15.75% of the male workers. The Anglican and Roman Catholic group follows with 7.53% and the Zionists with 6.85%.

TABLE 32

DENOMINATION	No School	Read & write only	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Std. 6 - 8	TOTAL
Dutch Ref.	10.00	13.64	20.00	35.71	18.75	33.33	15.75%
Presbyterian & Methodist	1.43	9.09	6.67	-	6.25	16.67	4.11
Anglican & Rom. Catholic	5.71	9.09	-	21.44	2.50	-	7.53
Lutheran	-	4.55	-	7.14	6.25	-	2.05
Jehova's Witnesses	-	-	-	7.14	-	-	.68
Mohammedan	1.43	-	6.67	-	-	-	1.37
Zionist	7.14	9.09	13.33	7.14	-	-	6.85
Apostle	1.43	4.55	-	7.14	-	-	2.05
Other Churches	-	9.09	-	-	6.25	-	2.05
Other	72.86	40.90	53.33	14.29	50.00	50.00	57.56
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

All churches show a tendency to have more members in the higher educational levels, which reach up from Std. 2 to Junior Certificate. The Zionist Group has most of its

24) cf. table 32, p. 59.

members in the lowest educational groups reaching up from "ability to read and write", till Standard one.

Sixty six percent of the men practise a cult of the shades, while 33.58% said that they do not take part in such practices, leaving a balance of .68%. Blood and beer play an important part in the sacrifices to the shades. These are used by 61.64%. A further 4.10%, all Malawians, use other food stuff cooked and uncooked. Tobacco is used by .68% who are all Venda. The remainder 33.58% including a large percentage of foreigners (70.83%) do not practise a cult of the shades. Different methods of sacrificing to the shades are practiced. (cf. table 33). Two places are important in sacrificing, namely the ancestor's grave and the family' place of worship. These two may be the same, but usually are different. The family's place of worship usually is a spot at the back outside the house, where the offering is poured out.

TABLE 33

METHODS OF SACRIFICING TO THE SHADES	
METHOD DESCRIBED	PERCENTAGE
Do not bring sacrifices	33.58
Left at family's place of worship	31.51
Poured out at family's place of worship	15.07
Left at grave of ancestor	12.33
Consumed by worshipping party	3.41
Poured out at grave of ancestor	2.05
Most of these are practised	2.05
TOTAL	100.00

Among the men 46.58% say that they do not ever consult a diviner, while 53.42% do so when necessary. Taken separately, the foreign workers show a pattern different from that of the local people. Of the foreigners 58.46% do not consult a diviner, while 4.54% do consult one. Among the local Bantu, only 38.27% have forsaken this practice, while 61.73% continue with it.

It was found that, in many cases, people are taken to the diviner with their ailments instead of attending the nearby mission hospital, but it then occurs that he might refer them to the hospital, or even bring them in his own car. When they would come directly, however, and are not healed within a reasonable time, they sometimes ask permission to leave the hospital for a few days in order to consult the diviner, after which they would return for further treatment.

5. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

The "scarcity" of labour, is the major factor determining wages. ²⁶⁾ The "scarcity" of labour for the different types of work, again depends on ability, training qualifications demanded and availability of workers. The driver, duly trained to take proper care of his tractor and to undertake a certain amount of the maintenance himself, can be sure of receiving a better wage than the untrained driver who causes many breakages and unnecessary expenses. Most of the drivers employed at Zebediela are not adequately trained. The view that wages are linked to the supply of labour, rather than to productivity, and that influx control applied in towns tends to depress farm wages ²⁷⁾, by preventing labourers from moving freely to places where better salaries could be earned, seems not applicable here. This is clear from the fact that only 12.33% of the workers expressed the wish to be in a large city, while 74.66% are satisfied to remain at Zebediela until they decide to return "home". Ten percent give preference to the present situation, while 2.74% prefer to live somewhere else in the Republic. The reasons for moving to Zebediela, are relevant here ²⁸⁾: 51.37% of the men stated that the work at Zebediela is the type they prefer.

It was found that 91.10% of the male labour force appear satisfied with labour conditions at Zebediela. About 6.17% seems to bear grudges against their European

26) Schuman, C.G.W., "Ekonomie: 'n Inleidende Studie"
Universiteitsuitgewers, Stellenbosch, 1957,
p. 38.

27) Roberts, Labour in Farm Economy, cf. Prof. M. Wilson:
Preface p. iii

28) Cf. table 4, p. 20.

supervisors, and 2.05% entertain bad feelings against their Bantu foremen. There is .68% having complaints about their salary.

The estimated change per family over fifty years is given in table 34.

TABLE 34

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME PER FAMILY FOR THE FAMILIES OF THE MEN WORKERS 29)						
YEAR	CASH INCOME OF HEAD OF FAMILY (MONTHLY)			INCOME OF HEAD OF FAMILY (ANNUAL)		
	Calcu- lated cash income in Rand	Retail price index (1938 = 100)	Real income in Rand	Real cash income (annual)	Real income in natura (annual)	Total real income in Rand
1918	1.5	35	1.4	16.8	8.6	25.4
1928	4.0	93	3.7	44.4	27.4	71.8
1938	4.0	100	4.0	48.0	43.2	91.2
1948	6.0	103	4.1	49.2	36.1	85.3
1969	10.92	98	3.9	46.8	32.5	79.3

These figures suggest an increase in real income per family between 1918 - 1938 where only the head of the family works - of R53.9 per annum, and a fall of R11.9 since 1938.

29) Note: Using retail price index with 1938 as the base year. Index calculated on basis of 1938 = 100.

In an attempt to find out what the male employees spend their money on, different alternatives were suggested. The answers are summarized in table 35.

TABLE 35

HOW THE MALE EMPLOYEES AT ZEBEDIELA SPEND THEIR MONEY	
COMMODITIES	PERCENTAGE
More food	45.89
New clothes	23.97
School needs of children ³⁰⁾	8.90
Save money	6.86
Beer drinking	3.43
Second hand clothes	.68
Delicacies	.68
Most of these	9.59
TOTAL	100.00

From this table, it is clear that, a large group of workers spend money on more food; many buy new clothes, while the school needs of the children also demand much of the parents' income.

Only 6.85% mainly save their money. This money is then usually kept in the bank or post office.

The mealie meal provided as rations up to 1969, was unsifted, being more wholesome in that form, according to Dr Quin. Recently, however, it was replaced by refined mealie meal in an effort to create agreeable conditions for the workers. At the local consumers' corporative

30) The school needs of the children include: Uniforms (clothes), stationary, school fees and other minor expenses.

it was found then that the sale of refined mealie meal dropped largely after the change in the rations was made. It is clear therefore that the refined mealie meal is preferred by the workers. This is the reason why so much of their salaries was spent on more food. Buying of delicatessen by the workers is a rarity.

According to the manager of the Zebediela Employer's Consumers Corporation, the food supplements bought by the Bantu labourers, consist of more mealie meal, powdered and fresh milk, tea, coffee, sugar, bread, meal, baking powder, malt, paraffin, washing powder and soap. According to some of the Bantu Clerks in the shop, a labourer would spend about R6 per month on these requirements, while the rest of the income eventually is spent on the better type of clothes. Sometimes building material is bought for building at home in the reserve.

The villages are situated near to the orchards on the different parts of the farm. The workers therefore have no daily expenses in connection with transport to the place of work. The teams engaged in work that require them to work on areas on the farm far from their living quarters, are transported there.

Where necessary, overalls and boots are provided. The departments where this is done once or twice yearly are: the abattoir, dairy, kitchens, defauling works, mechanical department, tractor drivers, construction and painting workers. In the case of pest control workers they are issued with a type of gown which is worn over their ordinary clothes.

Medical attention is provided free by way of four fulltime Bantu nurses and a welfare worker, doing clinic and visitation work on the Estate. Hospital treatment is given in the local mission hospital. Copies of a

hospital report and also a nurse's report are shown as addenda 31).

A basic starting wage is paid for all workers but increases are recommended by heads of the different departments in the cases of individuals rendering satisfactory services. One could therefore say that a worker is awarded according to his skill and the degree of satisfaction created by his work, rather than on the type of work he is doing. In an exceptional case, a worker might earn more after one year of service than other workers receive after many years of employment at Zebediela.

31) See addenda 8 and 9.

CHAPTER IIITHE REGULAR LABOUR FORCE: WOMEN1. COMPOSITION

There has been a shift from male to more female workers in the orchards. Traditionally women, as well as men, were responsible for agricultural work, and the women therefore seem to fit into this role easily.

The fact that many women are available here on the border of a Bantu homeland, from where many of the men go to the towns and larger industrial centres for the type of work they prefer, makes it a natural development for more women to be employed.

More women than men are required for certain tasks like weeding, but with modern methods in irrigation a given number of men is replaced by the same number of women.

The largest percentage (92.31%) of women workers is engaged as labourers in the orchards, while 1.92% work as domestic servants. The proportion in other occupations is 5.77%.

The work in the orchards is paid for in shifts of 8 hours. The work expected to be completed in that time is given. If a worker for instance completes the work satisfactorily in a shorter time, she still is paid for the whole shift, and is free to go off duty. Of the women who came to Zebediela for work, 71.16% said they came because the type of work they preferred was available here; 7.69% came because they found that the wages here were better than what they could earn somewhere else.

A further 13.46% followed other family members to Zebediela, while 1.92% were attracted by the school facilities for their children. A remaining 3.85% were not clear in their replies.

Most of the women workers at Zebediela originate from this area; 65.38% are Pedi, 23.09% Ndebele, 7.69% Shangani; 1.92% Venda and 1.92% Tswana. A large number of Shangani migrants have settled in this area in the past. It was therefore found that 96.16% of the women workers at Zebediela come from places in the neighbourhood. Over a third (36.54%) was born in the neighbouring towns of Potgietersrus and Pietersburg. Another 32.69% were born in the nearby reserve and farms while 28.85% were born elsewhere in Transvaal and 1.92% elsewhere in the Republic.

The language spoken by these workers are Pedi (75%) and Ndebele (15.38%). Tsonga and Venda are taken together and are spoken by 7.69%, while Nyanja was mentioned by one as her home language. The balance, unspecified, is 1.93%. The homogeneity of the female population at Zebediela is evident.

It seems to be the rule that children are classified with the group of the mother. This is the case with 94.60% of the sample. Only in 2.70%, the mother being Pedi, it was said that the children are Malawians. The children of the rest of 2.70% of the women workers were not identified.

Nearly half (46.15%) of the women workers do not use any strong drink, while 42.31% use only "Bantu Beer", 5.77% use different kinds of alcoholic beverages. Another 5.77% did not give information about their drinking habits.

Among the non drinkers, 41.33% are church members,

while 58.67% are not associated with a church. Of the church members using "Bantu Beer", 75% belongs to separatist churches, while 25% are members of recognized Protestant churches.

Most of the female labourers prefer to live among their own people.

TABLE 36

THE PEOPLE AMONG WHOM THE WOMAN WORKERS PREFER TO LIVE						
NEIGHBOURS PREFERRED	GROUP TO WHICH LABOURERS BELONG					
	Ndebele	Pedi	Venda	Shangaan	Tswana	Percentage
People speaking my own language	80	77.28	100	66.66	100	78.38
Coloured people	10	-	-	-	-	2.70
I do not mind	10	22.72	-	33.34	-	18.92
TOTAL	100	100.00	100	100.00	100	100.00

Table 36 shows that the different groups are conservative in this respect; they prefer to live among people of their own group. The Shangani women are the most ready to mix with others.

Seen from a different angle, 78.38% of the female labourers wish to live among their own people; 2.70% prefers coloured people, and 18.92% do not mind among whom they live.

2. EDUCATION

The women workers generally are of low qualifications. At the time of research 78.85% were illiterate. A further 5.77% did not attend school but were able to read and write; 3.85% passed a standard between Sub A and Std. I; 5.77% Std. 2- 3; 3.85% Std. 4 - 5 and 1.92% Std. 6 - 8. It follows therefore that only 15.39% of the total female labour force received any formal school training.

As with the male employees, women workers engaged recently are better qualified, as can be seen from table 37.

There was only one woman in the sample, who had been at Zebediela for a longer period than five years, who had had any schooling. This shows that the educational standard of the farm workers and the Bantu population of the areas from where they come, improved largely in the past five years.

TABLE 37

THE SCHOOL STANDARD OF WOMEN WORKERS COMPARED TO THE
LENGTH OF THEIR PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT

STAND- ARD REACHED	LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN YEARS						
	1 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 15	16 - 20	21 - 25	26 - 30	OVER 31 YEARS
No School	68.42%	100%	100%	100%	100%	-	50%
Only able to read & write	10.53%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub A - Std. 1	5.26%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. 2 - 3	5.26%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. 4 - 5	10.53%	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. 6 - 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	50%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

City life or even town life has not much attraction for women workers at Zebediela, as can be seen from the following table.

TABLE 38

SCHOOL STANDARD OF WOMEN WORKERS AT ZEBEDIELA, COMPARED TO THE PLACE THEY PREFER TO LIVE AT							
PLACE PREFERRED	STANDARD PASSED						
	No school	Read & write only	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Std. 6 - 8	Total
Large city	2.44%	-	-	-	-	-	1.92%
Small town	-	-	-	-	50%	-	1.92%
Farms/ Zebediela	9.76%	33.33%	-	-	-	-	9.63%
Reserve/our own country	85.36%	-	100%	66.67%	50%	100%	82.69%
Elsewhere Transvaal	-	66.67%	-	33.33%	-	-	1.92%
Other	2.44%	-	-	-	-	-	1.92%
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 38 shows that 82.69% of these women workers prefer to live in the reserve and in their country of origin. The 9.63% who prefer the farm and Zebediela Estates, and the 1.92% desiring "elsewhere in Transvaal", seem to fall in the same category preferring life in the country which is, for most of them, their place of origin. Even the higher qualified workers are not interested in city or town life.

In choosing their neighbours among whom they prefer to live, the women workers have no educational or religious

TABLE 40

THE SCHOOL STANDARD REACHED BY WOMEN COMPARED TO THE DENOMINATION THEY BELONG TO							
DENOMINATION	SCHOOL STANDARD						TOTAL
	No school	Read & write	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Std. 6 - 8	
Dutch Reformed Church ...	2.44	-	-	33.33	50.00	-	5.77
Presbyterian & Methodist Church	4.88	-	-	-	-	-	3.85
Anglican & Roman Catholic Churches.	2.44	-	-	-	50.00	-	3.85
Lutheran	2.44	-	-	-	-	-	1.93%
Zionist	7.32	33.33	-	-	-	-	7.67
Apostle	4.88	-	-	-	-	-	3.85
No church ...	75.60	66.67	100.00	66.67	-	100.00	73.08
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Among the women workers, the Zionist sectarian movement is the strongest (7.67%), followed by the Dutch Reformed Church with 5.77%, and the other churches.

There is a general tendency among the women not to be much interested in the reading of newspapers, but according to table 41, there is a slight tendency with those who had some schooling, to read newspapers.

