HERE YOU WILL REMAIN:

Adolescent Experience on Farms in the Western Cape.

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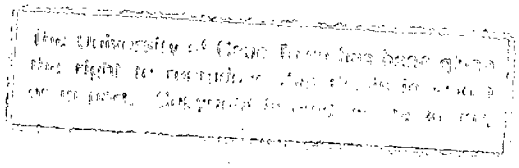

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Abstract

The thesis examines adolescent experience on two grape-growing farms in the Western Cape. Particular attention is paid to the daily lives of farm residents with special reference to adolescents and the power relations between farmers and farm residents and between males and females insofar as they affect adolescents.

The current literature on conditions on white-owned farms in South Africa lacks detailed research at the micro-level. This thesis begins to fill the gaps in the literature by providing an understanding of how people on the farms pursue their day-to-day lives.

Six months intensive fieldwork was conducted on two farms in the Western Cape. During this time participant observation was supplemented by a household survey, the collection of life-histories and interviews with farm residents. Adolescent labour was documented in both summer and winter by using observations, 24-hour recalls and instant checks.

An important theme which recurs throughout the thesis is that of the entrapment and encapsulation of farm residents. I show that despite the fact that different people - men, women and adolescent girls and boys - have different options for resisting the constraints of farm existence, they remain trapped in the valley with few alternative opportunities for employment elsewhere.

Here you will Remain.

Een Saterdag more,
Het ek opgestaan
My gesig gewas
My aangetrek.
Toe sit ek daar buite
Laat die son kan deurskyn.

Toe sien ek
Daar kom Baas Willie
se hondjie aan.
Hy kom by my,
Hy sê vir my:

Jou dagga roker
Hier sal jy bly.
Ooh alle my baasie
Wat het ek gemaak?
Nou sat jy 7 maande
Binne in die rooiblom tronk.

One Saturday morning,
I got up
Washed my face
Dressed myself.
Then I sat there outside
So that the sun can shine through.

Then I saw
Baas Willie's
dog approaching.
He comes to me,
He says to me:

You dagga smoker
Here you will remain.
Oh dear my baasie
What have I done?
Now you'll sit for 7 months
Inside the "rosy" prison.

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* The farmers who gave me access to their farms and allowed me to live in the *blok,* work on the farms and move freely around the valley;

* The people living in the valley who kindly invited me into their homes and incorporated me into their lives - they patiently answered my many questions and sat talking to me after long and tiring work days;

* The children in the *blok* who visited me, drew pictures for me, taught me how to light fires in the coal stove on cold winter nights and escorted me around the valley;

* And finally, grateful thanks to the adolescents without whom this thesis could not have been written, who gave up their evenings to meet me and who responded to me with warm-hearted co-operation and constant enthusiasm.

Here You Will Remain

is dedicated to
the memory of my friends

Wolfgang Unterlerchner

Stephen Kelsey

and

"Kathline Arendse"

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Introduction.

Only a small amount of anthropological research has been undertaken among people living on white-owned farms in South Africa (Baskin, 1982: 47). There is very little description of the experiences of farm labourers and the relationships between them and those with whom they live. Research on farming in South Africa has concentrated rather on the production process, productivity and commercial ventures. There have been some waves of interest in South African farm labourers and I describe some of them: In 1976 the South African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) hosted a conference on farm labour. The papers presented at the SALDRU conference fell into two main sections: those which discussed the macro-economic aspects of the supply and demand for farm labour (Morris, 1977; Nattrass, 1977) and those which were based on "field work"[1] (for example Kooy, 1977; Levy, 1977).

The papers presented by Hendrie and Kooy (1976), Knight (1977) and van der Vliet and Bromberger (1977) all concentrate on official agricultural statistics. All the authors show the statistics to be limited in their application. Knight, for instance, shows that official statistics do not distinguish between capitalist and subsistence agricultural employment trends despite the significant difference between the two. Hendrie and Kooy

1 The "field work" referred to here by Wilson et al (1977) does not, however, rely on participant observation related to farm workers and their families.

criticise the Agricultural Census for its treatment of casual workers while van der Vliet and Bromberger show how inconsistencies arise in the manner in which farmers complete the Census.

All the papers presented at the SALDRU conference in 1976 exhibit a preoccupation with wages paid to farm workers and with the associated working conditions (see Antrobus, 1976; Graaff, 1976; Kooy, 1977; Levy, 1977; Perks and Perks, 1976; Pietersen, 1976; Theron, 1976; van der Merwe, 1976). Closely allied with the concern with wages paid was the emphasis on payment in kind, housing, working hours and working conditions. Ardington's, Perks's and Perks's and Potgieter's papers are concerned with area studies. They show that changes in working conditions and wages have often been in response to a (real or perceived) labour shortage. This has led farmers to introduce a number of controls to keep workers on the farms (see Maree, 1977) or inducements in the form of improved living and working conditions to encourage people to remain (see Potgieter, 1976). Kooy, however, argues that there is no shortage of labour in the Karoo and farmers need not coerce or entice workers to remain.

> It seems then, that shortages of housing in the towns, lack of schooling and lack of skills, coupled with legislation restricting the movement of African workers, combine to "trap" workers in agriculture and to create a "reserve army" on the land (Kooy, 1977: 118).

In their discussions of the above-mentioned aspects of farm labour, these authors papers touched on a number of other issues such as farm workers' power to change certain things on the farms; the position of women living on

the farms and, in one particular paper by Pietersen, workers' comments about their lives. All of these topics are discussed in greater detail below. Despite the many papers based on "field work", the conference was primarily concerned with farmers' accounts of employment and wages based on statistical and census-type data. As a result there has been little material which reflects the interests or perspectives of either the workers or other people living on the farms.

In 1984 there occurred a second wave of papers on farm labour. These were presented at the Second Carnegie Enquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, held at the University of Cape Town. Several papers which focussed on farm labour were presented (Budlender, 1984; Haysom and Thompson (discussed below), 1984; Hugo, 1984; Manona, 1984; Nasson, 1984).

Nasson's analysis of paternalism through the notions of "total institutions" and gift-giving has influenced much of the subsequent work done on farm labour. In order to understand the nature of the relationships between white farmers and their employees, Nasson draws on the work done by Goffman and Foucault on institutions. Nasson sees the farms as being "total institutions" in "which dominant authority exercises a 'total' regulation of inmates' daily lives" (1984: 2). Nasson also relies on Mauss's analysis of gift-giving which, argues Nasson, further entrenches the relationship of superiority and subservience. His paper examines the schooling conditions for black South Africans living on white-owned farms. For Nasson, farm schooling is to be understood not as an opportunity for farm children

to better their opportunities in life, but rather as a "disciplinary social order" which reproduces the poverty and lack of alternatives experienced by farm workers (see below and Chapter Four for further discussion on Nasson).

Manona's paper on rural-urban migration of farm workers picks up on a theme introduced at the SALDRU conference of 1976. Here Nattrass (1977) argued that the capitalist agricultural sector has provided a significant supply of labour to the rest of the capitalist sector. Graaff (1976), and van der Merwe (1976) argued that in the Western Cape there occurred the movement of 18- to 25-year-olds to the urban areas. Pietersen, working in the Elgin area, noted widespread migration of all coloured workers, regardless of age, to urban areas. Levy (1977) produced a careful analysis of the seasonal migration of coloured workers in the Western Cape. Levy's work examines how farmers organise their needs associated with seasonal labour in order to diminish their costs. Levy is concerned primarily with the farmers' perspective and he does not examine the implications of seasonal migration from the perspective of the worker. Perks and Perks (1976) discuss briefly the turnover of African workers on the farms in the Cathcart area of the Eastern Cape. They suggest that the farms experience an annual turnover of 23% of the labour force, half of which are estimated to have moved to towns, the other half to have gone to other farms in the area. Manona, dealing with African farm workers in the vicinity of Grahamstown, posits a chain migration by which rural families come to live in urban areas. Manona's work focuses on the urban aspect of migration, on how farm workers rely

on family to be able to move to Grahamstown and on how people adapt to and survive urban life. Budlender, in both her papers presented at the 1984 Carnegie conference, suggests an increasing reluctance amongst young coloured males to be employed on the farms in the Western Cape. She also argues that the packing season is characterised by a high labour turnover on the farms as people are able to move from farm to farm. Farmers, desperate for labour, offer these people accommodation and employment. Subsequent to 1984, very little research has been done on the migration and movement of farm labourers living on white-owned farms. One exception is the work done by De Jongh (1992) on itinerant migrancy of the sheep-shearers or "Karretjie people" who live around the district of Colesberg in the Karoo. Although migration has been sporadically documented (Levy, 1977; Manona, 1984) there is a general understanding of a trend towards movement from rural to urban areas (see Budlender, 1984; Graaff, 1976; Pietersen, 1976; van der Merwe, 1976).

Although the literature has covered issues such as housing, wages and labour legislation affecting farm labourers, researchers have seldom consulted the residents themselves. This is evident in the papers presented at a "Workshop on the South African Agrarian Question: Past, Present and Future" hosted by the University of the Witwatersrand in 1987. Several more detailed studies on farm labour have since become available (Davies, 1990; Keegan, 1988; Marcus, 1986; Scully, 1989).

Introduction

At the micro-level, analysis of farm labour has concentrated on the poverty and insecurity experienced by the people living on the farms (Claassens, 1989, 1990; Daphne, 1982; Levy, 1985; Masia, 1987, 1988) and on the tot system in the Western Cape (Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR), 1989; Van Rhyneveld, 1986). The tot or *dop* system revers to the provision by farmers to their labourers of rough wine during working hours. "Described as a 'perk' or a 'bonus ration' by some farmers, the *dop* is in reality a way of binding workers to the farms in a state of inebriated dependence" (Davies, 1990: 14).

The violence of farmers against workers is the outcome of extreme farmer control and paternalism. Violence enacted upon farm workers by their employers is often cited in the media. The article published by the Institute of Criminology (1991) is no exception and, focussing as it does on brutality of right-wing farmers, it is at risk of being labelled primarily as media-hype. Segal (1991), however, presents a thorough and systematic investigation into the nature and extent of violence on white-owned farms in the South Eastern Transvaal. She shows that it is the racist attitudes of many of the farmers which underpin much of the violence. Coupled with this, many of the farmers are seen to be in a vulnerable position following the Government's scrapping of the Land Act. Segal argues that the courts and the police also contribute towards the violence; and that the Church, through its silence, "indirectly aids and abets the culture of violence" (1991: 27). Violence, she says, is "part of the daily, lived experiences of labourers on the farms" (1991: 5) assuming the many different forms of

neglect, of occupational hazards, of direct assaults, of evictions and finally of language. Giving credence to the work of Segal is the article by Schoeman and Plater (1992) which illustrates, with frightening clarity, the circumstances surrounding the death of Charlie Thompson, a farm labourer working on a farm in Stellenbosch. What is clear from Schoeman's and Talbot's paper is that Charlie's attacker, the manager of the farm on which Charlie was employed, was only brought to court owing to pressure from an outside agency. His sentence was light, he spent only six days in prison and his insurers agreed to pay the settlement of the civil claim.

There are, however, far more subtle areas of farmer control. One such area which has been extensively researched is the subject of farm schools in South Africa (Badroodien, 1990; Gaganakis, 1987; Gordon, 1987; Graaff and Gordon, 1992; Graaff, Louw and van der Merwe, 1990; Nasson, 1984, 1990). Nasson's analysis of farm schools has already been discussed (see above), but his work has paved the way for a number of other approaches to the nature of farm schooling. Graaff, Louw and van der Merwe present a critique of Nasson's labelling and understanding of farms as "total institutions". They argue that not only does the farmer not have total control, as is assumed by the total institution model, but also that workers can and do oppose the farmers' rule. Furthermore they show that workers in the Western Cape are subjected to a number of social and political influences which originate outside the farm.

Introduction

The recent work by Graaff and Gordon (1991) traces the historical creation of farm schools. They show how political power has played a crucial role in the formation and current position of farm schools. Graaff and Gordon further stress the importance of challenging the current situation and examine the opportunities to restructure farm schooling. Here they examine the role of the State, of farmer-orientated organisations, of non-government organisations and of community involvement.

Studies in farm labour have also concentrated on farmer control and paternalism. Du Toit (1991) having done pioneering work in this respect on wine farms in the Western Cape. His earlier work provides a critique of Nasson's analysis of farm schooling. Du Toit's work concentrates on the relationship between farmer and worker and on the manner in which farmers and workers are respectively "placed" in positions of domination and submission. Thus he shows that while workers are marginalised, there are ways in which they can challenge the farmer's power. Du Toit, in his analysis, sees paternalism as far more than solely economic relations between worker and farmer. He shows that for both the farmer and the worker paternalism is also a specific way of understanding the relationship between them. The paternal farmer depicts his workers as having an obligation to the farm, as belonging to the farm which operates as a type of family. However, du Toit argues that it is precisely this notion of the farm as a family which can be used to the worker's advantage. Workers, in turn, use the farmer's ideology of a family to make demands on him and to make their expectations of the farmer known. In du Toit's more

recent work (1992, 1993) he argues that trade union activity on the farms builds on workers understanding of paternalism and extends the obligations voiced by workers to the farmer. Unionised workers are shown no longer to depend on farmer benevolence for fringe benefits. Rather these "extras" are seen as a legitimate part of the employment package. Unionised workers have also re-addressed their subservient position and use the discourse of paternalism to assert their position as partners with the farmer.

Kooy, in her 1977 paper, described the living and working conditions of people living on farms in the Karoo. She further examined workers' ability to change unpleasant and unsatisfactory conditions. She argues that women form the most powerless category of people living on the farms as they form a captive labour force which can be paid extremely low wages (in 1974 when Kooy interviewed women 58 per cent of them earned 10 cents an hour or less). Budlender (1984), examining the fluctuating demand for labour with reference to mechanisation, shows that farmers see women as being ideal for harvest work particularly as women are never permanently employed. Labour on farms has become less arduous due to mechanisation and the application of improved technology. This has allowed for the increased employment of women. Budlender argues that as women have become more important to farmers, so farmers have been more reluctant to evict families where the men are not working on the farm. Budlender, drawing the same correlation as Kooy, argues that women's employment results in lower wages being paid. The lack of power experienced by women is also discussed by Mayson (1986, 1990) who examines women's positions on the

farms (this is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five). More recently Gordon (1993) has analysed the position of women living on peri-urban smallholdings in the Transvaal. She ascribes to women a sense of agency which is manifest in the choices women make. Nevertheless she argues that it is the ability to chose and to make use of different strategies to counter undesirable conditions which further facilitates women's oppression. Although researchers have become interested in gender-related behaviour amongst farm labourers (Davies, 1990; Gordon, 1993; Mayson, 1986), little has been documented on the subject.

The Legal Position of Farm Workers

> [There was] no place in agriculture for labour legislation, and the government had to ensure that powerful black trade unions were not allowed to organise farm labourers. The farmers do not want trade unions and the labourers do not need them (Mr S. P. van Vuuren, Conservative Party MP 1987 speaking in the House of Assembly, quoted in Segal, 1991: 18).

One aspect of farm labour which has recently received much publicity is the legal position of the farm workers (Argus 16 April 1992, Argus 21 June 1992, Argus 11 November 1992, Cape Times 19 June 1991, South 13-17 June 1992, Weekly Mail 22-28 May 1992, Weekly Mail 20-26 November 1992). Until 1993 (see below), farm workers were not protected by any of the statutory legislation which operates to protect industrial workers in South Africa (Haysom and Thompson, 1984; Segal, 1991). In 1982 the Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, requested the National Manpower Commission to investigate conditions on white-owned farms. However, in

March of that year, Mr Botha issued a clarifying statement in which he said that special consideration would be given to the "sound relationship between employer and employee in agriculture" (quoted in Baskin, 1982: 45). The results of this commission were never made public. Keenan and Sarakinsky (1987) argue that the evidence given to the commission stressed the urgency for legislative reforms. They further suggest that it was an "open secret" that the Commission strongly recommended that the legal status of farm workers be amended.

Until very recently farm labourers have experienced minimal protection from the law. Baskin (1982) shows that although conditions of work and minimum standards of accommodation for farm workers are laid down in government notices, these requirements have seldom been enforced. Work-related diseases and accidents on farms are covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act, although Keenan and Sarakinsky (1987) show that very few of the diseases linked to agriculture are recognised by the Act. Furthermore, as the Workmen's Compensation Fund relies on the farmers to submit wage returns and pay assessments, many workers do not have access to it. Many workers are also unaware of the Fund and how to claim for compensation. The amount paid out in compensation is based on the wages received by a workman and, as a result, farm workers receive only small amounts of financial aid.

Workers are also covered by the Pensions Act and Keenan and Sarakinsky again point out that "(m)any workers in the rural areas entitled to the benefits do not receive them,

because of the difficulty of navigating bureaucratic provisions and the inconvenient location of district pension offices" (1987: 586).

Farm workers are protected by the Common Law Contract of Unemployment in which the rights and duties of both the farmer and the farm labourer are fixed. However, as Haysom and Thompson (1984) stress, the contract purports to accommodate an equal distribution of rights and duties. The contract assumes that a service is provided in exchange for a wage and that either party can terminate this service at reasonable notice. This, argue Haysom and Thompson, is not the factual position. They argue, as does Segal, that "the contract is characterised by an asymmetrical distribution of power, in which the employer unilaterally makes the rules" (1991: 17). The contract, which can be either verbal or written, relies on the farmer's interpretation of it although it does specify that workers must be made aware of what their wages are. No provision is made in the contract for public holidays, sick pay or paid leave and farmers are not compelled to pay for overtime work. The contract does not prevent the use of child labour and children over the age of seven may enter into employment contracts with their guardian's consent.

Haysom and Thompson (1984) contend that farm workers have been discriminated against, not only by statutory commission but also, and primarily, by statutory omission. Farm workers have historically been excluded from the industrial relations machinery by Section 2(2) of the Wage Act and Section 2(2) of the Industrial Relations Act. The Labour Relations Act (LRA) No. 28 of 1956 is essential for

the control of trade union activities and employer organisation (Bennett, 1986). It is this Act which allows for the prevention and settlement of disputes between employers and employees at the level of conciliation boards or the industrial court. And, accordingly, it is the exclusion of farm workers from this Act which has aroused the most derisive commentary on farm labourers' exclusion from the statutory legislation.[2] Union organisers are not prohibited from working on farms but more effectively, as is pointed out by Ball (1990), are not recognised by the State, as farm workers may never register a trade union due to their exclusion from the LRA. Workers are also denied protection from victimisation for belonging to trade unions. Segal (1991) contends that this legislation used in conjunction with the Trespass Act makes it difficult for workers to meet and organise on farms where they are not employed.

As mentioned above, workers are also excluded from the Wage Act No 5 of 1957. This Act regulates wages and conditions of service (Haysom and Thompson, 1984). Thus, as Keenan and Sarakinsky (1987) show, there are no regulations regarding minimum wages, employment conditions, health and safety standards, working hours and overtime pay.

The omission of farm workers from the Unemployment Insurance Act No. 30 of 1966 means that there is no financial insurance scheme from the State towards which farm workers can contribute while employed in order to claim

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2 For example, at the Farm Labour Law Conference hosted in Stellenbosch in May 1993, trade unionists, activists, lawyers and academics still felt that this was a major barrier to effective bargaining on behalf of farm workers.

financial support when unemployed. Farm workers are also excluded from the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) No. 3 of 1983. Their exclusion from this Act means that minimum conditions of employment need not be regulated. Annual leave, sick leave, working hours, overtime work and pay, termination of employment and wages need never be formalised between farmer and worker (Haysom and Thompson, 1984).

Haysom and Thompson (1984) maintain that while industrial workers sign similar contracts with their employees they are further protected through additional legislation such as the LRA, the BCEA and the Wage Act. Bennett argues that,

> (t)he rationale behind the legislation granting extra-contractual protection to workers is that individual employees can be forced, by employers in stronger bargaining positions, into accepting terms of employment contrary to their interests.
> A common law contract of employment between a farmer and his workers, on the other hand, need only specify the exact wage to be paid and define the type of work to be done (1986:98).

Farm workers' vulnerability is further entrenched by the fact that they often live on the farmer's land. Baskin notes that workers are faced with the "ever present threat of eviction" (1982: 51). Van Rhyneveld (1986) declares this order to vacate a house to be the strongest weapon the farmer has at his disposal.

The Unemployment Insurance Act (UIA) was extended to agriculture on the 1 of January 1993 and on the 1 of May 1993 the BCEA was expanded to include farm workers. Farm workers are now legally entitled to work for only 48 hours a

week for their normal wage. Farm workers must also be paid for overtime work which must be agreed to beforehand. During the packing season (in the case of grape-farming) the 48 hours may be extended to 52 hours at no additional expense to the farmer. Workers must, however, agree to this in writing and the farmer has to allow to them the equivalent four hours off in winter. These hours in which workers are off work may not be deducted from their wages. Work performed on Sundays and public holidays is now regarded by the BCEA as overtime and workers are entitled to at least double pay.

Notice of termination of employment must now be given 30 days in advance. If the worker resides on the farm then he or she must be given an additional 30 days in which to seek alternative employment and accommodation. The worker retains the right to tend to and harvest any crops he or she may have planted.

The Government has also undertaken to extend the LRA and the Wage Act to farm workers before the end of 1993. These Bills were published in December for comment and Benjamin (1993) points out that both these Bills are contentious. The proposed LRA Bill would limit farm workers' rights to collective bargaining by constraining their right to strike. The Wage Amendment Bill, according to Benjamin, "hardly 'extends' the Wage Act to agriculture" (1993: 94). Benjamin points out that the Bill only proposes that the Wage Board set guide-lines for minimum wages. Such guide-lines would not be subject to legislation and farmers need only comply with them if they wish to. Although farm workers do not get the right to organise and trade unions on

the farms are still not recognised as such by the Government, the BCEA does protect workers against dismissal for involvement in trade union activities. Workers are also now legally entitled to refuse to do anything prohibited by the BCEA and they are free to discuss their working conditions with either the farmer or anyone else.

Methodology

The thesis examines the daily lives of people living and working on two farms in a valley in the Western Cape. Nineveh farm is owned by Mr van Wyk and Monte Roza by Mr du Toit.[3] By concentrating on micro-level analysis I hope to illustrate the pattern of the daily lives of the people resident on the farms. Ethnographic description can contribute detail on the nature of experiences among farm labourers and members of their families. This is an area that has largely been overlooked in existing literature.

The thesis concentrates on the experiences of adolescence on the farms. There are a number of reasons for the focus. During the initial stages of my research, I became aware of a sense of "invisibility" with regards to adolescents. They simply were not to be seen "hanging around". This feeling of "invisibility" was further reinforced by the Sisters at the local clinic who commented that adolescents living on the farms were assuming adult roles through, for boys, their work on the farm and, for

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3 Farmers gave me access to their farms on the condition that I conceal their identities and the name of the area. Their sensitivity was in reaction to adverse publicity following a previous academic enquiry. The farmers feared that negative publicity could jeopardise the marketing of their products. I have, in consequence, altered all the names in the thesis.

girls, teenage motherhood. I also became interested in how the system of farm labour has been perpetuated, how adults have been socialised into the system and how people are introduced to farm labour. In order to examine these processes it seemed appropriate and useful to focus on adolescent labour. I was also hoping to examine how people moved around despite farmer control. It seemed likely that the people most "free" to move would be adolescents as they are not necessarily encumbered by family in the form of dependents.

The decision to focus on adolescents was further influenced by a call from Reynolds and others (Burman and Reynolds, 1986; Jones, 1990) to examine the lives of children. Reynolds (1989:201), for example, wrote:

> In South Africa, there is need for much more work on excavating the reality of children's experience. We ought to know what the real impact of discrimination, migration, re-location and repatriation are on children. We ought to know how many childhood years each child spends with his or her mother and father. We ought to discover what access they have to the props of Western society; the physical conditions under which they live; their mobility; the continuity of their school experience; and the quality of their education in the classroom.

In order to describe adolescents' experiences it is essential to place them within the contexts of adults' experiences. Therefore, attention is given to the situation of labourers in the Western Cape.

My interest in farm and labour studies was stimulated by a research project conducted on behalf of the Farm Health Worker (FHW) Project of the Red Cross. I had been employed to assess the role of farm health workers on farms in a

particular valley. The research was concerned with the effectiveness of the farm health workers' interaction with both farmers and other farm residents.

A month (mid-May to mid-June 1991) was set aside in which to conduct research. During this time I stayed in a small town in the area and travelled daily to the farms upon which farm health workers were working. I gained access to eight farms and was able to interview the farmers and those living on the farms. It was difficult to establish trust among the workers and initial interviews were unsuccessful. I decided to adopt a more participative approach. I ignored all forms of data collection for the first two weeks and instead worked alongside the people in the vineyards or packing sheds. The farmers always assumed that farm health work involves only women and so I was assigned only women's work. In winter women's work involved making boxes in the packing sheds, loading poles onto a lorry and carting manure around in laundry baskets in order to fertilize a new vineyard. Apart from providing endless sources of amusement both to the workers and to the farmers, I made friends with some of the women on Nineveh and Monte Roza and their support later proved invaluable when I took up residence alongside them in order to begin to research the lives of the adolescents. The links and early friendships I established with the women living on these farms was of tremendous assistance and comfort when I later began participant observation on these farms.

I spent the second half of the month gathering data through formal questionnaires. During this time, I took the opportunity to visit women at home and conduct interviews there. I later discovered that many people thought I was a house inspector from the Rural Foundation, which explained the frequent apologies for untidiness in the houses.

The preliminary research gave me access to farms and the impetus to pursue my own study. I was able to capitalise on the links that I had made with women on the farms via the farm health workers.

I began intensive fieldwork in August 1991 and remained on Nineveh farm until February 1992. During my stay I rented a farm labourer's cottage in the *blok*[4] on Nineveh farm. I had initially hoped to spend three months living on Nineveh and three months living on Monte Roza but was unable to obtain permission to live in the *blok* on Monte Roza.

I spent the first month getting to know the people living on Nineveh. I lived in the labourers' area and was granted the position of a "privileged outsider". As a privileged outsider I was able to contravene certain social norms. For example, I could live alone in a farm cottage which would normally house a family; I could drive to town and when necessary I could absent myself, such as during the Christmas period when the *blok* is characterised by excessively violent activity, and I could approach the farmer on behalf of the people in the *blok*. Gradually the members of the *blok* and I learned to adjust to each other. The children were the first to overcome their shyness and

4 *Blok* is an Afrikaans word that literally means "block". The farmers in the valley use the term to refer to the residential area in which the labourers live.

visit me. One day I found them playing a game in which I was portrayed as a policeman and I suspect that many people initially saw me as an authoritative figure. The idea that I was present to watch over people and to keep control changed as people came to know me. After several months of living in the *blok*, people commented on how they could talk freely in front of me. They said coloured[5] people could not usually do this in the presence of white people.

I had most difficulties with some of the adult men who made sexual advances - usually only when they were drunk or high on *dagga* (Cannabis). Soon after I had arrived, some of the women asked me if I had come to the farm because I wanted to find myself a *hotnot*[6] husband. Once they began to understand more fully my purpose in living on the farm, they scorned the men for making advances. With the women's support, I was able to ignore the men. The women's protection extended beyond the boundaries of the farm. I came to rely more on women, adolescents and children for information than on men. The protection I received from the women on Nineveh remained in force for most of the six months that I lived in the valley.

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5 The South African population was officially separated into four "racial" categories - "African", "white" "Asian" and "coloured", by the now-defunct Population Registration Act of 1950. The category "coloured" is defined only in negative terms as "A person who is not a white or a black" (West and Boonzaier, 1989: 3). The use of such racial categories throughout the report does not imply support for either the terms or the ideology underlying racial classification. However, the people living in the valley have a particular historical background as a result of their racial classification and many of them still define themselves according to this classification.

6 The word translates as Hottentot, but frequently, and in this context, implies coloured.

Two weeks before I was due to finish my fieldwork, one of the women came and warned me that her husband might try to rape me. As I was aware of his previous conviction for the rape of his own nine-year-old daughter, I heeded her warning and gave up my cottage on Nineveh farm. For the remaining two weeks I stayed with a farmer on a nearby farm and visited both Nineveh and Monte Roza daily. Had it not been for this woman's concern I would have remained on Nineveh farm ignorant of the possible consequences. It is ironic that the breakdown in the women's ability to protect me, led to me leaving the farm and, in the end, provided for my safety.

I began my fieldwork with a household survey of the 29 households on the farm (see Appendix 1.1). I conducted the questionnaires, interviews and general conversation in Afrikaans which is the language spoken by most of the people, except for two women, one of whom only spoke Xhosa, the other only Sesotho. I asked the children who could speak Xhosa and Sesotho to help me with these questionnaires. (These interviews amused us all as there were several misunderstandings, and eventually the children went to fetch an old man who spoke all three languages, and asked him to translate for me). The questions were to do with demographic information on households, work histories, income and expenditure.

While doing the earlier research on farm health work I had interviewed 50 people on six farms about wages and so I had an idea of wages on these farms. Now I asked the same questions in a more formal manner, recording responses on a questionnaire. This produced an unexpected reaction: after

completing a questionnaire with the foreman's wife, the foreman told the owner of Nineveh, Mr van Wyk[7], that I had asked for information about wages. I was called to Mr van Wyk's office in the packing shed whereupon he questioned my intentions and warned me that I was not to jeopardise the export potential of the farmers in South Africa. After a long discussion he granted me permission to continue to live and work on the farm. The incident occurred at the same time as the strikes by workers at the University of Cape Town which received wide media coverage; I surmise that Mr van Wyk was scared by the radical action on campus into having second thoughts about the wisdom of allowing me to conduct research on his farm. I was allowed to remain on the farm because Mr van Wyk felt it would be safer to allow me to finish my research quietly than to throw me off the farm and risk, as he phrased it, my "writing a vindictive letter to the overseas press". Thereafter, whenever he sensed that I was unhappy about something, he took great pains to try to persuade me not to complete the research. He would argue that if I did not feel that the research was going anywhere then I should abandon it before I wasted more time working on it. I concentrated on establishing close ties with the people living in the *blok* and I tried to interact with Mr van Wyk in ways which were acceptable to

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7 Throughout the thesis I refer to the farmers and their wives by their surnames and to the people living in the *blok* by their first names. This reflects the nature of my relationships during the period of fieldwork. I was on a friendly, first-name basis with the farm residents but I kept my distance from the farmers and always addressed them in formal terms.

the people in the *blok*. When matters arose which I had to discuss with Mr van Wyk I would always first question people in the *blok* as to what they thought I should do, and I always took their advice into consideration.

On Monte Roza farm I became aware that the relationship between Mr du Toit and his workers was different from the relationship between Mr van Wyk and his workers on Nineveh farm. The following examples serve to illustrate the different relationships.

On Nineveh farm Mona Manuel is employed to maintain the garden surrounding Mr van Wyk's house. During my stay on the farm I took photographs of the people and Mona wanted to be photographed in front of the roses she had grown in Mr and Mrs van Wyk's garden. Mona was afraid to have the photograph taken while Mr and Mrs van Wyk were at home and waited until they were out before asking me to take the photograph.

One Saturday I had been invited to lunch with Mr and Mrs du Toit on Monte Roza. We were sitting in the lounge talking when Miena Jacobs, the forewoman, and some other women from the farm walked into the room. The women had not knocked before entering and they were holding secateurs and roses in their hands. After exchanging greetings Miena said that they had only come to tell Mr du Toit that they had picked some roses from his garden for the following day's church proceedings.

Living among the workers on Nineveh farm allowed me to make easy and frequent contact with people and I was able to keep in touch with daily events and to talk with far more people than would otherwise have been possible.

On Monte Roza I developed a more formal programme of research as I did not live on the farm. A forewoman was employed on the farm to supervise women and through her I arranged an initial meeting with adolescents in order to seek their co-operation. Seven of the 13 adolescents living on the farm agreed to work with me and we met one evening a week for the next four months. During these sessions we

made earrings and bracelets and played music and the adolescents drew pictures of their activities and wrote on various themes for me. We had discussions on labour, boyfriends, smoking, gangsters, violence and the farmers. We mimed and had occasional concerts and even one *dans* (dance). The meetings afforded me the opportunity to meet the adolescents on their own ground and it gave them the chance to direct discussion towards their own interests. All the meetings took place in the crêche, which also doubled as the community's TV room and the venue for bible study and for games such as dominoes. I also worked alongside the adolescents, visited them at their homes in the *blok* and accompanied them on errands and outings.

I conducted a series of interviews and recorded life histories on both Nineveh and Monte Roza. I interviewed sixteen adolescents (namely, the seven from Nineveh and the nine from Monte Roza who formed part of my sample). I also interviewed their parents and one other member from each of their households. The interviews proved to be very disappointing: they were often stilted, uninspiring and dull. I then conducted life histories with the same 48 people. The life histories proved to be more interesting than the interviews as people were able to speak about what interested them. Informal discussions which I initiated while I worked alongside people proved much more fruitful. In the afternoons I would sit under the *afdak* (lean-to) with the women who were not working. Conversation was easier when I occupied myself with sewing. Our conversations covered many topics including fights in the *blok*, recent moves and cases of theft.

As I had a car I was able to offer transport and I had many requests for lifts to hospitals, clinics and the urban areas. The many lifts I gave provided me with opportunities to return friendships and favours. I took advantage of the times spent waiting in the doctor's waiting room and at the clinic to meet people from other farms in the valley and to listen to their discussions. I attended church on occasions, a sports day in Stellenbosch, school and church concerts, song evenings and confirmation celebrations.

The thesis has been divided into seven chapters. Chapter Two describes the contexts of people's experience on the farms. In Chapter Three I analyse the working environment of farm labourers and adolescents. I discuss the processes used in grape-farming and the seasonal nature of farming. I then make use of observations, 24-hour recalls and instant checks to record the labour of adolescents within the household. Underlying the labour processes are the dynamics of power and farmer control which are dealt with in Chapter Four. Here the relationship between farmers and workers is analysed and areas of struggle between farmers and adolescents as well as between adolescents and other adults living in the *blok* are investigated. In Chapter Five I examine another aspect of power by exploring relations between men and women who live and work on the farms. Chapter Six explores the opportunities adolescents have to leave the valley through movement to the urban centres. Within this context I suggest that movement is on the one hand an "escape" from

day-to-day living conditions, while on the other hand the movement of adolescents facilitates their future existence on the farms. In 1993, two years after beginning fieldwork in the valley, I returned to Nineveh and Monte Roza farms. In Chapter Seven I discuss the changes which have taken place in the lives of the adolescents.