TABLE 41

THE SCHOOL STANDARD OF THE FEMALE EMPLOYEES AT ZEBEDIELA,
AND THEIR INTEREST IN NEWSPAPERS

READING OF NEWSPAPERS	SCHOOL STANDARD REACHED						TOTAL
	No School	Read & Write	Sub A - I	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Std. 6 - 8	
Never	87.80	66.67	-	66.67	50.00	100%	80.77
Sometimes	2.44	33.33	-	-	-	-	3.85
Regularly	-	-	-	33.33	-	-	1.92
When obtainable	2.44	-	100%	-	50.00	-	7.69
Other	7.32	-	-	-	-	-	5.77
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The radio seems to be a more popular medium than the newspaper through which to obtain news from the outside world. while the "never" category in the case of newspapers was 80.77%, it was only 19.23% with the radio.

TABLE 42

SCHOOL STANDARD REACHED BY WOMEN WORKERS COMPARED TO THEIR INTEREST IN RADIO NEWS							
LISTENING TO NEWS REPORTS	SCHOOL STANDARD						Total
	No school	Read & write	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Std. 6 - 8	
Never	21.95	-	-	-	50.00	-	19.23
Sometimes	2.95	-	-	33.33	-	-	19.23
Regularly	14.63	-	-	33.33	50.00	100.00	17.31
When possible	34.15	100.00	100.00	33.34	-	-	38.46
Other	7.32	-	-	-	-	-	5.77
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

From these figures (cf. table 42), it is clear that 75% of the women workers do hear news reports over the radio.

While dealing with the news media, it is of interest to know in what type of news (cf. table 43) these female workers are interested in.

The number of women interested in sports news, is 51.93%; 3.85% are interested in news about war, 5.77% in politics and 1.92% in United Nations news. While among the men there were more interested in church matters, we found that only 3.85% of the women workers are interested in it.

TABLE 43

THE SCHOOL STANDARD OF THE WOMEN WORKERS COMPARED TO THE TYPE OF NEWS THEY ARE INTERESTED IN							
TYPE OF NEWS	SCHOOL STANDARD						TOTAL
	No school	Read & write	Sub A - Std. 1	Std. 2 - 3	Std. 4 - 5	Std. 6 - 8	
Rugby	19.51	66.67	50.00	33.33	-	-	23.06
Soccer	29.27	-	-	33.33	50.00	100.00	28.85
War	2.44	-	-	33.34	-	-	3.85
Politics	4.88	33.33	-	-	-	-	5.77
United Nations	2.44	-	-	-	-	-	1.92
Church Matters	2.44	-	50.00	-	-	-	3.85
Everything	4.88	-	-	-	-	-	3.85
None	4.88	-	-	-	-	-	3.85
Other	29.26	-	-	-	50.00	-	25.00
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

3. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

The group of Bantu women working at Zebediela, is fairly homogenous (cf. p. 68), Many of them, however, are living in loose marital relationship with foreign migrant labourers. The reason is that Bantu custom finds it difficult to cope with situations where the family of the bridegroom is not available for direct negotiations.

The domestic relationships of the women workers differ. The single women working as farm labourers are 28.84% of the total female labour force; 51.92% are married, the rest being single at the time of questioning, with some children.

TABLE 44

THE DOMESTIC RELATIONSHIP OF THE WOMEN LABOURERS AT ZEBEDIELA	
RELATIONSHIP.	PERCENTAGE
Husband and wife	51.92
Divorced women with children	3.85
Unmarried women with own children	5.78
Unmarried women with adopted children	1.92
Widow with children	7.69
Not married	28.84
TOTAL	100.00%

In 19.22% of the cases, the woman had to work to support herself and her children. In these cases the women were divorced, widowed or unmarried.

Lobola was given only for the married women belonging to neighbouring groups (32.42%); 2.70% had combined it with either civil marriage by a commissioner or a religious ceremony. There was no recognized form of marriage (traditional, legal or religious) in 48.65% of the cases; 16.22% gave no indication of their position.

It was the opinion of 90.38% of all the women questioned, that lobola should be kept in use; 3.85% thought that it was only practical in the reserve. Lobola was refused by the families of 3.85% of these women. A balance of 1.92% was not classified.

In answer to the question about previous marital state, it was found that 62.16% of the women had not been married previously. A further 5.41% are divorced and 18.92% had been deserted. About the other 13.51% information was not available.

Of the total, 23.08% had one to four children before their present marriage.

In 21.62% of the sample, the husband and the wife sleep alone in one hut, while the children occupy the other huts as explained under "male employees". A further 27.03% declared that the parents and small children sleep together, leaving the kitchen and the third hut for the bigger children. In 27.03% of the cases the parents and all the children sleep together. With another 5.41%, the different sexes of the grown up occupants of the house, sleep separately in different huts, and in 16.22% the women workers live as boarders with other families or in the single quarters for labourers on the Estates. Another 2.70% was left unclassified.

The percentage of children in the families of the women workers is more or less the same as in the families of the male workers. There were 58.32% below ten years of age and 17.43% between eleven and sixteen years.

TABLE 45

THE AGE OF THE CHILD POPULATION IN THE FAMILIES OF THE WOMEN WORKERS AT ZEBEDIELA			
NUMBER OF FAMILIES	AGE OF CHILDREN	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
26	Under 6 years of age	29	21.96
28	Between 7 and 10 years	48	36.36
19	Between 11 and 16 years	23	17.43
13	Above 16 years	32	24.25
86	TOTALS	132	100.00

The figures show that there is an average of 1.53% children per family with the families of the women on the Zebediela Estates.

A large percentage of the children of women workers are not present with the families at Zebediela (cf. table 46).

TABLE 46

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DOMICILE OF THE CHILDREN OF WOMEN WORKERS IN 1969				
NUMBER of FAMILIES	NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES			
	Attending School at Zebediela	Sent Home	Left School	Total of Children
37	21	48	24	93
Percentage of children	22.58%	51.61%	25.81%	100.00%

The children still attending school at Zebediela (22.58%) are fewer in the case of the women workers, than in that of the men, who have 32.85% of their children at school.

A large percentage (64.86%) of the women seems indifferent to what their children become, while 18.93% would like them to become teachers and nurses; 8.11% typists and clerks; 2.70% to take any work in the city; 2.70% drivers and mechanics and 2.70% would like them to do any work at Zebediela. Indifference among the women (64.86%) is higher than men (52.63%).

Only the women workers married to Shona (100% of them), Pedi (65% of them), and Venda (100% of them) are interested in the origin of the marriage partner of their children, while those married to Malawian, Shangani and Tswana and 25% of the Pedi, do not mind; 28.57% did not express an opinion on this matter.

Those who do mind about the origin of their future inlaws, prefer people from their own language group.

Among the women workers also, there is a strong antipathy to extra marital sexual relations; 69.23% felt that it is wrong; 1.92% felt that it could do no harm; 1.92% saw it as a good practice; 17.31% did not mind, while 9.62% gave no answer to this question.

The views of the women workers about the children that result from such relations, correspond in general with the different attitudes above; 59.62% felt that such children are a disgrace upon the family, 13.46% found it important for a child that his father be known; 15.38% did not mind about such children; while 11.54% gave no opinion.

A large percentage (75.68%) of the married women workers agreed that compensation is usually called for where children are born out of wedlock, ranging from R10 to R40 with the emphasis on R20. Only 2.70% were not

aware of such compensation while 8.11% were uncertain and 13.41% gave no answer on this.

Children born out of wedlock to the unmarried girls of the family occurred in 16.21% of the families of the married women workers. Commentary was obtained from the married women workers about the effect of such children on the lobola. Some 43.24% denied that it affects the amount demanded for lobola, while 37.84% said that the lobola is affected by such births; 10.81% were uncertain, leaving 8.11% who gave no decision.

The impact of the traditional Bantu custom is still strong among the farm labourers, and especially among the women as they, being from the neighbourhood, still live in close contact with their families.

The views of the women differ slightly from those of the male labourers. It could be expected, as the women are largely people from the neighbouring groups. The Ndebele - redi group represents 88.46% of the total female labour force.

The information given by the female workers shows that in 9.62%, the "magadi" is decided upon by the clan; with 78.84% it is decided upon by the father of the bride or her family, while 9.62% said that the decision is made by the groom, his father or his family. Only 1.92% was not clear on this point.

Not only cattle is used as "magadi" but cash and even small stock, play a part (cf. table 47). Live stock plays a dominant part in lobola according to 71.16% of the female labourers at Zebediela, accompanied by cash in certain cases, but with 26.92% livestock is replaced

altogether by cash.

It was found that differences exist in the value of the marriage goods required. According to the figures in table 48, 40.38% of the women in the sample said that the value of the marriage goods is between R50 and R119. According to a further 40.38% it is about R120. These are the two main trends.

TABLE 47

THE FORM OF "MAGADI" USED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE (ZEBEDIELA) WOMEN WORKERS AT ZEBEDIELA ESTATES

Description of "Magadi"	PERCENTAGE IN EACH GROUP					Percentage in each category
	Ndebele	Pedi	Venda	Shangani	Tswana	
Cattle only	-	2.94	-	50%	-	5.77%
Cattle and money	25.00	11.76	-	-	-	13.46%
Cattle, money and small stock	41.67	58.82	100%	25%	-	51.93%
Money	33.33	23.54	-	125%	100%	26.92%
Other	-	2.94	-	-	-	1.92%
TOTAL	100.00%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100.00%

TABLE 48

THE VALUE OF THE MARRIAGE GOODS REQUIRED IN THE
DIFFERENT GROUPS PRESENT AMONG THE FEMALE LABOUR-
ERS AT ZEBEDIELA

Value of marriage goods	Percentage of workers in each group					Percentage of Total
	Ndebele	Pedi	Venda	Shangani	Tswana	
Uncertain	-	5.88	-	-	-	3.85
R20 - R40	-	2.94%	-	25.00	-	3.84
R50 - R119	33.33	44.12	100%	25.00	-	40.38
R120 and above	66.67	29.41	-	50.00	100.00	40.38
Other	-	17.65	-	-	-	11.55
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100.00%

Only 1.92% of the women workers were not initiated. According to 78.08%, the initiation ceremonies are intended to teach the girls the do's and don'ts of ancestor worship and how to act in courtship and marriage; therefore, the taboo's and etiquette of Bantu traditional life. There was 11.54% who said they are taught secret songs, which according to the opinion of the researcher are the medium through which the abovementioned knowledge is carried over. The remaining 8.46% would not give a clear indication about this matter.

Initiation schools are organized by different diviners. The diviners apply to the chief for permission to organize such a school. R10 is paid to the chief by

the successful diviner. A male diviner organized such a school during the winter vacation of 1970. It was held nearby a small village in the Zebediela homeland, called Mamogwasha.

I saw the group of 400 girls attending, twice, crossing the main road with bundles of firewood. They wore only a piece of white material around the waist. They must have been before or in the very early stage of puberty.

According to an informant, the parents have to pay R3 per girl attending, and have to provide a bag of mealie meal as well. The expenses of the school are covered hereby, and the rest is the possession of the diviner.

Girls from the area under chief Kekana, the Zebediela Estates and the surrounding farms attend these initiation schools.

The cult of the shades is practised by 63.47% of the female labourers employed on the Zebediela Estates; 30.77% do not take part in such practices, while information about the other 5.76% is not available.

With 3.85% of these female labourers, it is the practice to leave the matter sacrificed at any spot in the veld, while by 15.38% it is poured out or left at the grave of the ancestor; 44.23% leave it or pour it out at the family's place of worship, while 1.92% indicated that various of these methods could be engaged. The other 34.62% could not give information about this.

The diviner is consulted when necessary by 55.76% of the women workers at Zebediela; 36.55% have no contact with him, while the remaining 7.69% gave no reply to this. The main reasons given for such consultation of the diviner, are success in connection with work, illness and accidents and when bewitched. A very small percentage

indicated that they consult the diviner also in connection with dreams.

There is regular social contact of the female workers at Zebediela with their people elsewhere in this area. Although in some cases the contact with the people at the other places mentioned in table 49, is irregular, it can be said that 69.23% of the women workers have contact with their people on nearby farms; 72.07% have contact with those in the reserve and 67.30% with their relatives in the nearby towns.

TABLE 49

COMMUNICATION WITH RELATIVES AND FRIENDS ON NEARBY FARMS,
IN THE RESERVE AND TOWNS

Communi- cation	People on nearby farms	People in nearby reserves	People in nearby towns
Often	23.08	23.08	17.30
Sometimes	25.00	30.77	23.08
Irregularly	21.15	19.22	26.92
Never	25.00	23.08	28.85
Other	5.77	3.85	3.85
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00

4. CHURCH- AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

An analysis of the denominations to which the women workers belong, was given in table 40. It was found that the Zionist movement is the strongest among the women workers at Zebediela with 7.67%, the Dutch Reformed Church with 5.77%, 5.85% each for the Presbyterian - Methodist, the Anglican - Roman Catholic and Apostolic groups. The Lutheran Church is followed by 1.93%, Seventy three percent of the women labourers are without any church relationship.

Among the female workers belonging to a church, it was found that 50% have been church members for less than 5 years; 7.14% for between 6 and 10 years; 21.43% have been members for between 11 and 20 years, while 21.43% have longer membership.

Of the 50% with membership of less than 5 years, 42.88% belong to the Zionist movement; four other recognized churches having 14.28% each. This shows a dramatic advance made by the Zionist movement in the recent past.

Concerning the church attendance, 73.08% of the women workers said that they never attend church meetings, 5.77% attend sometimes; 11.54% attend regularly, leaving an unclassified group of 9.62%.

Seven percent of the women workers are church members, and contribute between 50c and 99c per year to church funds, while 21.43% contribute between R1 and R3, leaving 71.43% that do not give any financial support to their churches.

5. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE WOMEN WORKERS

Most of the women workers (82.70%) were clear about the fact that they are satisfied with the working conditions at Zebediela; 9.61% were not satisfied with matters such as the behaviour of foremen and supervisors, and wages. A balance of 7.66% did not express their feelings. It is important to note that only 1.92% expressed their dissatisfaction with the wages. Together with this, is an enlightening fact that only 3.84% of these workers had a desire to go to the city or large town. There is therefore an acceptance of their present economic situation.

From other information available it is legitimate to conclude that the cash income of at least 75% of the women workers amounts to R94.80c per annum. To this should be added the income in natura of R90.00 per year.³²⁾ This means a total yearly income of R184.00, not including the value of housing.

The total family income depends upon whether the husband and/or some of the grown up children also receive an income. There are, however, seldom members of the family other than the husband and wife earning.

32) The figure given as income in natura is the average for all the workers, spent by the Estate for the provision of feeding, medical and social care.

TABLE 50

THE CASH INCOME IN 1969 OF THE WOMEN WORKERS, ACCORDING TO THEMSELVES	
ANNUAL INCOME IN RAND	PERCENTAGE
90 - 150	80.88
151 - 250	1.92
251 - 500	1.92
No information	15.28
TOTAL	100.00

According to the information given earlier, the average annual income of the men can be taken as R221.04 in cash and kind (cf. p. 13). The total income of a family where both husband and wife are full time workers will be R405.84 in cash and kind. This does not include the value of housing.

During December, 1969 the women working in the orchards earned an average of 30.297c per shift. For a month of 25 shifts this amounts to R7.57. A few senior women workers on the permanent staff in the pack-house earned 61.28c per shift (R15.32 per month) and the nurse (and matron for seasonal workers) R1.36 per shift (R34.00 per month).

As with the men, the increases are given according to a worker's merits. The salary of the worker therefore depends not solely on his/her qualifications, skills

or years of service, but what the worker's services are worth to the Estate.

The women working in the orchards are, taken on the average, paid less than the seasonal workers in the packhouse. This is due to the fact that the women in the packhouse are paid at factory rate, while those in the orchards are paid as ordinary labourers.

The women workers keep their monthly wages and use the money as needed. This is the case with 82.69%. Saving of money in a bank or post office occurs among 9.62% and 1.92% send their money home. The other 5.77% did not give a clear answer.

It is also important to note here how these workers spend their money. It was said by 36.54% that they use the money mainly to buy new clothes; 48.08% use it for more food; 5.77% for the school needs of their children; 1.92% for beer drinking; while 7.69% declared that they spend their money on most of the things mentioned above. The emphasis therefore falls on more food and new clothes (cf. p. 64).

CHAPTER IVSEASONAL LABOUR1. WOMEN WORKERS IN THE PACKHOUSE

From the time orange packing at the Zebediela Estates began in 1926 until 1953, European girls were engaged in the packhouse as seasonal workers. By 1935, 525 girls were employed annually. During the depression years of the 1930's when people were in great need of money, the number needed was available, but after the second world war it was no longer possible to find such a large group of European packers and graders. This made it necessary to consider a switch over to Bantu girls.

During the depression years, the church, being interested in welfare work, was approached as a channel for the recruitment of European packers. These workers, being different in religious and social background, caused much trouble. Problems such as drunkenness, fighting and extra marital sexual relations developed. This created many problems for the management. An improvement of this situation was achieved by arranging to minister to the spiritual needs of the workers, and by discharging those girls who were difficult to cope with.

When it became clear by 1946 that there was a decline in the supply of European labour to such an extent that it was felt in the efficiency of the packhouse, the directorate decided in favour of a change over to Bantu girls as packers and graders in the packhouse. Therefore it was decided that during the off season (between the navel and valencia seasons) of 1953 the change be effected.

With the change to Bantu staff for the packhouse, the European staff concerned were called together and the change explained and discussed. A European lady was appointed and given the task of seeing to the training of the 500 Bantu girls who were to be employed. Out-of-season oranges were used in the practice. They gained efficiency during that time and, by the beginning of the valencia season of 1953, were ready to take over.

The recruitment of these girls was done through the different headmen of the neighbouring Bantu homelands. After attendance of the tribal initiation school, the Pedi and Ndebele girls used to remain under the supervision of a chaperone (Mogadi) until marriage. The group of girls in the care of such a "Mogadi" formed an educational unit, much like a youth club, where they were taught housekeeping, the rites and the history of the group. These groups would also go out for work together. Through the co-operation of the headmen, the services of such groups were obtained for work in the packhouse. During the season, when they stayed in the small village composed of three-hut units (dilapa), each group was under the supervision of their own "Mogadi" (chaperone). She cooked and cared for them, and was responsible for their conduct to the headmen. This initially eliminated many of the problems in connection with supervision which existed previously.

As time proceeded, these natural groups of Bantu girls disintegrated as some of the girls got married, and although no longer under the supervision of a "Mogadi", they continued to work in the packhouse during the following seasons. Therefore the practice of noti-

fyng the headmen about labour needs in the packhouse was discontinued. At present a verbal notice is spread among bypassers of the date on which packing staff will be engaged. Usually more than enough workers appear on the day of engagement.

The workers from the different areas group together in different living units, as they are "not comfortable with strangers".³³⁾ The units (dilapa), each consist of four huts, with thatched roofs, of which one is used as a kitchen. In this cluster of huts, joined together with a low ring wall in traditional style, the workers occupy the different huts of the "lapa" in age groups. About 20% of the female packing staff live near enough to sleep at home every night.

Thirty cooks are appointed to be responsible for the housekeeping of the different living units. Three additional cooks care for the needs of those who come daily from their homes. These cooks are drawn from the women who live with their families on the Estates. They are usually elderly women, and have to stay with the group for which they are responsible. They have to do everything in connection with the housekeeping, including cooking, fetching water, tidying, etc., except washing, which each worker does for herself. The workers receive a piece of sunlight soap every weekend for this purpose.

The information, gained from the sample, shows that the largest portion of the packhouse staff, 79%, is drawn from the neighbouring Bantu homeland; while 5% come from families on the Estates, and 16% from other farms, towns

33) According to "Nurse Rose", the Matron at packhouse compo^{und}.

and reserves in the Transvaal. Thus the seasonal packing staff at the Zebediela Estates, is drawn from the neighbourhood. Most of the women seasonal workers are single. Of those engaged in the packhouse during the 1970 valencia season, 24% were married, 67% were not married and 9% widowed.

One-third of the married workers' husbands also were engaged on the Estates, one-third were employed elsewhere while the remaining third were unemployed.

It is clear then that 84% of these women seasonal workers are dependent on their income during the packing season.

Most of these workers belong to the Ndebele (58%) and Pedi (25%) groups. 13% are of Shangani origin, 1% Zulu, 2% Shona and 1% Venda. Considering these figures it becomes clear that this group of workers is fairly homogeneous, eliminating to a large extent the problems of a heterogeneous community. The ties with the group at home still are strong.

The answers on language reveal that 66% of this group speak Northern Sotho, 19% Ndebele and 14% Tsonga. Zulu, Shona and Venda are spoken by 1% each.

It is interesting to note that although 58% of the workers in question belong to the Ndebele group, this language is spoken by only 19% of the workers. It follows then that 67.24% of the Ndebele women seasonal workers adopted Northern Sotho as their regular language; 50% of the Shona did the same. However, this did not happen at all in the case of the Shangani.

None of the sample of women engaged in the packhouse on the Estates during the 1970 valencia season had reached

a higher school standard than standard six, while 44% did not receive any schooling at all.

TABLE 51

SCHOOL STANDARD PASSED BY THE WOMEN ENGAGED IN THE PACKHOUSE ON THE ZEBEDIELA ESTATES DURING THE 1970 VALENCIA SEASON	
STANDARD	PERCENTAGE
None	44
A	1
B	3
1	5
2	13
3	7
4	12
5	6
6	9
TOTAL	100

It is furthermore seen from the schedule that 47% received a school education of between standards two and six; 9% went through kindergarten, while the rest received no schooling.

In 16% of the cases, these women seasonal workers have a co-bread-winner in a salaried husband. This is the case, as 67% are not married, 9% are widowed and the husbands of a third of those that are married, are not in

paid employment.

We must therefore conclude that in 84% of the sample, the seasonal work at the Estates is their sole source of cash income. Some do have gardens at home, but for a number of years now no income was received from this source as a result of prevailing droughts.

Wages in the packhouse differ according to the work done. Graders and packers for instance, are paid as factory workers. During the 1970 season they worked 130 shifts, at an average of 35.488 cents per shift of eight hours, which means a total income of R46.15c in cash for the season. To this, payment in kind should be added which amounts to R39.00 ³⁴⁾ - a total income therefore of R85.15 for a season of five months, from May to September. The value of housing is not included.

In the case of 8%, this yearly income is supplemented by R221.04 ³⁵⁾ which are the wages of the husband, in cash and kind for the year as farm labourer, A total family income therefore of R306.19 per year.

The incomes of the husbands of the remaining 8% are not known.

That the women in the packhouse earn more than the men working there, is due to the fact that most of the men are junior handymen, while the women are, in most of the cases semi-skilled factory workers, having rendered a number of years of satisfactory service.

There is a tendency among the workers to save the money earned during the season. Only 4% declared that they use all the money they earn while they are at work.

34) Cf. p. 12

35) Cf. p. 13

Twenty two percent use part of the money and keep the rest for their needs later in the year; 34% said that they save everything they earn, while 40% declared that they buy, during the season, all they need for the rest of the year.

A large proportion of the sample had no affiliation with a recognized protestant church. Only 20% are associated with such a church, while 18% are associated with separatist churches. The balance of 62% have no church association.

The group belonging to the protestant churches is divided into 5% Dutch Reformed, 10% Methodist, 1% Anglican and 7% Lutheran. Of the 18% belonging to separatist churches, 15% are members of the Zionist and Apostolic groups and 3% is associated with other groups.

This analysis gives an idea of the standing of the different churches among the Bantu population of the neighbourhood.

The church attendance of these female seasonal workers is as follows: 28% attend regularly, 8% attend seldom, and 64% do not attend church meetings. Six percent of the seasonal women workers did not attend a traditional initiation school, while 94% did. Of the 6% in 1970, who did not attend such an initiation school, 1% were of Zulu origin with no church association, 2% were from "somewhere else" in the Transvaal - half of these being associated with the Anglican Church and the other half having no church affiliation at all. The remaining 3% came from the Zebediela homeland, being members of the Methodist Church.

Of the female seasonal workers 17% bore children conceived in extra marital sexual relations, at Zebediela during the packing season. Among the group

of which this is true, 52.9% said that it happened once, 11.6% twice, and 23.9% had three children. To 11.6% it happened four times. Considering that 25% had been at Zebediela for the first season when questioned, it follows that 58% of the group had worked here before, without any children resulting.

Most of the seasonal workers come for work regularly. Sixty percent declared that they come yearly, while 15% come when they have no small children.

Of the group questioned, 25% came this season for the first time.

There may be a corresponding factor in that 60% comes for work yearly, and 58% declared that they did not have children resulting from extra marital sexual relations at the Estate in the past. However, it is clear that 75% return for seasonal work as regularly as possible.

2. MEN WORKERS IN THE PACKHOUSE

In this department, the packhouse, the shortage of male labour is felt less than in the orchards. An instance which occurred recently, demonstrates this fact. The Estates needed 250 workers for the orchards. When visiting the office of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in connection with a permit to recruit people from Swaziland, the recruiting officer found 500 Bantu men at this office, awaiting permits for work on the Rand. At the suggestion of the Commissioner, the opportunities for work at the Estates were stated to these men. None of them, however, was willing to come to Zebediela for farm work.

The applicants for work at the packhouse, every season, usually exceed the need. Unfortunately they are mainly young inexperienced workers, who come for one season only before going to the cities.

As in the case of the women seasonal workers, the majority of this group (88.22%) come from the nearby reserves. While 5% of the women come from the Estates, only 2.95% of the men do. The 8.83% men from "elsewhere in the Transvaal" is also much less than the 16% in the case of the women.

About two thirds (67.67%) of the male seasonal workers employed on the Zebediela Estates during the 1970 valencia season, were unmarried men. The balance (32.33%) were married. All the married workers had their wives with them, and 36.36% of the wives were employed on the Estates.

As the Ndebele are dominant in the neighbourhood of the Estates, one would have expected that this would be the case also with the male seasonal workers. It is so with the women seasonal workers. The research work shows a different pattern. Of the male seasonal workers 47.05% are Pedi, 35.29% Ndebele, 8.83% Shangani and 8.83% Venda. The Ndebele men seasonal workers are 10% less than the women of the same group, and the Pedi men 10% more than the Pedi women. The 3% Shangani men are 10% less than the 13% Shangani women seasonal workers.

Although 35.29% of this group of workers are Ndebele, only 2.94% of the total use the Ndebele language. The other adopted Northern Sotho as their regular language.

With the men in this category, the standard of education is higher than in the case of women. Of the sample 5.88% had passed either Std.7 of Std. 8, while 41.18%

41.8% received no schooling. In the case of the women seasonal workers there were 44% without any school education. The 47.06% who passed a standard between two and six, correspond with the 47% of the women workers. Of the men 5.88% did not reach Std. 2. While only 9% of the women passed Std. 6, 20.59% of the men obtained this standard.

TABLE 52

SCHOOL STANDARD PASSED BY THE MEN SEASONAL WORKERS EMPLOYED IN THE PACKHOUSE DURING THE 1970 VALENCIA SEASON		
STANDARD	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
B	2	5.88
2	1	2.94
3	2	5.88
4	4	11.77
5	2	5.88
6	7	20.59
7	1	2.94
8	1	2.94
No schooling	14	41.18
TOTAL	34	100.00

An average of 30c per shift of eight hours is earned by the workers of this group. The number of shifts worked for the 1970 season averaged 130 per man extended over 5 months. That gives a cash income of R39.00 for the season. To this should be added R36.00 for payment in

kind (cf. p. 12) received from the Estate, which brings the total income to an average of R78.00 for the season. Four percent also had a wife on the Estate earning a wage as a seasonal worker, giving a total family income therefore of R163.15 per season.

Increases are given when recommended by the head of the department. As the management is anxious to keep and inspire reliable workers, increases as high as 10c per shift might be given.

Among the men, a larger percentage than with women, spend all the money earned while still at work. The male workers inclined to do this, account for 29.40%, compared to the 4% of the women doing the same. There are 38.23% that save all they earn, while 17.66% buy during the season all they need for the rest of the year; 14.71% compromise by spending part on their immediate needs, while retaining some for use during the rest of the year.

The majority of the workers (70.58%) have no official contact with a church. Nearly fifteen percent belong to a recognized Protestant church, 5.88% are Roman Catholic, and 8.83% are associated with a Zionist group. Eight and a half percent (70.58%) more than women workers (62%) have no church affiliation. This confirms the impression among missionaries that women incline more to church membership than men.

In connection with church attendance, the men differ largely from the women. Those among the men who attend church regularly are 11.75% (women 28%), those who said that they attend seldom are 8.83%; 79.42% (women 64%) therefore are not church goers.

The whole group of male seasonal workers attended the initiation school. It is certain that the 67.85%,

who originate from the neighbourhood, attended the initiation school in the vicinity (cf. p. 47).

As there is no hindering factor with the men as with the women, they are able to return annually for work. With the women it was found that 60% does return yearly, while 15% of them returned when they had no small babies to care for. That means that 75% came as regularly as possible. The percentage among the men in the pack-house is much the same, as 73.53% declared that they returned regularly. In 1970, 26.47% of the male force were engaged for the first time.

In the past few years it was found that it is becoming more difficult to find senior and reliable men that are prepared to do seasonal work only. The more senior workers, such as clerks, foremen, and other reliable labourers, are kept in service during the off season to do maintenance and other necessary work. Some also are transferred temporarily to other departments.

CHAPTER VCONCLUSION

The research for this thesis indicated that, despite deficiencies in the labour situation on the Zebediela Estates through the years, conditions were created by sympathetic management of the labour force, that have resulted in a more or less permanent and satisfied body of workers with a high percentage of efficiency. It also became clear, however, that an employer should never become self assured about his situation, but that through a progressive research programme, he should keep his finger on the pulse of his labour force to prevent a lag of some kind developing. It is necessary for the employer not only to care for the material welfare of his workers, but also to provide for their spiritual and social needs.

The proper adjustment of the labourers depend to a large extent on their spiritual adjustment, supplemented by reasonable wages, proper housing, health care, and a sympathetic understanding of their needs. The time and money spent on these aspects, are returned to the employer in the form of a satisfied and productive labour force that is necessary for the well-being of the whole organization.

A further important fact is that a certain amount of flexibility in labour policy is necessary. The Zebediela Estate revealed such a flexibility. Therefore certain adjustments could be made in time to prevent labour disaster. When it became clear that difficulties would develop in obtaining European packing staff, the Estate

switched to Bantu graders and packers. The same is happening at present where women workers are taking the place of men workers in cultivating and irrigating the orchards.