Chapter Two

Setting the Scene

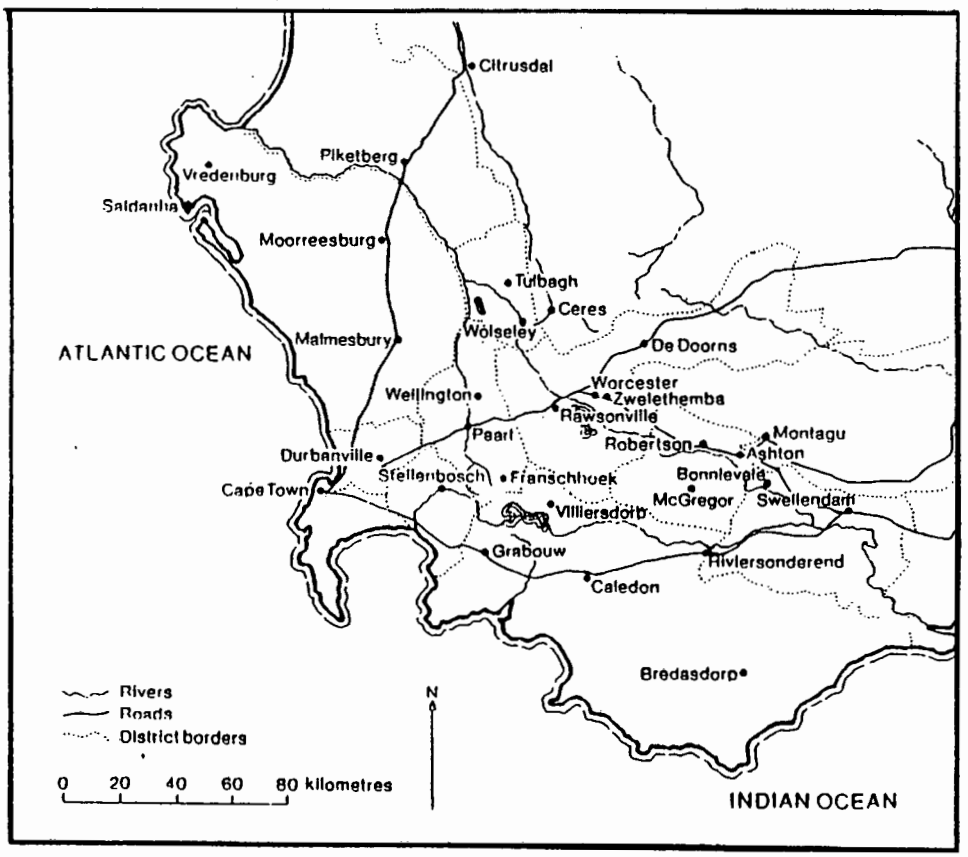
The young people whose stories are told here live in a valley in the Boland. The valley lies close to the mountains of the Western Cape and the nearest town is about 50 kilometres away. The southern entrance to the valley is 80 km from Cape Town (see Map 2.1).

The valley is 40km long and 7km at its widest point. In the valley 6 800 hectares of land are vineyards. Rising out of these neat and even fields are the high mountains of the Western Cape. During the summer months bright blue skies contrast vividly with the green of the vineyards and grapes are readily available. As summer turns to autumn so the vineyards change colour, creating a patchwork effect of red, yellow, orange and green fields. In winter snow covers the mountains, often reaching almost to the valley floor. The sunlight shafting through the winter clouds creates an ethereal effect. In spring the snows melt and new buds appear on the vines as they once again turn green.

Approximately 300 farms are located in the valley which has an estimated population of 37 000 people. The farmers in the valley grow an average yearly production of 8,3 million cartons of grapes. This provides for both local and export markets and supplies over 50 per cent of the total export production of grapes from South Africa (Wilson et al., 1977). The fertility of the valley has enabled some farmers to acquire wealth and authority. As one farmer's

wife said to me: "The farmers in this valley make their own rules on the farms and they are so rich that they forget they cannot make their own rules in the village as well."

The homes of the farmers lie between the vineyards. Some are beautiful old houses with green lawns and well laid-out gardens; they emanate a sense of stability and permanence. Nearby are the smaller cottages of the farm labourers. Some of these are picturesque and they enhance the beauty of the valley. They are small and quaint with roofs and windows painted matching colours set against whitewashed walls. Some of them have small, well-tended gardens.



Map 2.1: The Grape-growing Regions of the Western Cape (source: CIIR, 1989).

There is, however, another perspective from which one can view the valley, a perspective which is aptly described by Ainslie, who writes:

> South Africans are accustomed to the contrast between the shady whitewashed homestead where live the farmer's family, served by its black domestics, and the one- or two-roomed hovels, with their open-air kitchen fires, their lavatories the open bush and their water supply the nearest stream or a communal tap, where the black farmworkers live (Ainslie, 1977: 30).

There is a small town in the valley that the local farmers call "the village". The village looks like many other towns in the Cape with its buildings in the Cape Dutch style, wine cellars and a members' club. Across the road from the club is a school which caters for white children from Sub. A (which most children attend from age five) to Std Ten (from which many children matriculate at age 18). The village boasts one hotel and a liquor outlet, a supermarket, one clothing store, a general store and a co-operative. There are several small cafés, two garages and an imposing Dutch Reformed church. Located in the centre of the village is the police station, a post office and several banks and building societies. On the outskirts of the village there are numerous small engineering firms and a school for coloured children that offers education only to Standard Seven. Further from the village centre is a small school for African children that offers education to Standard Four only.

A few roadside stalls that sell fresh grapes in season and a few small shops can be found on the outskirts of the

village. Sign-boards situated along dirt roads indicate the way to farmers' homesteads. It is along these dirt roads, not far from the village, that the two farms on which I conducted my research are located. I have called them Nineveh and Monte Roza.

The Local Setting

Nineveh is an old farm, first established in the early 1900s. The approach road is bordered by vineyards on both sides. The farm covers 33 hectares[1] of land and has two main houses, one of which stands empty. In the one closest to the road the farmer, Mr van Wyk, lives with his wife and four children. He was a Dutch Reformed minister who is now engaged in full-time farming. His house is large and spacious.

Behind the main house are the storage and packing sheds where the machinery and farm vehicles are stored. The farm office is situated inside the packing shed and is elevated to give a full view of activities within the shed. Outside the shed there is a gravel area and a large fig tree beneath which the labourers sometimes rest during tea-time (15h45 - 16h00). The tree effectively marks the border between the farm and the labourers' "space". It is as far as the children from the *blok* would venture before starting to worry about Mr Van Wyk's dogs attacking them for going too close to the main farm houses. It is also as far as the adults would accompany me on week days without fearing that

1 According to the farmers the optimum size farm for efficient farming is between nine and thirteen hectares, although farms in the valley vary in size from seven to 200 hectares (Wilson et al., 1977).

Mr Van Wyk would see them and enquire about their absence from work. Over weekends this border was still maintained.

At the far end of the packing shed there is a room which is partitioned off from the packing shed and can be approached only from the outside. The room, and a small fenced-off area, form the crêche. Here children aged from one month to six years old are supervised by a woman who was selected by Mr van Wyk from the labour force. The children are given coffee, supplied by the farmer, and food, supplied by their parents. The crêche is open during working hours, so mothers bring their children to the crêche on their way to work in the mornings and collect them after work in the evenings. In winter the number of children varies from five to about 15, as mothers keep their children at home if they themselves are not working. During the summer months when all the mothers are working, all the small children attend the crêche, except for those who are not meant to be living on the farm (see Chapters Five and Six).

The crêche is also used as the TV room, as a hall for social events and as a place in which to play dominoes or to socialise when it rains. The room is large and bare, save for a television set, mounted high up on the wall, a stove which is kept locked, a makeshift stage and a few wooden benches near to the television. The floor is cement and the windows are small.

Bordering the crêche are the labourers' cottages. These come in a variety of shapes and sizes. Diagram 2.1 shows the spatial layout of the farm.

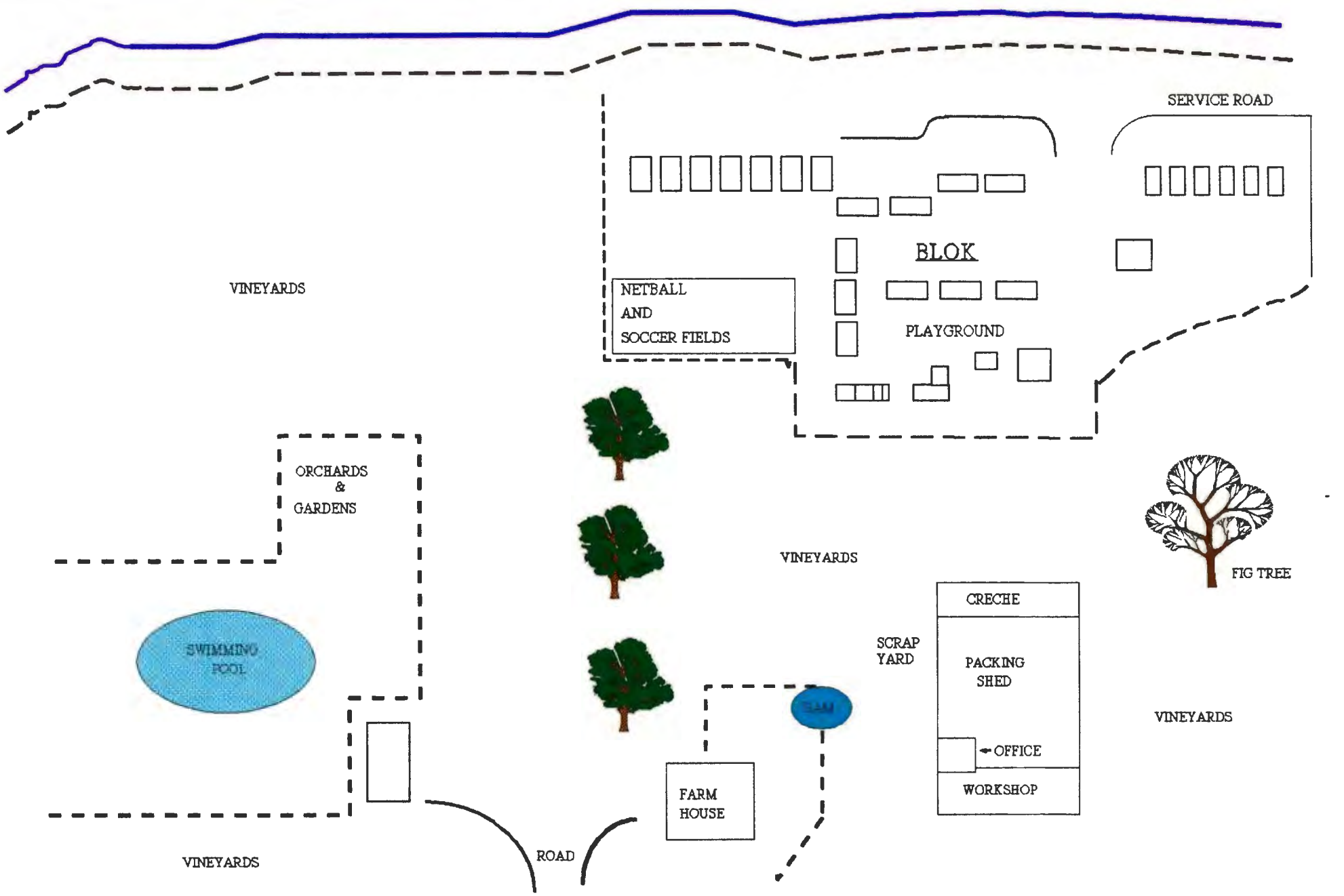


Diagram 2.1: Spacial Layout of Nineveh Farm (not to scale)

Demographic Information for Nineveh Farm

Demographic data were obtained from a household survey conducted on Nineveh farm in October 1991. The results of the survey are presented in Table 2.1. At that time there were 25 adolescents, aged between 12 and 20, living in the *blok* out of a total of 120 residents.

Table 2.1: Household survey Data - Nineveh Farm (October 1991)

House No.	No. of Residents	Age & Sex Children		Adoles		Adults		Marital Status of Household Head	Sex of Household Head	No. of Wage-Earners	No. of Dependants	Household Income in R/week Wage	Pension
		M	F	M	F	M	F						
1	4		2			1	1	Married	Male	2	2	80	
2	7		3	1	1	1	1	Informal	Female	3	4	120	
3	3		1	1			1	Single	Female	2	1	70	
4	3	1				1	1	Informal	Male	2	1	95	
5	4		2			1	1	Married	Male	2	2	82	132
6	1						1	Single*	Female	1		47	
7	2		1				1	Single*	Female	1	1	50	
8	2					1	1	Informal	Male	2		80	
9	5		2	1		1	1	Married	Male	3	2	137	
10	4					1	3	Married	Male	3	1	??	132
11	6	1	1		2		2	Single	Female	2	4	70	66
12	3		1			1	1	Married	Male	2	1	72	
13	9	2	1		3	1	2	Single	Female	3	6	142	66
14	3		1			1	1	Married	Male	2	1	80	13
15	8	2	1	1	1	2	1	Married	Male	3	5	135	
16	5	1			1	1	2	Married	Male	2	3	80	66
17	8	2		2		2	2	Married	Male	2	6	100	66
18	6		1	2	1	1	1	Single	Female	3	3	80	66
19	4		1	1		1	1	Informal	Male	3	1	127	
20	3					1	2	Married	Male	2	1	122	66
21	6	1	1	1		2	1	Married	Male	2	4	114	66
22	5			1	1	1	2	Married	Male	2	3	70	66
23	3		1			1	1	Married	Male	1	2	45	
24	1						1	Single*	Female	1		37	
25	4		1	1	1		1	Single*	Female	2	2	70	
26	1						1	Single*	Female	1		40	
27	2	1				1		Single*	Male	1	1	66	
28	5	1			2	1	1	Married	Male	1	4	100	
29	3	1				1	1	Single	Male	2	1	**	132
Total	120	13	21	12	13	25	36	14Married 4Informal 11Single	19 Male 10 Female	58	62		

* At the time of fieldwork these women were heading households without a consistent male partner living in the house.
Informal refers to those people who, at the time of fieldwork, were living together but were not formally married through a church, legal or religious service.

** Wages are not available for house number 29 as this man is not paid a weekly wage. Instead he submits a shopping list to the farmer's wife who buys his weekly groceries for him. This is as a result of his drinking habits which the farmer's wife is trying to discourage.

Age and sex: The adults who live on Nineveh farm comprise 51 per cent of the population and children 29 per cent. In October 1991 58 people (or 48 per cent of the population) were employed on Nineveh farm with the remaining 62 people dependant upon their wages. The 25 adolescents constitute 20 per cent of Nineveh's population. There were 13 adolescent girls and 12 boys living on Nineveh farm. There were more women (70) than men (50) living in the *blok* (see Table 2.1). The majority of Nineveh's residents (41 males and 60 females) are younger than 45 years old, and 19 people (nine males and ten females) are 45 or older (see Diagram 2.2).

Diagram 2.2: Analysis of Nineveh Population (according to age and sex)

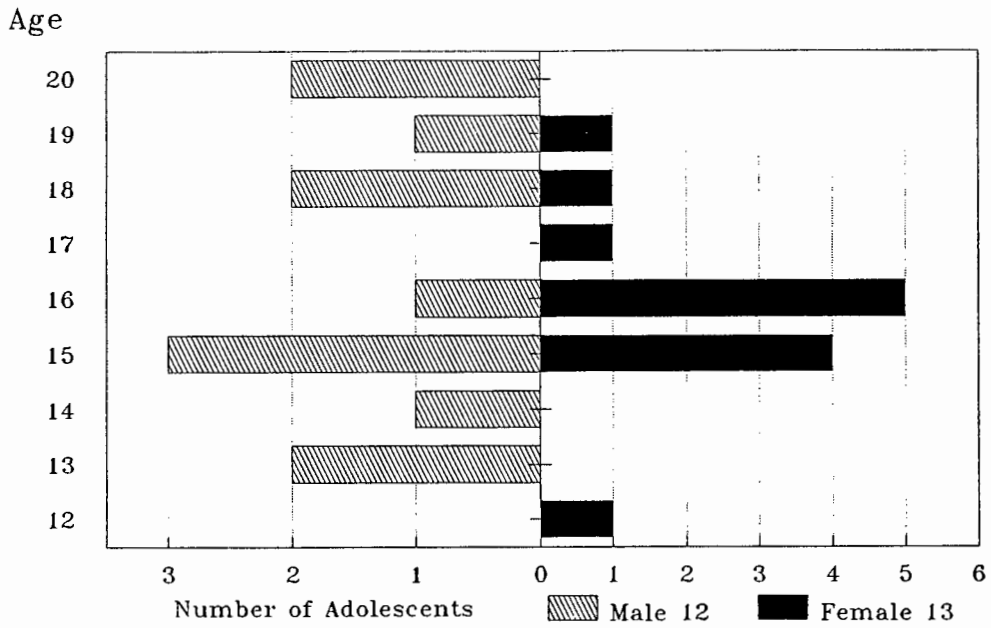


Diagram 2.3: Age and Sex Distribution of Adolescents on Nineveh Farm

Population Registration: In terms of the Population Registration Act of 1950, which was abolished in 1991, four adolescents were classified African and the remaining 21 all belonged to the "coloured population group". The majority of the people living in the *blok* grew up in the valley and have been classified as, and still consider themselves to be coloured (107 people or 89 per cent). Thirteen people (or 11 per cent of Nineveh's residents) have been classified African and most of them come from the Transkei, or, as they say, from *die land* (the land). Diagram 2.4 divides the population into "race" and sex categories.

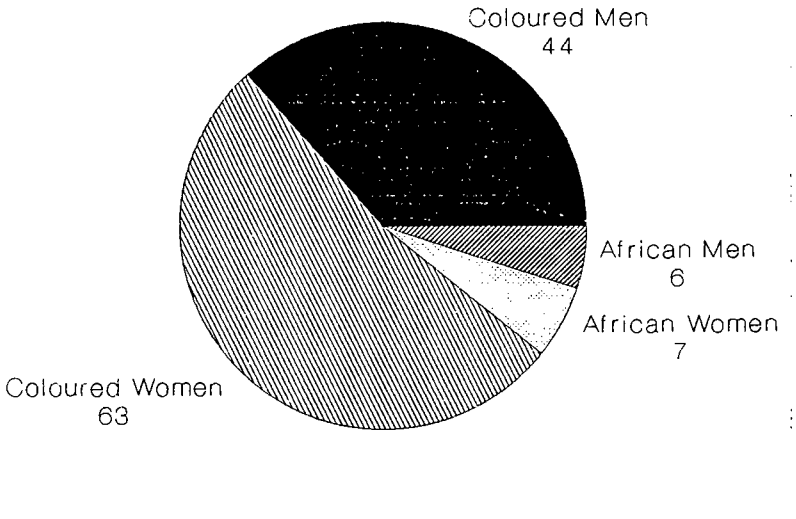


Diagram 2.4: Classification of the Population on Nineveh by "race" and sex

Education: Adolescents on the farm had low levels of education. Wilma November was the only adolescent, and indeed the only person in the *blok*, to have matriculated. Thirteen adolescents still attended school, while nine of the remaining 12 worked on the farm. Table 2.2 summarises information on education and employment of adolescents on Nineveh.

Table 2.2: Education and Occupation of Adolescents (Nineveh Farm - October 1991)

Current Work	Number of Adolescents	
	Girls	Boys
Domestic work	2	0
Farm labour	4	7
Army	0	0
Unemployed	1	0
Scholar	6	5

Past Occupation	Number of Adolescents	
	Girls	Boys
Domestic work (local)	1	0
(Cape Town)	2	0
Farm labour	4	7
Army	0	1
Childminder (Cape Town)	1	0
Unemployed	1	0

From Table 2.2 it is evident that both girls and boys attend school for the same number of years and reach the same standards before leaving school. Girls have more job opportunities than do boys. Two girls do domestic work and four girls work on the farm, as compared with boys who are primarily involved in farm labour (seven boys). The figures for adolescent work histories show that seven boys have performed only farm work and one boy has previously been to the army; in comparison three girls have done only farm labour, two have worked as domestics, one as a childminder and one girl has worked both in domestic service and on the farms. The variety of jobs available to girls as compared to boys has important consequences for both girls and boys in respect of leaving the farms, and is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

Many adults depend on adolescents and children in the household to perform tasks which involve reading and writing. The average level of education among adults is Standard Two. Diagram 2.5 illustrates the low level of education amongst both adolescents and adults on the farm. People who leave the farms experience difficulty in finding employment in urban areas due to their lack of education. Survey results from 1985 suggest that, when compared with

other migrants, people from the farms are poorly educated and a higher proportion of them is employed as menial labourers or is unemployed (Moller and Russell, 1986: 81). Education is discussed further in Chapters Four and Six and urban employment is covered in Chapter Six.

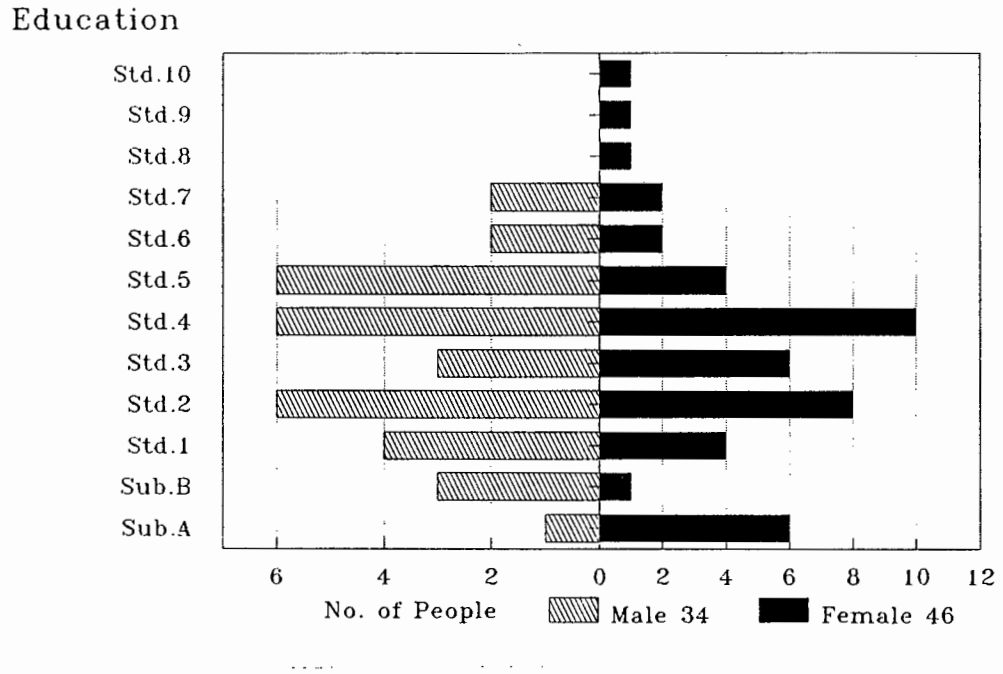


Diagram 2.5: Education Levels (October 1991) (total population on Nineveh Farm)

The race category to which a child was assigned under the Population Registration Act of 1950 has affected which school he or she has been able to attend. Children who have been classified as African attend a farm school situated on a nearby farm and organised by the farmer. Farm schools are financed partly by the Government, which subsidises from 50 per cent to 70 per cent[2] of the total building costs and

2 In 1978 the subsidy covered 35 per cent of all building costs. The Education Laws (Education and Training) Amendment Act of 1988, which advocated the higher subsidies represented here, came about as a direct result of the publication of a DET (Department of Education and Training) report on farm schools (Graaff and Gordon, 1992: 220).

teachers salaries,[3] and an annual maintenance grant;[4] partly by the farmers, who contribute for each child from their farm who attends; and partly by the children's parents, who pay school fees. Coloured children attend the local coloured school in the village, which is funded by the Department of Education and Training and by school fees.

Occupation: There are only a few ranked occupations on the farm and these positions of foreman or driver are filled by men. The remainder of the men and women work in teams (*spanne*) and perform a variety of activities. The nature of farm work is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three. The women are employed seasonally and try to spend the winter months doing other work off the farms. If they manage to do so, then it is usually domestic work in the village or on other farms. Some adolescent girls go to Cape Town where they work as domestics, shop assistants or child-minders. The movement of adolescent girls to urban areas is covered in greater detail in Chapter Six.

Income: Farm wages are notoriously low throughout South Africa (Bennett, 1986; CIIR, 1989; Daphne, 1982; Davies, 1990; Haysom and Thompson, 1984; Wilson et al., 1977) and information about wages is extremely difficult to collect (cf. de Klerk, 1984). The farmers of Nineveh and Monte Roza expressed their disapproval on hearing that I was

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Farmers who have schools operating on their land receive a state building subsidy which in 1988 averaged R9000 (Cooper, 1988: 50).

3 Graaff and Gordon (1992: 218) have shown that teachers' salaries in African schools in the rural areas are low and represent only one-tenth of the amount paid to white teachers in the same areas.

4 The annual grant farmers receive for maintenance is insufficient to cover basic costs and Davies (1990: 19) shows that some farmers maintain schools at their own expense while other schools are under-financed and become increasingly inefficient.

making enquiries about people's wages (see Chapter One) and were themselves vague when questioned. As a result of this disapproval people on Nineveh said that they were unaware of what the other members of their households earned and sometimes even of what they earned themselves.

On Nineveh farm women were not encouraged to work in the winter months, although women from female-headed households could and did work throughout the year. When women did work, adult men generally earned more than adult women, even though they sometimes did the same work. Adult men earned an average of R50.67[5] per week, while adult women earned an average of R41.83 per week. Men earned more than adolescent boys and women earned more than adolescent girls.

Wages varied according to the labourer's age, gender and his or her dependants and in summer wages were based on productivity and varied weekly. Money was deducted for debts and savings and for the use of farm facilities which include the crêche and television set (at a cost of 50c per week per wage earner).

The figures in Table 2.3 indicate the trends discussed above with regard to farm salaries. Note that pensions are excluded. There is an extreme variation in household wage income which ranges from an average of R43.50 per week (for a single woman wage-earner) to R142 per week (for a household with four wage-earners). The primary difference in household income from wages lies in the number and gender of wage-earners.

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5 At the time of research R1 was equal to 0.3533 US dollars (or approximately R3 to a dollar).

Table 2.3: Average Household Wages on Nineveh Farm (for winter 1991)

No. of Wage-earners	No. of Households	Age & Gender of Wage-earners				Average Wage (in Rands per week)
		Adults		Adolescent		
		M	F	M	F	
1	3	1				70.34
	4		1			43.50
2	9	1	1			88.34
	2		1	1		70.00
	1				2	70.00
	1		2			80.00
	1	2				100.00
3	4	1	1	1		116.00
	1	2	1			140.00
	1	1	2			130.00
4	1	1	1		2	142.00

Wages were not obtained for one household (see Table 2.1) as he is not paid in cash.

As indicated in the first row of Table 2.3, there is a distinct gender difference in wages. Single male wage-earners received an average wage of R70.34 per week, while single female wage-earners received an average of only R43.50 per week. Households which had two wage-earners were better off than households with only one wage-earner and this trend continues with three and four wage-earners (as is apparent in Table 2.3). The income earned by the ten adolescents contributes an average of R33 each per week to eight households. Ten households (or 34,5 per cent of the total households) receive, in addition to their wage income, an average of R73.90 per week from pensions.

Wages paid are not the same as actual wages received, as the farmer deducts money for debts prior to payment. This is in keeping with the paternalistic nature of relationships between the farmer and his workforce.

However, the deductions negated people's rights to control their wages and to decide when to pay off which debts and furthermore limited people's buying power, as the cash wage received only allowed for the purchase of basic foodstuffs. People had to enlist the farmer's aid (and buying power) when they made larger purchases, for example, a television set.

The people who lived in the *blok* also engaged in various forms of informal sector activity. Women made sweets or *bunnylicks* (packets of frozen colddrink), baked cakes and biscuits; and sold watermelons, ice creams, Fanta and Coke bought in the village. Only one adolescent girl made and sold *bunnylicks*. The men and teenage boys hired videos which they showed at the crêche and charged a R2 entry-fee. Drinking and drug usage occurred more frequently in summer than in winter, due to the availability of money and, because the grapes were now ripe, home-made wine *(mossake)* could be made.

Many farmers in the valley give each worker an annual bonus and so did Mr van Wyk. The bonus is paid at the end of the packing season, once farmers have assessed their annual production. The bonus payments are also made at the end of the packing season to encourage workers to remain through the period of hard work which involves long hours. It is in the farmers' interests to secure a supply of familiar and experienced labourers.

The labourers on Nineveh farm experienced resentment over both the amount and the handling of the 1992 bonuses. Mr van Wyk gave bonuses of R100 each only to the male

workers, despite having had a very successful year. The women were upset that he deducted from the bonuses debts owed to him. They also felt that Mr van Wyk had not thanked them for the hard work they had put into the harvest, despite the fact that they had cleaned out the packing shed and even placed flowers in his office to celebrate the end of the packing season.

Payment in Kind: Mr van Wyk provided housing, water, electricity and firewood free of charge to the people in the *blok*. He also provided free transport but only at his convenience. Mr van Wyk did not supply any payment in kind in the form of free food or wine (*dop*).

Mr van Wyk subsidised medical bills by 50 per cent but no remuneration was received for sick leave. Many people did not take advantage of subsidised medical bills. The medical benefits applied primarily to workers, and people who were not currently working were reluctant to approach Mr van Wyk for medical help. There were a number of reasons why people did not always accept medical help. There were two doctors in the valley. In order to reclaim the costs of subsidising workers' health bills, the farmer sent them to a particular doctor. The people living in the *blok* did not like this doctor, arguing that he simply gave medicine and sent one back to work as he was reluctant to alienate the farmers by prescribing bed-rest. The workers considered the other doctor in the village to be much better, but the farmers said that he was too old to be still practising medicine. The farm workers believed that the farmers did not like him because he prescribed bed-rest.

The workers disliked having to explain to the farmer what was wrong and having to convince him that a visit to a doctor was necessary. The farmer was not always sympathetic towards people who requested medical attention and, if he refused to give a note to the doctor, he would expect them to return to work. Furthermore, the farmer often asked to see the tablets prescribed or phoned the doctor for a diagnosis. If a worker did not request a note from the farmer to a doctor and paid his or her own medical bill, either doctor could be visited and the farmer had little control over the recovery process. He could not tell someone to join the work force if the doctor had already prescribed bed-rest.

Transport to and from the doctor depended on the farmer's whim. If he or his wife were going into town, then sick people could go along, although they might have to walk back to the farm. If people had chosen not to ask for a note, and not to attend work for the day, then they preferred to remain out of sight of the farmer and often walked the 7km to town and back again.

Marital Status: The terminology *man* (husband) or *vrou* (wife) is used to refer both to common-law unions and to civil marriage partners. No adolescents are married or "living together" but many of them have boyfriends or girlfriends. In this context people talk of *kêrel* (boyfriend or lover) or *meisie* (girlfriend). There are no single men aged 30 or more on the farm, but 4 women over 30 are single. There are more women than men on the farms.

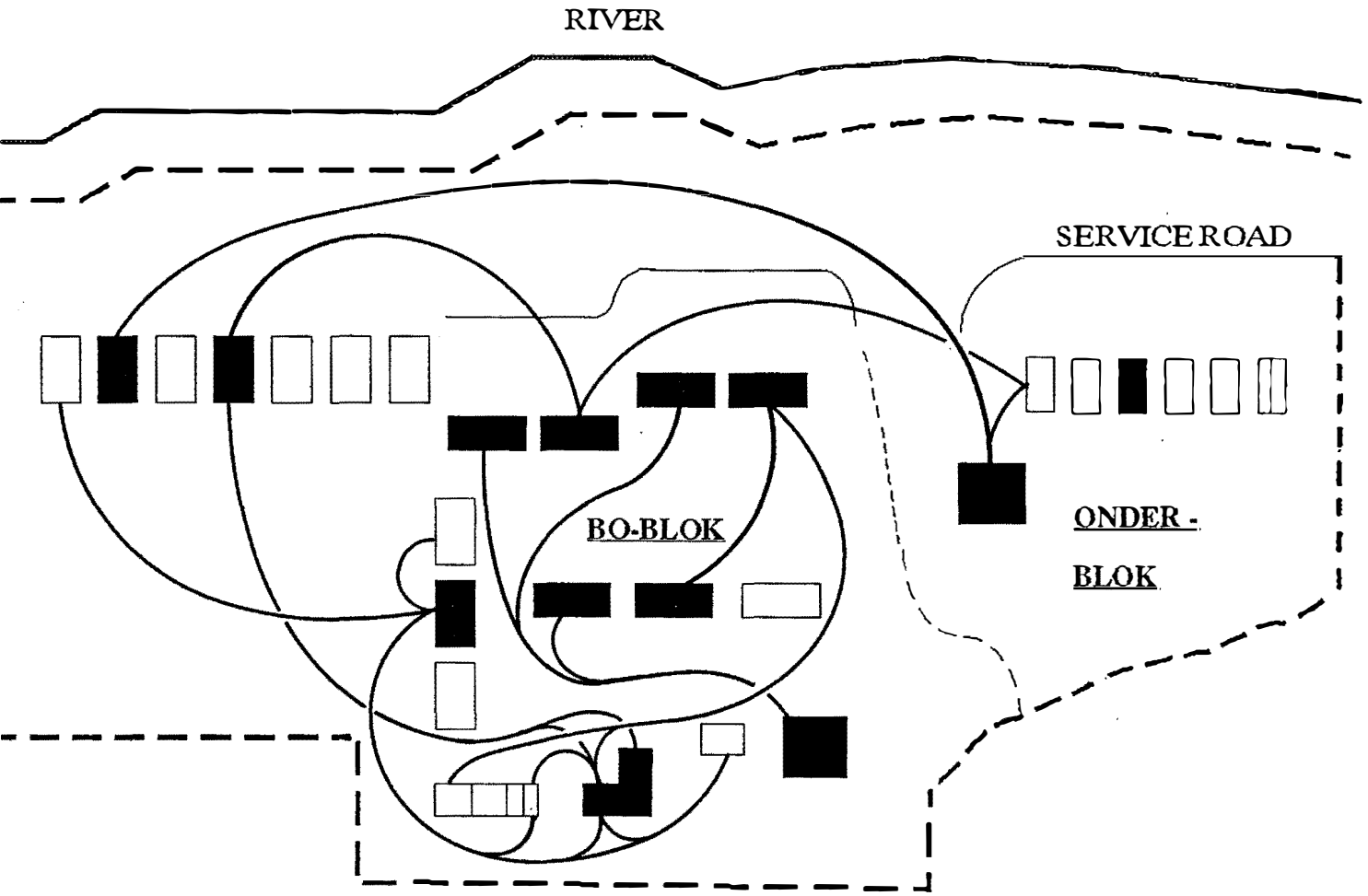
Household units: There are 35 houses on Nineveh farm, of which 29 were occupied in October 1991. Thirteen houses on Nineveh farm were occupied by nuclear families. By nuclear family I mean a male adult and a female adult (not necessarily married) and children who are related to either parent. I have chosen to use this definition because only eight families on the farm conform to the definition of mother, father and their children. One household comprised only a father and his ten year old son, while women lived alone in three households. Seven households consisted of extended male-headed families. Three mothers lived alone with their children and there were two extended female-headed families on Nineveh.

Ten of the 29 households on Nineveh farm (34 per cent) are female-headed (see Table 2.4). This does not match Mayson's (1986) finding that women are not allowed to remain on the farms if they are not living with a male who is available for employment by the farmer (see Chapter Five).