It was found that the traditional rites of the people are still an important factor in the lives and society of the workers at Zebediela. This could be seen from the fact that about 86% of the men and 98.08% of the women attended initiation schools. People sometimes find it difficult to adjust their custom to the demands of changed conditions. This happened for instance when the local Bantu groups found it difficult to adjust their marriage custom to cope with situations which traditionally were not familiar to them. There are the different steps to be taken by certain people in the process of legalising a Bantu marriage. When a foreign man wishes to marry a local girl, the parties concerned were confronted by differences in the marriage customs of the groups to which they belonged while the people, who usually act as go-betweens in a marriage, were not available. In such cases, it would seem that, as new customs had not been formed yet, there was a tendency to ignore the problems. In connection with the lobola system for instance, the family of a local girl usually refuses to accept lobola from a foreign man, which results in the cohabitation of the partners in a loose association with unfortunate results. As Mabudafazi pointed out, even where in some cases lobola is accepted by the family of the women, it is not really recognized as lobola, but as a means of making it public that the "marriage" partners are cohabiting. The children resulting from these loose associations are mostly grouped with people of their mother, and carry her maiden name.

In connection with these "mixed" marriages, it is interesting to note that usually women with previous marriages were willing to cohabit with foreign men. Apparently unmarried young women prefer not to be associated with these men in marriage. As local custom does not permit a woman to be married twice, this might also be a reason why these associations between local women and foreign men are not legalized by lobola.

It is apparent that the diviner still plays an important role in the life of the farm labourers and their families, indirectly, as the central figure in organizing the initiation ceremonies. In connection with health and other problems, the diviner is consulted also. Nearly sixty two percent of the local workers admitted consulting the diviner when necessary. In the case of sickness he may be consulted before, or while, medical treatment is received. In this era of advancing medical science, he often advises people to resort to hospital care and, in critical cases, even may provide the transport. For this advice he is paid. This new role is part of the changing cultural pattern, and shows a degree of adaptability on his side.

The cult of the shades is practised by 65.74% of the men workers. These adherents of this cult are mainly local people within reach of their traditional home. Of the foreign workers, only a very low percentage still practise the cult. The reason why the local people continue this practice, while it is not practised by people from afar, is that this cult usually has a local character. The sacrifices in most cases are brought to the family's place of worship, or the grave of an ancestor. When people are far removed from their family's abode and the

locality associated with the ancestors, the cult is, to a large extent no longer observed.

There seems to be a rather liberal attitude towards extra marital sex relations among the workers. These experiences play a role in the courting pattern of young people on the Estate (34.23%). Although this seems to be licensed by public opinion, there is a feeling against children born out of wedlock. Only 25.35% of the men workers do not mind about such occurrences.

The educational level of the women working on the Estate is low. There are a few exceptions. Only 15.39% of them received any formal school training. These are mostly people employed in recent years, which shows an improvement in the standard of education. As could be expected, there is more interest in world affairs in the higher educated workers, than with those with a poor education. The men have a tendency to read newspapers also, but women listen to news broadcasts only. The interest in political news is not limited to any specific educational group. Men usually are married to women of lower qualifications than their own.

There is a noticeable degree of interaction between the farm labourers on Zebediela and people from both other private farms and the reserve. This interaction occurs on the levels of family relations, the cult of the shades, and initiation ceremonies, and is a factor in certain cultural changes in the customs of both local and foreign workers, for instance, in marriage customs.

The traditional customs and habits are not always maintained in a developing society. This is seen in the case where the wholesome unrefined mealie meal was intro-

duced in the free feeding programme of the farm labourers. Although this food had a traditional and a health basis, the refined product was preferred by the workers, and therefore bought by them at the local stores. The fall in the sale of refined mealie meal at the local store after it was introduced in the rations issued by the Estate, is proof of this fact.

That the subsidized church at Zebediela has the largest number of adherents among the workers, seems to point to the fact that where more intensive religious work is done by a certain body, this work is met with a certain amount of success. The percentage of workers belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church, the subsidized body, is far higher than those belonging to other churches. All the churches have most of the adherents in the higher educational categories. However, the members of the Zionist, Apostolic and Mohammedan societies are of a lower educational level. There seems to be a group of workers, willing to be enlisted as church members, that so far have been neglected.

Generally speaking, the management of the Estate appears to have succeeded in creating, to a certain extent, agreeable working conditions for their labour force. This statement may be misleading, because of the conservative nature of the present body of workers. A certain type of worker, that could be accommodated in the labour force, is not interested in farm work, probably for the reason that so much work and higher salaries are available in the big, easily accessible centres.

The wages in cash and kind improved during the half of the century. According to the figures available there was an increase of wages in cash and kind of R53.9

between 1918 and 1938, but there was a fall between 1938 and 1969.

A fact that impressed the researcher is that a considerable decrease of foreign migrant labour occurred at the Estate. This is seen from the increase of local Bantu workers from 29.89% in 1949 to 61.70% in 1969. It must be seen as caused by the development of the northern neighbouring countries and restrictions on immigrants.



1. Living quarters for labourers - Zebediela Estates

2. A farm labourer at Zebediela with his family.





3. A labourer performing household duties at home.

4. Curing morógó - a vegetable relish.





5. A woman labourer in the orchard.



6. An aged worker at his home.



7. Communal showers



8. Clinic and staff at Zebediela.

9. After work.



(THE STAR - 14 MAY 1968)

FAMILY MEN.

A practical experiment has proved what most people have always known - that a sound family life is of the utmost importance to happy labour relations and that an African living with his family is as valuable as five single men.

The Mission Secretary of the Southern Transvaal Synod of the "Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk" tells of the experiment in a recent D.R.C. newsletter. A large citrus estate which had previously had a tremendous labour turnover and trouble with strikes and clashes, substituted a missionary for a compound manager, provided homes and gardens for married employees, a school, a hospital and shops. Soon 1,800 workers were doing more than the previous 4,000, tensions faded and recruiting became unnecessary. Many moral, intellectual and domestic improvements were also noted.

The obvious conclusion is that the feeling of security produced by the care of the employer for his workers enabled them to realize their abilities and their own innate longing for a place in the scheme of things.

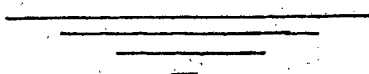
How different everything is in the sprawling areas around our cities. Influx control has the effect of breaking up families, segregating men and women, providing a labour force that has no meaningful existence. The urban African is completely confused and uprooted. He may not own a home, he has difficulty in finding a wife, his chances of rearing a happy family are remote. He has no stake in the future and therefore little in love and order of the firm for whom he works. He is given insecurity and anxiety when he could be given faith and hope. He is forced to be an alien when he could be welcomed as an ally.

RESULTS

Dr. Badenhorst also said that the experiment showed that:

- 1. A normal and sound family life is of the utmost importance for high labour efficiency;
- 2. A Christianized and educated African is economically a greater asset than an illiterate non-Christian;
- 3. The feeling of security produced by the care of the employer for his employees enables workers to realize their potentialities.

The experiment also showed that the Churches, through their mission work, should have an integral share in the development of the non-White, according to Dr. Badenhorst.



(THE STAR - 13 MAY 1968)

A MARRIED MAN "WORTH FIVE SINGLE MEN"

An African living with his family is as valuable as five single men.

This is one of the conclusions reached by Dr. P.J. Quin, general manager of the Zebediela citrus estates, near Potgietersrus, following an experiment there which began in 1949.

The experiment is noted by the South African Institute of Race Relations in an information sheet.

Prior to 1949, there had been serious labour problems on the estates with a very high turnover of labour. Up to 55 per cent of the workers were leaving annually.

Dr. Quin then substituted a missionary for his compound manager and appointed African evangelists as his assistants. He insisted they be concerned with social matters and maintenance of African cultural values as well as instruction in the Christian religion.

He provided educational facilities and encouraged his employees to use the mission hospital and clinical services.

HOUSES

He established a co-operative general dealer's shop and a butchery and he built African style houses for his married employees with land for growing vegetables.

Results showed that the current 1,800 workers were achieving more than the previous 3,500. Absenteeism dropped to less than three percent each week.

Recruitment was no longer necessary as the workers came on their own, and came to stay. Assaults and strikes ceased. The employees' mortality rate dropped and they were able, through the co-operative, to reduce their cost of living. The experiment was noted by Dr. C.H. Badenhorst in a publication entitled, "Christian Missions". Dr. Badenhorst, Secretary for Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church, Southern Transvaal, noted that Dr. Quin had demonstrated in miniature what could be done on a national scale.

Addendum 2

Consolidated Citrus Estates Ltd.,
 Zebediela Estates.
 22 October 1969.

Bantu Rations

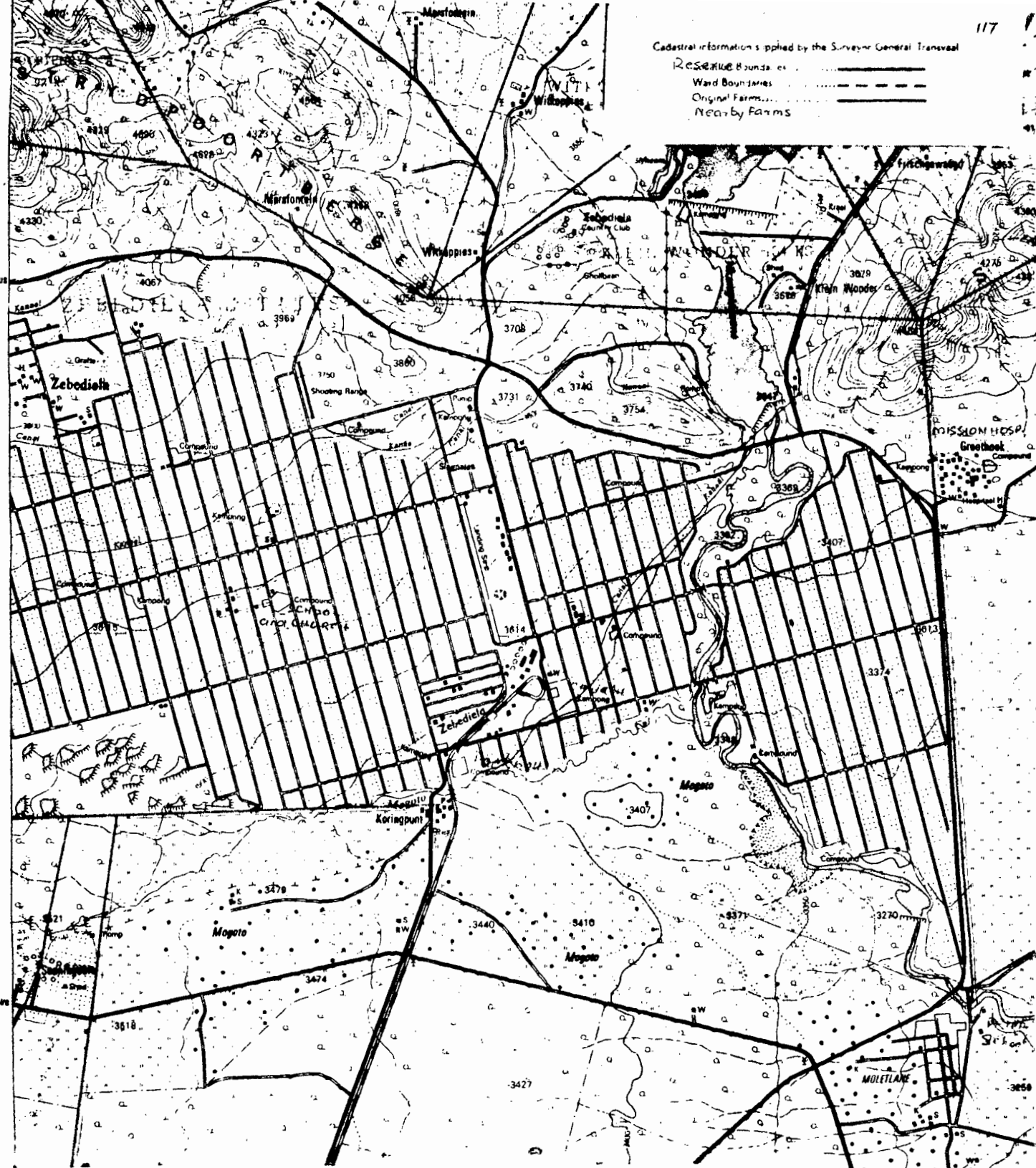
Rations issued on the Estates consist of the following:

<u>Mealie Meal:</u>	<u>Amount per Worker</u>
Married workers	3 lbs. per day
Single workers	2 lbs. per day
Approximate average per worker	2½lbs. per day
<u>Meat:</u>	
Per worker	2 lbs. per week
<u>Fish:</u>	
Per worker (Approximate weight per worker)	1½lbs. per week
<u>Beans:</u>	
Married male	1 lb. per week
Single	2 ozs. per day
<u>Cost:</u>	
Mealie Meal	R3.83½ per 180 lb. bag 2.130 cents per lb.
Meat	22.097 cents per lb.
Fish (avr. cost)	10.25 cents per lb.
Beans	R5.80 per 200 lb. bag 2.900 cents per lb.
<u>Cost per day:</u>	
Mealie meal	5.325 cents
Meat	6.313 "
Fish	1.830 "
Beans	.414 " (Beans based on 1 lb. per worker per week)
	<u>13.882</u>

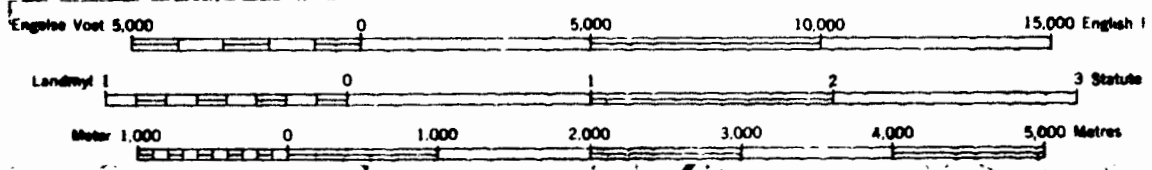
Compound Manager.

Cadastral information supplied by the Surveyor General Transvaal

- Reservé Boundaries
- Ward Boundaries
- Original Farms
- Nearby Farms



1:50,000



3230

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AVERAGE EARNINGS PER SHIFT FOR JUNE 1969.

Department	Shifts Worked	MALE			FEMALE			TOTAL	
		Earnings	Average rate in cents	Shifts Worked	Earnings	Average rate in cents	Shifts Worked	Earnings	Average rate in cents
Nursery	499	204.04	40.889				499	204.04	40.889
Section 1	2540	977.30	38.476	526	140.74	26.756	3066	1118.04	36.465
2	2151	834.47	38.794	920	249.13	27.079	3071	1083.60	35.284
3A	1694	611.81	36.116	898	242.50	27.004	2592	854.31	32.959
B	1630	558.70	34.276	596	160.94	27.003	2226	719.64	32.328
4	1769	659.99	37.308	483	130.66	27.051	2252	790.65	35.108
6	2007	783.16	39.021	704	190.08	27.000	2711	973.24	35.899
7a	1604	637.33	39.733	481	129.87	27.000	2085	767.20	36.796
B	1074	400.56	37.296	972	262.44	27.000	2046	663.00	32.404
8A	1594	619.13	38.841	1005	271.35	27.000	2599	890.48	34.262
B	1541	580.29	37.656	801	216.27	27.000	2342	796.56	34.011
9A	2400	863.56	35.981	1145	310.02	27.075	3545	1173.58	33.105
B	1448	480.55	33.187	870	235.91	27.116	2318	716.46	30.908
10	2036	713.54	35.046	1175	317.91	27.056	3211	1031.45	32.122
11	1394	499.59	35.838	1514	411.45	27.176	2908	911.04	31.328
12	1732	634.57	36.637	1201	326.14	27.155	2933	960.71	32.755
Est. Office	137	82.85	60.474				137	82.85	60.474
Stores	490	199.56	40.726				490	199.56	40.726
NTO	288	259.49	90.010				288	259.49	90.010
Centre	256	131.73	51.457	59	19.23	32.593	315	150.96	47.923
PH. Comp.	710	342.58	48.250	275	158.25	57.545	985	500.83	50.845
H. Lab.	496	372.76	75.153				496	372.76	75.153
Packhouse	1325	659.59	49.780	55	49.30	89.636	1380	708.89	51.368
Pro Prot	727	250.68	34.481				727	250.68	34.481
P.H. Mech.	909	361.04	39.718				909	361.04	39.718
Workshops	431	217.00	50.348				431	217.00	50.348
PC. Shop	307	185.44	60.403				307	185.44	60.403
Overhaul	1143	610.09	53.376				1143	610.09	53.376
Electrical	128	57.60	45.000				128	57.60	45.000
Works	2257	1015.71	45.002				2257	1015.71	45.002
Dairy & Slaughtery	568	265.59	46.758				568	265.59	46.758
Insectary	149	58.89	39.523				149	58.89	39.523
Total	37434	15129.19	40.415	13680	2833.19	27.939	51114	18951.38	37.076

ZEBEDIELA ESTATES.

LABOUR CONTROL

Name:.....known as.....Z.E.No.....
 Birth date.....Place.....District.....
 Country.....Present address
 District.....
 Married/Single.....Wife/Husband.....
 Father.....Chief.....
 Tribe.....Induna.....
 Beneficiary.....

Z.E. No.							
Date engaged:							
Contract:							
Dis/Des/Dec							

Ref. Book No:Issued at:.....Date.....
 Old tax No.
 Last tax rec. No.....Issued at:.....Date:.....
 If foreign, date of arr.T.P.Place.....
 DateDetails of Union Tax - No.....
 Place.....Date.....Port Passport details.....



Addendum 8

GROOTHOEK MED. GEFREED. SENDINGHOSPITAAL.
(Van die N.G. Kerk van Transvaal)

Spoorwegadres:
Zebediela Stasie

P.K. Koringpunt.

Telefoon:
Zebediela. 22.

Noord-Transvaal.

7 Oktober 1970.

Telegramme:
P.K. Koringpunt

Verw. Nr.

CONSOLIDATED CITRUS ESTATES PASIËNTE TE GROOTHOEK
SENDING HOSPITAAL VIR DIE WEEK GE-EÏNDIG 2 OKTOBER 1970.

DATUM	NAAM VAN PASIËNT	SIEKTE	Nr.	O/Nr
		<u>Pakhuis</u>		
28/9	Josias Seshoka	hoofbesering	5571	1821
	Sina Motsepe	pellagra	-	K.3781
	Leslie Maroke	tandverrotting	-	1292
	Johannes Leolo	bilharzia	-	361
	Lucky Maesela	leukemie	5639	co-op
30/9	Chriphus Legoabe	epilepsie	5645	9560
	John Magotlane	borspyn	-	447
1/10	Agnes Molatjane	Angsneurose	-	V.1464
	Frans Motsepe	kwashiokor	-	K.1068
	Hilda Mphahlele	borspyn	-	V.1105

2/.....

Addendum 8

Datum	Naam van pasiënt	Siekte	Nr.	O/Nr.
2/10	Dorica Mabuso	tandverrotting -		V2393
3/10	Dorcas Mabuso	tandverrotting-		V2393
<u>Seksie 1.</u>				
30/9	Kelebogile Matlala	rugpyn	-	V1258
<u>Seksie 2.</u>				
5/10	Sara Phiri	Parathion vergiftiging	5788	0556
	Thelma Phofu	masels	5801	K.516
	Rosina Nyoni	swanger	-	V.1022
6/10	Lina Kekana	impetigo	-	K.646
	Joseph Monyela	septiese wond L. knie	5840	K.3349
<u>Seksie 3A</u>				
28/9	Alfred Kwekwele	roetiense mediese ondersoek	-	762
	Jan Leputu	tandverrotting	-	846
<u>Seksie 3B</u>				
28/9	Sophie Kekana	borspyn	-	V.1282
30/9	Syrup Makgaleng	hoes	-	976
<u>Seksie 6</u>				
1/10	Isaac Chuene	Broncho- pneumonie	-	K.363
	Lipson Ntsoane	Lintwurm	-	148
2/10	Powder Mwandza	Cystitis	-	K.1449

3/.....

Addendum 8

Datum	Naam van pasiënt	Siekte	Nr.	O/Nr.
<u>Seksie 7A</u>				
30/9	Albert Maroke	Kwashiorkor	5683	K.0871
<u>SEKSIE 7B</u>				
28/9	Mavis Madigoe Phudufudu Mamosebo	Hoofpyn Gastro- enteritis	- 5582	0138 K.0805
	Rantobeng Mangoale	Voorgeboorte- like ondersoek	-	0263
1/10	Elaton Agondo	Vreemde voorwerp in oog	5682	740
	Rahab Nkoana	Braking	-	K.1444
2/10	Maria Mphahlele	Parathion vergiftiging	5727	0599
3/10	Ntsepa Kgasago	Pasgeborene	5757	K.1976
4/10	Jeremiah Ralepelle	Paraffien vergiftiging	5774	K0969
<u>Seksie 8A</u>				
28/9	Josphat Soko	G.C.	-	3543
26/9	Alfred Mphahlele	Verstuiting	-	110
<u>Seksie 8B</u>				
28/9	Mokgaetje Pela	Pyn in arm	-	2723
1/10	Norah Phiri	Masels	5691	K.898
	Vincent Selowa	Masels	5692	K.0850
<u>Seksie 9A</u>				
28/9	Nthabileng Malatji	Gastro-enter- itis	5572	K.639
	Makgabo Mabotha	Pellagra	-	0954
1/10	Mokgaetji Lekgau	Kraam	5674	V.879

Addendum 8

Datum	Naam van pasiënt	Siekte	Nr.	O/Nr.
1/10	Nthoesane Lekgau	Pasgeborene	5701	K879
2/10	Gladys Racheku	Swanger	-	3354

Seksie 9B

30/9	Daniel Makhafola	Gastro- enteritis	5667	K.0226
	Ramatsimele Mowa	Anale geswel	5695	V,967
2/10	Johanna Maluleka	Pellagra	-	V480
	Sophie Mphahlele	Heup-pyn	-	0580

Seksie 10

30/9	Simon Mbele	Borspyn	-	1694
	Jan Baloi	Handbesering	-	K.2525
1/10	Hele Maleasanya	Hoes	-	0972
2/10	Zacharia Baloi	Hidroadinitis	5724	K.0197

Seksie 11

1/10	Kantoro Mathiba	Arthritis	5698	0405
	Maria Mathata	Handinfeksie	5689	0299
3/10	Meriam Ledwaba	Tonsillitis	-	K.0182
	Lesiba Ledwaba	Bronchitis	-	K695

Die uwe,

Geteken J.S. Roos
Mediese Superintendent.

Addendum 9

Consolidated Citrus Estates Ltd.,
 Zebediela Estates.
 22 February, 1971

BANTU LABOUR - MARRIED QUARTERS
CLINIC REPORT - JANUARY 1971

PACKHOUSE AREA: (Including Sections 8B and 9B)

Orderly Alexander Jele conducted examinations once a week.
 Health conditions were fair.

Clinic Attendance

List attached.

Eye Diseases

Trachoma cases are still being treated with aureomycin
 ophthalmic ointment in conjunction with copper sulphate
 eye drops.

Kwashiorkor

By supplementing their diet with one pint of fresh
 skimmed milk daily, the following case is showing
 remarkable improvement:

Name	Parent's No.	Weight			Weight lb.ozs
		Nov lb. ozs.	Dec lb. ozs	Jan lb.ozs	
Betty Manyaka	2407	24 4	24 10	25	+ 6

Deaths

Long Service worker James Kwindi No. 1052, Works, died
 in hospital on 30/1/71. His case was diagnosed as heart
 failure.

Births

<u>Mother's Name</u>	<u>Father's No.</u>	<u>Sect/Dept.</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date of Birth</u>
Melieta Setsiba	387	Plant Over- haul	M	13/1/71

MOGOTO AREA:

Two compounds were visited daily by Nurse Mary Machela.
 Health conditions were fair.

Clinic Attendance

List Attached.

Addendum 9

Eye Diseases

Treatment is the same as that of the Packhouse area.

Kwashiorkor

Treatment is the same as that of the Packhouse area.

Name	Parent's No.	Weight			Weight lb. ozs.
		Nov.	Dec.	Jan	
		lb. ozs	lb. ozs	lb. ozs	
Daniel Takalo	1109	37	37 8	38 2	+ 12
Johannes Mogotlane	589	27 8	28 2	28 12	+ 10
Elizabeth Lesitja	2284	21 6	22	22 8	+ 8
Elizabeth Choene	580	21 8	22 4	22 10	+ 6
Jane Kekana	1262	24 6	25	25 4	+ 4

Births

<u>Mother's Name</u>	<u>Father's No.</u>	<u>Section</u>	<u>Date of Birth</u>	<u>Sex</u>
Rebecca Makhubela	1877	2	19/1/71	M
Rachel Hlaka	2330	3A	14/1/71	F
Ramoghlo Minowa	1318	3A	25/1/71	M

HIGHLINE AREA:

Two compounds were visited daily by Nurse Martha Molahlwe. Health conditions were fair.

Clinic Attendance

List attached.

Eye Diseases

Treatment is the same as that of the other Areas.

Kwashiorkor

Treatment is the same as that of the other areas.

Name	Parent's No.	Weight			Weight lb. ozs
		Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	
		lb. ozs	lb. ozs.	lb. ozs	
Shabela Molima	0715	22	22 6	23	+ 10
Sephora Mchabeleng	0406	24 2	24 8	25	+ 8
Rex Rallipella	885	25 4	25 8	25	+ 8
Jeremia Rallipella	885	22 6	22 12	23	+ 4
Siphoe Rachoene	0145	22 8	23	23 4	+ 4
Silver Maske	654	24 6	25 8	26	+ 8
Frans Motjepe	0144	24 6	23	24	+1 0
Rebecca Moleima	199	17 6	17 10	19	+1 6
Meisie Matabane	0461		18	18 8	+ 8

Addendum 9

Mother's Name	<u>Births</u>		Section	Sex	Date of Birth
	Father's No				
Ramareali Nphahlele	112	6	F		11/1/71
Nelson Mbewe	1514	7B	F		30/1/71

COMPIES AREA:

Two compounds were visited daily by Nurse Catherine Phahlane.

Health conditions were fair.

Clinic Attendances.

List attached.

Eye Diseases

Treatment is the same as that of the other Areas.

Kwashiorkor

Treatment is the same as that of the other Areas.

Name	Parent's No.	Weight						
		<u>-Nov.</u>		<u>Dec.</u>		<u>Jan.</u>		
		lb.	ozs	lb.	ozs	lb.	ozs	
Lina Mphahlele	0932	16	17	17	6	+	6	
Peter Milanzi	540	12	8	13	4	14	+	12
Cyilia Mothselela	1091					17	First weight	
Lina Lebeya	999					21	First weight	

Death

Long service worker Frans Phiri No. 2416, Section 10, died in hospital on 21/1/71. His case was diagnosed as dysentery.

Births

Mother's Name	<u>Births</u>		Section	Sex	Date of Birth
	Father's No.				
Ramatsela Shaku	8114	11	M		11/1/71

BANTU SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL WELFARE.

Spiritual welfare on the Estates is carried out by Evangelist S.F. Ramaipadi under the guidance of Rev. J.P.M. Stapelberg of the N.G. Mission Congregation.

Church and prayer meeting attendances were as follows:

Church	Prayer Meeting	Members Baptised	Confirmation New Members	Sunday School
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182

42

249

Addendum 9

PACKHOUSE AREA.JANUARY, 1971

	Male Workers	Female Workers	Wives	Child- dren	Total
Referred to hospital	12		5	8	25
Kwashiorkor					
Measles					
Chicken pox					
Gastro-enteritis				1	1
Diarrhoea				3	3
Influenza	1				1
Common cold		1			1
Pneumonia					
Cough	1	2	1		4
T.B. Suspect					
Headache					
Stomach Ache	1	3	1	2	7
G.C.					
Syphilis					
Injured on duty	2				2
Injured off duty					
Minor wounds & abrasions	1	1			2
General body pains	4	3	4		11
Eye Diseases		1	1	1	3
Miscarriage					
Dysuria					
Pre-natal					
Poisoning					
Epilepsy					
Fractures					
Tonsillitis					
Pellagra					
Toothache					
Tooth extraction	2		1		3
Ear Ache				2	2
Burns				1	1
Scabies				1	1

Addendum 9

MOGOTO ARFA
JANUARY, 1971

	Male Workers	Female Workers	Wives	Chil- dren	Total
Referred to Hospital	8		4	2	14
Kwashiorkor					
Measles					
Chicken pox					
Gastro enteritis					
Diarrhoea					
Influenza					
Common cold					
Pneumonia					
Cough					
T.B. Suspect					
Headache					
Stomach ache			2	2	4
G.C.			1		1
Syphilis					
Injured on duty	2	1			3
Injured off duty					
Minor wounds & abrasions					
General body pains					
Eye Diseases	1				1
Miscarriage					
Dysuria					
Pre-natal Post Natal			1		1
Poisoning					
Epilepsy					
Fractures					
Tonsillitis	1				1
Pellagra					
Toothache					
Tooth extraction					
Ear ache					
Mumps				1	1

Addendum 9

HIGHLINE AREAJANUARY, 1971

	Male Workers	Female Workers	Wives	Chil- dren	Total
Referred to hospital	13	4	7	8	32
Kwashiorkor				9	9
Measles					
Chicken pox					
Gastro enteritis					
Diarrhoea	3			3	6
Influenza					
Common cold	4	3	2		9
Pneumonia					
Cough	16	2		4	22
T.B. Suspect					
Headache	8	2	4		14
Stomach ache	4	2	3		9
G.C					
Syphilis					
Injured on duty	2				2
Injured off duty					
Minor wounds & abrasions	6	2	3	4	15
General Body pains	22	4	2		28
Eye Diseases	9	3	1	6	19
Miscarriage					
Dysuria			2		2
Pre Natal					
Poisoning					
Epilepsy					
Fractures					
Tonsillitis					
Pellagra					
Toothache		2			2
Tooth extraction		2			2
Ear Ache				1	1
Dysentery	1				1
Asma		1			1
Dysmenorrhoea		1			1

Addendum 9

COMPIES AREAJANUARY, 1971

	Male Workers	Female Workers	Wives	Chil- dren	Total
Referred to hospital	21	6	7	12	46
Kwashiorkor					
Measles					
Chicken pox					
Gastro enteritis				2	2
Diarrhoea					
Influenza					
Common cold					
Pneumonia				1	1
Cough					
T.B. Suspect					
Headache					
Stomach ache					
G.C					
Syphilis					
Injured on duty					
Injured off duty					
Minor wounds & abrasions					
General body pains		2	1		3
Eye Diseases		1			1
Miscarriage					
Dysuria					
Pre-natal					
Poisoning					
Epilepsy					
Fractures					
Tonsillitis					
Pellagra	1	1	2		4
Toothache					
Tooth extraction					
Ear ache (left)	1				1
Painful left leg	1				1
Bronchitic				2	2
Swollen right foot				1	1
Injured left eye (B.O.D)		1			1
Abcess (Right buttock)				1	1

African Realty Trust, Ltd.,
Zebediela Estates.
6th July, 1951.