Kin Groupings

Six of the 29 occupied houses in the *blok* are occupied by people who have been classified African and the remaining 23 households coloured (see Table 2.1). Four adolescents are African and the remaining 21 are coloured. Twenty of the 21 coloured adolescents have many kin living on Nineveh farm. The four African adolescents do not have many kin living in the *blok* (see below).

In the following section I introduce five adolescents and examine their kin links with other people living on the farm and in the valley. The spatial layout of housing in the *blok* is shown in diagram 2.6. The adolescents' homes are identified and their kin relationships to people living in other houses in the *blok* are shown.



KEY:

Houses where adolescents live

Indicates houses where kin live

Diagram 2.6: Adolescent Kinship Networks within the Blok (not to scale)

1 Ragel de Bruin

In October 1991 Ragel is 18 years old. Ragel is a coloured *voorkind*[6] who lives with her grandmother. The other adults living in the house are Ragel's mother's sister and her child and Ragel's mother's brother. Other than Ragel, there are two adolescents in the house and three children (see Chapter Six and Diagram 6.1). Ragel works on Nineveh farm and earns R32 a week. She spends the majority of her free time with her boyfriend who also works on the farm. Ragel drinks alcohol and uses *dagga* (cannabis) regularly, despite being a member of the *Christelike Alkoholiste Bond* (Christian Alcoholics Association). She joined the association because she saw that the people in the CAB worked with the church and she wanted to change her life. She is the only adolescent member although there were other adults from the farm who attend the meetings. CAB meetings involve discussions of God and Bible readings. The CAB meet fortnightly and Ragel attends whenever she can.

Ragel lives in one of the older sections of the *blok*. The house was built by Mr Jordaan before his son-in-law purchased the farm from him. The house has three rooms and an outside washroom.[7] The bathroom has cold running water

6 The term is generally applied to a child born to a young mother who is neither married nor involved in a long-term relationship with a man.

7 When building houses for workers, farmers are expected to comply with the National Building Regulation Standards Act, No. 103 of 1977 and the Slums Act, No. 76 of 1979 which set out minimum housing standards (CIIR, 1989: 7; Rural Legal Services Project (RLSP), 1989: 222). The National Building Regulations define minimum sizes ($6m^2$ per person older than ten years) and heights (2,1m - 2,4m for walls) of buildings. The regulations specify that all rooms which are to be lived in must have windows which can be opened. The Slums Act specifies that a building must have sufficient space for all the people who live in it. According to the conditions laid down by this Act parents must have a separate

and there is a second tap in the garden. The toilet (pit latrine) is situated outside the garden.

Diagram 2.7 gives Ragel's kin ties. She is related to 36 people who live in seven households, apart from her own, on Nineveh farm. I have traced kin links between Ragel and 70 people who live in the valley. Of these 70, eight people belong to the first generation, 34 to the second and 28 to the third (see Diagram 2.7). Ragel's mother, father, sisters and brothers do not live with her.

2 Emma de Bruin

Emma gave birth to a child in October 1991. She was then 15 years old. Today Emma lives on Nineveh farm with her grandmother, her mother, her sisters, Mottie and Beatris, (aged 17 and 11), Mottie's newly-born son, and her own son who was less than a year old. Neither Emma's grandmother nor her mother work on the farm. Elizabeth de Bruin, her grandmother, is too old to work (she is 84 years of age) and Rosina, Emma's mother, suffers from rheumatism in her wrists and ankles. The household survives on Emma's and Mottie's wages combined with Elizabeth's pension and Rosina's sick pension.

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room in which to sleep if their children are ten or older. Furthermore, if these children are of opposite sexes then they too must sleep in different rooms (RLSP, 1989: 228). Despite the existence of these regulations, farmers seldom comply with the law. In 1979-80 no farm housing in South Africa was inspected by local authorities and "no single case of enforcement is known of" (CIIR, 1989: 7). On Nineveh, nine houses comply with these regulations, that is, the newest and smartest of the houses. In the other houses, rooms are small, parents and children of like sex sometimes share beds while those of opposite sexes share rooms.

Emma does not often spend time away from her home, although she did have friends in the *blok*. Whenever I visited she would be either working on the farm, doing domestic work or caring for her son. Neither Emma nor Mottie was still involved with the fathers of their sons. Mottie had received some support from Charles, the father of her son, in the form of clothing for the child, but nothing more (see Chapter Four). Emma received a tin of powdered milk each week from Martinus, the father of her child (see Chapter Five).

Although Emma and Ragel both have the surname de Bruin they are not related. They both lived in the same section of the *blok* and the houses were of the same design.

Emma is related to 20 people living in four households (three plus her own) on Nineveh farm and there are at least another nine people in the valley to whom she is related (see Diagram 2.8). The 27 people are from four generations: Elizabeth, Emma's grandmother, is from the first generation, seven people belong to the second, 12 people belong to the third generation and seven people to the fourth.

The person most obviously absent from Emma's life is her father whom she last saw when she was three years old.

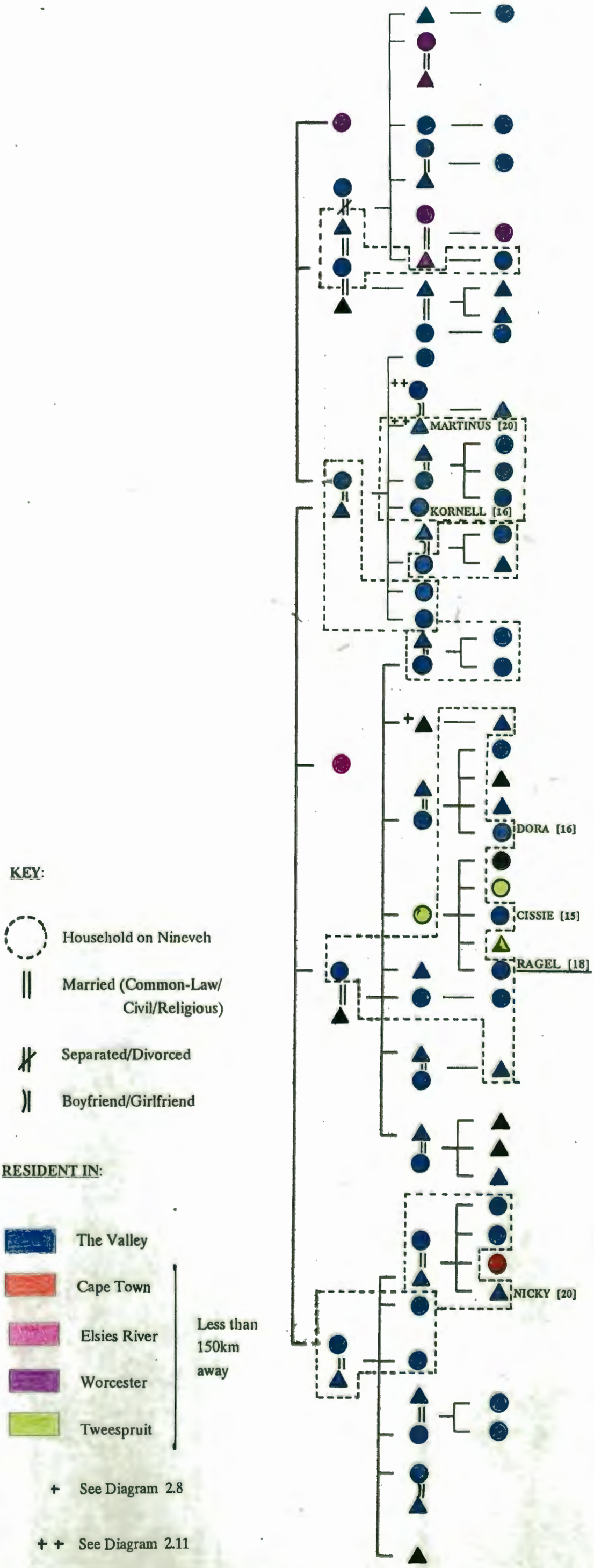

Diagram 2.7: Ragel's Kin Links and the Spatial Location of her Relations

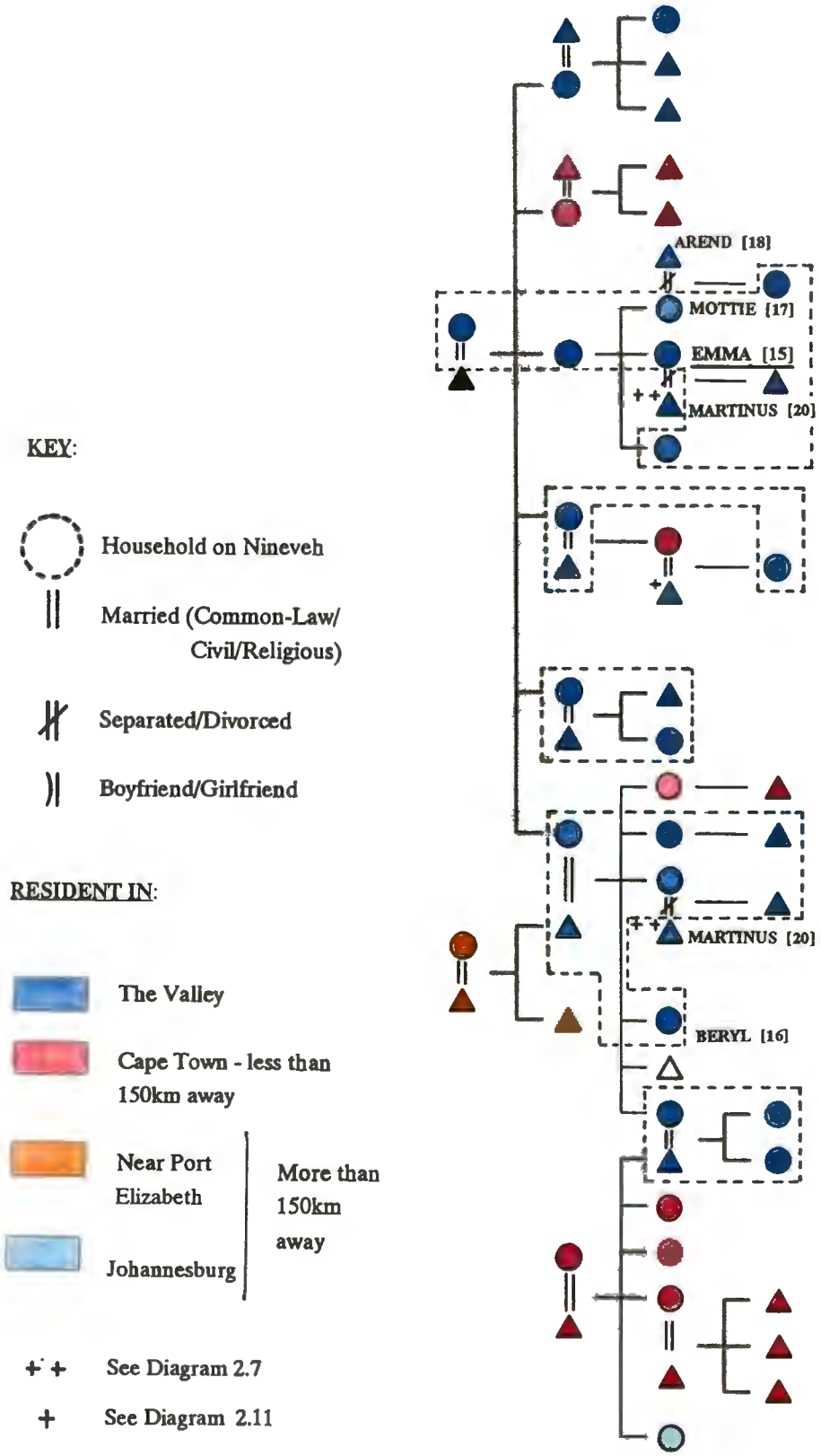

Diagram 2.8: Emma's Kin Links and the Spatial Location of her Relations

3 Boeta Beukes

Boeta is an adolescent who is classified as coloured. He lives with his parents and siblings (see Diagram 2.9). He is 14 years old and in Standard Six at the local coloured school. Boeta does not have many friends on the farm and he spends most of his time on his own working on his schoolwork. Boeta has 12 cousins living on the farm and when he does play with others it is primarily with his younger cousins.

Boeta lives in one of the larger and better labourers' houses on the farm. The house has recently been built by Mr van Wyk and has four rooms (two of which are bedrooms) and running water in the kitchen only. Bathrooms, with cold water only, are outside and toilets (pit latrines) are situated at the back of the garden. The house has a far larger garden surrounding it than the houses in which Ragel and Emma live.

There are 20 people living in four households on Nineveh farm who are related to Boeta. A further 10 people live in the valley (see Diagram 2.9). The 30 people span three generations: Boeta's grandmother is the only person of the first generation, 13 people are of the second generation and 16 people of the third.

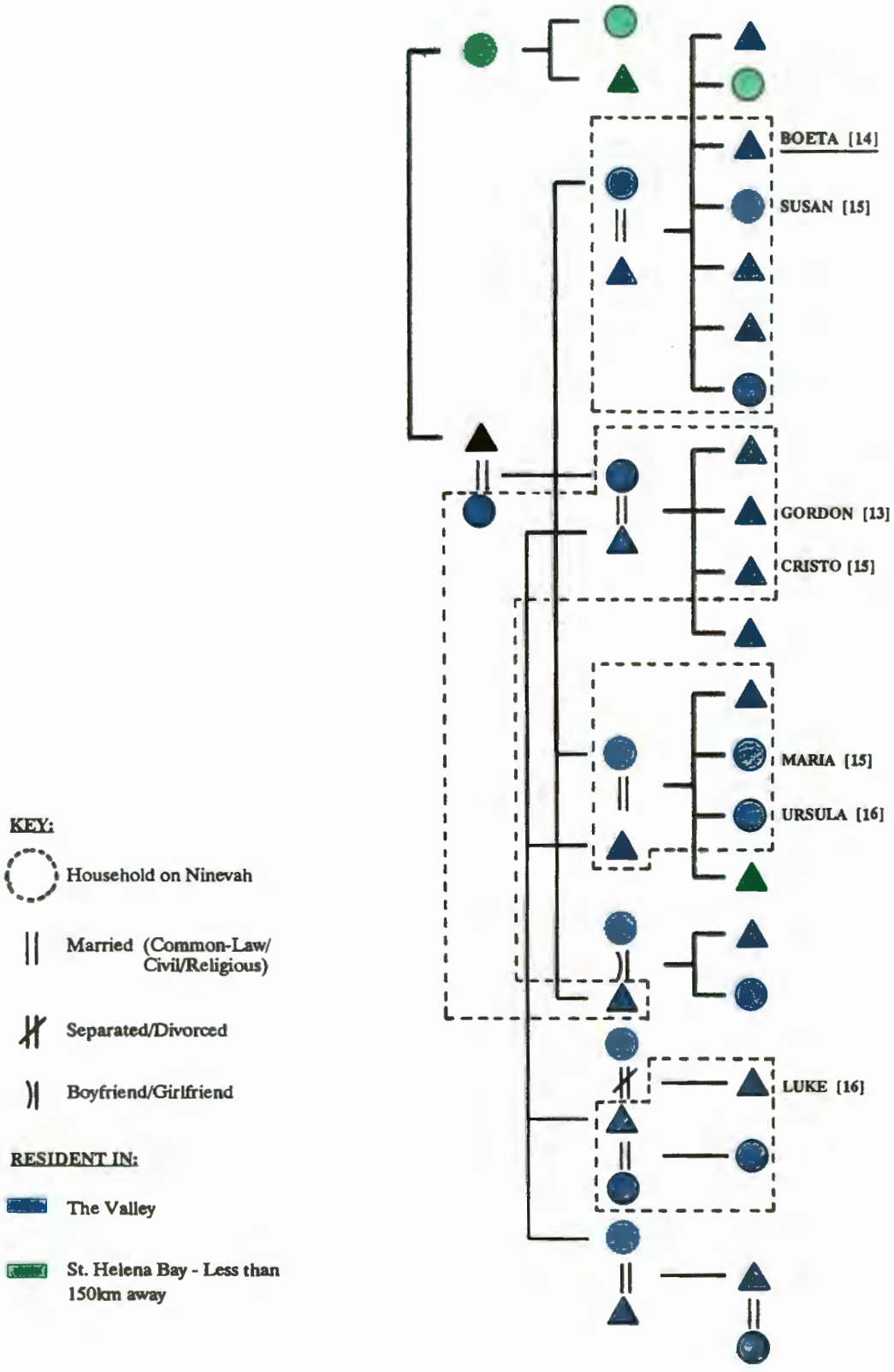

Diagram 2.9: Boeta's Kin Links and the Spatial Location of his Relations

The African people who lived on Nineveh farm came to the valley in search of work. The six African households were smaller than the coloured households and two African households consist only of one woman. The remaining four African households have few kin links with the people who live in the valley. Those links which do exist are not always acknowledged (discussed below and illustrated in Diagram 2.6). As a result, the four African adolescents are not members of wide kin groups resident in the valley. Their relatives are scattered throughout South Africa, but most of them are congregated in Transkei or Lesotho).

4 Grieta Qhina

Grieta (a 16 year-old African girl) lives on Nineveh farm with her mother, her elder brother, Zolile, aged 18, and her half-sister (aged six). Grieta attends school and is in Standard Four. Both Grieta's mother and brother work full-time on the farm and Grieta spends a large proportion of her time doing domestic work in the house (see Chapter Three). She is friends with Merjana (see below) and the two of them spend their spare time together.

Grieta and her family live in the *onder blok* (the lower section of the *blok* - see Diagram 2.6). These are the oldest houses on the farm, built by Mr Jordaan, and furthest away from the crêche and the farmer's house. The houses are made of mud-brick and are in various stages of collapse. Some are semi-detached, while others are small two-roomed cottages. All the houses face onto a small access road from

which they are separated by a boundary fence. The approach to these houses is past a number of small vegetable gardens, a few animal pens, the wash-lines and the toilets.[8] Each house has a tap outside in the garden, an electric light in the kitchen and one other power source.

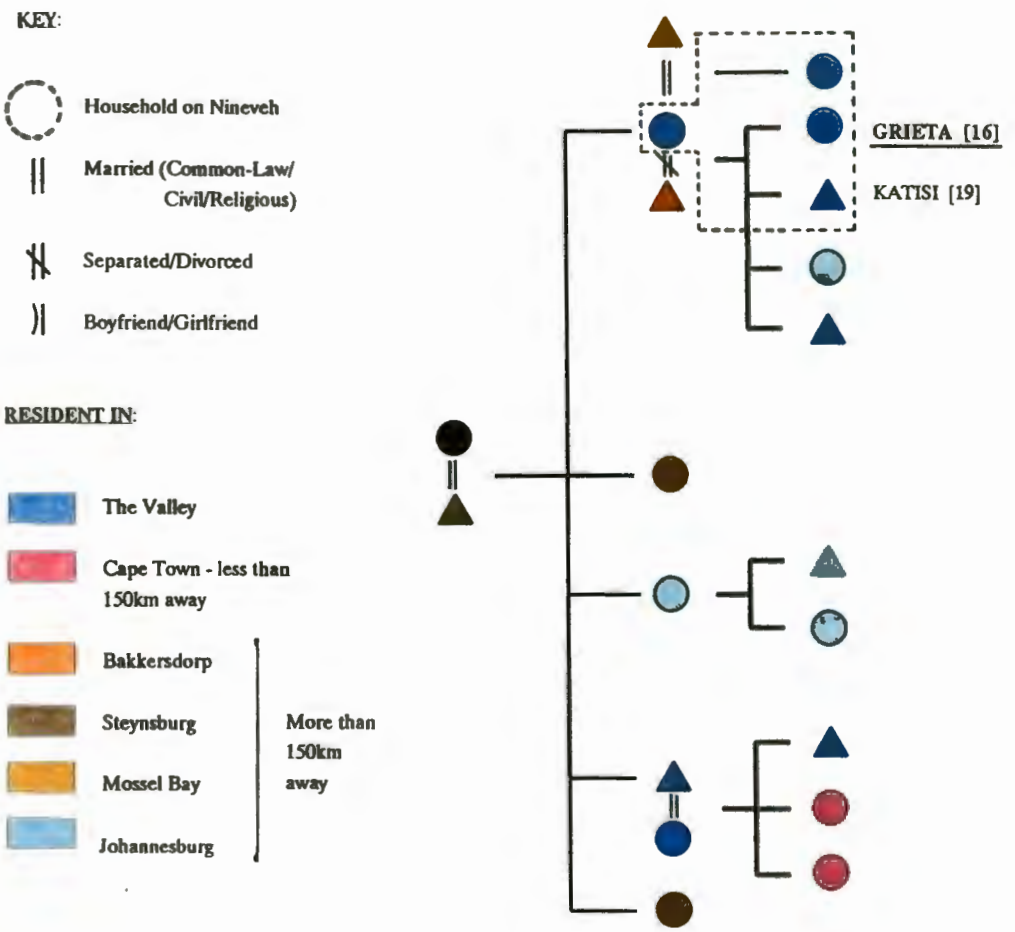

Diagram 2.10: Grieta's Kin Links and the Spatial Location of her Relations

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8 The Slums Act, No. 76 of 1979, stipulates that all toilets must have a floor, walls, a roof, a door, and a window. Toilets must also have a seat with a lid. On Nineveh toilets do not conform to these standards and many do not have windows, seats or doors.

Grieta is related only to the people she lives with on Nineveh farm, although her brother and mother's brother's family also live in the valley (see Diagram 2.10).

Grieta's father lives in Bakkersdorp and her stepfather in Mossel Bay. Her mother's sister, her cousins and her sister live in Johannesburg while her mother's brother's daughters live in Cape Town. Grieta's grandfather, two aunts and cousins live in *die land* (Steynsburg in the Transkei). During my stay on Nineveh, Grieta's mother's sister moved from Steynsburg to the farm and settled into one of the empty houses in the *onder blok*.

5 Merjana Sepanya

Merjana (aged 12) has been brought up by her grandmother on Nineveh farm. Merjana is a *voorkind* of her mother who is African and her coloured father. Merjana is considered by the people living on the farm to be African although she tells me that this is incorrect as she is actually coloured. Merjana is in Standard Three at the African school (see above) and while friendly with all the girls in the *blok*, she spends her time either working in the house or playing with Grieta.

The house Merjana lives in is situated on the border between the *bo blok* (upper section of the *blok*) and *onder blok* (see Diagram 2.6). The house was built by Mr Jordaan when Merjana's grandfather, Mkhululi, married Merjana's grandmother, Filla. Merjana's mother is the child of

Filla's previous marriage. Mkhululi first arrived on Nineveh farm in 1955 as a convict labourer.[9] He worked in the garden and developed a friendly relationship with Mrs Jordaan, the farmer's wife. After Mkhululi had served his sentence he returned to Matatiele in the Transkei. From Matatiele he wrote to Mrs Jordaan asking for regular employment on the farm. Mrs Jordaan replied to the letter and Mkhululi left his fields in the charge of his brother and in 1971 returned to Nineveh farm. Mkhululi again worked in Mrs Jordaan's garden and lived in the "maid's room" behind the Jordaans' house until he married Filla.

Mkhululi and Filla are not related to any other people living on the farm (see Table 2.6 and Diagram 2.11). Merjana's father had lived on the farm until, at the age of 18, he was killed in a farm accident (in 1978). His family still lived on the farm and Merjana sometimes played with her half-brother. She did not know who her father was, and when I asked her she did not know that Charles was her half-brother. Mkhululi and Filla do not publicly acknowledge the fact that they have kin on the farm and they have never received financial support for Merjana's upbringing. Filla also has a granddaughter, Bollie, living on the farm.

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9 The Cape Government first hired out prisoners to farmers as early as 1889. In 1934 a scheme was introduced by which farmers paid sixpence per prisoner per day for the use of prison labour. The Prisons Act of 1959 viewed farms as prisons and sent prisoners to serve their sentences on the farms (Ainslie, 1977). The farm jail in the valley was closed in the 1970s as a result of international pressure and, in particular, the protests of the United States that the use of prison labour meant that South African table grapes competed unfairly on the world market.

Bollie's father is Filla's son, now living in Benoni. Filla's family has never paid any maintenance money for Bollie and they do not acknowledge her as a granddaughter. Merjana's mother's mother's brother is the only other person related to Merjana's family who lives in the valley.

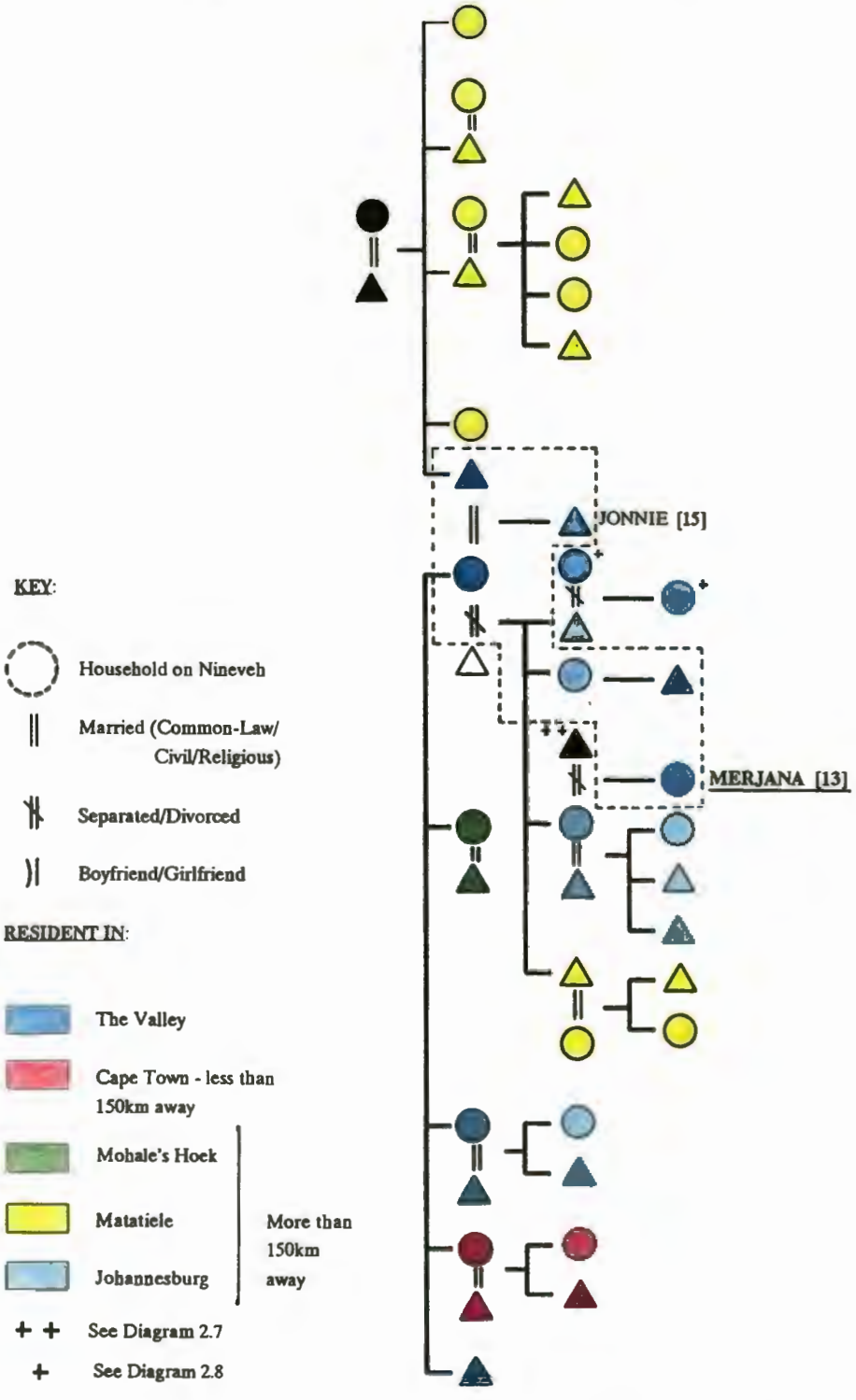

Diagram 2.11: Merjana's Kin Links and the Spatial Location of her Relations

Merjana's mother lives in Johannesburg with her husband and their children. Many of Mkhululi's kin still live in Matatiele and Filla's kin are resident in Mohale's Hoek, Lesotho (see Diagram 2.11).

Many of the adolescents living on Nineveh farm are related to each other. Diagrams 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14 illustrate the relationships between all, except two, of the adolescents on the farm. The two adolescents who are not shown on these diagrams are Griet and her brother Katisi as they are not related to any of the other adolescents (see above). As shown in the diagrams, some of these adolescents have also borne or fathered children of their own. This means that new kin links are being forged amongst the adolescents and their families. Diagram 2.13 in particular, shows the recent kin links which have been forged as a result of Martinus fathering children with different women and adolescents in the *blok*.

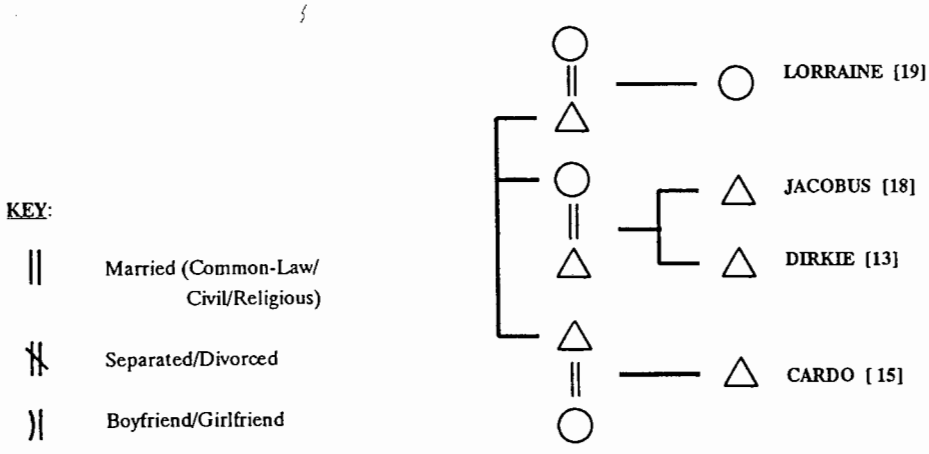

Diagram 2.12: Kin Ties among some Adolescents on Nineveh Farm (October 1991).

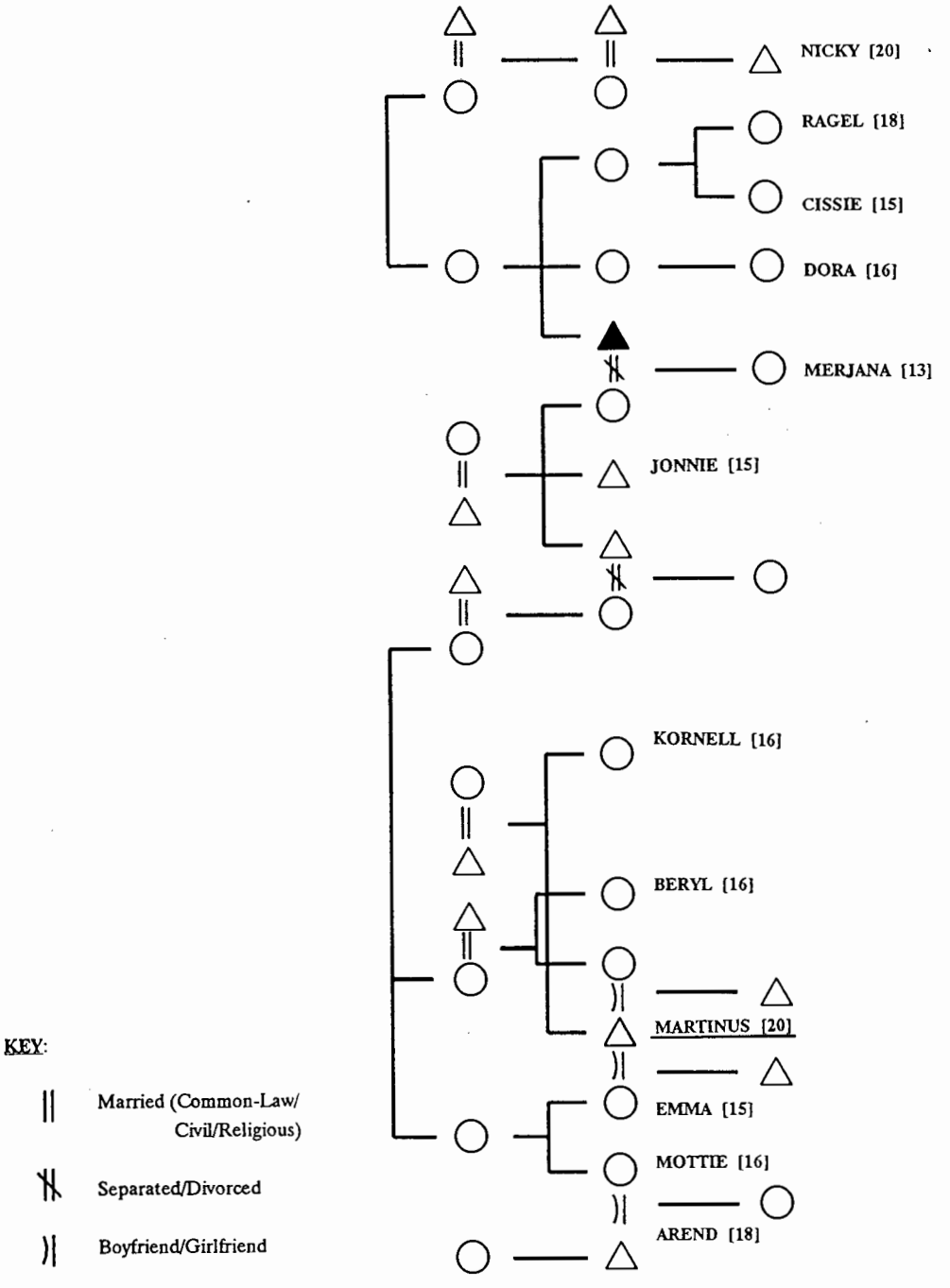

Diagram 2.13: Kin Ties among the majority of Adolescents on Nineveh Farm (October 1991).