RELAPSING FEVER AND ITS CONTROL AT ZEBEDIELA ESTATES.

By

P. J. QUIN, M.Sc., D.Sc.

EARLY HISTORY.

Relapsing Fever has probably been endemic among the native labour staff at Zebediela Estates for at least the past 20 years. For how long the vector is present in this area is unknown. What we do know, however, is that the local Bapedi have a name for it, namely, Thwakga. The older inhabitants of Zebediela Location state that this tick has been familiar to them ever since their childhood, i.e. for approximately the past 60 years, but that no particular sickness was experienced as the result of being bitten by them. There is a possibility, however, that *Ornithodoros moubata* may be mistaken for the dog tick or the fowl tampaan, since all three species have been collected by writer from the same hut in the Zebediela Location. These people also state that in a badly infested hut it is common practice to place a thin layer of drift manure right round the mat before retiring for the night. These troublesome ticks do not pass through this barrier but bury themselves in it, and in the morning the manure together with the ticks are collected and burnt.

DISCOVERY AND INCIDENCE.

In 1935 when the writer assumed management of Zebediela Estates it was noticed that a large proportion of hospital cases showed an oedema of the leg and this condition, if not entirely confined, was certainly most prevalent amongst extra-Union Northern natives, chiefly from Nyasaland. At that time this malady was attributed to a possible deficiency and elaborate feeding tests were conducted, naturally without any effect.

In 1940/.....

Addendum 10

In 1940 *Ornithodoros moubata* was discovered in some of the huts and a comprehensive survey revealed that practically all the huts were infested with this tick. At that time the native labourers were housed in the common wattle and daub type of hut. Blood smears confirmed that relapsing fever was the cause of the high incidence of illness amongst the labourers. The immediate problem was how to control the infestation of these ticks. As previously stated sleeping accommodation consisted of wattle and daub huts and the walls of these dwellings afforded not only ideal conditions for the breeding of the tick but at the same time rendered them practically invulnerable to attack.

TEMPORARY CONTROL MEASURES.

The following was decided on:

1. The earthen floors of the huts were treated with a flame-thrower and then consolidated as much as possible. Floors were swept regularly every day and all sweepings placed in an incinerator.
2. Cracks and crevices in the walls were treated with a flame-thrower and regularly sealed.
3. Badly infested huts were destroyed by fire.
4. Full-time gangs of labourers were appointed to inspect huts and collect *Ornithodoros moubata*. In addition to this all compound inmates were paid a bonus of threepence for every 20 moubata collected. Later on when the population decreased this bonus was raised to sixpence for 20. The average annual catch amounted to 73,000 and by the end of 1950 over half a million *Ornithoderus moubata* had been collected.

While on this point of collection it was interesting to note the ingenious methods employed by the natives to collect the ticks. The following were the main methods employed:

- (a) A thin layer of drift manure was placed all along the wall inside the hut. Ticks moving to and from the host took refuge in this dirt, and it was an easy matter to collect them in the morning.

(b)/.....

Addendum 10

- (b) The swinging movement of the door caused regular cracking of the wall next to it which afforded an exit for the entombed ticks. This was quickly realized by the occupants of the hut and two small holes, about 2" wide and 2" deep, were made inside the hut on either side of the door. These holes were smeared out with mud and filled with drift manure which acted as a harbourage for the ticks. It was an easy job for the occupant to scoop out the manure in the morning and collect the ticks.

RESULTS OF CAMPAIGN.

On May 6th, 1942, it was reported that as a result of the above actions an appreciable improvement in relapsing fever had occurred and that although the incidence had decreased by approximately 50% since the programme of control started, concentrated efforts were being made to effect a further reduction. This improvement, however, was not maintained and in a review of the position on the 23rd December, 1942, it was stated:

"The relapsing fever position on the Estate is definitely causing grave concern, and that the position in general had definitely not improved materially".

The writer further went on to say that he was firmly convinced that with the type of hut structure on the Estate it was quite impossible to eradicate this pest, and that although compound repairs and hygiene were ardently prosecuted, the present method of control of *Ornithodoros moubata* was to be compared with a festering sore continuously plastered over, and it was felt that there was only one effective solution to the problem, i.e. to build this disease out by constructing a building that could be effectively de-verminized at all times. However, to "build out" the relapsing fever carrying *Ornithodoros moubata* meant providing new hygienic and comfortable quarters for a labour strength of between

2,000/....

Addendum 10

2,000 and 3,000 that would at the same time be economical to erect and maintain, and this during a major World War with its attendant acute shortages of labour and material, and soaring costs. The position, however, had to be faced and an immediate start was made in the design and development of suitable native housing.

Meanwhile, the fight against the moubata went on. One combat method was to trace each relapsing fever case admitted to our Native Hospital back to the hut from which the native came. In the course of investigations it was established that not a single case of relapsing fever had emanated from native married quarters, and this was traced to the fact that apart from keeping their huts in a good state of repair the women also rounded off the top of the walls where they joined the roof: In opening up walls of single quarters huts, where this rounding off was not practised, it was found that all cracks in the inner and outer walls having been sealed, the moubata ^{worked} towards the top of the wall whence they emerged to continue the spreading of the disease.

Following this discovery in the latter half of 1943, sealing off of the tops of all huts in the single quarters was tackled in a further effort to stay the spread of the disease. It was realized, however, that with the infestation having reached the proportions it had, this and all other combat measures could serve as temporary relief only, until the replacement of the Compounds by suitable vermin resisting structures could be undertaken.

PERMANENT CONTROL MEASURES.

In January, 1945 the first experimental building was completed and inspected by Dr. Annecke (see photo). New labour recruits from Nyasaland were housed in it and kept under close observation. It very soon became apparent that with the elimination of moubata as afforded by this type of structure relapsing fever disappeared.

BUILDING/

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION.

In the light of the abovementioned experiences it was thus decided to adopt this principle of native housing and large scale building operations commenced.

A very brief description of the construction methods employed are as follows:

1. A steel framed mould was designed and constructed which enabled the casting in situ of the walls of a complete sleeping unit of 5 separate rooms to accommodate 30 inmates.
2. The walls are 9" thick cast with 25% river boulders embedded in a 1/10 cement sand mixture.
3. The roof consists of 30" reinforced precast concrete sections - precasted on the ground and lifted into position subsequently.
4. The floors of the sleeping units consist of a vermiculite and cement mixture.
5. A village unit accommodating 120 single labourers consists of:
 - (a) Four "sleepers" each with 5 rooms. (see plan & photo).
 - (b) Kitchen. (see plan & photo).
 - (c) Ablution block. (See plan & photo).

RESULTS.

When it is said that prior to completion of these compounds the average number of relapsing fever cases treated in our Native Hospital, and later the Groothoek Mission Hospital, was as high as 70 per month and the maximum cases treated in one month since February, 1950 number 3, the effect of this type of housing on the incidence of relapsing fever is obvious. More important still, the relapsing fever death rate in one year (1944) reached the frightening figure of 40, whereas in the 15 months following the completion of the Compounds there has been one death only. (See graph).

CIRCULAR SENT OUT ICW. RESEARCH AT ZEBEDIELA.

MA/01

Addendum 11

Kennisgewing:

Dit is baie interessant om in 'n boek van jouself te lees. Dit gebeur nie maklik dat daar oor jou 'n boek geskrywe word nie. Ds. Stapelberg is besig om so 'n boek te skrywe oor die werkers op Zebediela Landgoed. Daar sal ook baie mooi fotos van Zebediela se mense in wees. Mnr. Mabudafasi wou so 'n boek skrywe maar ongelukkig is hy oorlede voordat dit klaar was. Nou wil ons weer probeer.

Om dit te kan doen, sal 'n paar van ons na u toe kom om vrae te vra en vorms in te vul. Die vorms sal ons vir niemand anders wys nie. Ook sal niemand se naam opgeskrywe word as hy dit nie wil toelaat nie. So sal niemand ooit weet watter mens die antwoorde gegee het nie.

U kan dus nooit in die moeilikheid kom nie. Gee dus asseblief vir ons die regte antwoorde sodat ons 'n goeie boek kan skrywe.

Cinyanja

(Chidziwitso)

Ndi cinthu cokondweretsa kuti ti ndibuku lathu limene ti dziwerenga.

Sicinthu cimene cimacitidwa mofewa kuti munthu a lembe buku amenyo.

Mbusa Stapelberg wa dzikonsetsera ku lembe buku, nwa ncito ya Zebediela ya malimidwe.

Buku limenelo li dzakhala ndidzithunzithunzi dza bwino dza bwino dza anthu amenali kugwira ncito mu Zebediela muno.

Bambo Amabudafase adafuna ku lilemba buku limenelo, koma cifukwa ca ku sowa mwani a da mwalira a sadalitho bukulo.

Tsapano tiri ku funa ku yesa kuti ti cite. Ena adza funsidwa mafunso nthawa iri ku bweraayo kuti ti dzakhoze ku dzaza Mafomu.

Mafomu amenewo siti ngathe kunena kuti ndi ndani kapena yani. Ndiponso siti ngathe ku lembe dzina la munthu ngati safuna Ndi cifukwa cace sikungadziwike kuti kapena, tapatsidwa ndiyani mayankhowo.

Si munga lowe mumayeso ndi tsiku li modsi lonse. Tipat-seni mopempha mayankho tiyenera kuti tidzalembe buku la bwino.

Sepedi

(Tsibiso)

Ke taba e kgahlisang goba le puku yarena yeo reka e balang. Ga se taba yeo ediregang ga bonolo. Gore motho aka ngwala puku yeo.

Moruti Stapelberg o e tukišetša go ngwala puku yeo kaga mošomo wa Zebediela wa temo. Puku yeo etlaba le diswantšho tše dibotse tša batho bao bašomang ka moo Zebediela. Morena Mabudafasi o be a nyaka go ngwala puku yeo, empa kagohloka mahlatse o ile ahlokagala (He past away) pele a Feetša.

Joale re nyaka go leka gore re dire, ba bangwe batla botšišwa dipotšišo nako e tlang gore rekgone gotlatša diforomo.

Diforomo tšeo dikasebolele gore ke mang goba mang, ebile re ka sengwale leina la motho ge a sa nyake ke ka mokgwa woo go ka setsebagaleag go batho gore Fileng; kemang! dikarabo tšeo, le ka se tsene melekong le ka mohla ole mang.

Re feng ka kgopelo dikarabo tšeo diswanetšeng gore retle rengwale puku e

Karanga

(Chisiwiso)

Tinoda kunyora buku uakanaka pamsoro pevabati vanobata basa pano pa Zebediela. Zvino tinoda sekuru kuti mucatibetsetsera nokudavidsa mivunzo yedu. Ticazotuma vanhu ne ziforemo kuti vanyore davidso dzenyu, asi havanyore masita enyu kuti murege kutya cinhu.

CITIBETSERAI HENYU!

01

Home Language: Afrikaans/English
 Tsonga/Venda
 Sepedi
 Chinanya
 Chikaranga
 Tswana
 Ndebele
 Zulu/Xhosa/Swasi
 Other

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

Mention:

Racial group to which husband belongs:

Malawian
 Va Shona/Ndau etc.
 Bapedi/Ndebele
 Venda
 Shangani
 Coloured
 Zulu/Xhosa
 Tswana
 Other

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

11

Wife belongs to following group:

Malawian/Shona
 Ndebele
 Bapedi
 Venda
 Shangani
 Coloured
 Zulu/Xhosa
 Tswana
 Other

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

12

Addendum 12

Under which of these groups do you classify your children:

- Malawian
- Va Shona
- Bapedi/Ndebele
- Venda
- Shangani
- Coloured
- Zulu/Xhosa
- Tswana
- Other

<u>01</u>	
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

13

Domestic Grouping:

- Husband & Wife
- Parents & Children
- Parents & relatives
- Parents, relatives & boarders
- Divorced parents with children
- Unmarried woman with own children
- Unmarried woman with adopted children
- Widow(er) with children
- Single

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

14

Standard of education:

Husband:

- No School
- No School; able to read & write
- Sub A (grade) Std I
- Std. II - Std. III
- Std. IV - Std. V
- Std. VI - Std. VIII (Form III)
- Std. IX, X.P.T.C (or equiv.)
- Higher than matric

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

15

Addendum 12

01

Special training (Mechanic Driver etc.)

--	--

16

Wife:

- No School
- No school: able to read & write
- Sub A (Grade I) - Std. I
- Std. II - Std. III
- Std. IV - Std. V
- Std. VI - Std. VIII (Form III)
- Std. IX, X, PTC (or equiv.)
- Higher than matric

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

17

Special training

--	--

18

Occupation:

- Husband:
- Labourer
 - Foreman Labourer
 - Domestic servant/waiter
 - Messenger
 - Clerk
 - Guard/Police
 - Nurse
 - Pensioner
 - Driver

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

19

Addendum 12

Wife: Labourer
 Foreman Labourer
 Domestic servant/Waiter
 Messenger
 Clerk
 Guard/Police
 Nurse
 Pensioner
 None

01	
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

20

Yearly Income (cash) received from
 Estates:-

Husband: R 1 - R48 (R0 -R4 p.m.)
 R49 - R96 (up to R8 p.m.)
 R97 - R144 (up to R12 p.m.)
 R145 - R240 (up to R20 p.m.)
 R241 - R300 (up to R25 p.m.)
 R301 - R480 (up to R40 p.m.)
 R481 - R960 (up to R80 p.m.)
 R961 and above (above R80 p.m.)

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

21

Bonus (R.....)

1-8	
-----	--

22

Wife: As above

1-8	
-----	--

23

Boys: As above

1-8	
-----	--

24

Girls: As above

1-8	
-----	--

25

Addendum 12

01

Additional yearly income (kind) received from Estates:

(Calculate total value of rations, housing, water, grazing rights, land for cultivation, clothing, tax paid, fire-wood supplied).

<u>Husbands:</u>	R 1 - R 48 (up to R4 p.m.)	1		26
	R 49 - R 96 (up to R8 p.m.)	2		
	R 97 - R144 (up to R12 p.m)	3		
	R145 - R240 (up to R20 p.m)	4		
	R241 - R300 (up to R25 p.m)	5		
	R301 - R480 (up to R40 p.m)	6		
	R481 - R960 (up to R80 p.m)	7		
	R961 end above (above R80)	8		

<u>Wife:</u>	as above	1-8		27
--------------	----------	-----	--	----

<u>Boys:</u>	as above (number receiving this)	1-8		28
--------------	---	-----	--	----

<u>Girls:</u>	as above (number receiving this)	1-8		29
---------------	---	-----	--	----

Addendum 12

01

Additional yearly income/other sources than those mentioned:

Husband:

- R 1 - R 48 (up to R4 p.m.)
- R 49 - R 96 (up to R8 p.m.)
- R 97 - R144 (up to R12 p.m.)
- R145 - R240 (up to R20 p.m.)
- R241 - R300 (up to R25 p.m.)
- R301 - R480 (up to R40 p.m.)
- R481 - R960 (up to R80 p.m.)
- R961 - R- and above (above R80)
- NONE

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

30

Wife:

as above

1-9	
-----	--

31

Boys:

as above (Number earning it)

1-9	
-----	--

32

Girls:

as above (Number earning it)

1-9	
-----	--

33

Addendum 12

01

Total yearly income of family:

R 1 - R 48 (up to R4 p.m.)
 R 49 - R96 (up to R8 p.m.)
 R 97 - R144 (up to R12 p.m.)
 R145 - R240 (up to R20 p.m.)
 R241 - R300 (up to R25 p.m.)
 R301 - R480 (up to R40 p.m.)
 R481 - R960 (up to R80 p.m.)
 R961 - R1200 (up to R100p.m.)
 R1200 and above(above R100p.m.)