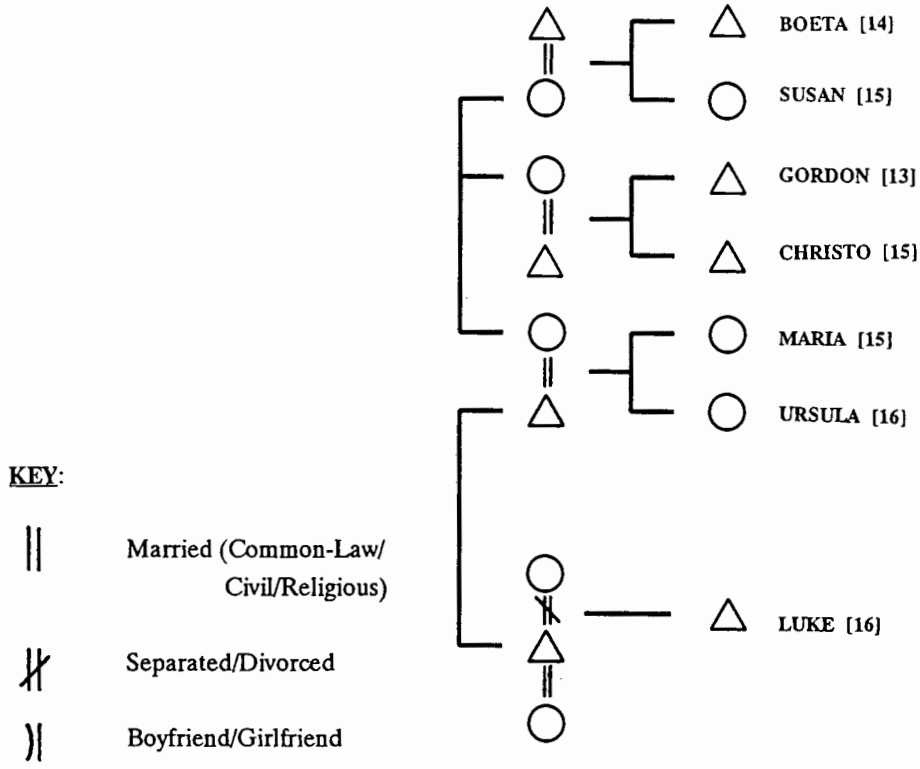

Diagram 2.14: Kin Ties among other Adolescents on Nineveh Farm (October 1991).

The residents of Nineveh farm have extensive kin living in the valley (see Diagrams 2.7, 2.8, and 2.9). The majority of households in which coloured people lived (some of which are described above) had large kin groups living on the farm and in the valley. These kin groups provided mutual support for their members. The support offered included financial help, assistance with household chores and other labour requirements (see Chapter Three), child-care and moral support. Coloured people who lived on the farms were able to survive their vulnerability to poverty

because of the support and mutual aid provided by the members of large kin groups who lived on the farms in the valley.

In this chapter I have described the living and working conditions of Nineveh farm only. Owing to space considerations I do not present a similar description of Monte Roza farm. However, the living and working conditions are, to a certain extent, comparable. In the following chapter I examine the work performed by the seven adolescents introduced above and the day-to-day demands made on them. I compare the work they do both on the farm and within the household with work done by seven adolescents from Monte Roza farm. I explore the manner in which adolescents are drawn into the labour process and to what extent they can manipulate labour conditions for their own ends.

Chapter Three

Work on the Farm:

An Account of Adolescent Labour.

On the farms, the farmer makes certain demands of the labourers and the labourers make other demands of their children. Almost everyone is expected to do work of some type or other. Household members rely on other members to contribute their labour towards the household. The amount of labour actually contributed differs from individual to individual. Expectations of labour input are, however, stereotyped according to age and sex. Reynolds (1991) has suggested that, although the actual labour contribution varies from person to person, in Zimbabwe Tonga women and girls work far harder than men or boys. In this chapter I examine the labour contribution of adolescent girls and boys on two farms in the Western Cape. I suggest that the data derived from this study support the work of Reynolds and girls do indeed work harder than boys.

The Labour Year

The farmers' demand for labour is seasonal and varies further according to the crop. The annual cycle of the seasons and the associated labour demands and activities are set out below in Table 3.1. Winter (June, July and August) is a quiet season, when the vineyards lie barren in the fields and the valley is bitterly cold. During winter the farmers have little demand for labour and it is known as a time of *uitkrap werk* or "scratched-out" work. It is the

time when farmers organise the preparation of new vineyards, clearing around the farms, mending fences and painting houses. During winter the vineyards are treated with insecticides. Towards the end of winter the vines are pruned and tied to the trellises (*lote vasbind*). November marks the beginning of summer or *groendruiwe tyd*, the time of green grapes. It is usually around mid-November that the pre-thinning activity begins. *Blare breek*, as it is called, involves breaking off vine leaves so as to allow sufficient sunlight to penetrate and ripen the grapes. In December the thinning process begins. Thinning involves removing the small and undeveloped grapes from each bunch, in order for the remaining grapes to ripen to maximum size. *Korreltjies uitknip*, as the process is called, also involves the initial shaping of the bunches. As this process is very labour-intensive,[1] there is a call for more labour and many labourers' children spend their school holidays working on the farms. Thinning is usually completed sometime in January. February marks the beginning of the grape season (*druiwe tyd*). The grapes must be packed on the same day as they are picked, and they are then stored under refrigeration at the warehouse situated at one end of the valley. Before packing, each bunch is checked for undeveloped, rotten or bruised grapes and these are removed. The bunch is then shaped, graded and packed. The packing season is the most labour-intensive time of the agricultural year. Both Nineveh and Monte Roza farms responded to these

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1 It is not the intention here to discuss farming procedures and the associated labour demands in detail. A detailed discussion of this is available in Levy (1977).

labour pressures by increasing the number of hours worked and by employing additional female labour from the village.

Within the household the demand for labour also varies with the seasons (see Table 3.1). While general domestic tasks (washing, cooking, cleaning etc.) remain the same throughout the year, those tasks associated with fuels increase in winter. Wood fires are lit and the glowing coals taken inside to warm the rooms. The wood comes from two main sources: women rummage through old vines which have been uprooted and collect the roots to burn; men go into the mountains and bring back large loads of dry wood. Chopping the wood is predominantly done by men. As it becomes warmer, so less fuel is burnt. The men now turn their attention towards clearing and preparing vegetable gardens for the summer.

Labour and Labour Intervals

An average day on Nineveh and Monte Roza farms varies in both length and intensity according to the seasons. In summer work extends throughout the daylight hours. A hooter sounds each morning to indicate *inval tyd*, or the start of work. The sound of the hooter also divides the working day into periods of work, rest or other activities. In summer work begins at about 6.30 am. (this time varies from farm to farm, and even from day to day on Nineveh depending on the demand for labour). Apart from a short break of fifteen minutes for breakfast or tea, work continues until noon when the hooter sounds for lunch. Lunchtime lasts one hour and the time is used to eat, the food usually having been prepared before *inval tyd* each morning, to rest and to do

household chores. Women busy themselves mainly with domestic activities, while men tend to their gardens or play dominoes. At the sound of the hooter people return to work until afternoon tea. The fifteen minutes at tea time are used to relax. People seldom return home, preferring to remain in the vineyards or outside the packing sheds until the hooter sounds again.

Table 3.1: The Annual Cycle on the Farms

Month	Season	Farm calendar	Labour Demands	
			Farmers'	Household
June July August	Winter	Treat vines with insecticide Make boxes Prepare new vineyards Clear around farm Paint farm	Very low demand for labour, mainly odd jobs around the farm	Women do domestic work Men and women collect firewood
September October	Spring	Prune vines Tie vines to trellises	Demand for some labour	Women do domestic work Men prepare gardens
November December January	Summer	Pre-thinning *Groendruiwe tyd* *Blare breek* Thinning *Korreltjies uitknip*	All available labour on the farms called to work	Women do domestic work Men work in gardens
February March April May	Autumn	*Druiwe tyd* Picking grapes Shaping the bunch Grading the bunch Packing grapes Transporting grapes	Very labour-intensive Workers employed from elsewhere	Women do domestic work Men harvest produce

After tea work continues until all the grapes which were picked have been packed. The work day usually ends between 6.00 and 7.30 pm. Then people return home to complete their domestic tasks.

Work on the Farm

In the winter months the demand for labour is low and many women do not work for farmers. Each farmer differs in his approach, which makes it difficult to generalise about the working conditions in the valley. On Nineveh Mr van Wyk supplied work for those women who wished to work. This was generally interpreted by both Mr van Wyk and his workers as being women from female-headed households. On Monte Roza all the women worked, apart from those who specifically chose not to - they remained at home and were said to "eat their men's' money".

On rainy days the women from Nineveh remain home and do not get paid for the day. On Monte Roza men and women spend the many rainy days of winter in the packing shed making boxes. During these winter months the working day is shorter than that of summer so there is more free time to perform household tasks. I examine the degree to which adolescent girls and boys contribute towards the labour demands of the household and how adolescents are drawn into the labour force, thereby ensuring the continued reproduction of the labour forces amongst farm residents. I further illustrate how adolescents can manipulate labour conditions to suit their own ends. In order to record adolescent activities and to study their labour input, different techniques were used. These techniques are adapted from Reynolds (1991: 45 - 46) and are further discussed below.

Seeing People's Labour

People's labour, especially that conducted within the household, is difficult to aggregate. Reynolds in her book *Dance Civet Cat* exhorts anthropologists to use a variety of methods to record labour in order to reflect the crucial contribution children make to the household economy and to illustrate the flexible nature of children's work. This takes the form of a number of different but interrelated techniques. Reynolds (1991: 45) used the collection of peak labour records, spot observation (called instant activities), 24-hour recall and periods of observation in order to assess the labour input of men, women, girls and boys. "This was done to tease out the particulars of labour control and contribution. Too often studies focus on the household as a unit thus obscuring women's and children's roles" (Reynolds, 1991: 45).

Over a period of six months I recorded the labour contribution of two sample groups of adolescent boys and girls who live on Nineveh and Monte Roza farms. Each group consisted of seven people between the ages of twelve and twenty. The sample on Nineveh farm consisted of five girls and two boys, of whom one boy and three girls still attended school. The remaining three all worked for the farmer on Nineveh. On Monte Roza, three girls and four boys formed the sample group. Only one girl and one boy still attended school, the remainder were all employed on the farm.

The members of the sample group on Nineveh farm were younger than those in the group on Monte Roza. Table 3.2 shows the details of the Nineveh sample which can be compared with the Monte Roza sample (Table 3.3). While more

people in the Nineveh sample still attend school, the average level of education is higher in the Monte Roza sample (Std. Five as compared with Std. Four on Nineveh farm). On both farms girls and boys have equal standards of education.

Table 3.2: Nineveh Sample Details (October 1991)

Name	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Educ	
Merjana	F	12	1979	Std.3	scholar
Boeta	M	14	1977	Std.6	scholar
Grieta	F	16	1975	Std.4	scholar
Luke	M	16	1975	Std.2	farm labourer
Ursula	F	16	1975	Std.6	scholar
Emma	F	15	1976	Std.4	farm labourer
Ragel	F	18	1973	Std.1	farm labourer

Table 3.3: Monte Roza Sample Details (October 1991)

Name	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Educ	
Eggan	M	12	1979	Std.4	scholar
Bet	F	12	1979	Std.5	scholar
Peet	M	16	1975	Std.6	farm labourer
Meid	F	15	1976	Std.5	farm labourer
Johan	M	18	1973	Std.6	farm labourer
David	M	18	1973	Std.5	farm labourer
Noes	F	20	1971	Std.6	farm labourer

1. Instant Activities

The two sample groups together formed a total of fourteen people who were observed four times each, on random days and at random times. The records were collected during two main periods - twice during the winter months when there is little demand for labour on the farm; and again twice during the summer months when people spend far more time and energy working for the farmer. At each observation I recorded the person's activity. This resulted in a total of

51 records made over a six month period. It was not always possible to obtain instant activities and a category entitled Other has therefore been created (see Appendix 3.1).

Reynolds (1991: 62) suggests that "These records produce a series of snapshots ...." which allow one to record data on labour time. Following Reynolds's example, the technique has been adapted here to suit the conditions on the farms. I excluded school hours from my study but included school holidays, so was still able to sample across daylight hours.

The activities recorded using this technique have been assigned to twelve sub-categories namely, domestic labour (D), child-care (C), gardening (G), paid farm labour (W), schoolwork (H), errands (E), self-care (S), leisure (L), church-related activities (R), ill-health (I), purchasing food (P) and other (O). The twelve sub-categories fall under three major categories, namely domestic work (D, C, E), self-care (S which represents activities such as eating, washing or sleeping) and leisure (L) (see Appendix 3.1).

Results

The tasks recorded using the instant activities are presented in Table 3.4. These tasks are recorded under the nine sub-categories to which they have been assigned. The remaining three sub-categories were not represented in the instant activities and are therefore not presented here.

Table 3.4: Tasks Recorded using Instant Activities (as Percentages of Each Group's Activities)

Nineveh Farm	Domestic Work				Self-	Lei-	Work		Garden		Total
				Total	care	sure	School		Other		
	D	C	E	DCE	S	L	W	H	G	O	
Girls	50	15	0	65	10	20	0	0	5	0	100
Boys	38	0	0	38	0	38	0	0	13	12	101

Monte Roza Farm	Domestic Work				Self-	Lei-	Work		Garden	Other		Total
				Total	care	sure	School		Health			
	D	C	E	DCE	S	L	W	H	G	I	O	
Girls	25	8	8	41	0	25	8	8	0	8	8	98
Boys	6	0	0	6	0	69	6	0	0	0	19	100

Comparison of All Girls Labour to All Boys Labour	Domestic Work				Self-	Lei-	Work		Garden	Other		Total
				Total	care	sure	School		Health			
	D	C	E	DCE	S	L	W	H	G	I	O	
Girls	38	12	4	54	5	23	4	4	3	4	4	101
Boys	22	0	0	22	0	54	3	0	7	0	16	102

Note: Self-care indicates activities such as eating, dressing, combing one's hair.

From Table 3.4 it is evident that girls on both farms perform a greater percentage of the domestic activities than do boys. Sixty five per cent of the instant activities of girls on Nineveh showed them as occupied with domestic activities, as compared with 38 per cent by boys. Similarly on Monte Roza, girls spent 41 per cent of their activities as noted in the instant activities on domestic activities whereas boys spent only six per cent on domestic chores.

These figures are similar to those recorded by Reynolds (1991) while working amongst the Tonga people of Zimbabwe. Using instant activities she found that 45 per cent of women's activities and 47 per cent of girls' as recorded using instant activities was spent on domestic tasks,

whereas for men and boys three to four per cent of their activities were devoted to such tasks.

Also evident from Table 3.4 is the large amount of instant activities documented for boys' leisure activities. On Nineveh, boys' instant activities for leisure were almost twice as high as those for girls (38 per cent for boys and 20 per cent for girls). On Monte Roza, boys' instant activities amount to 44 per cent more leisure than girls (69 per cent for boys as compared with 25 per cent for girls).

Table 3.4 combines all domestic work-related activities while retaining the other categories of self-care, leisure and ill-health. The high records for girls' work-related activities are immediately apparent. On Nineveh instant activities document that girls' activities in 65 per cent of the instances were to do with work, and on Monte Roza work is recorded as 41 per cent for girls. Relatively speaking, figures recorded for boys' work-related activities were less. Instant checks on boys on Nineveh recorded 38 per cent on domestic work-related activities. The same checks on boys on Monte Roza recorded low figures of six per cent on domestic work.

It is apparent in Table 3.5 that boys on Nineveh spent a large proportion of their time (75 per cent) on leisure activities. Even if boys did spend the majority of their free time engaging in activities such as swimming, playing dominoes or cricket, they would still need to spend some time on self-care. However, none of the instant activities noted boys engaged in self-care activities. Reynolds (1991: 64) found that instant checks recorded boys' self-care activities to be 17 per cent, as compared with girls' 11 per

cent. Boys on the farms are not recorded as having done any self-care activities. They were extremely reluctant to be seen by me even to be eating. When I first arrived on the farms, I queried why no men ever seemed to be at home at lunchtimes, only to discover that they were avoiding me. Later I would pop round at mealtimes, only to see all the men rapidly finish eating and leave. One observation I conducted was purposely during lunchtime and the boy lay on his bed and spoke to me, and finally excused himself from his room, ate his meal quickly and returned. Girls and women, perhaps because they knew me better, were quite happy to eat or work with me around. The situation echoes one described by Reynolds who raises the question: "Do social mores allow boys over ten to sit and observe me or entertain me as I observe others and similarly, oblige women and girls to demonstrate their busyness?" (1991: 80) Rather I suggest that my presence was intrusive into the men's personal lives. After six months on the farms, I still interacted more with the women and girls and the men and boys still avoided self-care related activities in my presence.

Table 3.5: Seasonal Breakdown of Tasks Recorded (as Percentages)

Nineveh Farm	**Summer**											
	Domestic Work			Total	Self-care	Leisure	Work	School	Garden	Health	Other	Total
	D	C	E	DCE	S	L	W	H	G	I	O	
Girls	40	20	0	60	10	20	0	0	10	0	0	100
Boys	0	0	0	0	0	75	0	0	25	0	0	100
	Winter											
	Domestic Work			Total	Self-care	Leisure	Work	School	Garden	Health	Other	Total
	D	C	E	DCE	S	L	W	H	G	I	O	
Girls	50	10	0	60	10	30	0	0	0	0	0	100
Boys	75	0	0	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	100

Monte Roza Farm	**Summer**											
	Domestic Work			Total	Self-care	Leisure	Work	School	Garden	Health	Other	Total
	D	C	E	DCE	S	L	W	H	G	I	O	
Girls	17	17	0	34	0	33	0	17	0	0	17	101
Boys	13	0	0	13	0	38	13	0	0	0	33	97
	Winter											Total
	Domestic Work			Total	Self-care	Leisure	Work	School	Garden	Health	Other	
	D	C	E	DCE	S	L	W	H	G	I	O	
Girls	33	0	17	50	0	17	17	0	0	17	0	101
Boys	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	100

Summer:
Comparison of All Girls Labour to All Boys Labour

	Domestic Work			Total	Self-care	Leisure	Work	School	Garden	Health	Other	Total
	D	C	E	DCE	S	L	W	H	G	I	O	
Girls	29	19	0	48	5	27	0	9	5	0	9	103
Boys	7	0	0	7	0	57	7	0	13	0	17	101

Winter
Comparison of All Girls Labour to All Boys Labour

	Domestic Work			Total	Self-care	Leisure	Work	School	Garden	Health	Other	Total
	D	C	E	DCE	S	L	W	H	G	I	O	
Girls	42	5	9	28	5	24	9	0	0	9	0	103
Boys	38	0	9	28	0	50	0	0	0	9	0	106

Table 3.5 illustrates that, on both Nineveh and Monte Roza, the instant checks recorded for girls' domestic activities increased in the winter months (from 40 per cent to 50 per cent on Nineveh, and from 17 per cent to 33 per cent on Monte Roza). Girls' instant activities for domestic work were higher than those recorded for boys (see Table 3.4). Girls also performed more of the domestic chores than boys. While some domestic tasks remain constant throughout the year (washing, cleaning, cooking, etc), others vary according to the season. One such task is the collecting of firewood (see Table 3.1). In winter there is a greater need for wood to heat water for washing and for coals to warm houses. Both sexes collect firewood but women do so in

addition to their other tasks, while boys do so instead of their other chores (mainly gardening which needs be done in summer only).

When the different categories of work are combined, girls were still recorded to do more work than boys in both summer and winter. Table 3.5 illustrates that instant activities on girls' work on Nineveh were six times as high as boys' work in summer (60 per cent as compared with no instant checks of boys doing domestic work). Instant activities of girls' domestic work on Monte Roza are considerably higher than the figures for boys' domestic work in both summer and winter. In summer instant checks on girls' work recorded 34 per cent compared with the 13 per cent recorded for boys.

2. 24-Hour Records

I asked each of the 14 adolescents in the sample to recall their activities over the previous 24 hours twice during the winter months and twice during the summer. The 24-hour recalls have been analysed below using the same categories as were used for the instant activities (see Appendix 3.1 for more information on these categories).

Results

From Table 3.6 it is evident that girls recall spending 32 per cent (Nineveh) and 27 per cent (Monte Roza) of their time on domestic tasks, while boys recall only 7 and 13 per cent. Boys recall spending more time on leisure-related activities. On Nineveh the boys recalled spending 26 per cent of their time on leisure as compared with the 16 per

cent of the girls, while on Monte Roza boys recalled twice as much leisure time (21 per cent) as that of the girls (10 per cent).

The time recalled as having been spent on self-care is much the same for girls and boys on both farms. Girls recalled 40 per cent on Nineveh and 48 per cent on Monte Roza (which averages at 44 per cent for all girls), whereas boys remembered 48 per cent on the former and 43 per cent on the latter (or 41 per cent for all boys). From Table 3.6 it is evident that all girls recall doing more domestic work (30 per cent) than do all boys (11 per cent).

Table 3.6: Tasks Recalled using 24-Hour Records (As Percentages of each Group's Activities)

Nineveh Farm	Domestic Work				Self-care	Leisure	Work	School	Garden			Total
	D	C	E	Total DCE	S	L	W	H	G	R	P	
Girls	28	3	1	32	40	16	6	5	0	1	0	100
Boys	4	0	3	7	39	26	11	8	10	0	0	101
Monte Roza Farm	Domestic Work				Self-care	Leisure	Work	School	Garden			Total
	D	C	E	Total DCE	S	L	W	H	G	R	P	
Girls	24	1	2	27	48	10	11	4	0	2	0	102
Boys	11	0	2	13	43	21	14	3	5	3	0	102

Comparison of All Girls Labour to All Boys Labour	Domestic Work				Self-care	Leisure	Work	School	Garden			Total
	D	C	E	Total DCE	S	L	W	H	G	R	P	
Girls	26	2	2	30	44	13	9	5	0	2	0	103
Boys	8	0	3	11	41	24	13	6	8	2	0	105

3. Observation

I observed each of the sample adolescents four times, for an hour at a time. These observations took place over the same period of months as the 24-hour recall and the instant activities were made. The comparison of the

findings using different techniques is instructive. For example, the 24-hour recalls contain only that which the subjects categorise as work and what they remember having done. The result is that people may exaggerate or underestimate the amount of work they actually did (see Reynolds, 1991, for an elaboration of the effect of different recording techniques). One problem in setting out to observe adolescents' activities was that people were too eager to help me! If I enquired about somebody's whereabouts, and the person was not in the immediate vicinity, then someone would immediately be despatched to go and call him or her. Once Eggan Hoern, one of the sample children from Monte Roza, was called back from an errand which had taken him to a nearby farm. I was unaware of what was happening and when he returned breathless from running, I could hardly tell him that all I wanted to do was watch him!

Results

Table 3.7 lists the tasks recorded using the observations. From the tables it is evident that girls were observed to do far more domestic tasks than were boys. Girls on Nineveh spent as much as 57 per cent of their time on domestic chores. By comparison, boys spent 19 per cent of their time on these tasks. Similarly, girls on Monte Roza performed over three times as much domestic work as the boys (62 per cent compared with 19 per cent). When the observations on Nineveh and Monte Roza are combined (Table 3.7), girls still do more work than do boys. Boys on

higher for boys than for girls (a difference of three per cent), while on Nineveh girls spent two per cent more time than boys on self-care activities.

Discussion: Instant Activities, 24-hour Recall and Observation

Instant activities, 24-hour recalls and observations have been used to record the labour input of adolescents. Each technique is different and each has particular advantages and disadvantages. The three techniques contribute a picture of young people's use of their time giving an indication of the number of activities devoted to work. Each technique "... lends a particular perspective to people's activities" (Reynolds, 1991: 85). Reynolds argues that each of the three different techniques emphasises a different activity. Observation emphasises work, instant activities tend to exaggerate leisure and 24-hour recalls emphasise self-care. In the following section, I compare the results of the three different techniques used to measure labour.

The advantages and disadvantages of using these techniques to record labour are discussed in detail by Reynolds (1991: 77,84,85). The greatest problem I encountered during observations was that people were simply too eager to help me. People would stop what they were doing and entertain me. Here the instant activities proved useful as I could note what the person was doing as I arrived. If the girl or boy then discontinued that activity to entertain me, it did not affect the instant record.

The most successful observations were those which were conducted when the person was either busy or in a hurry. In these instances, it was impossible to put aside their tasks and concentrate on me. I was left to my own devices and could watch unnoticed. Other problems associated with both observations and instant activities are noted by Reynolds. Observations require

> ... some skill or at least an ability to note many aspects of a situation. It is an imposition on others' lives. It can distort subjects' behaviour. It relies on trust, on the right of access not easily won. Access to some situations may be restricted depending on age and/or sex of the observer (1991: 77).

Observations do, however, allow the observer to watch activity for a continued time span which instant activities do not. Instant activities overlook time involvement in a task, energy expenditure, multiple tasks, crises or ill-health and, most importantly, movement and travel (see Reynolds, 1991: 84). As with the observations, access to certain situations might be denied and the record relies heavily on the researcher's interpretation of a person's activity.

24-Hour recalls are a useful complement to observation and instant activities. They provide an account of how the person views his or her day as well as providing some insight into what is important in that day. The recalls do not measure time, but rather how people "weight" their days. Naturally some things are omitted, some are forgotten and

others are over-emphasised (Reynolds, 1991: 85). Using the recalls it is difficult to know whether work mentioned was actually performed on that particular day.

The biggest problem I encountered was convincing the adolescents actually to write the 24-hour recalls. When I was still new to the farms, everyone (including those not in the sample), wanted to complete 24-hour recalls for me. But later, once everyone was more used to me, the 24-hour recalls became more of a chore than fun. I was often told that the person was too busy to "work" for me now. This might also have to do with the fact that the second phase of recalls happened during the busy summer months.

In order to describe the lives of young people living on the farms, it seems important to obtain an idea of the ways in which they spend their time. The number of young people focussed upon in these records is small but the findings suggest that there are differences between the experiences of girls and boys that warrant further research if the nature of their opportunities is to be improved. The three techniques used to record their activities show that careful attention must be paid to these differences.

In the following section I shall discuss and compare the results of the three techniques. Table 3.8 shows the results of the instant activities, the 24-hour recalls and the observations. I have included domestic activity as a separate percentage of the total activities recorded as it forms a major part of all work-related activities.

From Table 3.8 it is evident that girls do more domestic work than boys. The 24-hour recall records document the lowest figures for domestic work in most instances, thereby confirming Reynolds, (1991: 87) suggestion that people recall far fewer work-related chores than they actually perform. The time spent on leisure activities is higher for boys than for girls in all categories (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8: Comparison of Activities Recorded Using Instant Activities and 24-Hour Recall and Observations (As Percentages)

Nineveh Farm						Total
	Domestic (as a % of total) D C E	Work D C E G H	Farm work W	Self-care S	Leisure L	
Girls IR	65	70	0	10	20	100
24Hr	32	37	6	40	16	99
OBS	57	63	3	15	18	99
Boys IR	38	51	0	0	38	89*
24Hr	7	25	11	39	26	101
OBS	6	25	19	13	44	101
Monte Roza Farm						Total
	Domestic (as a % of total) D C E	Work D C E G H	Farm work W	Self-care S	Leisure L	
Girls IR	41	49	8	0	25	82*
24Hr	27	31	11	48	10	100
OBS	62	62	15	4	19	100
Boys IR	6	6	6	0	69	81*
24Hr	13	21	14	43	21	99
OBS	11	26	19	7	46	98

* Figures documented for ill-health, religious-related activities and other are not included here and these totals are less than 100%.

In conclusion, by examining the activities of both girls and boys on two different farms, I have attempted to gauge how much of their labour is utilised. I have used three different but interrelated techniques to do this. The results obtained and the data presented in this chapter illustrate that girls on both Nineveh and Monte Roza do more

domestic work than boys. Boys on both farms engage in more leisure activities than do their female peers. The implications of adolescent girls' domestic labour and adolescent boy's leisure time are discussed further in Chapter Five.

A Day's Labour

It is difficult to generalise about labour conditions on the farms, as farmers determine the rules by which their farms are run independently of all the other farmers in the valley. This means that labour conditions vary from farm to farm. For adolescents on the farms the variation is greater still. In the first instance, labour conditions depend on the farmer and on the relationship between the farmer and the adolescents' parents. Labour conditions are also influenced by the adolescents' parents as well as by the relationship between adolescent and parent. Finally the adolescents themselves have considerable say over whether or not they work. In the following section I present four case studies, two from Monte Roza and two from Nineveh farm, in order to illustrate the labour conditions on the farms.

Case Study 3.1:

Meid Maton is 15 years old and works on Monte Roza farm. She left school in 1990 while still in Standard Five. Meid wrote about leaving school:

> ... the (teachers were) very rude. One teacher said I was pregnant and already had a child (this is not the case). I went to tell the principal but he insulted me. I told my mother and she said I must stay at home. I thought to help my mother work as we no longer have a father who works for us. After that I began work.

Meid works throughout the year. During the packing season her day starts at 6 am. She gets up, dresses herself, eats and begins work in the nearby packing shed at 7 am. In the packing shed she works with Bings, a friend of hers, and they pack the shaped bunches of grapes into tissue lining and then into boxes. The job requires Meid to be standing all through work hours, which last from 7 am till noon with a short break at 8 am for breakfast. Lunch is from noon to 1 pm after which Meid works until 3.45 pm to 4 pm when there is a break for tea. Work finishes when all the grapes are packed, which is usually around 6 pm. A radio programme is relayed in the shed and relieves some of the repetitive nature of the work, but the work is also rushed and Meid has to work quickly to keep up. It is possible for her and Bings to talk but they are often too busy to do so.

At lunchtime (12 noon - 1 pm) Meid usually does some of the domestic work (sweeping, washing dishes or clothing) in her mother's house. She has no sisters but is aided by her elder brother's girlfriend who lives with them. Then she returns to work and does the same job until all the grapes have been packed. She usually gets home at about 6 pm in the evening. When she returns home she does the remaining domestic chores. Then it is time to eat, perhaps watch some television and go to sleep.

Meid earned R116.70[2] a fortnight (which is R252.83 a month or approximately R10.00 a day, or R1 an hour). She never receives the full amount as she buys on account at the farm during the month. After deductions she gets between R40 and R60 a fortnight. The money is given to her mother who then gives her back R10 to R15. Meid uses the money to buy things for herself, mostly food and sweets.

Case Study 3.2:

Eggan Hoern is a twelve-year-old boy who lives with his mother, his two younger brothers and his father's sister's son on Monte Roza farm. Eggan's mother is separated from his father who lives in the village. Eggan attends school as a Standard Four pupil and works during the afternoon. He began to work in 1991 and met no opposition from his mother.

Each morning Eggan gets up and goes to school. On Monte Roza a driver uses the farm *bakkie* (small truck) to take and fetch the schoolchildren. Once Eggan comes home from school (at about 1.30 pm), he changes, eats and goes to work in the packing shed. His job is to ensure that there are always empty boxes available for the packers to use. The job suits him as he is small for his age and can squeeze between the rows without getting in everyone's way. Eggan climbs up the pile of empty boxes packed against the shed wall and throws the top boxes down to three or four other children. They then push the boxes to where they have to be, pretending that the boxes are cars or lorries and making the appropriate "vroom vroom" and "toot toot" noises. Work is not all boring and Eggan writes: "Yesterday I worked in the store. I pushed boxes down the rows. I even threw boxes down from up above. I fell on my head and the people laughed." After work each day, Eggan and his brother (aged

2 This figure is the basic wage for women which is paid in the winter months (June - October). In summer her wage increases according to her points acquired (see below).

10) collect wood or are sent on errands by their mother. Then they play outside or watch television until they are tired and/or hungry and return home to eat and sleep.

Eggan earned R27 a fortnight for his work in the afternoons. Of this, R10 was saved on his behalf by Mrs du Toit and he and his mother shared the remaining R17. Eggan's wages were paid to his mother and he thought he earned R11 a fortnight. His mother then gave him R7 which he could do with as he wished. Eggan said that he used the money to buy pens and pencils for school.

It is a common occurrence on the farm that children decide for themselves to leave school prior to completing their education.[3] At least four of the adolescents working on Monte Roza mentioned that they themselves decided to leave school. Although it is the adolescent who actually decides to leave school, there are other influencing factors. In each case the adolescent cited financial problems (*geld probleme*) as the primary reason for leaving school. This was then coupled with other reasons. David Kaalie and Meid both had disagreements with teachers. Noes Pretorius had problems at home and Johan Manuel said that he had been too lazy and had begun to roam around. The decision to work is associated with the idea of working for one's parent(s) and helping out financially.

Working with grapes does not demand great skill and tasks can be learned within a matter of hours. Grape farmers need skilled labour only for shaping the bunches of grapes. Children from the age of ten perform a number of tasks including *blare breek, korreltjies uitknip,* and *boksies inry* on the farm. They learn on the job in the vineyards and packing shed. From the age of ten children on Monte Roza can work in the afternoons if they wish to. There seems to be little direct pressure from parents on

3 This section does not discuss the many facets of farm schools. A detailed discussion on farm schools is available in Graaff and Gordon (1991).

children to work and children decide for themselves whether to work or play. Parents give children who work some of their earnings to spend as they wish (see Case Study One and Two). It is clear that there is an economic incentive for children to work and for parents to encourage their employment after school and during the holidays. In the vineyard the children work alongside the women who teach them as they work. The women are important in that they train the children and the women's teachings ensure the continuation of a knowledgeable workforce. On Monte Roza the learning process is informal and relaxed in the vineyard and children play and chat while they work. The relaxed atmosphere in which the children work suggests that farmer control over children is less strict than over adults working in the vineyards. In the packing shed the children do not all work with the women as in the vineyards. Adolescent girls are involved in the labour-intensive processes of cleaning, shaping, weighing and packing the grapes. The boys do manual labour, picking the grapes, transporting them to the packing shed, sealing boxes and loading the boxes onto the lorry.

In Monte Roza's packing shed, the atmosphere is generally relaxed and informal. The farmer, Mr du Toit, works and talks alongside the workers. His wife works in the shed and ensures that work continues at a pace acceptable to her by reprimanding people, including her husband, who appear to be working too slowly. She also keeps a careful check on the quality of the work. The packing at Monte Roza is based on a points system, whereby each person is awarded a point for each crate processed.

There is a target which each worker is expected to achieve. To reach target one needs to have accumulated 30 points, or processed 30 crates of grapes, by lunchtime. Every worker can process 30 crates of grapes in this time, no matter how slowly he or she may work. Once a worker has processed 30 crates, each additional crate processed is worth a few cents. Most workers have processed between 75 and 80 crates by lunchtime. Some of the money accumulated by processing additional crates is added to the weekly wage and the remainder is put aside for the yearly bonus.

Confusion and dissatisfaction arise from time to time and I overheard various people saying that Mrs du Toit did not want them to accumulate too many points, but that they should not be under target either. The workers' perception was that the 75 to 80 points they accumulated each morning, and again each afternoon, were too many points for Mrs du Toit's satisfaction and she wanted them to process fewer crates of grapes. I queried this with Mrs du Toit who explained that the problem was not that people were working too fast or processing too many crates, but rather that more crates were being claimed than had actually been picked each day.

Actual wages were difficult to ascertain. They differ from winter to summer and from person to person. When questioned Mr du Toit was vague. Workers willingly produced pay dockets to be examined but these were confusing to me. The adolescents with whom I worked on Monte Roza gave their wages to their mothers who looked after the household finances (see Chapter Five). They took pride in giving money in order to help their parents. Lisa was the

exception amongst the adolescents I knew. She was paid fortnightly for the work she did in the afternoons after school and says about the money, "(I) take my money just so. I take it for me. I buy myself pens and pencils. I do not give it to my grandmother (Lisa is a *voorkind* who lives with her grandmother and not her mother). Lisa's cousin interjected, saying, "She does not give, her 'mother' asks her for it. She says no, it's too little. Then her 'mother' scolds her for not wanting to give money for food. Sometimes she does not get fed, then she cries".

This exchange hints at expectations which inform the sharing of earnings among family members. In order to examine how some of the issues discussed above are handled on Nineveh, I shall now turn to the two case studies from this farm.

Case Study 3.3:

When Luke van Wiellen was 14 he left school in 1989. He was in Standard Two at the time. This occurred at about the same time as his mother and father separated. Luke says his father decided to take him out of school, despite his mother's wish for him to continue. Meisie (Luke's father's common-law wife) argues that Luke himself decided to leave school. Luke then spent a year at home doing nothing before Meisie insisted he begin work on Nineveh farm. It is unclear who decided that Luke should leave school. Clearly he left at a time of major upheaval in his life and this possibly influenced his earlier decision not to contribute money to the household by not working. The animosity between him and Meisie no doubt partially influenced - and was partially caused by - Meisie's insistence that he begin work on the farm.

Luke's day begins at about 5.30 each morning. He gets up, washes, dresses and waters the garden before starting work at about 6.15 am. Luke works with the men and does the same work as they do. In summer he picks grapes and places them in crates; the crates are then loaded onto the tractor, off-loaded in the packing shed and distributed to the women. Luke also loads the boxes of packed grapes onto the lorry and goes with the lorry driver to deliver them to the refrigerated warehouse.

At lunchtimes Luke stays home to eat and to do any work that needs doing in the garden. Then he goes to visit his friend Jacobus or plays dominoes. Meisie complains that he has no chores to do in the house; he comes home, eats and leaves.

After lunch Luke returns to work and continues doing the same jobs he did earlier. There is a short break (15 minutes) for tea, during which Luke and the other men socialise. Work finishes at about 6.30 pm. Luke does not usually go home but wanders over to the neighbouring farm with his friends. Until shortly before Christmas 1991, Luke and his friends would spend their evenings drinking, smoking and talking. However, Meisie has taken to giving Luke Antabuse or "*antibooze*" tablets to prevent him from drinking. (The tablets are available free from the farmer, and are discussed in greater detail in Chapters Four and Five). Luke usually comes home late at night, once everyone is asleep, to eat the food prepared earlier by Meisie and go to bed.

Case Study 3.4:

> Yesterday I got up, boiled water and washed myself. Then I got dressed, sliced the bread and fried the eggs (to make sandwiches). Then I washed and dressed Babatjie and we went to school. At school I only learnt and had break and played nicely. Then we went back in and cleaned the classes before we came home. (When) I arrived home I changed, cleaned the house and ate. Then I did the washing and cleaned the floors and the glasses and dishes.

Grieta Qhina wakes up each morning between 5 and 6 am. She gets up and prepares food. Then she and her younger sister walk to the farm school approximately two kilometres away. Before school Grieta joins the other schoolchildren at the neighbouring café where they play games.

Grieta is 16 years old and is in Standard Four. School starts at 8 am and the classroom is shared with the Standard Three pupils. The classes are small and one teacher controls and teaches both standards at once. Next door another teacher instructs the Sub A, Sub B, Standard One and Two classes. After school Grieta walks home and begins her daily chores. These include cooking, cleaning the house, kneading bread, washing clothes and dishes, scrubbing the floors and sweeping.

Grieta lives with her mother, elder brother and younger sister. Her brother is 19 years old and works full-time on the farm. As Grieta's mother and brother are working on the farm all day, and Babatjie is only six years old, Grieta is left to do the bulk of the domestic work.

Grieta also works for Mr van Wyk in her spare time. She spent the December 1992 school holidays working on the farm, leaving Babatjie to look after herself in the house. Each morning she would get up at about 5 am to wash, prepare food and tidy the house. She would begin work with the

other women and work until the hooter sounded for lunch. During lunch time Grieta would do some of the domestic work in the house. She would then return to work in the afternoon and then she and her mother would share the domestic work in the evening before eating and going to bed.

Grieta decided for herself that she was going to work during her school holidays and on some afternoons during the week. She was initially employed to remove all the small and undeveloped grapes from the bunches and to shape the bunch (*korreltjies uitknip*). She worked with some of the other schoolchildren and they were supervised by Meisie who is employed full-time by the farmer. *Korreltjies uitknip* or thinning is particularly arduous work. Because of the height and angle of the trellises, it is uncomfortable to sit and difficult to stand and work. The result is that one tends to work with a bent back (in order to fit under the trellis) and straight arms (to reach the grapes). The work is repetitive and boring, although it is possible to talk to people working nearby rows and conversations drift from row to row. The work is supervised although this concerns mainly the quality of work and the supervisor does not keep people working the whole time. People stop often, to chat, roll a *endtjie* (cigarette), fetch water or simply rest.

The situation on Nineveh differs from that on Monte Roza in that the use of child labour is more informal. I have already discussed the use of child labour on Monte Roza (see above). On Nineveh Grieta was one of the few school children to work throughout the packing season and often her work was spasmodic. She appeared to choose for herself when and for how long she was going to work each day. Most of the other adolescents began work on the farm at the beginning of summer (see Table 3.1), but soon stayed away

from work, preferring to play or swim in the river. Only once did I witness an adult instructing an adolescent to go to work. One week Boeta's mother and father had both been sick and had not worked every day. As people were only paid for work actually performed, the family was in dire financial need. One day while I was doing an observation of Boeta (who was playing dominoes at the time), the foreman arrived with a message from Boeta's father. Boeta was to go and "help his mother" in the vineyards. Boeta went home, had an argument with his sister as to whose turn it was to work (she had been in the vineyard all morning), procrastinated as long as possible and finally went to work (for more on this example see Chapters Five and Six).

Once adolescents join the work force permanently, as Luke has done, there is more pressure on them to continue working than there is on adolescents who are working after school. Dora de Bruin, a 16 year old girl, began work on Nineveh and soon started staying home after lunch and not going back to work. Each time this happened the foreman would come and fetch her and escort her back to work.

As is the case on Monte Roza, the adolescents on Nineveh recognise the importance of working for their parents and helping them financially. One example of this is the instruction Boeta received to "go and help his mother". Lyn (Boeta's mother) was ill at home but the instruction meant that Boeta should go and work in the vineyards. This reflects the manner in which people were paid on Nineveh. They were paid a basic wage and were then paid extra for each row of grapes processed. Children and adolescents would help for as long as they cared to and then

leave. They were not paid for their labour, as they usually worked in the same row as someone else. The person they helped, a mother, sister, aunt or friend, would then receive the benefit of the extra time and be paid for it. As far as I can tell, adolescents decided for themselves whether or not to work. Few adolescents choose to work their own rows. Grieta was one and she was paid for her work along with everyone else on Friday evenings. One week she received R35 for her labour, which she gave to her mother. All the money she earned was passed on to her mother who then gave a small amount back to Grieta to spend on books or other school-related items.

Luke, being a full-time worker, was paid weekly for his labour. During the winter months he was paid R32, of which he usually received about R20. Of the remainder, 50c was deducted for the use of the television set in the crêche, debts were paid and a small amount might have been saved. Luke gave his full wage to Meisie, who then gave him back R2,50 pocket money (*sakgeld*).[4]

The case studies help to illustrate some of the complexities of generalising about farm labour. There are, however, some common trends which can be seen from the above. The adolescents on both Monte Roza and Nineveh have a good deal of say over the sale of their own labour. It is they who decide whether to work after school and during the school holidays. They decide when to leave school and when

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4 During the more prosperous summer months these amounts increase, but I am not sure by how much.

to begin work. There are exceptions where some girls or boys (Luke and, to some extent, Boeta) are compelled to work by their parents.

Despite having a big say over the sale of their labour, adolescents have little say over the wages they get paid for their labour. Money acquired is invariably passed on to the most senior female member of the household who then gives the adolescent a small portion back. The example of Lisa cited above is an exception and it illustrates some of the tensions associated with the payment of *kosgeld* (money for food).

For most adolescents an "average" day involves vast amounts of labour to be done at home and possibly also on the farm. The domestic work begins first thing in the morning before work or school. At lunchtime or after school there is more work to be done and the last tasks of the day are completed after work in the evenings. For girls, who do the bulk of the domestic work, the day is especially long. However, adolescent boys also work long and arduous hours.

This chapter has shown that adolescents are drawn into the labour force and work on the farms from the age of ten onwards. In the following chapter I examine the control imposed by the farmers on adolescents and other farm residents who work on the farms.

Chapter Four

Monkey in a Spiderweb:

The Dynamics of Farmer Control and Paternalism.

Apie van Laingsburg	Monkey from Laingsburg
Apie soek 'n job	Monkey looks for a job
Job se naam is spinnerak	Job's name is spiderweb
En Apie loop daardeur	And Monkey walks into it
Apie kom by Spinnekop	Monkey comes to Spider
En Spinnekop lê in die kooi	And Spider is lying in bed
Spinnekop vat die pispot	Spider takes the bedpan
En slat vir Apie	And knocks Monkey
"Jomskeloms".	"Topsy-turvy".

The children on the farm sang the song printed above. It is a story of being caught in the web of employment. The spiderweb (the job) attracts the monkey, but it is the clever manufacturer of the web (the spider) who finally knocks the monkey off his feet.

The song offers an analogy of the conditions found on fruit farms in the Western Cape[1]. There are many discussions in the literature of labour conditions on the farms (the spider-webs) and the control exercised by farmers (the spiders). Farmer control can be seen to be composed of deliberate actions and to have clear and intended consequences. However, there are few descriptions of the process of entrapment and encapsulation of farm residents. The process is not as visible as farmer control is and entrapment happens in unintended ways. Farmers and farm residents become cemented into relationships of power and deference. These relationships limit the choices available

1 The analogy suggested here is drawn by me and is not one recognised by either the farmers or the farm residents.

to both farmers and farm residents, but are particularly restrictive with respect to farm residents' opportunities to escape from farm conditions.

In this chapter I trace the processes whereby some adolescents and labourers become "caught in the spiderweb" and are "knocked off their feet by the spider". The examples are drawn from a number of facets of farm life, including labour conditions, adolescent fertility, alcohol abuse, physical fights and education. Despite the process of entrapment and encapsulation some adolescents and adults do manage to escape.

Most descriptions of farm labour focus on wages, housing conditions and labour conditions (cf. Du Toit, 1991). Particular emphasis is placed on the nature of the relationships that exist between farm management and labourers. Notions of "paternalism" and "total control" have been used to describe this relationship (Du Toit, 1991: 2).[2] Nasson (1984, 1988) sees the farm as a "total institution" in that it is completely dominated by the farmer. The farm is understood by Nasson to be a geographically and socially self-contained unit. The people living on the farm are seen as part of a community which is distinct from the rest of the world.

Paternalism on farms dates back to the seventeenth century when slaves worked on the farms in the Western Cape (Shell, 1989). The Cape slave-owners incorporated slaves into units that they chose to describe as their "families". The family as an institution included slaves and servants

2 See Badroodien 1990, CIIR 1989, Du Toit 1991,1992, Graaff, Louw and van der Merwe 1990 and Nasson 1984, 1988 for discussion on these relationships.

and the ideology of the family assisted slave-owners in effectively controlling slaves. Although slaves were considered part of the family, they occupied very different positions than did kin. Shell argues that "(s)laves were legally and socially regarded as the most junior members of the patriarchal family, but unlike the biological children the slave was never permitted to assume the rights and privileges of an adult" (1989: 29). The status of slaves was reflected in the language used by slave-owners. Slaves were known either as "boys" or "girls" or only on a first name basis, regardless of their age or status. The use of first names and the above terminology was part of the process of reducing slaves to the same status as that of children (Shell, 1989).

Slavery in the Western Cape was abolished in 1834 and the apprenticeship of existing slaves came to an end in 1838. Worden argues that the emancipation of slaves resulted not in permanent wage-labour but rather in seasonal employment combined with "a permanent farm labour force only partially paid by wages" (1989: 35). Because of the limited opportunities available to freed slaves, many were forced to work for farmers in exchange for food, drink (the infamous *dop* system of the Western Cape), housing and clothing (Worden, 1989).

In 1841 the Masters and Servants Ordinance was passed and this provided the basis for future state legislation which aimed at controlling the farm labour force. However, the Ordinance was also concerned with preventing the perpetuation of the slavery system and therefore provided some legal protection to farm labourers. The Ordinance

specified that contracts had to be drawn up in which precise conditions of employment and remuneration were detailed. Despite the protection offered to labourers, the Ordinance also provided the legal mechanisms by which farmers could ensure the stability of their workforce (Worden, 1989).

In 1856 the Masters and Servants Act defined all farm labourers as "servants" and the farmers as "masters" (Marcus, 1986). The Act increased the severity of punishments for labourers who did not comply with their contracts with farmers and further legislated that any refusal to obey a farmer's orders could be defined as a punishable offence (Worden, 1989). "These laws vested 'masters' with enormous personal authority over virtually every aspect of a worker's existence" (Marcus, 1986: 89). Every instruction issued was a command and if it was not "correctly" carried out it was a criminal offence. It was common practice for the farmers to "take the law into their own hands" and Marcus (1986: 89) writes:

> Rarely did these "breaches of the law" find their way to court and when they did ... the ruling was almost always in the "master's" favour. Mostly, however, the matter was settled beyond the bounds of the court, on the farm, with the farmer determining the punishment. This ranged from flogging with the sjambok (hide whip), which was a normal and common feature of farm service, to the eventual eviction of the "offender" and his/her dependants from the farm.

The Masters and Servants Act of 1856 was crucial in shaping relationships between farmers and farm residents (Graaff and Gordon, 1991: 211). Farm residents are today caught up in what has been described as an "almost feudal" set of social relationships which subject workers to

repressive and authoritarian conditions (Christie and Gaganakis in Badroodien, 1990: 2). The position of farm labour in the Western Cape is still referred to as an extension of the era when slaves worked the land (Tsotsi, 1981: 25). "Today's wine farm labourers have precious little to separate them from their predecessors. Freedom is still a myth", is the opinion expressed in a Catholic Institute for International Relations publication (CIIR, 1989: 1).

Although the above comparison with slaves is crude and obscures important differences between farm residents today and the slaves of the past, it is important to realise that the conditions of farm labour today stem from master and slave relationships of the past.

Even in 1992, people resident in the valley were still known by names which reflected their child-like and status-less position. Many of the women were called Meid (maid), Kaffirmeid (kaffirmaid *sic*) and Meisie (girl), while the men were known by derogatory and pejorative names such as Mannetjie (little man), Ore (ears), Vlerkie (small wing) and Doppe (a drink). The use of these names reflects the important power differentials between farmers and farm residents. As a result of the differences in power and wealth the farmers became sedimented into a dominant position while farm residents assumed positions of deference and submission when dealing with the farmer. Van den Berghe has argued that the ideology of paternalism has allowed whites to believe in their cultural superiority over the people they oppress (1970). Van den Berghe has asserted that "Paternalism has transformed the reality of the 'Black

man's burden' into the myth of the 'White man's burden'" (1970: 111). The master-servant relationship is, nevertheless, perceived by whites to benefit non-whites.

On Nineveh and Monte Roza farms authority is exercised not only by the farmer but also by his wife, the foreman and other residents. Farmers exercise authority over labourers, their spouses, children, adolescents and visitors. The rules and conditions made by the farmer are an area in which struggles and conflicts can be played out. People find themselves trapped on the farms. The following case concerns a young man named Doppe de Bruin who was living on Nineveh farm. The example shows how the implications of farm rule spread beyond the individual and have unintended consequences for all members of the household. It also illustrates the manner in which it was possible for Doppe to circumvent some of the farmer's control.

Doppe came home from work one day and helped himself to some bread. His niece, Ragel (aged 18), living in the same house, accused him of eating too much of the household's food. Doppe replied that he had "done a long day's work" and asked why she was complaining. Ragel then lashed out at Doppe and he threw a mug back at her.

Ragel went to complain to Mr van Wyk who replied that he had spoken to Doppe that morning and if Doppe did not wish to abide by the farm rules then he had better leave. Mr van Wyk came down to the *blok* and demanded that Doppe leave his farm immediately. Doppe left, but later that night he sneaked back to the house where he slept.

The following day Doppe managed to get a job on Morgenzon, a nearby farm. Here his salary was R3 a week more than on Nineveh, but the farmer was not prepared to offer any accommodation, so Doppe continued to sneak home in the evenings.

Changing jobs had other implications. Doppe now walked to work and could only return home after dark. This meant that he had plenty of opportunity to spend his money before he came home. The result was that Doppe lived and ate at Nineveh, but contributed little to the household. Previously, it had been possible to claim money from Doppe immediately after he had been paid and before he could go to

the shop or go drinking with his "chommies" (mates). Now, in an attempt to stop Doppe eating all the available food, Ragel's family had taken to locking the cupboard but Doppe simply prised the lock open with a pair of scissors.

I asked Doppe if he was scared of encountering Mr van Wyk now that he had been chased off the farm. He simply replied that if he was caught on the farm he would say he had come to give money (to the household).

A month later Doppe was involved in a fight during working hours and the farmer at Morgenzon told him to leave. Doppe came back to Nineveh and tried to get re-employed, but Mr van Wyk said "No", as he fought too much. Doppe then tried to find work at a number of farms but none would have him.

As Doppe was no longer working, he and his nephew Dirkie aged 15, stole R5 from a child who had been sent to the shop. They bought fruit juice with the money and drank it. The police were called and they instructed Doppe and Dirkie to produce the money by Friday. As neither Doppe nor Dirkie was working, they were given the money by Doppe's mother. Not only was Doppe accepting food from the people living in the household and not contributing money towards the food, he was now also taking money from his grandmother which would normally have gone towards household expenditure.

The literature concentrates on relations between farmer and labourer. However, farmer authority which is intended to affect only one person often has a series of effects on other people in that household and on the farm. Although the authority was exerted only on Doppe, the consequences of the commands were extended to the household as a whole and did not operate in order to benefit the farmer.

Where the extension of farmer command has been examined, it refers specifically to labourers who contract not only their labour to the farmer, but also that of their wives and children (Baskin, 1982; Keegan, 1988, 51; van Rhyneveld, 1986: 75). It is not legally permissible for parents or guardians to contract their dependants' labour. Haysom and Thompson (1984: 21), in a general enquiry into South African farm labour and the law, point out that it is nevertheless common for parents to be evicted if their

children work on a different farm. Haysom and Thompson say that parents have no recourse to legal action in response to eviction as they are excluded from the labour legislation which protects industrial workers.

The absolute power of the farmer to dismiss workers and the constant threat of eviction allow farmers to determine rules of conduct on the farms (Haysom and Thompson, 1984: 8). Legally the farmers' authority is limited after working hours, which is when incidents frequently involving fights and drunkenness occur. Such incidents often lead to disagreements with the farmer. Haysom and Thompson cite as one example farmers who make employment of labourers conditional upon children or relatives also working on the farm. "It is common for such a parent to be evicted/dismissed once or if his children leave for employment elsewhere" (1984: 21). Baskin suggests that it is the constant threat of eviction and the lack of alternatives available to people which form the underlying compliance with the farmers' control (1982: 51). van Rhyneveld (1986: 73) argues that "The strongest weapon the farmer wields is arguably not the termination of employment, but the order to vacate the house (*huisleegmaak*)" (also see Baskin, 1982: 51). Evictions not only mean the loss of a place to stay but also the loss of employment, the loss of access to the farm community and possible loss of access to education for the children (van Rhyneveld, 1986: 73, 74). Although the work of Baskin (1983), Haysom and Thompson (1984) and van Rhyneveld (1986) is ten years old, at the time of research there was still a lack of protective legislation for farm residents and the farmer's direct

control over people's lives was still possible. Protective labour legislation and the extension of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act to farm labourers was instituted only on 1 May 1993 (Forrest, 1993, also see Chapter One).

The following example shows how one adolescent baulked at the farmer's demands and won some freedom for herself. Her resistance was not in terms of political beliefs or in terms of the current discussions on farm labour legislation. Kornell November resisted the farmer's demands by manipulating the opportunities which present themselves to people living on the farms. The example illustrates that there are ways in which parents can overcome the conflicts which arise out of farmer control and adolescent interests.

In 1991 Kornell was 16 years old and a scholar at the local school. During the summer months she attended school in the mornings and spent her afternoons and holidays working in the vineyards. She lived with her elder sister Gertruide, her brother Martinus and Gertruide's three children (see Chapter Two, Diagram 2.8). Kornell's mother and father also live on Nineveh in a nearby house.

In the summer holidays of 1989 the adolescents on the farm chose not to work for Mr van Wyk because "he paid so little" and went to work on Morgenzon farm instead. One morning the children were walking to work when Mr van Wyk stopped them and asked where they were going. He said that they had to work for **him**. Kornell did not want to work for him as he paid only R35 a week compared with the R59 a week which she was being paid on Morgenzon. Kornell and Mr van Wyk had a long argument, at the end of which he told her to pack her bags and leave.

While the other children went to work on Nineveh, Kornell went home and started packing. Ou Dina (Kornell's father's sister) came and told her to "put away her bags and go to work in Nineveh's packing shed" because she was not employed full-time on the farm and so could not make decisions about where to work; it was her father who was employed.

Thus far, the case study confirms the observations made in the literature on farm labour: Kornell was seen to be under her father's control (even though she did not live with him) and it was his employment which determined where

she could, or could not, work. It shows that Kornell was constrained by the farmer and also by her father and her relatives. Had the matter ended there, it would be in keeping with the general understanding of conditions on farms in South Africa, but the relationship between Kornell and Mr van Wyk is subtle, complex and ongoing.

For the remainder of the summer of 1989, Kornell attended school in the mornings and worked on Nineveh farm during the afternoons. As far as Kornell and work were concerned, the season passed without further incident.

Winter came and Kornell continued to attend school and do the work around the house. As summer approached she made plans to spend her free time working in the vineyards. She would first work on Nineveh and see what Mr van Wyk paid; if he paid insufficient wages, then she would again work on Morgenzon.

At the beginning of the summer holidays of 1992, Kornell and Mr van Wyk again disagreed as Kornell wished to work on Morgenzon. The adolescents on the farm said that she would not keep quiet about it. She complained that because of the low wages they would all have to go without a Christmas (meaning that there would not be money to spend on Christmas celebrations). As a result of Kornell's comments and arguments, Mr van Wyk increased the adolescents' and children's wages.

After the dispute, Kornell's sister, Gertruide, asked a friend in Parow to find Kornell domestic work in Cape Town. She found Kornell employment in Mitchell's Plain and the woman who engaged her fetched her from the farm. This suited Kornell as she wanted to work in Cape Town, but it also meant that she had to abandon her school work with only a Standard Four qualification.

Kornell's move to Cape Town can be seen as a pyrrhic victory; however, she did resist the control of the farmer. Initially she had no recourse other than to work on the farm but she finally managed not only to improve the wages she and others were receiving but also to evade the implicit understanding between her father and the farmer, who expected her to work on the farm.

Adolescent girls seem to have the most freedom to move from the valley (see Chapter Six). The movement of young girls from the farm to Cape Town is a common phenomenon in

the valley. Movement is one way in which adolescents and labourers can and do move away from farmer control (see Chapter Six). Adolescent girls have the option of going to Cape Town where they are employed as domestic workers for Malay people or as child-minders for their own kin living there. Adolescent boys attempt to go to the army. This "escape" from farmer control and living conditions on the farm does not apply only to adolescents. The adults living on the farm also have a number of other relatives living on other farms in the valley. If someone has an argument with his or her employer he or she can move away to another farm where he or she will be taken in and sheltered by kin. People frequently move from farm to farm, but it appears that they seldom move away from the valley itself (discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six). Owing to the distinct geographical boundary of the valley and the frequent movement within it, the farmers tend to know many of the labourers and will gladly employ them in the summer months when increased labour forces are required (see Chapter Three).

Movement between farms is not an escape in the true sense of the word as people do not move away from the oppressive farm conditions. It does, however, allow people to move away at particular moments, for example, when they have contravened the farmer's rules and may be subject to disciplinary action from him. At some later date, perhaps only a few months later, labourers may well move back to the original farm because of difficulties experienced with either the farmer or the people on the new farm. (The issue of movement is discussed in Chapter Six).

Kornell's "escape" from the farmer's control is not unique, although only a few authors, for example, du Toit (1991, 1992), Graaff et al (1990) and Keegan (1988), would claim that workers are not completely powerless against the farmer. In keeping with the work of these authors, Kornell's story is another example of the manner in which people can and do evade the farmer's control.

The farmers' authority extends beyond working hours, although legally the farmers' control over people is limited to working hours only. The ability to dismiss and evict workers allows the farmer to extend this control and to reprimand people for their activities out of working hours. Workers rely on the farmer for employment, housing and other basic needs (Graaff and Gordon, 1991: 213; Haysom and Thompson, 1984: 9; Moller and Russell, 1986: 79). Ardington (1986: 70) suggests, "The almost total dependence of farm workers ... is made all the more significant by the fact that they depend on the farmer to provide nearly all the social amenities as well."

Within the context of paternalism the people who live on the farm are often viewed as a community,[3] and farm residents on Nineveh and Monte Roza perceive themselves as being part of a large family headed by the farmer. The women on Nineveh often commented that I took them to the doctor or clinic when in fact it was Mr van Wyk's responsibility. The people on Monte Roza saw themselves as "belonging to the farm". The ideology that the people belonged to the farm was often expounded upon by Mr du Toit,

3 See du Toit 1991, 1992 for a more extensive discussion of farm communities.

who felt that it was important that the farm be able to meet the future needs of a growing population as well as support all the people currently living on Monte Roza. In keeping with paternalism, the controls exercised by Mr van Wyk and Mr du Toit to "their families of labourers" extend not only over their working conditions but also over numerous other aspects of their lives. The farmers of Nineveh and Monte Roza are concerned with the religious, moral and social worlds of the people and their authority extends to the use of alcohol, the control of women's fertility and towards upholding Christian morals. Crapanzano (1986: 280) suggests that this is due to the "missionary zeal" of farmers who portray the lifestyle of farm residents as one in need of redemption.

Both the farmers of Nineveh and Monte Roza illustrate examples of control, in the guise of morality, which extends into the labourers' homes and into the core of adolescent life. Mr du Toit of Monte Roza explained to me that, because young people on the farms engage in sexual activity from puberty onwards, he takes all the girls who have begun to menstruate to the clinic to be given contraception, usually in the form of Depo-provera injections. He provides a number of services to pregnant women, in the form of transport and loans, but he specifies that they may not take advantage of them unless they are married. Finally, new houses are only available to married couples or families.

On Nineveh farm Mr and Mrs van Wyk attempt to exert authority over and give direction to adolescent girls' fertility. Mrs van Wyk controls who lives in the houses on Nineveh farm and prevents adolescent girls from leaving new-

born babies in their mothers' care while they seek work in the city (see Chapter Six). Like Mr du Toit, Mrs van Wyk concerns herself with adolescent girls' contraception and encourages mothers to ensure that their daughters are using Depo-provera.

Control of fertility does not just extend to adolescent girls. Both Mr du Toit of Monte Roza and Mrs van Wyk of Nineveh encourage women to have fewer children. Mr du Toit explained to me: "The people of Monte Roza know that they should have only two or three children as children are expensive". Mrs van Wyk tries to encourage adult women to be sterilised after they have had what **she** considers to be an acceptable number of children.

Meid Arendse lives with her husband and their two young daughters (aged 5 and 1). Meid's husband, Andries, suffers from epileptic attacks and receives a disability pension from the State. Mrs van Wyk is worried that something might happen to Meid (she did not elaborate as to what this might be) and she feels that the children could not be left in Andries's charge owing to his epilepsy. Mrs van Wyk appears to think that such an event would mean that the two daughters would be the responsibility of the van Wyks and they would have to see to their upbringing. As a result of this, Mrs van Wyk wants Meid to be sterilised so that she cannot have more children.

Meid is upset and infuriated by the interference of Mrs van Wyk (or *Kleinnooi*) in her private life. She cites the example of a woman who lived on Nineveh whom *"Kleinnooi* had sterilised". The sterilisation caused many problems between the woman and her husband. Her husband began to have a roving eye, to look at the young girls because his wife could no longer have children. Meid refuses to co-operate with Mrs van Wyk and says **she** will tell the Sisters (at the local clinic) when she is ready to be sterilised.

Mrs van Wyk's attempts at control over Meid's fertility, coupled with intense arguments between her (Meid), and her sister's boyfriend's mother, finally caused Meid and her family to leave the farm and to find employment and accommodation on a neighbouring farm.

After Meid had moved, her elder daughter, Kathline, was knocked down by a farm lorry and died.

An issue involved in considerations such as those outlined above is the notion of privacy. Within the context of paternalism, there is little conception of privacy. Du Toit (1993) shows that for people living and working on the wine farms in the Western Cape there is no concept of a private existence outside of employer influence. In the above example, Mrs van Wyk's behaviour suggests that she does not acknowledge workers' rights to control their own lives. Meid's resistance to the proposed sterilisation suggests that the notion of a private existence is, in fact, one which is constantly contested.

Despite the mechanisms employed to influence girls' fertility and pregnancy rates, the farmers (and farmers' wives) of Nineveh and Monte Roza have not been successful. Mrs du Toit commented that, no matter how many people came to the farm to give talks on birth control, "it seems as if the women **do not want** to understand".

Some adolescent girls of Monte Roza observed that one should not fall pregnant before marriage. It was not clear whether this reflected the farmer's ideal or their perception of what ought to happen. Only after Noes (aged 20) fell pregnant did she arrange to marry the father of her unborn child. The decision to marry was based, in part, on financial gain. If Noes did not marry she could not avail herself of any of the farm benefits offered to pregnant women. Mr du Toit was planning to build several new houses after the packing season. As both Noes and her fiancé were considered by the farmer to be reliable and hard-working, marriage would be a necessary and practical means of securing one of the houses for themselves.

For the most part, adolescents' babies are seen to belong to their mothers, and fathers have little or no say in their upbringing. Ideally, fathers are expected to provide a child's first items of clothing and powdered milk until the child moves onto a diet based on solid foods. Thereafter, some fathers stop providing for the child. Mothers can only ensure support from the fathers of their children if they can obtain a portion of the fathers' earnings. One way of doing this is to draw upon the implicit power exercised over people by the farmer and his wife. The following example shows how Rosina, who lived on Nineveh farm (see Chapter Two Diagram 2.11), enlisted Mrs van Wyk's and the foreman's help to ensure that her daughter received some support for her unborn-born child.

Arend Smith (aged 18) made Mottie de Bruin (aged 17) pregnant. Arend acknowledged that he was responsible for the child and that he should take financial responsibility in the form of buying clothing for the child. Nevertheless, he was reluctant to carry out this obligation.

Rosina, Mottie's mother, approached Arend's mother for financial support on Arend's behalf, but was unable to persuade her to provide the funds. Rosina then approached *Kleinnooi* (Mrs van Wyk) who instructed Arend and his family to purchase the clothes. The foreman, Dawie, then spoke to Arend's mother who paid the lay-bye[4] and Rosina eventually collected the baby's clothing from *Kleinnooi*.

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4 Buying goods on lay-bye is a system of purchase which spreads the cost of the item. Once an item has been chosen for purchase, a deposit is paid and the store then keeps the item until it has been paid off.

Arend and his mother did not manage to escape buying clothing for the baby because Rosina approached Mrs van Wyk and asked her to ensure that Arend contributed towards the financial cost for the unborn baby.

Each farmer formulates rules with which labourers and their families are expected to comply. Such rules concern disobedience, drunkenness, fights, abusive language, visitors and a multitude of other matters; and "... workers know the risk of breaking the farmer's 'law'" (CIIR, 1989: 4). Farm rules are not always as rigidly imposed as is suggested by the CIIR. On Nineveh and Monte Roza farms the farmers' rules and controls operate in a complex manner which reflects the relationship between the notions of control and self-direction.

In keeping with the way Mrs van Wyk monitors women's fertility, so Mr and Mrs van Wyk regulate the use of alcohol. One way in which this is done is to insist that certain people drink Antabuse ("antiboose") tablets before receiving their wages. Antabuse tablets are used in the treatment of chronic alcoholism. After swallowing a tablet, any ingestion of alcohol results in the person feeling extremely nauseous. The tablets are also available to women who collect them from Mrs van Wyk and then encourage their men to swallow them (see Chapters Three and Five). A number of women are grateful as this has helped them to stop drinking and to purchase items such as television sets and steam irons with their money. Other women resent the procedure and have developed a number of ways to resist this form of control. While it is possible to hide the tablet under one's tongue and later spit it out, many women simply

swallow the pill and later drink salt and vinegar water or Coca Cola, which they believe will nullify the effects of the tablet.

Another method of control employed by Mr and Mrs van Wyk is to "target" certain people and punish them for "bad" behaviour in an attempt to instil expected standards of deportment. This means that drunken behaviour on the part of one person can result in the entire *blok* being penalised. Such "punishment" can include men, women, adolescents and children. Although discipline is meted out to the *blok* as a whole, those who suffer under the discipline often have nothing to do with the original "offence". In the following example it is an adolescent girl who bears the brunt of the behaviour of drunken adult men; the men for whom the controls were intended do not suffer the consequences. This suggests that some people are simply able to "get away" with drunken behaviour or that possibilities for resistance are inherent in the system of farmer control.

Each year people from Nineveh go to Stellenbosch to participate in a sports day jointly hosted by Unifruco and the Rural Foundation. The day resembles a fête with numerous promotions in the form of the Oros and Niknaks characters, skydivers, singers and several other fun events for children. The main activities are the races (a half-marathon race, a 5 km fun run and a walking race) in which anyone may take part.

For the adolescents it is a day of great excitement and they spend the previous days discussing what they will do. Grieta and Merjana were planning to pool their food and money and do everything together. They knew what they were going to wear and had already packed their requirements.

On the morning of the 1991 sports day it transpired that only one person from each household (excluding those who were participating in the races) would be allowed to attend. This was as a result of drunken activity which had taken place the previous year (in 1990) when two of the men from Nineveh had been reprimanded for drinking. Money had been deducted from their wages and they were forbidden to

travel on the farm lorry for a period of time. Now the men who were to blame were angry, feeling that they had already been punished and that it was unnecessary to keep mentioning their misdemeanor.

For some of the adolescents, the restrictions were a major disappointment. As only one person per house could go, Merjana's grandparents sent Abie (see Chapter Two Diagram 2.9). Merjana never came to say good-bye to her friends leaving on the lorry, but when everyone returned she stood sadly and listened to her friends' excited chatter about the day. Merjana was the only adolescent who obviously wanted to go but obeyed the new ruling. A few of the other adolescents who wanted to attend manufactured reasons as to why they too should go and Mr and Mrs van Wyk never enforced the new rule.

The example shows that controls do not always affect those for whom they are intended and how the control can have unintended consequences. It also indicates that controls are not always enforced and that in certain contexts people can simply disregard the rules. Ironically, Merjana, too, could simply have ignored the farmer's command.