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

34

Age of the head of the family:

Younger than 20 years
 20 years - 29 years
 30 " - 39 "
 40 " - 49 "
 50 " - 59 "
 60 " - 69 "
 70 " - 79 "
 80 and above

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

35

Church of employees:Husband:

Dutch Reformed (N.G.K.)
 Presbyterian/Wesleyan
 Anglican/ Roman Catholic
 Lutheran

1	
2	
3	
4	

Addendum 12

01

Watchtower/Jehovah's Witnesses

Mohammedan

Zionist

Aspostles

Other Bantu Churches

(mention name)

5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

36

Wife:

as above

1-9	

37

Children:

as above 1 (Number)

1-9	

38

2 (Number)

1-9	

39

3 (Number)

1-9	

40

PLACE OF BIRTH:

Husband:

Potgietersrus or Pietersburg

Zebediela Estates

Nearby Reserve

Elsewhere in Transvaal

Elsewhere in the Republic

Botswana

Lesotho

Rhodesia(South) or Portugese territory

Zambia (N. Rhod.) or Malawi

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

41

Addendum 12

01

Wife:

as above

1-9		42
-----	--	----

Husbands Father:

as above

1-9		43
-----	--	----

Previous abode:

as above

1-9		44
-----	--	----

Reason for moving to Zebediela Estates:

More money

1	
---	--

More freedom

2	
---	--

The type of work desired

3	
---	--

Following my family

4	
---	--

Better facilities than at home

5	
---	--

Illness

6	
---	--

Old age

7	
---	--

The good treatment given here

8	
---	--

School for my children

9		45
---	--	----

Do you ever visit your traditional home?General Statement:Husband:

Never

1	
---	--

When I feel like it

2	
---	--

Every year

3	
---	--

Every 2 years

4	
---	--

Every 3 - 5 years

5	
---	--

Every 6 - 10 years

6	
---	--

Two of these

7	
---	--

Three of these

8	
---	--

None of these

9	
---	--

Addendum 12

01

Wife:

as above

1-9		46
-----	--	----

Specific reasons for home visits:

Husband:

- When called for family matters
- When I need help from family
- To pay tribute to parents & senior members of the family
- Visiting my wife and children
- Having house, lands & livestock there
- In connection with birth of child
- To see the Witchdoctor/Medicine man
- To pay money/tribute to chief
- To bring sacrifices

1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		47

Wife:

as above

1-9		48
-----	--	----

Desired place of residence:

- Big City
- Small town
- Farm
- Reserve
- Elsewhere in Transvaal
- Elsewhere in Republic
- Own country of origin

1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		49

Addendum 12

01

Number of days on duty per week:Husband:

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

50

Wife:

as above

1-7	
-----	--

51

Number of hours on duty per day:Husband:

Less than 4 hours

Up to 8 hours

Up to 12 hours

More than 12 hours

When duties demand it

Only night duty

Alternatively day & night shifts

Piece work

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

52

On Saturdays : as above

1-8	
-----	--

53

On Sundays: as above

1-8	
-----	--

54

On Holidays: as above

1-8	
-----	--

55

Addendum 12

01

Wife:

On weekdays:

- Less than 4 hours
- Up to 8 hours
- Up to 12 hours
- More than 12 hours
- When duties demand it
- Only night duty
- Alternative day and night shifts
- Piece work

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

56

On Saturdays:

As above

1-8	
-----	--

57

On Sundays:

As above

1-8	
-----	--

58

On Holidays:

As above

1-8	
-----	--

59

Housing Conditions:

The Building:

- Built of bricks
- Roof poor
- Roof satisfactory
- The same type of house as that in which I grew up
- The houses are better than those at home
- It is built according to Bantu Architecture of this area
- It is poorer than those to which I am used but I am satisfied I built it myself
- A better house would be supplied on request

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

60

Addendum 12

01

Housing Conditions:

Facilities:

Number of rooms/huts available

1-9		61
-----	--	----

One of above rooms is a kitchen

Private lavatory for family available

Private bathroom/bathing done in own house

Two of these

All of these

1		62
2		
3		
4		
5		

Communal:

Kitchen

Lavatory

Bathroom

Watersupply

Firewood supplied

Two of these

Three of these

Four of these

All of these

1		63
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		

Occupation of house:

Husband & Wife sleep alone in one room/hut

Parents and the smaller children sleep in one room

Parents and children, including bigger ones, sleep together

Parents, children, relatives & boarders together

All boys and girls sleep in one hut
(Mention where

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

01

Occupation of house:

Grown up relatives and/or boarders sleep together

6	
---	--

Grown up relatives sexes apart

7	
---	--

Bigger boys and girls apart

8	
---	--

Different arrangements:

Mention where

9	
---	--

64

Money Matters:

Saving Money:

Money saved at Building Society

1	
---	--

Money saved in Bank

2	
---	--

Money saved at Post Office

3	
---	--

Money used for buying livestock

4	
---	--

Member of burial society

5	
---	--

Save money and buy on credit

6	
---	--

65

Spending Money:

Ispend most of my money at:

Zebediela General Dealer(Compies Store)

1	
---	--

Co-op

2	
---	--

"Magoto" Bantu Investment Store

3	
---	--

At Bantu shopkeeper

4	
---	--

At other European shopkeepers

5	
---	--

At P.P. Rus, Pietersburg or Roedtan

6	
---	--

Most of my money is sent home for needs of family

7	
---	--

In private transactions and with hawkers

8	
---	--

66

01

Money is spent on:

- New clothes
- Second hand clothes
- More food
- School needs of children
- Saving
- Beer & drinking
- Delicacies
- Most of these
- Other (Mention

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

67

Possessions:

- Motor
- Horse cart
- Donkey cart
- Motor & Cart
- Bicycle
- Other vehicle
- Travel on foot
- Usually hire a car
- Use bus and train

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

68

- Stove
- Sitting-room suite
- Dinningroom suite
- Bedroom suite
- Two of these suites
- Three of these suites
- Necessary furniture in poor condition
- Earthen pots & wooden cooking sticks used
- Metal pots & forks, knives & spoons used

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

69

Addendum 12

01

Livestock:

0
 1 - 10
 11 - 25
 26 - 40
 41 - 55
 56 - 70
 71 - 80
 81 - 99
 More than a hundred

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	70

CHILDREN:

Age of Boys:

Number between 0 - 6 years of age
 Number between 7 - 10 " " "
 Number between 11 - 15 " " "
 Number between 19 years

1 - 9	71
1-9	72
1-9	73
1-9	74

Age of girls:

Number between 0 - 4 years of age
 Number between 5 - 14 " " "
 Number between 15 - 18 " " "
 Number above 19 years of age

1-9	75
1-9	76
1-9	77
1-9	78

Age of grandchildren:

Number between 0 - 4 years of age
 Number between 5 - 14 " " "
 Number between 15 - 18 " " "
 Number above 19 years of age

1-9	
1-9	
1-9	
1-9	

Number of Children in School.

Number of own children attending school on Estates	1-9		6
Number of own children that went for further training (eg. high school, Nursing, teachers training, University etc.	1-9		7
Number of own children sent to home country for better traditional and moral background	1-9		8
Number of own children that left school	1-9		9

Grandchildren born out of wedlock

Number of unmarried girls working somewhere else	1-9		10
Number of unmarried girls that had children while working somewhere else	1-9		11
Number of unmarried girls that had children while at home	1-9		12
Number of unmarried boys having children	1-9		13

What is your attitude about children born of wedlock?

It happens to most young people	1		14
We dont mind about it	2		
It is a disgrace for the family	3		
We care because the labola is effected	4		
It is important that one's father is known	5		

Amount demanded as compensation for children born out of wedlock:-

Cash or the equivalent of R 0 - R10	1		15
11 - 20	2		
21 - 30	3		
31 - 40	4		
41 - 50	5		
51 - 100	6		
Above R100	7		
None	8		

Addendum 12

02

If girl is married by person on behalf of whom compensation was paid, is equivalent of compensation subtracted from labola?

Yes

No

Only a part

Something added

1		
2		
3		
4		16

Supervision of Children:

Children ask permission when going somewhere:-

During the day

At night

For both

Never

1		
2		
3		
4		17

Admonishing of the Children about undesirable friends:

Father does it

Mother does it

It is done by both

It is not done

1		
2		
3		
4		18

Behaviour and habits acquired from:

Father

Mother

Both

Grandparents

At school

At church

Elsewhere

1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		19

Addendum 12

02

Boys and Girls from different houses playing together:

Never

Sometimes

Often

Always

1	
2	
3	
4	

20

School standard which your children aquired, or wish to aquire:

Boys:

Grade 1 - Std. 1

Std. 2 - Std. 6

Form 1 - Form 111

Matric

University Degree

Do not mind

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

21

Girls:

As above

1-6	
-----	--

22

What do you wish your children to become:

Boys:

Teacher/ Nurse

Typist /Clerk

Evangelist/Minister of Religion

Any job in City

Driver/ Mechanic

Agricultural Supervisor

Any work on Zebediela

Not at Zebediela

Do not mind

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

23

Addendum 12

02

Parents and Children go together for recreation	1		
Parents together, but not accompanied by children	2		
Every family member goes to place of own choice	3		
Parents separately - children accompany mother	4		
Parents separately - children accompany father	5		
Parents separately - each parent accompanied by some children	6		24

Drinking habits:

Husband:

- Useno strong drink
- Only Bantu beer
- Only wine
- Only Brandy
- Only "Lager"
- Most of these

1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		25

Wife: As above

1-6		
1-6		27
1-6		28

Girls going to school: As above

Boys going to school : As above

- Prepare Bantu beer for own use
- Prepare Bantu beer for use & selling to visitors
- Drink Bantu beer at home of friends
- Drink Bantu beer where it is sold
- Two of these
- All of these

1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		29
1-6		30
1-6		31
1-6		32

Wife as above

Girls going to school: as above

Boys going to school : as above

Participation in secular societal life:

- No participation
- Parents participate
- Parents & children participate
- Father & children participate
- Mother & children participate
- Only children participate

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

33

Name the secular societies known here:

(eg. Teachers' Association, Burial Society etc.)

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

34-36

Church Membership:

- Full member
- Baptized but not confirmed
- Catechumen
- Had been a member but lost interest
- Had been a member but was cut off/put under punishment
- Interested but had never been approached by Church
- Contact with Church lost when moving to Zebediela
- Only a visitor to Church meetings
- No Church

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

37

Addendum 12

02

How long have you been a Church Member:

- 0 - 5 years
- 6 - 10 years
- 11 - 20 years
- 21 - 30 years
- Whole life

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

38

Church Attendance:

Husband:

- Never
- Sometimes
- Often
- Regularly

1	
2	
3	
4	

39

Wife: as above

1 - 4	
-------	--

40

Children: as above

1-4	
-----	--

41

Where is your nearest church:

- Section 1 - 8B
- Section 9 - 18
- Nearby reserve farms
- Reserve more than 20 miles
- Farms more than 20 miles
- Pietersburg
- Potgietersrus
- Not in Transvaal
- Mention where

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

42

Addendum 12

02

How often are meetings held:

- Weekly
 Monthly
 Quartely
 Once a year
 Not known

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

43

Association with Church life:Husband:

- Member of the Church council
 Member of the Church Choir
 Member of the Church Society
 Two of these
 Three of these
 None of these

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

44

Wife:

As Above

1-6	
1-6	

45

Children: as above

1-6	
-----	--

46

Number of Children Baptized:

- All the Children
 Only the elder children
 Only the younger children
 Some of the children
 None of the children

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

47

Catechism and Sunday School attendance:

- All the children old enough attend
 Only the elder children attend
 Only the younger children attend
 Some attend on own accord
 None attend

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

48

Addendum 12

02 -

Financial support to Church:

- 0
 1c - 49c
 50c - 99c
 R1 - R2.99
 R3 - R5.99
 R6 - and above

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

49

Family Life:

- (a) Your present wife at Zebediela is the only one you ever had.
 You had one here, but not anymore
 You had one before at Zebediela and you are having another one at present
 You have one at home and one here
 You have one at home but gave up keeping one here
 You always remained true to your wife at home
 You are having only a number of wives at home
 You were never married but you are having a number of children
 Never married and no children

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

50

- (b) You were married with present wife here at Zebediela:
 At Commissioner

- In Church
 With labola
 Two of these
 None of these

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

51

Addendum 12

02

(d) What happened to the wife you had here at Zebediela:

She fell in love with somebody else here at Zebediela

I sent her away because the Church did not approve of the union

An exchange of wives was made

I sent her away because she had no children

Another reason

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

53

(e) Reasons for present marriage in spite of having a wife at home:

I had longing for a wife

Better housing are supplied and other concessions are made to married people In Bantu society it adds to a person's status to have a wife with you

I was forced by the birth of a child to take her as a wife

Other

A man cannot live without sexual satisfaction

That she may prepare my food in the traditional way

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

54

Extra marital sexual relations:

It occurs here with young people:

Seldom

Often

Always

1	
2	
3	

55

It occurs here with children before the age of 10 years

1-3	
-----	--

56

Addendum 12
02

Extra marital sexual relations:

It occurs here with children between 11-16 yrs

1-3	
-----	--

 57

It occurred here more often long ago

1	
---	--

It occurred here less long ago

2	
---	--

 58

It occurs here more often than in reserve/
at home

1	
---	--

It occurs here less than in reserve/at home

2	
---	--

 59

What do you think about it?

It does no harm

1	
---	--

It is a good thing

2	
---	--

It is wrong

3	
---	--

I do not mind about it

4	
---	--

 60

Why is it wrong?
.....