On Nineveh farm drunken activity that affects work can result in disciplinary action being directed not only against the individual culprit, but against the whole team. This is an extremely effective mechanism of control as it results in the labourers themselves doing the policing and enforcing the farmer's directive. Such action on behalf of the workers has implications for the progressive reorganisation of farm labour in which labourers could have a stake in the profits.[5]

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5 Jean Baptiste van Riet, a farmer in Thaba Nchu district in the 1930's, solved his problems with unsatisfactory labour by establishing a bonus scheme to provide an incentive and a workers' management committee which regulated the workers (see Murray, 1992: 293). The workers' management committee ensured that workers participated fully and was empowered to terminate the services fo those workers who did not pull their weight. Although van Riet had the final say over the workers' management committee, he never had any need to exercise this right.

Farmers in the valley pack two different grades of grapes: first class export grapes for overseas countries and first class grapes which are marketed to the rest of Africa.

During the packing season farmers are worried and nervous and it is said that many of them take medication to calm themselves. The sooner farmers start packing, the sooner they get paid - farmers are advanced payment 14 days after the first grapes have been received, based on the previous year's crop. The trick is to balance the need for haste with the need to judge when the grapes are ready; for if grapes are packed too soon, they can be rejected as being too sour. First class grapes destined for overseas markets have to be a certain shape, size and sweetness or they are rejected. Grapes which have been rejected are marketed locally and are worth only a third of first class export grapes. Each evening farmers wait anxiously, hoping that they will not receive a "rejection" phone call from the cold storage rooms.

A week after Nineveh farm started packing grapes, three palettes[6] of grapes were rejected. Mr van Wyk blamed the *deursoekers* or sorters who, he said, were not working properly. He then punished all the women working in the packing shed. They did not receive a bonus for that week to make up for the rejected grapes.

The women were angry as they felt that the grapes had been rejected because Lia Maton had arrived drunk each Monday morning and was therefore not doing her job correctly. Lia's job as a *deursoeker* involves sorting grapes into first class for export and first class for Africa categories and then placing the grapes into the relevant boxes in which they will then be dispatched. The women felt that Lia had been too drunk to distinguish clearly between the two grades of grapes and had mixed them up in the boxes, thus causing the palettes to be rejected.

The women were angry about the financial loss they incurred especially since they felt that the behaviour of one individual had caused the grapes to be rejected. They also felt frustrated because the details of how the bonuses were calculated were not made available to them.

The following Monday the women watched Lia closely and ensured that she did not make any mistakes. After that no more grapes were rejected while I lived on the farm.

The women made no attempt to resist Mr van Wyk's authority and in fact took on the role of policing an aberrant worker themselves.

Monte Roza, the other farm on which I worked, and Morgenzon, a farm I visited frequently, had grapes rejected. At no stage did either farmer blame the labourers, and both farmers and workers put the rejection down to the quality of the grapes.

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6 Table grapes which have been packed into boxes are transported on palettes. Table grape farmers pack two different size boxes depending on the destination of the grapes. A palette of grapes consists of either 136 or 150 5kg boxes of grapes.

Adolescent boys appear to be able to indulge in the use of alcohol without inciting the farmer's anger. This is surprising as attempts are made to control strictly adult men's use of alcohol. Alcohol features prominently in the lives of adolescents and adults on the farms. It seems to contribute to the common acceptance of an ideal of masculinity that affects many adolescent boys (see Chapter Five). Some adolescent boys drink on a regular basis and there are often fights among those who drink, yet I never saw any of them being reprimanded for their behaviour.

There are a number of possible reasons why adolescent boys appear to be able to avoid disciplinary action. First, it is important not to exclude the notion that "boys will be boys" and to realise that this may indeed predispose the farmer towards leaving them alone.

Secondly, the boys on Nineveh farm were careful in their choice of places to drink, their favourite place being at Jacobus Manuel's house. They sat on a bench positioned against the outside wall of Aletta's house, half obscured by the fruit trees but with a clear view of anyone approaching. Jacobus (aged 18) and his cousins live with their grandmother Aletta Manuel (see Chapter Two Diagram 2.13). Aletta is old and sickly and she has little or no control over the boys. She is not employed, and therefore not paid by the van Wyks, and so she cannot complain to Mr or Mrs van Wyk in the same manner as Rosina did (discussed above). There are two other places where the adolescent boys go to drink. One is on the neighbouring farm, where alcohol is still given to the workers and on which there is little attempt to monitor the consumption of alcohol. The other is

a small patch of land called *Steenberg* which is about 2km away from the farm but is also owned by Mr van Wyk. Mr and Mrs van Wyk visit *Steenberg* only during working hours, so it has become an after-hours enclave, removed from farmer presence and control, in which the adolescents can experiment.

Thirdly, the boys drink amongst themselves and get involved in fights with each other. Their actions do not often affect other members of the *blok*. Unlike adult men they do not go home and beat their spouses or children and, where violence does involve adolescent girls, it is kept very quiet. The girls do not complain to Mr van Wyk.

Another area in which the farmers do not seem to interfere is the education of labourers' children. Although the farmers make use of schoolchildren as seasonal labour after school hours, they do not close the farm schools for the duration of the packing season. Adolescents and children are not taken out of school to work during the packing season, nor are they encouraged to begin work when they have reached the age of 16. Both the farm residents and the van Wyks feel that school should be attended for as long as possible and that it is wrong to leave school before matriculating at the end of Standard Ten (the matriculation year).

To some extent, education is acknowledged as the domain of the adolescents and it is the one area in which adolescents on the farm are seen to make their own decisions. Adolescents, and even pre-adolescents, decide when to leave school. These decisions are often influenced by economic and social factors. This means that, although

adolescents say **they decided** to leave school, often they had no choice as the income from their labour is desperately needed by the household in which they live. The decision made by the adolescents is often merely a formality which allows them to believe in their own control over their labour. Economic circumstances force adolescents to leave school and in so doing adolescents are drawn into a life characterised by poverty and farm labour. The low education levels attained by adolescents means that there are few opportunities available to them in the urban areas. Adolescents who leave the valley are often drawn back to the farms because they experience unsatisfactory employment in the urban areas and can find no alternative employment (see Chapter Six). This helps to ensure the reproduction of the labour force on the farms.

Individual farmers do not need to exert control over farm schools and children on an overt level. However, schools cannot be viewed in isolation and have to be understood in the context of farmer control and paternalism. Nasson (1984: 1) argues that:

> Farm schooling lies squarely within the wider institutional framework of social forces and relationships in rural areas: it is rooted in structures of work discipline, social order, moral policing and adolescent passivity. .... Schooling cannot be understood independently of the workings of paternalism, charity, and philanthropy, of social practices and relations between land owners and labouring families.

Nasson's argument is based on the notion that farms and farm schools are part of a "total institution" in which farm children, their parents and teachers are powerless to

challenge the farmer (Nasson, 1984). Graaff, Louw and van der Merwe (1990) have shown that there are many ways in which farm residents "have access to outside information and alternative identities". Furthermore, both the Church and the Department of Education have some control over farm schooling (1990: 2).

Farm schools in the valley offer schooling until Standard Six for coloured children and Standard Four for African children. Farms schools are very rudimentary, and teaching is seldom offered beyond Standard Four. Until 1986 farm schools could not advance beyond Standard Five (Ardington, 1986: 71; Christie and Gaganakis in Badroodien, 1990: 8; CIIR, 1989: 1; Graaff and Gordon, 1991: 216). It is not easy for adolescents to progress beyond primary school, given the constraints of rural education (CIIR, 1989: 1). Figures for 1983 show that approximately half of the children enrolled in farm schools dropped out before they had completed six years of schooling (Nasson, 1984: 110). State legislation requires that coloured adolescents do not leave school before the age of 15, yet 46% of these children up until 1984 left school after only four years of attendance (Pillay, 1984: 7). For adolescents who leave school with minimal education there are few opportunities for employment, and many end up working on the farms on which they grew up.

Farm schooling provides an inadequate education for those adolescents who do not wish to become farm labourers (Badroodien, 1990; CIIR, 1989; Theron, 1986). Farm labour, of the sort required of many workers on these farms, requires few skills. Education is not a prerequisite for

obtaining work on the farms (CIIR, 1989: 9). The inadequacies of farm schools can therefore be seen to be part of a system which ensures a constant supply of labour to the farmers (Badroodien, 1990: 9; Graaff et al., 1990: 3; Nasson, 1984: 1).[7]

This suggests that farmers have no need to interfere in, and attempt to control, the education of farm children. Farmers do, however, play a crucial role in constructing the environment and circumstances in which farm children attend school and grow up (Graaff et al., 1990). First, it is illegal to employ children under the age of 16, during which time school ensures that they are not "causing mischief". Secondly, farmers are aware that adolescents are unlikely to continue their schooling for long after they have reached employable age. Thirdly, each farm has only a few school-going adolescents who are old enough to be working, and it is probably not worthwhile insisting they leave school to work.

Education can also be seen to play a part in the farmers' paternalistic attitudes that include their moral responsibility for the labourers and their children. Education is understood to be beneficial for farm children. "Education, or rather schooling, is thus an act of benevolence on the part of the farmer and not a legal entitlement of rural children" (Badroodien, 1990: 4).

I have argued that it is not always the farmer who personally and directly controls the lives of labourers, although authority is often drawn from and referred back to

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7 See Graaff and Gordon, 1992 for a comprehensive analysis on the historical creation of farm schools.

the farmer. He holds an implicit position of ultimate command. Control is not always the preserve of the farmer. His wife, the foreman and other residents on the farm can exert control and put into effect paternalistic notions of support or denial. A farmer's exercise of control can have widespread, and often unintended, consequences which affect individuals, whole households and, at times, all the residents of a *blok*. These unintended consequences form part of a process of entrapment and encapsulation which keeps people on the farms and in the valley. Nevertheless, the farmer's authority is not all-encompassing and all-pervasive. There are ways in which people can and do resist control and discipline. People can also "escape" from difficult and insecure situations. Adolescent girls can, in particular, often move away from the farms and the valley and so leave the oppressive conditions associated with farming (see Chapter Six). Many people can move from farm to farm in order to escape particularly troublesome conditions of living or of work. I have argued that there are areas of farm life which are not subject to individual farmer control. These include education and adolescent boys' use of alcohol. Education does not challenge the pattern of rural farm life and, therefore, does not require farmer interference. However, leaving adolescent boys to "drink in peace" paves the way for male adolescent activities which embrace alcoholism, violence and the oppression of women and adolescent girls. It is this use of leisure time and the creation of male and female gender roles that are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Thikoloshe Scares Me:

Gender Relations within the *Blok*.

Thikoloshe[1] *maak my bang*	Thikoloshe scares me
Hy sê hy gaan my vang	He says he'll catch me
Hy neem my om die hoek	He takes me round the corner
en vang my aan my koek.	And grabs my vagina.

.....

Bokkie sê my reg	Bokkie tell me truly
Is ek goed of is ek sleg?	Am I good or am I bad
Maak solank die gaat	Meanwhile prepare "the hole"
Laat ek my lus net kan bedaar	So I can satisfy my desire
Daar binne in die kooi.	There in the bed.

The two verses above are from different songs sung by the children in the *blok*. While visiting my house in the evenings groups of small children would sing the songs to me. The adolescents also knew the songs and I would hear them humming the tunes to themselves. Both songs are about male sexual desire and satisfaction and female submission and harassment. As in these songs the power that male workers on the farms have over females is often expressed through sexual words and acts.

In the previous chapter I examine relations between the farmer and farm residents. I argue that farm residents are, to some degree, controlled and dominated by the farmer. People do resist the farmer's control but many find themselves trapped on the farms in the valley with limited

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1 *Thikoloshe* is a well-known African mythological creature which has been described as "... a small hairy being, having the form of a man, but so small that he only reaches to a man's knee. The penis of the male is so long that he carries it over his shoulder, and he has only one buttock ..." (Hunter, 1936: 275 - 8). The *Thikoloshe* has overt sexual connotations.

means of escape. In this chapter I examine notions of male sexuality and prowess and female reaction to the violence and sexual abuse they suffer from men. The analysis of gender relations presented here is based upon the farmer control and dominance which extends into the *blok*, the encapsulation of farm residents (see Chapter Four) and the dominance male residents exert over their female counterparts (Mayson, 1986, 1990). Bozzoli's notion of a "patchwork quilt of patriarchies" is appropriate here for it allows the study of women's position on white-owned farms to be analysed in terms of many patriarchies. Bozzoli's argument is as follows:

> For do we assert that "one patriarchy" exists, because of the emergence of a central single state, and the passing of most lines of domination and subordination through the state; or do we retain some notion of "many" patriarchies, because of the historical and cultural specificity of the experience and resultant social position, of men and women of different groups? Tentatively, I wish to suggest that the notion of many patriarchies needs to be retained .... (1983: 155).

In the second part of the chapter I re-examine Mayson's argument and include the notion of agency as another dimension to the study of gender relations on farms. I suggest, based on Gidden's work (1984), that women do not simply acquiesce to men's dominance, but rather that there are options available to women which allow them to counter male control.

Male oppression of women farm residents is discussed by both Davies (1990) and Mayson (1986). Their work is unusual in the literature on farm workers in that it concentrates on gender relations and the position of women living on farms. There is some writing about the position of women on farms

that touches on differential wages, seasonal employment, maternity leave, the availability of crêches (Kooy, 1977; Levy, 1977), the problems of teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases (Farmworkers Research & Resource Project, 1986).

Farm labour studies focus on the extent of farmer-on-labourer brutality (see Claassens, 1990; Schoeman and Plater, 1992; Segal, 1991) and this is reflected in newspaper reports (for example, *Cape Times* 17 January 1992, *Cape Times* 3 February 1992, *South* 16 May 1992). Associated issues of poverty and alcohol abuse have also been carefully examined (Ainslie, 1977; Roberts, 1958; Schärf, 1984; Scully, 1989). Very little has been written about gender-related violence on farms which is of a different order from farmer-on-labourer violence and has very different implications for the people living on the farms.

Mayson (1986) examines the position of women farm residents in a pilot study that focuses on the lack of organisation amongst farm workers in the Western Cape. He suggests that the position of women is very complex and needs to be understood in terms of their structural oppression by both farmers and male labourers. Both Davies (1990: 24) and Mayson (1986) see the oppression of women as resulting from a number of factors. First, male labourers (fathers, husbands, uncles) interact with the farmer on behalf of women. Permanent workers tend to be predominantly male and women are often only allowed to remain on farms because of their attachment to male workers. Secondly, women are contracted by men into underemployment in that women are primarily employed as seasonal labour, but farmers

and male labourers are reluctant to allow women to work elsewhere when unemployed (also see Schärf, 1984: 178). This encourages their economic dependence on men. Thirdly, both farmers and male labourers perceive farm labour to be a masculine domain despite the fact that women work for up to eight months of the year. The perception may explain the marked absence of women in the literature on farming (see, for example, Du Toit, 1991, 1992 who excludes women from his analysis). Fourthly, women are entrenched in the domestic labour process from which men stand to gain. Finally, the only access women have to continuous income is through men's wages, which further entrenches male dominance over women. The above factors operated in the area in which I worked.

Women are often physically beaten by men. The following paragraph shows that beatings can be linked to attempts to control women's labour.

Lena Rademeyer and her husband live on the neighbouring farm, Loeriesfontein. Her sister lives on Nineveh and one day I visited and found that Lena had come to stay with her sister. It was the beginning of the picking season and Lena and her husband had had a fight. Lena planned to stay on Nineveh until her wounds healed and her husband calmed down. Her husband had beaten Lena because, he said, she had broken the radio. Lena says she was thrashed because she did not wish to work on Loeriesfontein farm.[2] She wanted to continue working on Morgenzon farm where she earns a higher salary(R50 a week as compared to R40). Consequently her husband hit her with the *piksteel* (the handle of a pick-axe). The first blow landed on her head and knocked her down, while the next injured her back and shoulders. He then threatened to lay a charge against her because of the broken radio.

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2 Farmers generally expect labourers to work on the farm where they live. Furthermore, women who do not work during the winter months are expected to join the workforce when the picking season begins. It is the male member of the household who is responsible for enforcing this (see Mayson 1986, 1990).

It is not the first time Lena has been beaten. When she was pregnant her husband broke her arm and then a few months later he broke her other arm. Lena would like to leave her husband but he threatens to kill her rather than see her with another man.

After being beaten Lena returned to work at Morgenzon as usual and the farmer took her to the doctor. At the end of the week he paid her and suggested she stop working on Morgenzon before her husband killed her.[3]

In order to unravel some of the complexities inherent in the gender relations of people living on the farms, it is necessary to understand the social patterns of day-to-day life on the farms. During my period of research on the farms I was struck by the all-pervasiveness - in words, gestures and actions - of sex and sexuality (especially male) on farms in the valley. Many small incidents occurred on Nineveh farm which had an undercurrent of sexual violence to them. In the following section I paint a backdrop by describing some of the incidents in the *blok* and their cumulative effect on the people living there.

I mentioned earlier that farmers and male workers perceive farm labour as a masculine domain, despite the fact that women do work on the farms. Mr van Wyk explained to me that in the recent past women would never have done the work that they do today.[4] Over the past few years, the nature of the work women do on the farms has changed and what was considered to be "male work" has become "female work". Although women do "men's work" the farmer does not recognise the work as being on a par with work performed by male

3 In this instance the farmer's role cannot be seen as oppressive; however, this same farmer previously nursed a bruised hand for a week after beating the women workers on his farm.

4 Davies (1990:25) argues that the shift from permanent employment towards seasonal and casual labour on the farms has been associated with increased employment of women. Women are doing work formerly performed by men and farmers claim to be very satisfied with women's work. Davies shows that this satisfaction obscures the fact that women are paid less than men.

labourers and women are paid less than men. The chore which causes the most dissatisfaction is *skoffel* (weeding and clearing up, but more specifically working with spades and picks). The women understand that they have to do men's work when there are no other tasks for them to do. At the same time women use the fact that they do male work to claim more support and aid from the farmer, since, as women, they have "have worked like men" for Mr van Wyk.[5]

An inquiry into adolescent behaviour on Nineveh provides a useful entry into an examination of gender roles. Male and female adolescents engage in a number of social activities together but there are some gender specific activities (in which participation is restricted to one or the other). Adolescent boys play touch rugby, rugby, karate and dominoes, while adolescent girls enjoy netball, baseball and *skeloeloe*.[6] Some girls play dominoes and touch rugby with the boys but explain the activity as a deviation from their normal female play. For example, Meid told me that she played both cricket and rugby, adding, "I am just like a boy". Boys play girls' games, most commonly *skeloeloe*, but, when asked, they claim not to or not to like doing so. Eggan, when asked what he did not enjoy doing, said: "Lisa said I must play netball with them, so I said, I am not a *moffie*".[7]

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5 Du Toit (1992) argues that farm residents and farmers have mutual obligations to one another. Farmers expect workers to have a "general commitment of service" towards the farm, while farmers have a general obligation of good treatment towards workers. Workers can also expect many other benefits which include reasonable housing, transport, protection from criminal elements, medical and financial aid.

6 A game similar to "Red Rover".

7 A slang word meaning homosexual or a man with feminine qualities.

I asked a mixed group of adolescents on Monte Roza which activities were important for men and which were important for women. They said that netball, housework, cooking and washing were important for women. On the other hand, rugby, cricket, golf and dominoes are the valued activities of men. The adolescent boys added that it is important for men to laze around (*om te lê*), although one said, "all men wish to do is hit women". The association of men with violent behaviour may be influenced by the videos watched by the people.[8] The adolescents' views support Mayson's (1986) and Davies' (1990) work on male dominance of women, especially in the domestic sphere. As observed by the adolescents above, girls and women are largely responsible for the domestic work on the farms. In Chapter Three I argue that boys and girls do different kinds of work outside of formal working hours and this results in boys having far more leisure time. This is reflected in the above associations of women and girls with work, while men and boys are strongly linked with leisure activities.

The adolescents of Monte Roza often commented on the violence they inflicted upon one another, especially when they were drunk. Mannetjie and Johan spent Christmas day throwing stones and barbed wire at one another. Often when I was walking with the girls from Monte Roza, we would pass a landmark and someone would say that that was where a boyfriend had beaten her and left her while returning home

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8 There is a television set in the crêche and anyone who wishes to may hire a recorder and some videos to show. Entry usually costs R2 per adult and R1 for a child. The hiring and showing of videos is entirely the domain of men and adolescent boys, despite the fact that Mr van Wyk allows anyone the right to do so. The videos shown are all violent in nature and include series such as "Kickboxer", "Rambo" and "Terminator".

from a *dans* or similar event. Our Monday night meetings usually devoted some time to mimes and the adolescents were particularly fond of miming dances for me. Without fail, each mime would end with the girls being beaten - either by their boyfriends or by gangsters.[9]

On the farms sex and violence are closely linked.

Alma, discussing her son Katisi and his friends, commented on how the adolescent boys on Nineveh held dances in Koos's house. Koos lived with his son Boy (aged 10) in the house furthest away from the farm house. Alma told how she watched through the window and saw "Katisi dance with a girl and kiss her and drip sweat and dance, then hit her. The girl said no, you're spoiling our dancing, then kissed him again". Alma said that as she lay awake at night she could hear the boys hitting the girls.

The adolescent boys on Monte Roza beat girls who are drunk, and adult men punish women when they abuse alcohol - drunken women are often beaten up and thrown out of their houses. Adolescent boys on Monte Roza commented on how strict they would be towards their wives if their wives misused alcohol. Mannetjie said: "I will be very strict on my wife if she takes a drink and I see her lying drunk; I'll take my belt off and hit her all over her buttocks". David said he would first talk to his wife, but "if I have no choice then I am going to hurt her. She will go to work with black eyes every Monday." The girls said that, while

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9 Gangsters appear to be groups of boys from other farms. The adolescents on Monte Roza identified some of the boys from Nineveh as belonging to gangs. Nineveh's adolescents said that there were no gangsters on Nineveh but that they lived on other farms in the valley. The gangs have names such as the *DBN (Dobermans), FFS (Full Face Scorpion), YSK (Young Scorpion Killer)* and the *Americans*. Boys who belong to gangs are said to wear ragged clothing and headbands, to have earrings in their left ears, to be tattooed and to carry knives or pangas. They also walk with a swagger and talk *skollietaal* ("gangster-language"). The gangsters are said to beat men and women and sometimes to rape women (see Schärf, 1984).

they did not want their future husbands to drink, only Bet said that she would resort to violence and only if her husband hit her first.

Sexual violence can end in rape. Men often say they have the right to ask, demand and finally claim through force, access to a woman's body. A group of adolescents and I had been walking along the road when a young and smartly dressed girl came walking towards us. As she passed us, Dirkie commented that she was wearing a short skirt and it would be easy to tumble her ("*haar net omstoot*"). The boys on Monte Roza commented on a recent rape on Nineveh: "What did he have to go and do a thing like that for, he could just have asked?"

Such talk is common in many male exchanges. The words express underlying notions that represent a hierarchy of power and a set of claims to do with men's sexual access to women. Both men and women recognise the **potential** for men to participate in acts of sexual violence. Robertson (1989: 156) comments that behaviour of this nature allows men "... to bolster their own egos, to demonstrate their 'masculinity' to their peers and to reassert the view that the role of women is to gratify men. The woman's feelings are not at issue."

Women and girls experience real fear of sexual violence from men and boys. No woman or adolescent girl is exempt from these threats. What follows is a description of a rape which occurred on Nineveh farm and an example of how adolescent boys impose domination, in the form of sexual violence, over young girls.

Thikoloshe Scares Me

Petra (aged 13) and her grandmother live on Grootberg farm. In summer Petra works after school on Rooiberg farm which borders Nineveh farm.

Dirkie, aged 16, divides his time between the homes of his mother and his grandmother. He says he lives with his mother, her common-law husband and his step-brother in a house on Loeriesfontein farm. Dirkie and his stepfather do not get along. Dirkie left school in 1990 but has no job. His alcoholic stepfather kept berating him and insisting that he find employment. His mother argued that he wasü still a child and that he should be left alone. To avoid the conflict Dirkie slept at his grandmother's house on Nineveh farm although he claimed he lived and ate on Loeriesfontein. Because Dirkie neither worked nor attended school, he spent his days playing either alone or with the other boys after school.

One day while working in a field Petra went to drink water at a furrow. Dirkie was in the tree above the furrow and while she was drinking, Dirkie jumped down from the tree and then raped her.

The farmer, Mr Rademeyer, arrived and loaded a crying Petra onto the back of the *bakkie*. He then drove to Nineveh's *blok* to find Dirkie who had run away.

Mr Rademeyer arrived at Dirkie's grandmother's house and asked where Dirkie was but Dirkie had meanwhile fled into the mountains. Mr Rademeyer left to inform Mr van Wyk and both farmers returned to Dirkie's house with Petra still on the back of the *bakkie* and still crying. In the interim I enquired as to what Dirkie had done and why the farmers were searching for him. Cissie replied: *"Hy het haar oulik gemaak"*. Cissie's words are revealing. I enquired as to what Dirkie had done and the reply came from a girl not much older than Petra. The word *oulik* means to be precocious, and Cissie's sentence can be understood to mean Petra has been precipitated into an adult world, or has been "initiated" into adulthood.

There are numerous factors which affect the relationships between men and women on the farms. Poverty, alcohol abuse, farmer paternalism, religion and lack of access to the means of production combine together to produce extremely complicated gender and power relations. Women do not always simply accept or acquiesce to men's control and dominance. Mayson (1986) says that women on the farms lack any options to resist male domination.

> (Women's position of power) must be seen in terms of the lack of options for women on the farms. As I have explained, women are only on the farms due to men or through some special concession by the farmer. The possibilities for women in towns are even more limited than those of men in terms of

> access to accommodation and a job. Possible avenues for mobility, either horizontally, to other farms, or vertically to the towns, are extremely limited. Women are, therefore, locked onto the farms even more tightly than the men (1986: 72).

In the following section I re-examine Mayson's argument of male dominance over women, and analyse women's behaviour in terms of the choices which women can make. Mayson (1986: 66-69) cites a number of reasons why men are able to dominate women (discussed above) and these reasons need to be re-examined. On Nineveh farm there are assumptions implicit between Mr van Wyk and male labourers concerning the labour of women and adolescents. Nevertheless, men do not appear to interact with the farmer on behalf of women as is suggested by Mayson. Women on Nineveh farm did approach the farmer on a variety of issues which included wages, doctor's letters, the purchase of domestic items such as stoves, visitors and employment. Women also approached Mrs van Wyk and asked her to speak to "the *kleinbaas*" on their behalf. The women who worked as domestics in the farmhouse enjoyed a special relationship with Mrs van Wyk and often found it easier to approach her.

Mayson (1986) argues that only men are permanent workers and women may only remain on the farms because of their attachment to male workers. On Nineveh farm 30% of the households were female-headed which suggests not only that women are allowed to reside on farms without male partners but also that women can be economically independent of men.

Women who live in female-headed households do not suffer physical abuse from men. This appears to be one of the reasons why some women have chosen not to marry and to assume financial responsibility for their children. Lettie, who is 27 years old and has a seven-year-old daughter named Letitia, lives with her mother on Nineveh farm. She explained to me why she never married Letitia's father:

> Then one Saturday evening he decided we should get married. Then I said I was too young for that lifestyle and I was already being regularly beaten by him. I could not marry him. I told my mother and my mother said it was his duty to come and ask her. So he came to ask and my mother said no, because he had no respect for her or for the house. Then one day I chased him away, but he came back and said he would not stay away as I had borne his child. I said he could stay away and I would care for the child myself.

Lettie's decision not to marry him was supported by her mother in opting not to marry and to remain a single parent. She explained to me that before deciding not to marry she had endured repeated sexual abuse from her lover, but had continued her relationship with him because he had paid for Letitia's maintenance.

Rosina, aged 41, also decided to remain single and to bring up her daughters herself; she commented:

> I had a old piece of rubbish for a man, rude, you could say an old drunkard. And he was fond of smoking *dagga*, it was the *dagga* that caused the police to arrest him. While he was in jail I left him. I suffered too greatly under him, he did not give me money, when he walked through the door he wanted to fight with me. I realised that I was not going to destroy my life like this, I was going to leave him. I told him to return to his parents and I would return to mine. So I left and I worked for my children, I worked so hard for them. I lived with my mother in the house and I have worked for my children until now.

Women who choose not to marry and to support their children by working on the farms are able, perhaps, to avoid sexual abuse and physical violence more easily than can some married women.

Mayson (1986) sees physical violence and male dominance as closely linked on the farms. He suggests male dominance is facilitated by the fact that women are dependent on men for a steady income. On Nineveh farm most women do not work all year[10] and they are dependent on men for regular incomes. In five of the ten female-headed households women still receive money on a regular basis from men (sons, brothers and occasionally boyfriends). Four of these women work throughout the year. In the remaining five households the women work throughout the year and receive no money from men (although one woman has a son who does not work consistently or share his wages). Men do support women but, and Mayson does not recognise this fact, women are, to some degree, able to regulate the distribution of men's earnings. People are paid on Friday nights and when men receive their wages, they pass the pay packets over to their wives, girlfriends, sisters or mothers. Women then give back to the men some money which is known as *sakgeld* (pocket-money). Women keep the rest ostensibly for domestic purchases. Men receive between R2 and R10 of their wages a week as pocket-money from women, although this figure varies from nothing at all (see below) to as much as R25 in one case where a son works in a nearby town where he earns more and hence

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10 See Chapter Three. Women who are from female-headed households are permitted to work throughout the year, while the majority of the women who live in male-headed households are expected to work only in the busy months.

contributes more to the household when he returns home at weekends. Pocket-money is men's money and can be spent on whatever men wish to purchase.

Although women's control of men's money does give women some autonomy within the household, the handing over of men's money is erratic. There are numerous factors which limit women's access to men's money. Men can be fired or choose to leave their employment (see Chapter Six); men can fall ill; men may be arrested for fighting, for smoking dagga or drunken behaviour. Men also spend their money on other girlfriends.

Of the 29 households on Nineveh farm men are said to be in control the finances in only three. In two of these households it is the male head who controls the money. Both men are old and receive state pensions; one of the men is crippled as a result of a farm accident and his wife is an alcoholic. He says he "cannot give them (his wife and daughter) money as they give him too much trouble".

The third household is female-headed and most finances are controlled by the woman; however, her son works only sporadically and refuses to relinquish his wage (see Chapter Four). Finances in the remaining households are managed as follows.

Women in 20 of the 29 households on Nineveh say that they manage the distribution of men's wages, which they receive from husbands, lovers, brothers and sons (five of these 20 households are female-headed households).

One household consists of a mute woman named Annetjie, her child (aged 5) and a man, Absolom, who is said to be mad. Annetjie gets paid only after consuming an "Antiboose"

tablet as Mrs van Wyk feels that her drinking leads her to neglect her child. Absolom's madness is said to be the result of too much drinking and he does not get paid but submits a shopping list each week to Mrs van Wyk who purchases his goods for him.

Four households are female-headed households in which there are no men who work - the women support themselves by working throughout the year (see Chapter Three).

One household does not have any women living in it.

Women are able, to some extent, to regulate the distribution of men's wages. For example, Betty lives and works on Nineveh farm. Floors, the father of her youngest child, works (and therefore has to live[11]) on a different farm. Floors earns R50 a week and he gives his full wage to Betty. Betty then gives him R2 *sakgeld*. She also packs food for him for the week. His mother cooks the food but he does not pay her anything. Betty *eet haar man se geld* (eats her man's money) which she says is a good thing as it means he cares for her. Although Betty and Floors do not live together, the relationship continued for the six months that I lived on the farm, and does constitute a type of marriage. Floors hands over his money, which is used to support Betty and her children, and Betty does not date other men.

With the money that women receive from men they are expected to do all the shopping for food and household items and to ensure the smooth running of the household. Bet

11 The majority of the farmers I encountered in the valley insisted that only people who work for them are allowed to live on their farms. Thus Betty's boyfriend would only be allowed to stay on Nineveh farm if he worked there as well. Also see Chapters Three and Six for details on the control of household occupation.

explained that "A man cannot work with money. A woman must work with money, if he needs money then he must ask me."

The amounts men hand over are, however, insufficient to allow women to plan for their children's futures; men's money is for feeding and possibly for clothing children, but in an environment of poverty and insecurity, women's access to the money does not allow them to make strategic decisions regarding either their own or their children's futures. Ross, in a study on domestic relationships in a squatter settlement, has argued that domestic relationships "were constantly altering in response to the social and economic climate in which residents found themselves, and were actualised through changing networks which individuals constructed, with themselves at their centres" (1993: 153). Given the amount of movement which occurs on the farms in the valley (see Chapter Six) farm residents' domestic units are also subject to change. The fluidity and changing nature of domestic units further affects women's ability to plan their financial expenditures and to secure their children's futures.

Even when men do hand over their money to women it does not always guarantee women the power to spend the money. Men sometimes pressurise women to spend household money on alcohol. The following example comes from *Somerlus*, a farm on the far side of the valley which still uses the *dop* system. I visited *Somerlus* with Karima who was worried about relations between her son and his wife.

We arrived to find her son, Japie, and his wife, Sanna, sitting at home. Sanna had recently stopped drinking but now complained that Japie forced her to drink. He refused to do anything in the house unless there was alcohol available and she also drank it. Saturday had been Japie's birthday and Sanna wanted to buy clothing for her baby. As it was his birthday, Japie wanted to know what she was going to buy him and he took the R35 (his week's wages) and bought wine which he drank.

During the day someone threw a stone which hit Japie on the head and knocked him out. Sanna poured water over his body to revive him. When Japie came round he found himself alone with Sanna and, assuming she had thrown the stone, he attacked her. He broke several of her ribs, bit off her finger and left her lying bleeding on the ground. Another farm worker found her and fetched the farmer who took her to the doctor.

The weekend's bout of drinking ended a three-month long period of abstinence for Sanna. Sanna complained bitterly about Japie's behaviour and his forcing her to drink (*Hy dwing my om te drink*). "He can just go and find someone else to beat up, I am tired of being beaten. It is less than a month since he stabbed me."

Sanna approached the farmer after the weekend and persuaded him not to give Japie *dop*[12] any more. The money which Japie would be paid as an alternative to *dop*, would be used to pay off debt to the farmer. A month later, Sanna persuaded Japie to move to Nineveh farm where the *dop* system is no longer used. She then requested "Antiboose" tablets from Mrs van Wyk and persuaded Japie to swallow the tablets so that he would stop drinking.

Sanna's course of action illustrates three of the options which women can, and do, utilise. First, she approached the farmer and persuaded him to stop dispensing *dop* to her husband. Then she moved to Nineveh farm. Finally she approached Mrs van Wyk for "Antiboose" tablets. Mayson writes that women whose husbands do not drink are not as "brutally oppressed" (1986: 74). When women approach Mrs

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12 In 1963 a bill was passed to abolish the tot system, but some farmers in the valley still augment wages with *dop*. On these farms workers are given a choice as to whether they would like the cash or the *dop*.

van Wyk for "Antiboose" tablets their actions ensure the support of both Mr and Mrs van Wyk. Meisie encouraged her common-law husband to give up drinking by administering "Antiboose" tablets to him. She told me how she later attempted to stop him smoking *dagga* in order that the money be used for other things. Lyn managed to make her husband stop drinking by administering Antabuse; she facilitated his joining a *doodsgenootskap* (burial society) and encouraged him to become a member of the church and be confirmed. Involvement in the church and conforming to *bekeerder*-type[13] behaviour are strongly influenced and encouraged by some women. Although the Church offers no protection against violence, church membership and conformity with its ideals means that less money is spent on alcohol and drugs. Some women use religious principles to try to persuade men to reduce their alcohol intake, which leads to a reduction in the physical abuse women suffer.