Young people usually get to know another for
the first time

While partaking in Church activities

1	
---	--

At folkdances

2	
---	--

While walking about / on journeys

3	
---	--

At work

4	
---	--

Beer parties

5	
---	--

At school and school activities

6	
---	--

At youth camps

7	
---	--

At family festivals and occasions

8	
---	--

Most of these

9	
---	--

 61

Addendum 12
02Courting by young people:Talking to each other only at girl's home
while sitting or standingTalking to each other only in veld or on
the road while sitting or standing

Accompany each other to parties and dances

Sleep together in hidden places :Often

Sometimes

Sleep together at girl's home: Often

Sometimes

By writing letters to each other

Make contact only through medium of family

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

62

What people would you like your children to marry:

People from own tribe

People from Transvaal

People from Malawi

People from Rhodesia

Coloured people

White people

Anybody from this area

Anybody having good qualifications

I do not mind

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

63

Contact with people from other racial groups and tribes:

I prefer to live among people from:

Malawi

Rodesia (Vashona)

This area (Bapedi)

Speaking my language

Coloured people

Other people

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

64

Addendum 12
02Contact with white people is made:

- In shops and other business places
- In Church work
- Conversations at public places
- Conversations at home
- Conversations at and about work
- At parties and dances
- At three of these
- At most of these
- Through other types of contact

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

65

Contact with other racial groups is made:

- At funerals
- At parties and dances
- In business
- When meeting by chance
- During personal visits
- During church seremonies etc.
- At three of these
- At most of these
- Other types of contact

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

66

Domestic work done by husband in house:

- Preparation of food
- Gathering and chopping of wood
- Dusting and sweeping house
- Mending clothes
- Repairing house and furniture
- Bathing and putting children to bed
- Does two of these
- Does four or more of these

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

67

Addendum 12

02

Domestic work done by wife in house:

Preparation of food

- Gathering and chopping of wood
- Dusting and sweeping house
- Mending clothes
- Repairing house and furniture
- Bathing and putting children to bed
- Does two of these
- Does four or more of these

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

68

Girls: as above

1-8	
-----	--

69

Boys: as above

1-8	
-----	--

70

Recreation:

Husband:

- Takes part in sport
- Walks in veld and mountains
- Visits folkdances etc. with people of own language group
- Visits folkdances etc. with friends speaking another language
- Visits to family
- Gambling games / Dice
- Games without gambling
- Some of these
- Other types
- Mention

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

71

Wife: As above

1-9	
-----	--

72

Girls under 10 years: as Above

1-9	
-----	--

73

Girls under 15 " : As above

1-9	
-----	--

74

Girls under 20 " : As above

1-9	
-----	--

75

Addendum 12

02

Boys under 10 years:	As above	<u>1-9</u>	76
Boys under 15 years:	As above	<u>1-9</u>	77
Boys under 20 years:	As above	<u>1-9</u>	78

Addendum 12

1 03
- 6

BANTU INITIATION:

Father, but none of boys circumcised	1	
Father and only younger boys circumcised	2	
Father and only elder boys but not practised anymore	3	
Only younger boys circumcised (Father and elder boys not)	4	
Only the elder boys circumcised (Father and younger boys not)	5	
Father and all boys old enough circumcised	6	
None of male family members circumcised	7	7

Mother, but none of girls attended initiation	1	
Mother and only younger girls attended initiation	2	
Mother and only elder girls initiated	3	
Mother not initiated but younger girls	4	
Mother not initiated but elder girls	5	
Mother and all girls old enough initiated	6	
None of female family members initiated	7	8

Addendum 12

03

Age on which children atten initiation:

Males:

Before the age of 7 years

Between 8 and 10 years

" 11 and 15 years

" 16 and 20 years

Any age above 7 years

Any age above 10 years

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

9

Females: As above

1-6	
-----	--

10

Place where initiation ceremonies are celebrated:

Boys:

Here on Estates

Mogoto Mountains

Zebediela Reserve

Mphahlele Reserve

At home

Anywhere where initiation ceremonies
are celebrated

Mention place.....

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

11

Girls: As above

1-6	
-----	--

12

Reasons why initiation are celebrated:

Boys:

To teach them to worship ancestors only

To teach them to worship ancestors and how
to court a girl

To teach them ancestor worship, courting &
how to act in married life

To teach them the taboos of all sections of
life

All these and other forms of etiquette

None of these but other forms of etiquette

Some of these and other forms of etiquette

To teach them secret songs

Other

1	
2	
3	
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5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

13

Addendum 12
03

Girls:

To teach them ancestor worship only
 Ancestor worship and how to behave when courted
 Ancestor worship, how to behave when courted and how to act in married life
 To teach the taboos of all sections of life
 All these and other forms of etiquette
 None of these and other forms of etiquette
 Some of these and other forms of etiquette
 To teach them secret songs
 Other

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

14

Witchcraft, Medicine etc:
Consultation of Witchdoctor:

Never
 Sometimes
 When necessary
 No more
 Only lately

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

15

Consulting a herbalist: as above

1-5	
-----	--

16

Consulting a Nurse at a Clinic: As above

1-5	
-----	--

17

Consulting a Medical Doctor: as above

1-5	
-----	--

18

Consulting an Evangelist/Minister: as above

1-5	
-----	--

19

Addendum 12
03

Reasons for consulting a witchdoctor:

When looking for work/working conditions	1		
When preparing for a journey/to be successful	2		
About the birth of a child	3		
About marital matters	4		
About accidents/illness	5		
About dreams	6		
About ancestors	7		
About religious matters	8		
When bewitched	9		20

Reasons for consulting a herbalist: as above	1-9		21
--	-----	--	----

Reasons for consulting a Medical Doctor: as above	1-9		22
--	-----	--	----

Reasons for consulting an Evangelist/Minister as above	1-9		23
---	-----	--	----

Ancestral Worship practised:

Never	1		
Sometimes	2		
Regularly	3		
Only lately	4		
No more	5		24

Mode of ancestral worship:

Sacrifices offered	1		
Sacrifices with petitions	2		
Only petitions	3		
Payment of old debts	4		
Satisfying their requests	5		
Something else (eg.)	6		25

Addendum 12
03

Matter used in sacrifices:

- Beer
- Meat (uncooked)
- Meat (cooked)
- Unprepared food/stuff
- Prepared food
- Blood

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

26

Way of sacrificing:

- Left in veld (any spot)
- Left on grave
- Left at family's place of worship
- Poured out at any place
- Poured out at grave
- Poured out at family's place of worship
- Consumed by members of worshipping party

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

27

Marriage & Labola.

Attitudes:

- It should be kept in use by all
- Good for people in reserve only
- Desirable for unducated
- It only causes immorality & should therefore be abandoned
- It is refused by wife's family

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

28

Motivation:

- It prevents divorce
- It ensures good treatment of women
- It balances the powers between families
- It makes the bride the property of the bridegroom
- It buys her power to bear children
- It ensures the blessing of the ancestors
- It secures the bride for the family of the bridegroom
- It secures the power to bear children for family of the bridegroom

1	
2	
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4	
5	
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7	
8	

29

Addendum 12
03Feasibility:

Most people are able to labola before marriage
 Most people lack means of labola and have to live together unmarried

1		30
2		

Conditions:

People agree on labola and pay it off immediately after marriage is confirmed
 People promise to labola but if marriage is confirmed they forget about it
 People pay labola while living together with a view to a proper marriage later on

1		31
2		
3		

Labola is purposely not given before marriage, otherwise it might be lost
 If no children are born labola is refunded
 If children are not born a substitute is given to bridegroom

1		32
2		
3		

Form of marriage goods (magadi):

Cattle only
 Cattle and money
 Cattle, money, goats
 Cattle, money, goats, sheep
 Some of the above plus certain implements
 Money only
 Form insignificant

1		33
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		

Value of marriage goods:

The amount considered as sufficient
 The equivalent of R10

R11 - R20
 R21 - R30
 R31 - RR40
 R51 - R60
 R61 - R100
 Above R100

1		34
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		

Addendum 12
03

The total amount paid is decided upon by:

As stipulated by tradition

Decided upon by Kgotla

Decided upon by father of girl

Decided upon by family of girl

Decided upon by groom

Decided upon by father of groom

Decided upon by family of groom

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

35

The parties responsible for the marriage goods:

The groom

The groom and his father

Groom's maternal uncle and his sons

Groom's paternal uncle and his sons

His father's sisters and their sons

Mother's younger sisters and their sons

Some of these

All of these

These and others

1	
2	
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5	
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7	
8	
9	

36

Here a woman is usually taken as wife on her suggestion to a man

A woman is taken as wife if she agrees to a proposal of a man

A woman just comes to live with a man after they often had sexual relations

A woman comes to the lapa of a man when approached by a mediator

A woman comes to live with a man when negotiations with her family is started

She comes to the house of a man after negotiations with her family is completed

She comes to the lapa of the man only after full payment of magadi

Most of these are happening

1	
2	
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4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

37

03

Death & Burial:

The correct rituals should be observed at the death and burial of:

- A child
- A young woman
- A young man
- A married woman
- A married man
- All female initiates
- All male initiates
- All elderly people
- Anybody

1	
2	
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38

Upon the death of a woman notice of the death is given to:-

- All relatives living on Estates only
- All as required by tradition of woman's people
- All as required by tradition of man's people
- All relatives known
- All known friends and relatives
- Only to one person in woman's/man's family as required by tradition(mention)
- Nobody special is notified

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

39

Before the burial can take place the following should be present:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

1	
2	
3	
4	

40

Addendum 12
03

The ceremonial rites take place:

- On Estates in lapa where deceased lived
- At the home of deceased in reserve
- Only in Church on Estates
- Only in Church in Reserve
- In this house on Estates and Church
- At home in house and Church
- In veld
- Elsewhere (Mention.....)

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

41

The body of deceased is attended to:

- In case of a child: By any woman
- By any man
- By own mother
- By own father
- By grandmother
- By grandfather
- By anybody
- By ^{any}relative initiate
- By a witchdoctor

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

42

In case of a woman: as above

1-9	
1-9	

43

In case of a man : as above

44

The body of the deceased is buried in:

- A homemade coffin
- Coffin supplied by undertaker
- A skin of a beast or goat
- A skin of beast or goat with knees and arms pulled up and tightly bound
- In coffin and sinews of knees and elbows cut
- In coffin or skin with sinews cut and other rituals performed on body

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

45

Addendum 12
03

Mother, wife or sister indicate spot of grave
 Only important men are buried in cattle kraal
 Young people and children are buried in courtyard
 Babies are buried in hut
 Openings made in back of cattle kraal
 The corpse is passed through opening in enclosure
 The feet should always go out first
 The head should be in direction from where tribe came
 Most of these rules are observed

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

46

Near male relatives dig the grave
 The relatives attending remain in courtyard in two groups
 Personal decorations are put in grave
 Seeds are put in grave
 Hands are washed in medicine water after burial and water is shed on grave
 The sound corresponding with first cry of baby is heard in wailing
 Burial is to take place at night
 No relatives should work on following day and a beast should be slaughtered
 Most of these are done

1	
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7	
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9	

47

A period of abstentions follow the death of a relative
 The relatives are in darkness
 Hair is shaved
 Milk with medicine drunk
 Face, hands and feet of widows are blackened
 Widows wear python skin
 Men visiting young widows should chew medicine
 A purification feast follow time of abstentions
 Most of these are true

1	
2	
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5	
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7	
8	
9	

48

Addendum 12
03

A death might be caused by:-

- Illness
- An accident
- Witchcraft
- By two of these
- By all these
- By God only
- It is a natural end to every life

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

49

Communication with relatives and friends somewhere else:

On nearby farms:

- See them often
- Seldom
- Irregularly
- Never

1	
2	
3	
4	

50

In nearby towns:

- See them often
- Seldom
- Irregularly
- Never

1	
2	
3	
4	

51

In nearby reserves:

- See them often
- Seldom
- Irregular
- Never

1	
2	
3	
4	

52

Could you entertain visitors:

- freely
- on permission from manager
- never

1	
2	
3	

53

Interest in world affairs:

Interested in news about:

Rugby

Soccer

War

Terrorists

Politics

United nations

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

54

Reading of news papers:

Never

Sometimes

Regularly

When obtainable

1	
2	
3	
4	

55

Listening to news reports on the radio:

Never

Sometimes

Regularly

When possible

1	
2	
3	
4	

56

Attitude towards work:

I work to make a living

I work to keep out of trouble

I work because I enjoy it

I work for the future of my children

I work because everybody should work

I work because I was taught to work
by my parents

I work because I was taught so in
school

I work because the Church expects
me to do so

I do not know why

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

57

Addendum 12
03

I prefer to live here at Zebediela among:

- People speaking the same language as I do
- People coming from the same country as I do
- People who know Afrikaans
- People who know English
- People belonging to my church
- Christian people
- People knowing world affairs
- Educated people

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

58

Working conditions:

- I am satisfied with the conditions
- The Bantu foreman is unsympathetic
- The white foreman is unsympathetic
- We are cursed by foreman
- There is no understanding between the white people and us
- The white men always try to solve our problem here

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

59

During arrangements for a marriage the following people should be consulted:

- Minister of Religion
(reason
- Bantu Affairs Commissioner
(reason
- Herbalist
(reason
- Grandparents
(reason
- Witchdoctor
(reason
- Four of these
- Anybody else: Mention
-
-

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

60

Addendum 12
03

Beneficiary:

- Father in homeland
- Mother in homeland
- Tribesman on Estates
- Wife
- Eldest boy
- Eldest girl
- All the boys
- All the girls
-

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

61

Where is your real home?

- Zebediela location
- Zebediela Estates
- Farms in vicinity
- Potgietersrus District
- Pietersburg District
- Transvaal
- Natal
- Cape Province
- O.F.S.

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	

62

- Botswana
- Lesotho
- Zwasiland
- South West Africa
- Portuguese Territory
- Rhodesia
- Zambia
- Malawi

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

63

Addendum 12
03

Punishment inflicted on children:

Small Children:	By father	1	
	By mother	2	
	By elder children	3	
	By grandparents	4	
	By eldest brother	5	
	By eldest sister	6	
	Other individuals	7	
	Mention	8	
	It is never done	9	64

Bigger children:	By father	1	
	By mother	2	
	By eldest brother here	3	
	By eldest sister here	4	
	By grandparents	5	
	By other people	6	
	Mention	7	
	8	
	It is never done	9	65

To be known by the Chief, I paid:-

Mention Chief's name		
R 1 - R5	1	
R 6 - R10	2	
R11 - R20	3	
A head of cattle	4	
A sheep (if more mention number)	5	
A goat (if more mention number)	6	
Something else mention	7	
.....	8	
.....	9	66

I received a piece of land for a garden from the Chief.

Mention Chief's name
for myself

1	
2	
3	

For my wife
For every wife

67

It is the Chief of:

My people
My wife's people

1	
2	
3	
4	

It is the European owner of the farm
where I come from
It is the European owner of the farm
where my wife comes from

68

This garden is cultivated for us by:

My wife
My wife and her family
My wife and children
My wife, myself and the children
People paid by my wife
People paid by myself

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

69

I receive a garden on the Estates:

Yes	
No	

AND IT IS CULTIVATED:

Yes	
No	

The work in the garden is the responsibility of:

Myself

My wife

My wife and myself

My wife, myself and children

People paid for by wife

People paid for by myself

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

70

A house was built for us:At village of my wife's peopleAt my people's villageAt another village where I obtained permission to builtAt the village of my wife's former husbands people

At another place of my wifes choice

On a nearby farm

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

71

At that house now lives:

A relative

A relative and my elder children

A relative, elder children and my wife

My wife and smaller children

my wife and all the children

my wife occasionally to attend to cattle

my wife occasionally to attend to garden

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

72

Surname of Children:

When grown up my children will be known under the surname of:

Myself

My wife

1	
2	

73

Addendum 12
03

My wife before our marriage was:

- Never married (age of marriage)
- Divorced
- Widowed
- Deserted

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

74

Number of children my wife had before we met:

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4 or more

1	
2	
3	
4	

75

Length of time head of family been living on farm:

- 1 - 5 years
- 6- 10 years
- 10 - 11 years
- 16 - 20 years
- 21 - 25 years
- 26 - 30 years
- Over 31 years

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	

76

Seasonal workers:

- You return regularly
- You return when in need of money
- This is the first time you work here

1	
2	
3	

77

Co-operation:

- Poor
- Satisfactory
- Good

1	
2	
3	

78