On Nineveh farm there are at least 14 households in which the adults do not drink, although adolescents might. Women in these households espouse a firm morality which is strongly associated with religion by both the people in the *blok* and by Mr and Mrs van Wyk. They attend church services whenever they have the use of the farm lorry for transport. Every Wednesday evening a group gathers in the crêche to read the Bible and to pray. The group are usually led by

13 Mayson (1986) has shown that labour on farms in the Western Cape is not undifferentiated and he examines relations between *bekeerders* ("the converted") and *drinkers* ("the drinkers"). He argues that an intense antagonism exists between *bekeerders* and *drinkers*; the less privileged *drinkers* resent the improved living conditions of the *bekeerders*, while the latter blame the *drinkers* for "dragging them down" and jeopardising their attempts at social advancement in respect of higher living standards, more civil relationships with the farmer and recreation time (Mayson, 1986).

the foreman, Dawie, who is a deacon in the *NG Sendingkerk* (NG Missionary Church). Occasionally the minister of the church attends these bible-reading evenings. Dawie and his family also raise money for the church and other families on Nineveh make contributions to the church through him.

Any woman who is known to use contraception (of any form) is called an *oom* (an uncle) or a *mansmens* (a man), because she cannot have children. Meid explained to me that men married to women who have been sterilised are known to turn their attention to the young girls in the *blok*. Furthermore, Meid said that women accepted this male behaviour and suggested that men are even justified in their actions. The use of the term *oom* with its masculine associations, the lack of negative connotations associated with *voorkinders* (Field, 1991; Mayson, 1986), female resistance to farmer control of fertility (see Chapter Four) and male resistance to contraception are factors which influence women's decisions not to use contraception.

When I first visited Monte Roza I spent time in the packing shed with the women and adolescent girls. All the girls present said that they did not use Depo-provera. At least six adolescent girls on Nineveh also told me that they did not use Depo-provera. They complained that Depo-provera caused headaches, illness and prevented menstruation.

Many adolescent girls fall pregnant while still attending school and they are said to have fallen off the schoolbench ("*hulle het van die skoolbank afgegly*"). Adolescent girls who fall pregnant before confirmation cannot be confirmed into the church. When Mottie became pregnant, Rosina (Mottie's mother) told Arend (the father of

the unborn child) to "remember that Mottie is now pregnant, and what are you going to do? Mottie loses out on her schooling and her (confirmation) classes and she can no longer be confirmed."

Women do not always acquiesce with men's demands and there are ways in which women resist men's control. Noes, for example, has been sterilised but her husband is unaware that she has had the operation. The example below is of a woman who attempts to resist her husband's demands.

> Leon raped his nine-year-old daughter, Susie, shortly before his wife Lyn had planned to be sterilised. Before he went to prison, Leon tore up her clinic card without which she could not have the operation. Six years later, when Leon returned from prison, he noticed Depo-provera injection marks on her buttocks. He forbade her to use Depo-provera and Lyn switched to the contraceptive pill. She tried to hide the pills but Leon found them and she claimed that they were for her high blood pressure. Leon did not believe her and threw the pills down the toilet.

Leon successfully managed to control Lyn's fertility, although she still resisted his domination through other means. After Leon forbade Lyn to use any form of contraception, she fell pregnant by Leon and gave birth to Neria. During the research period Leon gave all his wages to Lyn and did not receive pocket-money from her. Whenever Leon complains about his lack of money, Lyn points to Neria, now a year old, and says, "There's your pocket-money". Leon shows videos in the crêche or sells ice-cream to make money for himself. Lyn does not receive this money and says Leon uses it to support his addiction to *dagga*.

Some men support their children while others do not. Clarissa, a grandmother who looks after her daughter's *voorkind*, explained that her grandchild received no support

from her father: "The guy just puts the pay into his pocket and having used your body he then wants to eat with you but doesn't want to pay money." Men often have a number of children by different women and it is sometimes financially crippling to support all of them. In the following example, Gertruide contributes towards the upbringing of three of Martinus's children from the household income. The example illustrates the difficulties of trying to support three children and contribute towards one's own household on a weekly wage of R40.

Martinus lives on Nineveh farm with his elder sister, Gertruide, and her family. He earns R40 a week but seldom clears more than R30 a week. He gives the money to Gertruide who adds it to her and her boyfriend's wage and uses it to feed the household. Martinus' girlfriend Roleze lives on the same farm with her parents and sister. Roleze has two sons by Martinus, one named Enrico who is one year old and the other is a new-born baby. Martinus and Roleze have spoken of marriage but Martinus claims Roleze is too jealous of the other girls he talks to and so he cannot marry her. When Roleze's second child was born she sent all the hospital and ambulance bills to Gertruide who juggled the household finances in order to cover the additional bills.

Emma (aged 16) also gave birth to a son fathered by Martinus and she too lives on Nineveh farm. She claims not to be interested in Martinus anymore and only to want what is best for her son. Each week Gertruide buys three tins of milk at R8 a tin (two for Roleze and one for Emma).

Moira too has a child fathered by Martinus and she lives on *Loeriesfontein* farm. Martinus does not support Moira's child.

The milk Martinus buys for the three children leaves him with only R6 from which to contribute to Getruide's household and for his own use in the form of *sakgeld* (R2).

Conflict can develop between mothers and girlfriends and it can even end in physical violence. At one stage Johanna, Martinus's mother, was beaten every weekend by Roleze. Gertruide, Johanna's daughter and Martinus' sister, then came to live on Nineveh in order to help 'protect' her

mother. Martinus moved in with Gertruide and Gertruide assumed control of his wages. Gertruide is a forceful and strong-willed woman who dislikes fights and arguments. She also appears to be extremely successful at juggling household finances and as a result of her intervention, the fights stopped. Conflicts between girlfriends and mothers-in-law are a regular feature of life in the *blok*. Arguments do occur between adolescent girls and their grandparents which end in violence. For example, Dora and her grandmother had a fight during which Dora threw a mirror at her grandmother who retaliated by hitting her with a hosepipe. Arguments also occur between married women of the same generation. Ouma Gogie told me that she and her brother's wife often fight verbally and physically. The scars left by Janekie's teeth in Ouma Gogie's arms and breast are evidence of the conflict which exists between them.

One option which is available to adolescent girls, and to some women, is to move away from the valley. I have discussed above how Lyn's husband, Leon, refused to allow her to use contraception and how she continued to resist his demands even after she had fallen pregnant. Lyn's daughters were also subjected to sexual abuse from Leon. Lyn attempted to protect her daughters through facilitating movement away from the valley.

Leon returned home on 13 January 1990 after serving five years in jail for raping his nine-year-old daughter, Susie. Lyn commented on his return that the house was like a dark room. In his absence she and the children had been happy together ("*Die huis se lewe is 'n donker kamer. Toe hy weg is toe lewe ek en die kinders gelukkig saam*").

Susie, then 16 years old, left home after Leon's return. She went to Strandfontein in the Cape where she worked for her mother's mother's sister's child, minding her baby.

A month before Leon was due to be released from prison, Lyn sent her younger daughter, Siena (aged 15), to Mitchell's Plain, where she worked minding her mother's sister's child. Lyn told me that she had sent Siena to Cape Town to remove her from Leon's presence and to prevent the same thing happening again.

The intertwining of dependence and violence with relationships of care and emotional commitment is summed up by Noes, who said: "He (my husband) may well beat me, but he is also good to me. He cares for me and my children". It appears that there is no simple reciprocal relationship of male dominance and female submission. Men and women living on the farms find themselves trapped within farmer paternalism and control. It is in this context that male domination of women takes place. Gender relations within the *blok* can be understood in terms of different layers of patriarchy. Although women can and do resist male domination, it is the limitations of women's options which operates to encapsulate them further in an environment of domination and insecurity.

Sexuality on Nineveh and Monte Rosa farms can be seen to be a contested domain. Women's struggles around their sexuality take place in a context which appears to diminish the positive aspects of sexuality. For these women, their sexuality is detached from their dignity, warmth, support and care. It is this environment that adolescent girls grow into. This chapter raises some of the aspects of what it must be like for adolescent girls who are faced with this difficult passage into adulthood.

Chapter Six

His Feet are Stuck:

Movement amongst Farm Residents

JAN IN DIE KAS	JACK IN THE BOX
Jan in die kas	Jack in the box
Is 'n snaakse ou man	Is a strange old man
Hy sit in sy kas	He sits in his box
So stil soos hy kan	As quietly as he can
Hy sit in sy huis	He sits in his house
So stil soos 'n muis	As still as a mouse
Dan spring hy dan skielik uit	Then suddenly jumps out
In, uit. In, uit.	In, out. In, out.
Snaakse ou Jan in die kas	Strange old Jack in the box
Jan in die kas	Jack in the box
Se voete sit vas	His feet are stuck
Al spring hy regop	Even though he jumps up
En wikkel sy kop	And shakes his head
'n Snaakse ou man	A strange old man
Wil uit as hy kan	Wants to get out if he can
Maar voete sit vas	But his feet remain stuck
in die kas	In the box
In, uit. In, uit	In, out. In, out
Snaakse ou Jan in die kas	Strange old Jack in the box
Jan in die kas	Jack in the box
sy klere die pas	His clothes, they fit
Hy lyk al te mooi	He looks really fine
met kappie so rooi	With hat so red
Sy baadjie is blou	His jacket is blue
Sy broekie is nou	His trousers narrow
Snaakse ou Jan in die kas	Strange old Jack in the box
In, uit. In, uit	In, out. In, out.
Snaakse ou Jan in die kas.	Strange old Jack in the box.

Children on the farms sing Jan in die Kas. The song is a useful metaphor[1] for the lives of the adolescents. In the song it is Jan whose feet are trapped, similarly it is adolescent boys who find it more difficult to leave the farms and work in the urban areas. Although adolescent girls do get to work in areas such as Cape Town, they are drawn back to the farms where they establish their families. In this way the song is indicative of the lives of the adolescents living on the farms in the Western Cape.

1 Although I use the song as a metaphor, it is not used as such by either the farm residents or the farmer.

His Feet are Stuck

In this chapter I examine the movement of farm labourers in the Western Cape who move for a variety of reasons both within the valley and to the urban areas. Using Nineveh as a case study it is evident that there is considerable movement. The chapter is also about space - from where to where people move. As people move primarily from farm to farm, and sometimes back to a particular farm, the valley seems to become a bounded space. A network of relationships criss-cross the valley - relationships of support and sustenance, and relationships of command and control. These relationships link farmers and workers, men and women and adults and children. In an environment of poverty, relationships act, on the one hand, to support and sustain individuals with kin networks and to shield them from extreme deprivation: on the other hand, workers find themselves caught within a pattern of existence in the valley. They are confined to the farms by their low level of education and their lack of skills: they are dependent on the safety net of kin and farmers' paternalism and they, too, are held as if by its sticky skeins.

On the farms in the Western Cape movement of individuals and households is firmly connected with patterns of employment and with kin relationships. Men are employed throughout the year while women are not encouraged to work in the winter months. This means that women who do not have babies or young children are free to move during the winter. They can return in the summer months when they are guarantied re-employment by the same farmer. Men, on the other hand, are restricted by their employment and moves from the farms are more final, although many men and their

families do move back again after a period of time. Men of all ages tend to move from farm to farm more frequently than they move to urban areas. Young mothers and women with families are similarly limited, not because of their employment patterns, but by the need to provide and care for their children. Movement from farm to farm ensures that one remains within the protective net of kinship which operates to shield people against misfortune such as illness and unemployment.

The control farmers impose on workers is well documented in South Africa (Du Toit, 1990; Haysom and Thompson, 1984; van Rhyneveld, 1986). It is frequently said that people are merely thrown off the farm, or the *baas*[2] said they must go, often for no apparent reason (see Chapter Four). Anderman argues that farm workers are protected only by the common law contract of employment. This means that "... as long as contractual notice of termination was given, the employer was free to dismiss an employee for whatever reason he wished, with no obligation to reveal his reason for dismissal to the employee, much less justify it" (Anderman quoted in Haysom and Thompson, 1984: 6). When farmers dismiss workers, the rights to housing fall away and until recently farmers have had the right to enforce immediate eviction (Haysom and Thompson, 1984: 30).

Apart from the obvious legal controls, farmers also implement farm rules, which constrain and limit workers' actions. On Nineveh farm these rules apply primarily to issues of movement and kin. The farmer's wife, Mrs van Wyk,

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2 This is an Afrikaans word which literally means master or boss, the term is used interchangeably with *kleinbaas* meaning young master.

has instituted a new form of control that pierces the very core of people's dignity and privacy. Prior to the van Wyk's purchase of Nineveh, young mothers would leave their children and seek work in Cape Town. Seven years ago, Elizabeth (then aged 17), left her new-born child with her parents on Nineveh and went to Cape Town on the pretext of earning money to support the child. In reality money was seldom sent back to the farm and Elizabeth was free to lead her own life, unhindered by the child back home who became absorbed into her parents' household. Today it is no longer permitted to leave new-born babies with their grandparents while the mothers go to Cape Town. If such a child is left, rent (R2 a week) must be paid on behalf of the child who may not utilise any of the farm facilities, such as the crêche and medical aid. These rules have allowed some parents to gain a greater measure of control over their daughters. For example, Emma is a young mother (aged 15) who often told me that she would like to go and work in Cape Town. Her son, Patrick, is not yet a year old and each time Emma visits relatives in Cape Town, her mother insists that Patrick remain on the farm. Emma's mother says she does this in order to ensure that Emma does not look for work while she is visiting and that she comes back to the farm. Emma could simply decide not to return to Nineveh and to leave Patrick permanently with her mother. However, she never mentioned doing this and I did not hear of any other young mothers who had done so.

Mrs van Wyk controls both the movement of adolescent girls and house occupation on Nineveh. As a general farm rule, each house should be occupied by a nuclear family and Mrs van Wyk tries to enforce this as much as possible. If the definition of a nuclear family is taken as a couple, husband and wife, and their children, then only 13 of the 28 households on Nineveh fit this category. In Ragel's household (see Diagram 6.1), Mrs van Wyk objects to Boy (Ragel's mother's sister's child) living there, as his mother lives and works on the neighbouring farm. Dora, Ragel's cousin (mother's sister's daughter), and Cissie (Ragel's sister) are allowed to live there because they were members of the household before Mr and Mrs van Wyk bought Nineveh. Neither girl attends school but Dora (aged 16) works on Nineveh, while Cissie (aged 15) does all the housework. Also living with them is Piet, Ragel's mother's brother.

Other family members may visit but if they remain on the farm for any length of time a charge of R2 per week is levied. The R2 levy causes great dissatisfaction amongst the people living on the farm. The workers feel that Mrs van Wyk places too much emphasis on biological parents and does not recognise that a child might be reared by another member of the kin group.

Many people have someone (for example, a boyfriend, daughter or sister) who arrives after dark, sleeps over and leaves early the next morning. Other farm residents are well aware of this practice and if Mrs van Wyk is equally well informed, she has chosen to "turn a blind eye" and not to deduct the required R2. There is no standard way of deciding who has to pay for visitors and the R2 is deducted from some people seemingly at random. Elizabeth paid for her husband to stay with her when he was doing contract work and Ou Dina paid for her granddaughter to stay, while Lina did not pay when her boyfriend visited for weekends from Mossel Bay.

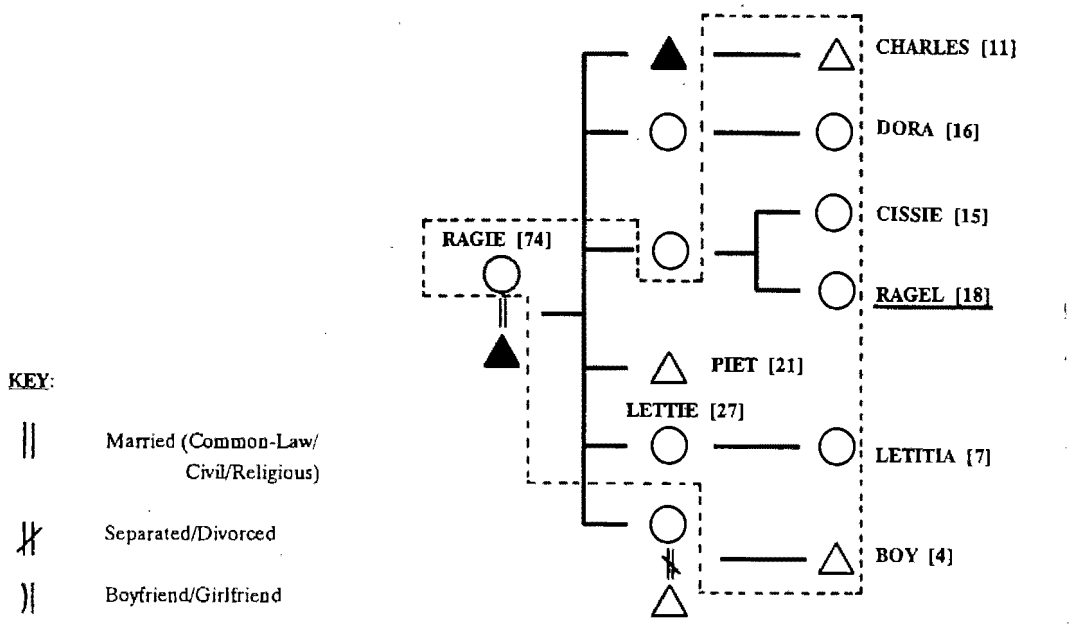

Diagram 6.1: Ragel's Household

After several men left Nineveh during the packing season and the rest of them were complaining about low wages and hard work, Mr van Wyk called a meeting with the remaining men and suggested instituting what he called

Langtermyn. *Langtermyn* (or long term work) involves working for ten years on Nineveh farm. The idea is to keep the men on the farm. Mr van Wyk promised that if a man works for ten full years he would be paid out R50 000 at the end of that period. To the men who work on the farm this seemed to be an extremely generous offer, as it would give them "something to show for their labours". Heather's husband dreamed of giving Heather her own house, something she has always longed for, but never thought possible. However, there are various problems with the notion of *langtermyn*. Boeta's father, Leon, explained to me that the money is supposed to be from their wages and overtime work. He added that he did not think Mr van Wyk had thought it through properly as he said wages would not be raised if one was working *langtermyn*; then later Mr van Wyk added that he would have to increase wages because of inflation. Leon said he tried to question Mr van Wyk about *langtermyn* and received the impression Mr van Wyk thought he was trying to trap him. Nothing seems to have come of the offer and when I left the farm in February 1992, the men were still unsure as to whether *langtermyn* had been instituted or not, and under what conditions. Because of the nature of farm employment for men, it is impossible for them to leave the farms for the winter months and then come back again in the summer. The men are needed throughout the year. The notion of *langtermyn* may be seen as an effective "carrot" for the male workers on Nineveh. The hint of *langtermyn* may keep the men and male adolescents on Nineveh until all the grapes are packed. Once the summer is over, the men's' prospects of leaving Nineveh are slim.

There are numerous other rules on Nineveh, many of which relate to the use of additional farm benefits. Access to transport and medical benefits are used by Mr van Wyk as privileges and are withheld from workers as punishment for "bad behaviour". In the following example workers turn to kin, resident both on Nineveh and on surrounding farms, when in trouble.

One weekend during the packing season, Johanna and her husband, Henkie, were drinking. They had a fight during which Johanna tried to throw a bottle at Henkie and missed, breaking a window behind him. Mr van Wyk had previously warned Johanna that he would chase her off the farm if he found her drunk again. That night she left to stay with her brother on a nearby farm. I asked her sister-in-law why she had left as she had not been chased away and she said, "Dis oor bangheid dat sy weg is." (It is out of fear that she has left.) Johanna left out of fear that the farmer would chase her and her whole family away. She left her husband and one daughter (age 12) behind, taking her other child (age 11) with her. In Johanna's absence, her eldest daughter Gertruide, who lived in her own home, cooked and cared for her father, Henkie, and her sister.

On Monday morning, Mr van Wyk asked where Johanna was. He was told that she had gone to stay with her brother; he responded: "Hoe durf sy weggaan!" (How dare she go away!) In the meantime, Henkie had paid Gertruide to buy some glass and fix the window. Once the window was repaired, messages were relayed (usually via me) to Johanna, to the effect that she could come back. Shortly afterwards, Johanna and her daughter moved back to Nineveh. When Johanna returned she

was not allowed to travel on the lorry, get a doctor's letter or borrow money for a predetermined period of time because of her "bad" behaviour.

Johanna's situation illustrates the conflicting issues that arise out of farmer control. Johanna left the farm because she had transgressed one of Mr van Wyk's rules. She then returned to the farm, because according to Mr van Wyk, she had no right to leave - or rather, she had no right to leave during the packing season.

The farm workers on Nineveh have many kin resident there as well as on other farms in the valley. In Diagram 6.2 it can be seen how many of Ragel's Kin group live in the vicinity (figures coloured in blue represent people resident in the valley). The diagram also shows that eight of the 29 households on Nineveh are occupied by members of this kin group.

Extensive kin groups are not unusual, either on Nineveh farm or in the valley. Kin interact regularly, visit one another on the farms and meet in the village on Saturday mornings. They help one another in times of hardship and need. When Boeta's parents were ill and could not work, they were desperately short of money (see Chapter Three). Boeta's mother did her sister's, washing for her, explaining to me that she would help her sister as she was at home all day. Heather paid her ten rand to do so. This is an extremely high figure when one considers that the average weekly wage is between R40 and R60 for women and it must therefore be seen as a form of financial aid.

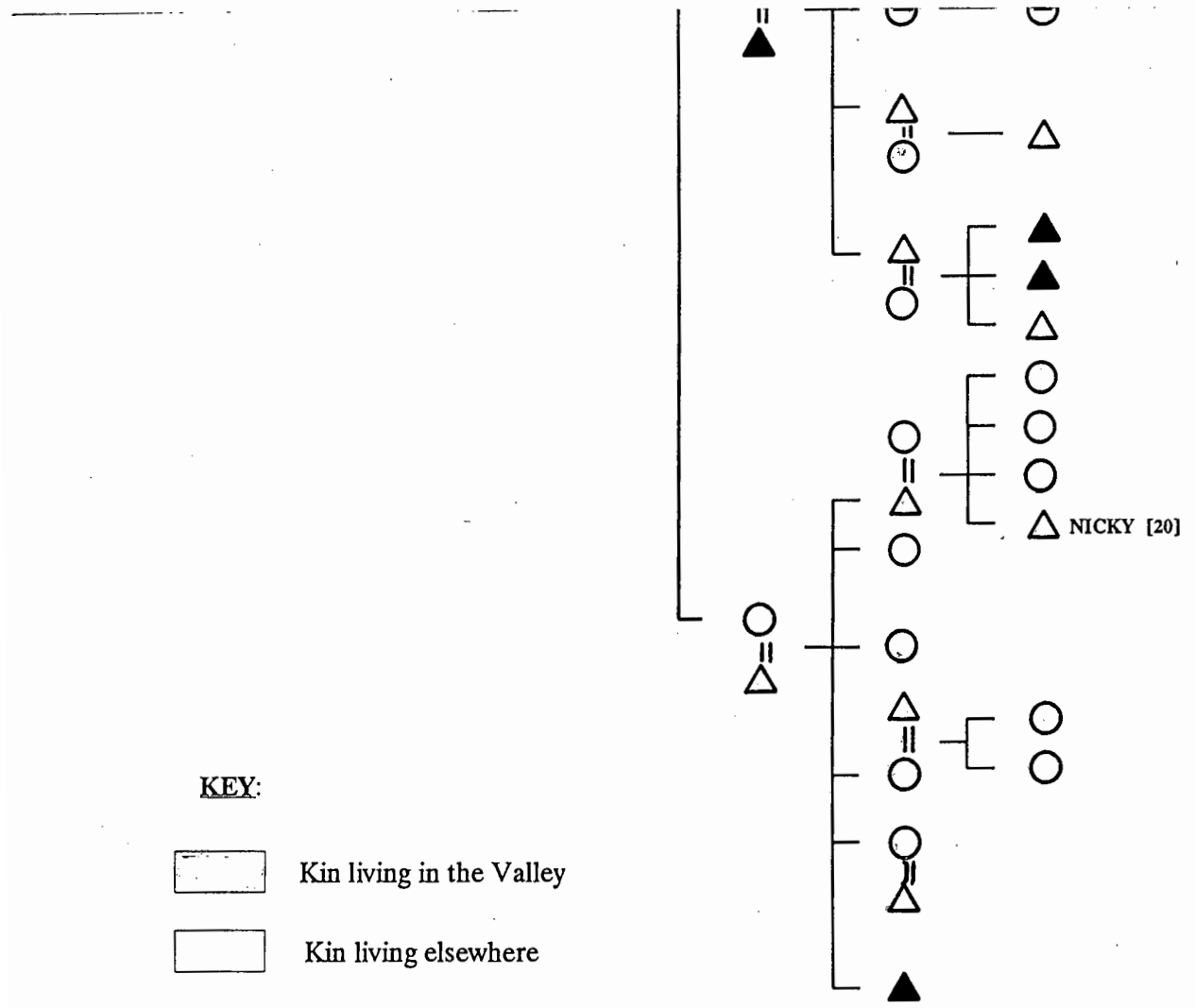

Diagram 6.2: Ragel's Kin Resident in the Valley

Kin members can be relied upon to help when necessary. Fly already settled on the farm tell newcomers about the rules and conditions of the farm, thereby helping the new family to settle in easily; family on other farms provide support systems if it is necessary to leave the farm (as seen in Johanna's case). When someone is "having trouble" with a farmer, a kin member from another farm may be called in to negotiate with the farmer.

There are numerous references to help among kin in this thesis: for example, kin helped when Johanna broke the window and left the farm; when work was required in Ragel's garden (discussed below); when Kornell wanted to leave the farm (discussed below); and when Boeta's parents were ill and could not work.

The valley has a relatively stable population of farm residents; however, there is a fair amount of movement within the valley. Movement occurs primarily in the summer months when grape-farming requires intensive labour and when farmers are most amenable to permitting outsiders to move into available housing. These moves are often followed by return moves, or they lead to a series of moves before a return is made to the same farm.

It is to kin living on nearby farms that adults move when they leave a farm. When a move occurs, a household is often realigned on another farm. Table 6.1 shows how the composition of 10 households was affected by individuals who moved off Nineveh farm. Note that the table does not refer only to adolescents who move to urban areas, but also to adults who move to neighbouring farms.

Table 6.1: How Household Composition is affected by Individuals who move.

Individual who moves	People resident in the household affected by the move	Other people living on Nineveh and affected by the move
Adol. Boy	His two sisters, one sister's children	His parents, his girlfriend, his children
Adol. Girl	Her Grandmother, cousins	
Adol. Girl	Her mother and father, her brother and sisters	Her grandparents
Adol. Girl	Her sister and sister's children	Her parents
Adult Woman	Her brother, his wife, his children and grand-children	
Woman and her child	Her boyfriend who is the child's father	
Woman and her child	Her mother, her father her sister and her son	Her boyfriend who is the father of her children
Woman and her child	Her husband and her daughter	Her adult daughter, and her adolescent son and daughter
Child	Her grandparents and her mother's sisters	
Adult Man	His girlfriend and his three daughters	

Workers say that their moves from farm to farm are sparked by a variety of reasons including disagreements with family, disagreements with farmers, drunkenness and financial pressures. In October 1991 120 people lived on Nineveh farm. Fourteen per cent of these people moved off the farm and a further six per cent moved onto Nineveh in a six month period. This suggests both high mobility and the frequent re-shaping of household composition.

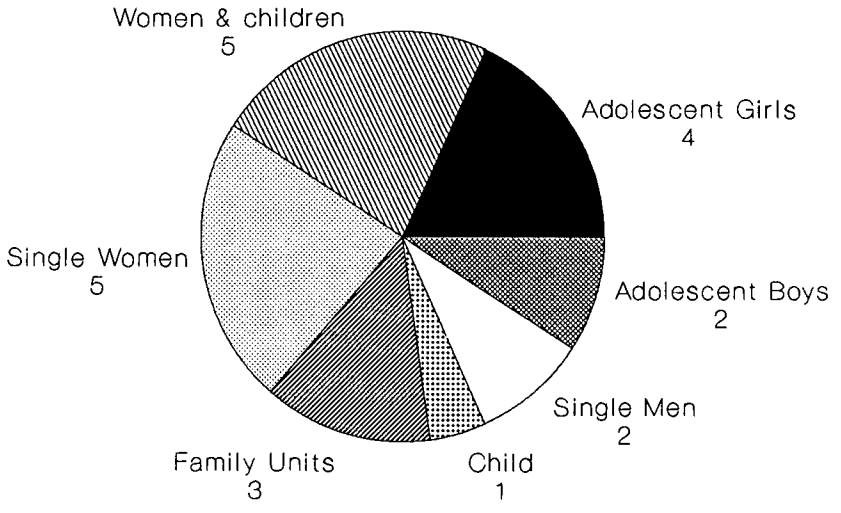

Diagram 6.3: People's Movement to and from Nineveh Farm August 1991 - February 1992

Diagram 6.3 indicates the extent of movement on Nineveh farm during the six months of my fieldwork. Although adults with children do not often move to Cape Town, it does happen in some instances. A move to town offers the possibility of an escape from the control to which one is subjected. For example, Lina is 23 years old and lived on Nineveh with her lover, Jacob, and their five year-old son, Isaak. Jacob used to drink heavily and then gave up alcohol. In September he started drinking again. Lina lived in constant fear that he would beat her as he had before. Of this, Lina comments, "Ek is bang geslaan." (I was beaten to instil fear). The people living on Nineveh told me of the time when Jacob beat Lina and she woke up in hospital, while on another occasion Jacob undressed her, beat her unconscious and then left her on the road. Each weekend Lina and Isaak would flee to her sister's home in the nearby township. Although Lina's father and sister both lived in the valley, she had often told me that she had nowhere to go, as her mother was no longer alive. Then one day a relative from

Paarl visited and suggested that Lina come to Paarl with them. Lina sold all her furniture and left that week. Meanwhile, her relative found her work in a hotel in Paarl.

When Lina left Nineveh, Jacob moved to Cape Town. He is one of three men who migrated to the Cape from the valley during the fieldwork period. Only one other man expressed a desire to do so during my stay on Nineveh. Kaffertjie (who insists I include his real name, Joseph, in my "book"), was born locally, but then realised that he could not work on the farms forever. "The farmers pay too little, on the farms you live only to stay alive, you do not make progress at all." Kaffertjie realised this and decided to seek work in Bellville. Case Study 6.2 (see below) illustrates the lack of rural-urban movement amongst the men and boys on the farms, relative to that of women.

Many people said they moved because they did not have good relations with the farmer. Boeta's parents moved to Nineveh primarily because of a disagreement between Leon, who was the foreman, and Mr Smit, the farmer. Mr du Toit of Monte Roza suggested that farm labourers will stay if they feel they have established good relations with the farmer whether or not the wages are higher or the working conditions better. It seems likely that many moves represent forms of resistance. In the context of farmer control and the limited and bounded space in the valley, the last resort men have open to them is to "up and leave." Even if leaving means moving to the farm next door and moving back next year. People move around until they find a farmer with whom they are content to work. Prospective employees enquire about a farmer before approaching him for

work. Before Leon approached Mr van Wyk he had heard that "the *baas* is so good". A quarter of the people living on Nineveh said they left their previous employment because they did not get on with the *baas*. Mobility is high, suggesting that the workers search for good relationships with farmers is an ideal which few manage to attain and maintain. The high mobility rates also suggest that workers are constantly searching for good relationships with farmers. Breakdown in relations is symptomatic rather than descriptive.

Sometimes workers leave of their own accord. In one case, Lettie, the head of Ragel's household, almost left Nineveh of her own accord after a dispute with Mr van Wyk. She had been told off for breaking a *loot* (vine shoot) and her response was to try and leave the farm.

It has been said that workers are simply "thrown off" a farm; however, during fieldwork, I witnessed only one person being evicted from Nineveh farm (he returned that same evening and continued to live there - see Chapter Four). When some workers decided to terminate their employment (in this instance of their own accord), they were allowed to remain in the house, despite not working, until they had found other employment and accommodation. Angel had approached Mr van Wyk and requested that he allow her ailing mother to live in one of the empty houses on the farm. Mr van Wyk refused and Angel decided to move. For the next two weeks, she and Jan (her lover) lived in their

house but neither of them went to work. Instead, each morning they would walk from farm to farm until they finally found work elsewhere and left.

There are other reasons why people move. When a farm is sold, there is often a fair degree of movement amongst the people living on the farm. This is partly because the farmer who sold the land might ask some of his labourers to join him on his new farm. Furthermore, many people use the opportunity to move on and try another farm, especially if they have been considering moving. The new owner frequently introduces his own workers, new rules and new living conditions which may not suit the residents who had lived under the previous regime. They may then choose to move, saying they could not get on with the new *baas*.

> The *baas* sold the farm, then the farm got another owner. I was a supervisor, but we did not understand each other so well. Yes, we did, on Saturday I drank a few drinks and argued with another man. I then went to town and when I was nice and drunk, fought with the other man. They called the White man, he phoned the police, they wanted to lock me up but I didn't want to go. Monday they came to fetch me. Locked me up till Wednesday. After that I moved.

The differential movement patterns of men and women have important implications for the lives of the adolescents living on the farms. In October 1991 there were 13 adolescent girls and 12 adolescent boys living on Nineveh farm. Almost all of them expressed a desire to live in the urban areas and not to work on the farms. There are not many urban jobs available to adolescents from the farms as they have acquired little education and low skills. Girls aged 15 to 20 can go to Cape Town to work as there are a few

employment opportunities open to them. Some go as domestic servants and childminders for kin who are living in town (see Case Study 6.2); others go as servants to families whom they characterise as Malay[3], who fetch them from the rural areas (Case Study 6.1); still others manage to find domestic or factory work through friends or family already established there. There are few similar opportunities for adolescent boys and they express frustration at finding themselves confined to the limits of the valley with little or no opportunities for escape.

Adolescents on the farms find themselves in anomalous positions. They seem to have a large degree of freedom and control over their own lives as, for example, they decide when to leave school, when to start work and to some extent, where to live. However, their lives are entwined in networks of relationships which extend across the valley from house to house and from farm to farm. The relationship between adolescent and farmer is most often expressed in the form of control of their labour. Its counterpart is expressed in the farmers' protection and paternalism. Adolescents' relationships with their parents and other adults oscillate between both support and control. Diagram 6.4 illustrates the balance between control and support on the one hand and "freedom" on the other, which are important themes in the lives of the adolescents living in the valley.

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3 *Slaams* is the Afrikaans word for Malay. In the Western Cape, the term Malay is used synonymously with Moslem. Although not all the so-called Malay people in the Cape have Malay origins (see Elphick and Giliomee, 1979).

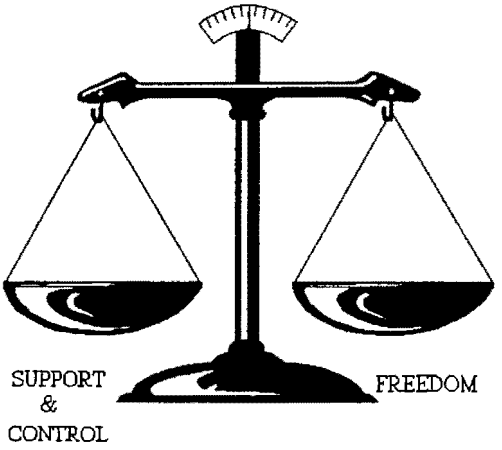

Diagram 6.4: The Balance between Control and Support and Freedom

I shall use case studies of the young people with whom I lived on Nineveh farm, to illustrate the themes.

Case Study 6.1:

Farm Life: Ragel Swartz was born in 1973 on Waterkloof farm, which borders Nineveh farm. Her mother lives in Tweespruit and Ragel came to Nineveh as a baby. She is her mother's first child (*voorkind*) and her Grandmother raised her *van kleins af* (since she was small). Ragel has never lived with her mother. Lettie, Ragel's mother's sister, explained Ragel's relationship with her mother and grandmother to me:

> I do not believe that she (Ragel) minds not living with her parents, because she accepts my mother as her own mother. She addresses her as mother and she gets on better with her (than with her own mother). She says her mother is not her mother, my mother is because my mother brought her up.

The relationships between the nine people living in the house is illustrated in Diagram 6.1. Excluding Ragel, there are three adults living in the house, namely Ragel's grandmother, her aunt, Lettie, (mother's sister) and her uncle, Piet (mother's brother). While Ragel's grandmother is seen as the household head, it is Lettie who sees to the well-being of the household. Of the six children in the house, four are aged between 11 and 18. Ragel is the oldest, followed by her cousin Dora (mother's sister's child) and Cissie, her sister. The last child in this category is Ragel's cousin (mother's brother's son) Charles. His father was killed in a farm accident on Nineveh in 1980 and Charles has lived with his grandmother ever since. Lettie also has a daughter who is seven years old. Another of Lettie's sisters lives on the neighbouring farm and her baby son lives here and is the youngest member of this household.

Ragel has other kin living on the farm. She has kin in seven other households on Nineveh farm. Diagram 6.2 illustrates Ragel's extensive kinship links both on Nineveh farm and in the valley.

History of Movement: When Ragel was 14 years old (1987) she decided to leave school while still in Standard One. Her grandmother agreed, as they were "too many in the house" and Ragel wanted to go out to work. Ragel then started work on Nineveh farm.

In 1988 Ragel went to Cape Town with a friend from the valley. Ragel simply felt like going and her friend came to fetch Ragel with the *Slamse* woman for whom they were going to work. Ragel worked as a domestic, cleaning the house, washing and ironing. About her time there, she says, "Those people were not actually good people. They were always furious (or scolding) and they did not manage to keep girls." After only a month, Ragel said she needed to come home as things were bad on the farm. The woman drove her back to the farm and paid her R60 for her labour.

Ragel came back to Nineveh but did not work for the first week, during which time she had a friend visiting her. The two of them then went to Worcester. Here they joined the town residents in working "*uit met die lorries*" (out with the lorries). During the picking and packing season, farmers send lorries into Worcester each morning to collect labourers to work on the farms. Ragel and her friend worked there for two weeks before coming home to visit. At the end of the visit, Ragel stayed on.

When she came back, Ragel was reluctant to start work on Nineveh and began work on the neighbouring farm, Waterkloof. This was chiefly because she had left during the packing season and she was afraid that the farmer would make her leave (*loop*). Ragel worked on Waterkloof for a month before again joining Nineveh's work force. Ragel explained why she had come back to the farm:

> It's all comfortable (convenient) here, your employer is good to you and if you work in the Cape and your people are here and you 'stop working one day' then the farmer does not actually want to help you, and so on.

Case Study 6.2:

Farm Life: Boeta Beukes was born in the valley in 1977. He is 14 years old and lives with his mother, father, sisters and brothers. Until recently they lived and worked on Oudekraal, a nearby farm which had been sold. Boeta's parents had moved around the valley before finally settling on Oudekraal, where Boeta was born. In May 1991 Boeta's parents moved again, onto Nineveh farm, as the new owner of Oudekraal wanted Boeta's grandmother, Ida, who is 71 years old, to work in the packing sheds. Boeta's relatives felt that Ida was too old to have to work and decided to move to another farm. Ida, her daughter Heather, and Heather's family moved to Nineveh farm, where Heather's husband, Dawie, already had a brother. Dawie took on the job as foreman of Nineveh farm. Boeta's family then moved to Nineveh, after a misunderstanding between Leon, Boeta's

father, and the new owner of the farm. Leon heard, presumably from Dawie, that there were empty houses on Nineveh. Soon after Boeta's family moved onto Nineveh, they were followed by Ida's third daughter, Bet, and her family (Diagram 6.3 illustrates the kin group and the associated moves).

History of Movement: Boeta is presently in Standard Six and has lived on two different farms (discussed above). He has not lived in any urban areas, although he has visited various places. At the age of 12 he spent the December school holidays with his sister (aged 18) who works in St Helena Bay. While in St Helena Bay Boeta worked in a fish factory for three weeks and earned R90, some of which he used to pay his board at his "aunty's", and the remainder he sent to his mother.

Another time, Boeta went to Cape Town to visit his cousin (mother's sister's child) in Mitchell's Plain. He went for six weeks during which time he did not work, but occasionally washed dishes and ran errands for the family.

In contrast to the relative stability in Boeta's life, both his sisters (aged 16 and 18) have worked in Cape Town for periods of about six months. The elder then went on to St Helena Bay where she presently works. When Boeta's mother, Lyn, was 19, she went to Cape Town where she stayed with her cousin and worked for a woman. She later went to work at a fish factory. Work at the factory was good and Lyn worked overtime to increase her wages. After six months, she decided to return to the farm, as she was not getting on with her cousin's husband. Boeta's father has never lived or worked in an urban area.

Unlike his mother and sisters, Boeta has not worked in an urban area for an extended period of time. Neither has his father. However, Boeta would very much like to leave farm life and head towards the urban centres. Luke (aged 16) also wishes to leave the farm. He would like to go to the army but he does not have the required Standard Five qualification. Standard Five is a high qualification for the men on the farms, only a third of whom have reached that level (see Chapter Two, Diagram 2.6). (Some farm labourers suspect that the farmers in the valley withhold the men's army papers which arrive in the mail in order to prevent

them from leaving the farms.) Instead, Luke is intending to work on the farm *langtermyn* before leaving and going to town.

The movement of both men and adolescent boys is largely restricted to the limits of the valley. Apart from the army, there are few means by which they can leave the farm. Some men and boys do manage to leave the farms, but for the majority the opportunities are too limited and they remain on the farms.

Although Ragel's life history is very different from that of Boeta, it can be seen as characteristic of other adolescent girls. Malay people come to the farms to find young women to work for them as domestics. They come at weekends and ask around the farms for young women. Employment of this nature is an especially convenient form of "escape" for those girls whose parents do not wish them to go to the Cape. The parents come home from their weekend activities and find their daughters gone. However, sometimes parents would like their daughters to go to the Cape, and the move is approved by them.[4]

If the girls go during the winter months, the farmers generally do not mind because there is no work for the women to do. In the summer, the farmers dislike losing their much-needed labour for the picking and packing processes. During the summer of 1991, I watched one farmer stop a Malay man and ask him what he was doing on the farm. The man hastily replied that he had come to pay someone money and

4 The rebelliousness which causes some daughters to leave their homes discreetly and the approval that some parents give to their daughters' movements from Phokeng to urban areas has been discussed by Bozzoli (1991) and similar movements by the girls of Dithabaneng discussed by James (1992).

not (his emphasis) to "take" any of the workers away. In these instances the control extended by the farmer limits the adolescents' choice of work and their chances of leaving the valley.

The girls who leave the farms often do not stay in Cape Town for long, as they complain about the work load and soon return. However, this is not always the case. Elizabeth (mentioned above) managed to find work with a Malay family, using the opportunity to search for further employment in Cape Town. From there she went on to secure domestic work with white people. Some adolescent girls develop a relationship with certain Malay families. On Monte Roza, both Nossie (aged 20) and Meid (aged 15) have worked for the same "*samoosa* woman"[5], making and selling *samoosas*. Each time she needs someone to work for her, she returns to the farm where there is usually a young girl who wants to work in Cape Town. While I was doing fieldwork on the farm, Anna, a 19 year old girl from Monte Roza, was working for her. A few of the girls work for her each winter and return to the farm for the summer months to be available for re-employment by the farmer for the packing season.

Workers recognise that they are obliged to make themselves available to the farmer during the summer months, although Ragel (see Case Study 6.1), refused to do so. As she left during the summer, she was afraid to return to Nineveh and chose to work on Waterkloof, before approaching Mr van Wyk. If women do leave during the packing season they do so at the risk of incurring the farmer's anger. The

5 In this context, the people of Monte Roza call the woman a "*samoosa* woman" as she employs them to make and sell *samoosas* which are triangular pastries filled with spicy meat or vegetables.

informal and unspoken control of the farmer implies that unless one intends to leave the valley permanently, it is necessary to conform and submit to the farmers' wishes.

Some women and adolescent girls leave the farm only once they have arranged domestic or factory work in an urban area. I saw two such moves in the six months I spent there. Kornell, 16 years old and a relative of Ragel's (see Diagram 6.2), moved from the farm in early January 1992 as a direct result of conflict with the farmer (see Chapter Four). Although the use of child labour on Nineveh is rather informal, Mr van Wyk insists that if labourers' children work, they must work on Nineveh. Despite the fact that adolescents are given the choice as to whether to work or not, their labour is controlled. Adolescents are not supposed to sell their labour to any other farmer in the valley. If their parents are working on Nineveh farm, then the adolescents must do likewise. In 1991, Kornell refused to work on Nineveh as the wages were too low. She went to work for a nearby farmer who paid more. Mr van Wyk sent his driver with the farm lorry to fetch her. Kornell returned and after a long argument with Mr van Wyk threatened to leave and packed her bags. Her aunt (mother's brother's wife) who lived nearby, intervened and insisted she go and work in the packing-shed. In the summer of 1992, Kornell and the farmer again disagreed and Kornell's sister (with whom she lived) asked a friend in Parow to find Kornell domestic work in Cape Town. She found Kornell work in Mitchell's Plain and Kornell was still there when I left the farm at the end of February 1992.

Dora, another adolescent, wanted to leave the valley and work as a domestic for kin living in Cape Town. When her aunt (mother's sister) died in Cape Town, Dora (aged 16 and having just left school) expressed her desire to go to Cape Town and work for her mother's sister's family. Dora explained to me how she intended to go to the funeral and then stay and work in the house. Dora had been working on the farm for only a few months but she did not enjoy the work. She often stayed away from work after lunch or after tea, only to be fetched from home by the foreman (see Chapter Three). Dora was looking for a way off the farms, but this was not to be. First, she could not afford the taxi fare to Cape Town (R100); and secondly, none of the adults even considered taking her with them. They laughed when I mentioned it and said that the people in Cape Town would never have her. Dora's cousin had worked there when she was a young girl and had subsequently returned to the valley.

I visited Nineveh again in July 1992 by which time Dora had fallen pregnant. Owing to the new rules introduced by Mrs van Wyk, Dora's chances of leaving the farm have diminished and it seems possible that Dora might well remain trapped on the farms without ever working in an urban area.

Bozzoli (1991: 91-98) argues that for many of the young women who left the rural area of Phokeng, simple economic need was not a prime reason for the move. Rather the girls left in search of adventure, freedom and independence; to acquire the status attached to working in the city; to have access to material goods available in the urban areas and the opportunity to avoid obligations placed on them in the

rural areas. Similarly James (1992: 15) suggests that the movement of young girls from the rural area of Dithabaneng in the Northern Transvaal to urban areas is based primarily on their desire for fine clothes.

Why do adolescent girls come back from the urban areas to settle on the farms? According to the song,

Jan in die kas
Se voete sit vas
Al spring hy regop,
En wikkel sy kop,
'n Snaakse ou man,
Wil uit as hy kan
Maar voete sit vas
in die kas

Jan would really like to get out (of the box), but no matter how high he jumps, or how much he shakes his head, his feet remain stuck in the box. This echoes the sentiments of the adolescents in relation to the farms. However, like Jan, whose feet are trapped, few adolescents seem unable to leave. Some "escape" for short periods but not many remain in the urban areas. During my stay in the valley, I heard of one or two women only who had successfully made the move to the Cape and stayed there. One woman had brought her mother from the farm to stay with her but her mother was unhappy and wanted to return to the farm.

Many of the young girls who work in the urban area of Cape Town return to the farms when they fall pregnant. Generally it makes sense to come back to the farm, as the farmer subsidises medical fees by 50 per cent if one works for him. Besides, he might provide transport to the nearest hospital (50 km away) or at least see to it that an

ambulance is booked. A return to the farm secures family care within the network of support provided by kin members.

The song says that Jan's clothes fit him and he looks fine:

Jan in die kas,
sy klere die pas.
Hy lyk al te mooi
met kappie so rooi
Sy baadjie is blou,
Sy broekie is nou
Snaakse ou Jan in die kas

The words can be seen to express another facet of adolescent's attitudes. Something about farm life suits them.

Farm labourers work very long hours, do tedious and strenuous work and are often exposed to extremes of weather. Yet most of the adults with whom I talked said that they want to remain on the farms. However, the adolescents' opinions differ from those of their parents and many of them say that they would like to live in the urban areas. Heather, speaking about her daughter said, "She doesn't prefer a farm. She always says she doesn't want to live on a farm." In Case Study 6.2 Boeta answered, "(I want to) live in a city and earn lots of money." City life offers many "attractions" to the adolescents living on the farms. It is an opportunity to "escape" the control imposed both by the farmer and by kin members. It is also a way of avoiding the long and hard manual labour required on the farms.

When I enquired as to whether adults would prefer to live on a farm or in a city, the unanimous preference was for the farms. Why?

His Feet are Stuck

> I would gladly live on a farm, because the people pay too much money in a town; because they must pay their water, electricity, toilet, they must pay everything.
>
> Its better on a farm, you don't pay everything, like water and that stuff, you get that for free.
>
> In the town you actually have to pay everything, like electricity, water, house and for my learning and time, I'll earn too little.

The first and possibly the most important advantage of working on a farm, is that the house is provided by the farmer. As workers do not pay for housing on the farms, it is "cheaper" to live on the farms (see Appendix 6.1 for a comparison of living conditions in Worcester - a town in the rural area of the Western Cape - and other urban areas).

Housing conditions on Nineveh are adequate relative to the conditions in many other areas of the country. Even the oldest farm houses are supplied with electricity to the kitchen and all houses have a tap in the yard and piped water to the bathrooms. Water and electricity are supplied free of charge by Mr van Wyk. Toilets on the farm are "long drops" and are situated behind the houses. Mr van Wyk ensures that refuse is removed once a week.

Transport costs are, in a sense, also subsidised on the farms. As farm residents live close to the vineyards there are no transport costs to and from work. On Friday nights, the workers are paid and then the farm lorry takes people to the local shop. Here they usually buy meat for the evening meal but not every-day essentials. On Saturday mornings the lorry carries people to the village many do their weekly shopping. During the packing season there are lorries running to and from the cold storage facility and it is easy to get lifts to town and back every night. Several of the

farmers allow the lorries to be used to transport church-goers on Sundays and people may request the use of the lorry to attend functions (usually sporting or religious) in the village. The lorry transports people at times decided upon by the farmer. According to the farm rules of Nineveh, no-one may carry any alcohol on the farm lorry and anyone who is drunk may not travel on the lorry. These rules are generally enforced by Dawie, the foreman on Nineveh. Access to transport may also be denied by Mr van Wyk as a form of punishment.

There are other advantages to living on the farms. One is that free fuel is available in the form of vine roots from uprooted vineyards. The women collect them from next to the *blok*, while the men collect firewood from the mountain-side. As Mr van Wyk also allows the workers to keep some livestock, Boeta's father breeds turkeys, while others keep chickens or the occasional goat or pig. Medical bills are subsidised by about 50 per cent by the farm. It is also possible to buy on the farm account up to the value of R100 at the local shops. Mr van Wyk will also lend money up to the value of R300, although an amount this high is usually only lent in exceptional circumstances. Farm children can attend the farm crêche, which leaves the women free to work; school costs are to some extent subsidised by the farmer. Finally, the farmer guarantees employment, during the summer months for females and all year round for males.

On Nineveh farm, there is sufficient space for each house to have a garden. Fencing and irrigation pipes can be scrounged from the farm scrap yards and water is free. In

Case Study 6.2, Boeta's father extended his vegetable garden to include the empty space between two neighbouring houses. This gave him a larger area to cultivate and he grew onions, tomatoes, pumpkins, corn and butternuts. He reaped a large crop, some of which was eaten, some was stored for the winter months and some was given away to friends and family who came to visit from urban areas. As Ragel (Case Study 6.1) came from a female-headed household, their vegetable garden was tended by one of their male kinsmen also resident on the farm. Although Ragel's uncle is aged 21 and lives in the house, he never does any work and seldom contributes financially to the household (see Chapter Four). The garden contained mainly pumpkins, which require very little attention and can be stored for the winter months.

It is clear that there are advantages to living on the farms. Even Ragel admitted that, "its all comfortable here, your employer is good to you and if you work in the Cape and your people are here and you 'stop working one day' then the farmer doesn't actually want to help you, and so on."

The adolescents would very much like to move off the farms and some manage to do so but seldom for long. If, as Ragel says, "your people are here", one is drawn back. The adolescents and young adults living on the farm formulate an idiom which stresses the need to help and care for one's parents. Many of them say that they left school in order to work for, and help, their parents. Bet (aged 21) and Nicky (aged 20) said that they could not get married until their parents were taken care of. Farmers do not provide for workers who have retired (South 1992: 23-27 May) and as elderly people have no claim on housing they have to live

with someone who works on a farm. Every family on Nineveh has someone who works. Bearing this in mind, it is in the parents' best interests that their children return to the farms and set up their homes there securing access to somewhere to stay when they are too old to work.

James (1992: 17) draws parallels between the adolescent phase of rebellion and independence experienced by the girls of Dithabaneng and young girls of Phokeng (Bozzoli, 1991). She suggests the rebellion and associated moves occur at a stage of the girls' lives prior to their assuming familial responsibility. The girls' movements away from the rural areas are not seen as primarily aimed at making economic contributions to the family but rather as something that the girls do for themselves and that are likely to result in return moves at a later stage of their lives. Despite the girls' apparent independence and rebelliousness, their departure from the rural areas operates to re-incorporate the girls back into the expected behavioural patterns of obedient daughters (1992: 17). She suggests that for the girls of Dithabaneng leaving the rural area

> ... signified in some sense a rebellion by groups of age-mates against control by the older generation, it is also true that the challenge to parental authority which this practice represented was soon co-opted and transformed as its perpetrators became, in turn, custodians of the domestic domain and of *Sesotho* (1992: 18).

It is possible that a similar phenomenon is occurring on the farms in the Western Cape. Certainly the life histories of the adolescent girls and those of their mothers as adolescents, illustrate how girls have been drawn back to

the valley where they have established families and homes for themselves. The movement documented here occurred over six months. One can only speculate as to the extent of mobility in the valley over a ten-year period. At the moment the only jobs available to farm workers in urban areas are domestic and factory work. With increased education and better skills, better employment opportunities could open up and with these might come opportunities to achieve security. For the moment, adolescents are torn between a longing for city experiences and a need to secure support. They hanker after the "attractions" of city life and long for "freedom" from farmers' and adults' control. Yet they know from others who have returned to the farms of the danger of being alienated in towns or cities and they value the support and care of kin. Like Jan in the box, they leap up to peer at the horizons yet most find themselves attached to networks of support and control within the boundaries of the valley.

Chapter Seven

Caught in Context

I returned to visit the people on Nineveh and Monte Roza farms in August 1993, two years after I had first lived on Nineveh. On Nineveh farm there are now only five of the seven adolescents who originally formed the sample group to analyse adolescent labour contributions (see Chapter Three). Ragel, no longer an adolescent, has gone to work as a domestic for a white family in Cape Town (see Chapters Three and Six). Ragel has gone to Cape Town with Lina, a friend who previously lived on Nineveh farm (see Chapter Six) and who came to visit her seven-year-old son (now living on Nineveh farm with his father). Lettie, Ragel's mother's sister, with whom Ragel lived, has expressed her concern over Ragel's move. "I don't know what to say if *kleinnooi* asks me where Ragel is. Ragel says I must say that she has gone visiting, but if *kleinbaas* hears that she has gone to work then he will be angry". Lettie says that, for her, life on the farm has improved as her brother has given up drinking and now hands all his pay over to her.

Boeta has also left Nineveh farm. He still lives with his parents who have moved back to Oudekraal farm where they lived before coming to Nineveh (see Chapter Six). They say that they have done so for financial reasons as they were not being paid enough on Nineveh farm. Boeta is now in Standard Eight at the coloured high school in the village.

The building of this school was completed towards the end of 1992, prior to which coloured adolescents had to leave the valley if they wished to continue their schooling beyond Standard Seven.

Ursula, Boeta's cousin, still lives on Nineveh farm where her father has remained the foreman. She too attends the new high school and is with Boeta in Standard Eight, having failed Standard Seven in 1991 and repeated the standard in 1992. Two months ago Ursula and Boeta's grandmother passed on and her absence is felt by both adolescents. Luke, their cousin, is still living and working on Nineveh farm (see Chapters Three and Six). Luke's father is intending to marry his common-law wife in the near future. Luke, himself, does not yet have a girlfriend and still spends his time drinking with his friends (see Chapter Four), although the trees which used to shelter and hide them whilst drinking have been uprooted by Mr van Wyk.

Merjana and Grieta now attend the black school in the village as the farm school which they used to attend does not go beyond Standard Four (see Chapters One and Three). Grieta is 18 and is in Standard Six this year, while Merjana is 14 and attends the standard below Grieta. Both Grieta and Merjana hope to continue their schooling, although Grieta's mother feels that Grieta is too old to be still attending school and that she will shortly have to begin looking for work.

Merjana still lives with her grandparents, although the composition of her household has changed (see Chapter Two). Merjana's mother's sister and her son have gone to live in the Transkei, while Merjana's grandmother's sister and brother have arrived from Mohaleshoek. They are currently living with Merjana's grandparents while they seek work in the valley. The membership of Grieta's household has also changed (see Chapter Two). Her elder brother, Katisi (see Chapter Five), has moved out of the home and now lives in the house next door to them. He has settled there with Willa, his new girlfriend who is expecting his child. Willa comes from Worcester but her father and her step-mother have lived on Nineveh for the past four years.

Emma still lives and works on Nineveh farm. She and here sister Mottie are both going to *aanneem* (confirmation) classes so that they can baptise their own children (see Chapters Four and Six). Emma's son is now three years old and her sister's daughter is two. Rosina, Emma and Mottie's mother, says that if **she** baptises their children they will only repeat the ritual at a later date. Instead she wants her two adolescent daughters to struggle to baptise their children, so that next time they want to have children, they will remember that bringing up children is not an easy process.

Only one of the seven adolescents from the Monte Roza sample group has left the farm. Bet, who used to live on Monte Roza farm, has moved to the nearby farm, De Hoop, where she now lives with her mother. Her grandmother, with whom she used to live, has passed onand so she has returned to her mother's home (see Chapter Three). In the

two years that I have been away, she has progressed to Standard 7. Because of her move, Bet no longer spends her Sundays doing domestic work in Mr du Toit's house for which she used to be paid. Although Bet has left the farm, she regularly visits her relatives and friends and she says she will probably work in the packing shed again this coming summer.

Bet's cousin, Lisa, and her friend, Eggan, are the only other school-going adolescents who formed part of the sample in 1991 and early 1992 (see Chapter Three). They are both still living on Monte Roza farm. Eggan is now 14 years old and in Standard Five. Lisa is 17, in Standard Four and spends most of her free time with her new boyfriend. Meid is also now 17 years old and she is still working on the farm. Despite being adamant that she would never get involved with a man, she now has a boyfriend who works on the farm. Her brother David, who was a long distance runner, gave up running after achieving his dream of competing in the Comrades Ultra-marathon race, running from Durban to Pietermaritzburg in 1992.

Today David, Johan and Peet (three adolescent boys from the Monte Roza sample) are primarily interested in playing rugby. All three boys are still working on the farm. Johan still lives with his mother on a nearby farm, while Peet has moved out of his mother's house on a nearby farm and now lives with his girlfriend and her family on Monte Roza farm.

Noes, the oldest girl in the sample, is no longer an adolescent. Despite her earlier plans to marry (see Chapter Four), she still lives with her mother and her step-father. Her son, Raymond, now 10 months, old is with her while his

father still lives with his parents. Noes's brother has a six-month-old daughter who also lives with them in the house. Noes's brother is also a keen rugby player and he plays matches with the other adolescents on Saturday afternoons. Noes, and several of the other adolescents, have started playing netball matches with teams from other farms on Saturday afternoons.

In the two years that I have been away, some obvious changes have occurred in the valley. The village has grown larger and there are a number of new cafés, electrical shops and, much to the delight of the adolescents, three new amusement arcades.[1] A squatter camp, known locally as *die hokke*, has been developed north of the town. The camp is said to be occupied primarily by African people who have been "chased off" the farms for a variety of reasons and who now have nowhere to live. Most of the people who live on Nineveh and Monte Roza have not visited people living in the camp and say that they have stayed away from it. The school-going adolescents have been into the camp as the school bus drives through it each day to collect children for school. One family from Morgenzon, a farm I used to visit regularly, and one family from Steenberg (see Chapter Four) have moved to the camp.

Previously uncleared land is now also being extensively prepared for planting and it appears that many of the farmers in the valley are extending the amount of land they have under cultivation. Both the farmers of Nineveh and Monte Roza did this in the winter of 1992.

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1 These arcades are crammed with coin-operated electronic game machines and contain one coin-operated juke box.

In April 1993 the new legislation for farm labourers was introduced by the State. According to the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, farm workers are now entitled to minimum hours of employment, overtime pay and 30 days notice of termination (see Chapter One). However, for the people living and working on Nineveh and Monte Roza farms, the legislation does not appear to have significantly altered their working conditions. When I lived on Nineveh farm the people there were fond of pointing out that "Apartheid is dead" and that things were about to change. Now, two years later, I was asking questions about the impact of the new legislation. The answer from the people both on Nineveh and Monte Roza was that nothing had changed. Heather commented "the new legislation has not affected us, it is like it has always been" while Alma said that the legislation had made a difference on other farms, but not on Nineveh. On Monte Roza, Miena was very excited about having attended a course on the new legislation, but she was unable to say whether it had led to any changes on the farm.

The introduction of new legislation may go some way towards improving relations between the farmers and workers on Nineveh and Monte Rosa farms. However, just as vestiges have remained from the days of slavery have remained on the farms, so remnants of the paternalist relationship between the farmers and workers will be present in future generations.

In this thesis I have examined the lives of the adolescents living on Nineveh and Monte Roza farms. An examination of adolescent kin links shows that kin are an important resource for the people living on Nineveh farm.

Filiation links between kin operate to support and sustain people in times of hardship. The extension of filiation links across farm boundaries operates as a safety net for people in trouble.

Adolescent labour on both Nineveh and Monte Roza farms has been analyzed. In particular, I have examined the degree to which adolescent boys and girls contribute to the labour demands of the household and how adolescents are drawn into the labour force.

I show that on both farms authority is exercised not only by the farmer but also by his wife, the foreman and other residents. The authority is not absolute but transcends the employer/employee relationship. It affects not only over labourers, but also over their spouses, children, adolescents and visitors. Both the farmers of Nineveh and Monte Roza illustrate examples of control, in the guise of morality, which extends into the labourers' homes and into the core of adolescent life. However, the example cited of Meid's resistance to farmer control with regard to her sterilisation (see Chapter Four), illustrates that the notion of a private existence is, in fact, one which is constantly contested.

Adolescents can and do leave the valley but many of them return drawn by forces beyond their control such as insufficient education to find stable employment in the urban areas, family ties, financial burdens, the availability of housing and the need to secure accommodation.

With the opening of the new high school education may become more accessible to adolescents and their chances of leaving the farms may improve. Nevertheless many adolescents may elect to remain on the farms because of kinship ties and other considerations.

I began this thesis with an interest in the "invisibility of the adolescents". It could be argued that some of the adolescents described in this thesis are, in essence, not adolescents. Some adolescents are mothers or fathers who have children of their own. Adolescents often work full-time on the farm. Adolescent mothers work to provide for their children. In order to get support from the fathers of their children they have to obtain a portion of the father's earnings which is not always possible. The adolescents are, for a large part of their time, engaged in adult activities. However, for the people living in the *blok* adolescent mothers are still considered to be children. The adults talk of children who "farm" with children (*die kinders boer met kinders*) and of how adolescent mothers seek constant support and help from their own mothers. These adolescents, who remain children despite their adult duties, can be understood as a feature of the paternalistic regime which, by its very nature, prevents people from becoming autonomous individuals.

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Appendix 2.1:

Household Survey Questionnaire

Date of interview:

Name of informant:

Household Head:

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

	FNAME	SNAME	SEX	DOB	POB	AGE	EDUC	S	RTH/H	MS
1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										
7.										
8.										
9.										
10.										

(Use no.s 1-10 for household members and no.s 11 onwards for other children)

	S/LNAME	RES	NC	CS'NS	AGE	EDUC	S	RES	RR	NCL	SPEC
1.											

MIGRANCY

	DAL	RBL	RFL	DADD	CYPS	OCCUP	OWF	DOE	PE
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									

PAYMENT/CONTROL

SAL	PSAL	THI	SPEC	CS'W	P/C	GT	AKBI
1.							

HEALTH

	PS	PD/S	RP	W	WH
1.					

KIN DIAGRAM

Key:

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS:
- FNAME - First Names
- SNAME - Surname
- DOB - Date of Birth
- POB - Place of Birth
- EDUC - Education
- S - Currently a Student or Employed
- RTH/H - Relationship to Household Head
- MS - Marital Status
- S\LNAME - Absent Children's Names
- RES - Place of Residence
- NC - Number of Children
- CS'NS - Children's Names
- RR - Resides With
- NCL - Number of Children Deceased
- SPEC - Specify Reasons

MIGRANCY:
- DAL - Date of Arrival on Nineveh
- RBL - Residence Before Nineveh
- RFL - Reason for Leaving
- DADD - Date of Arrival in the Valley
- CYPS - Are you Permanently Settled?
- OCCUP - occupation
- OWF - on which Farm
- DOE - Date of Employment
- PE - Period of Employment

PAYMENT/CONTROL:
- SAL - Wage
- PSAL - Previous Wage
- THI - Total Household Income
- CS'W - children's Work
- GT - Given To
- AKBI - Amount Kept by Individual

HEALTH:
- PS - Present Status
- PD\S - Past Diseases, sicknesses
- RP - Recent Pains
- W - Where

Appendix 3.1:

Categories used in the Analysis of Labour Data

DOMESTIC **D**

i wash pots
ii wash clothes/ iron
iii make fire
iv prepare food
v cook food
vi collect firewood
vii collect water
viii sweep
ix repair
x scouring pots
xi baking bread/vetkoek
xii scrubbing shoes
xiii hanging out washing
xiv making tea/coffee
xv kneading dough

CHILD CARE **C**

i carrying
ii playing with
iii washing
iv preparing food
v feeding
vi washing clothes
vii general care (dressing etc)
viii health care (ill child, doctors visits etc)

GARDENING **G**

i clearing
ii preparing
iii hoeing
iv planting
v re-planting
vi weeding
vii harvesting
viii selling
ix watering
x fencing

WORK FOR FARMER **W**

i making boxes
ii lining boxes
iii clearing around farm
iv preparing new vineyards
v *loote vasbind*
vi *blare breek*
vii *korreltjies uitknip*
viii *druiwe sny* and distributing crates to women
ix *druiwe uitknip*

x trim bunches
xi *druiwe pak*
xii sealing boxes and loading onto lorry
xiii *boxies inry*

SCHOOLWORK **H**
i attending school
ii homework

ERRANDS **E**
i to kin off the farm
ii to the store

SELF CARE **S**
i washing/bathing
ii sleeping
iii eating
iv wake up/get up
v house

LEISURE **L**
i singing
ii dancing
iii attending discos
iv ball play
v drinking
vi reading comic books
vii playing dominoes
viii playing alone
ix playing with others
x hanging around
xi visiting
xii chatting/talking

CHURCH **C**
i *Christelike Alkoliste Bond*

ILL HEALTH **I**
i headache

PURCHASING FOOD P

Appendix 6.1:

Housing Conditions in Worcester and Other Urban Areas

In many urban areas there is a severe shortage of housing for coloured people. Official figures in Worcester in 1980 "put the shortage of sub-economic and economic houses at 2500 dwellings units or a waiting list of 10 000 - 12 000 people, ... " (Yosslowitz 1984: 70). Prior to 1983 official (conservative) records in Stellenbosch cite the shortage of approximately 2000 housing units as one of the most acute problems in the area (Steyn 1984: 2). The shortage of housing has led to the development of informal squatter areas in Cape Town (Prinsloo 1984), Somerset West (Ross 1993), and other urban areas. It has also created a crowding problem in existing houses and squatter camps. Figures for the Cape metropolitan area suggest that 58,9% of all coloured households in the region are overcrowded (Riley, et al 1984: 5).

Rent in Worcester varies according to the area, the standard and age of the housing. Prior to 1984, the rent for a sub-economic house or flat averaged R2.60 per week (adapted from Yosslowitz 1984: 72). Yosslowitz (1984: 70) describes the housing conditions in Worcester: A sub-economic house has no electricity, no hot water, no inside bathroom, unplastered ceilings, no gutters, no inside doors and no floor covering. Economic houses theoretically have ceilings, inside doors and two bedrooms, but no fencing and no plaster. "In Cape Town, squatters expend an average of 4,35% of their budget on housing, township residents an average 9,11%" (Prinsloo 1984: 18). Many urban residents simply cannot afford to pay these rents.

Services such as lights, water, refuse removal and sewerage are very expensive in the urban areas. Yosslowitz (1984: 38) shows that although electricity is available to some poor households in Worcester, many people cannot afford to use it, for others it is simply not available. Heated water is not readily available and most poor people use only cold water. "One household ... said that cold water was available within the radius of a 200m walk. Bushes served as toilets." (Yosslowitz 1984: 30)

Yosslowitz (1984: 28), in his study of the urban poor in Worcester, finds that it is only the community welfare organisations and the churches which aid the poor. Help from local authorities or private people and organisations is virtually nil. One example is of a family of eight members, three of whom work as unskilled labourers. The family "gets no help from anybody and wouldn't be able to get it even if they applied." (Yosslowitz 1984: 38)