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## Farm Labour in the Dealsville District, O.F.S.

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SALDRU

# FARM LABOUR IN THE DEALESVILLE DISTRICT, O.F.S.

by: Johann Maree.

This paper is a 'mini' micro-study of farm labour in the district of Dealesville in the Orange Free State and is based on interviews conducted during January 1976, with 4 farmers, 3 farm labourers (each employed by one of the farmers' interviewed), a farm-school teacher and the local Bantu Affairs Administration Board official.

In spite of the small size of the sample the results are probably representative of the area. This is because the White farming community is a closely knit group of people sharing a great deal of values in common.

Farmers in the Dealesville district are almost all Afrikaners most of whom belong to the Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Kerk). Farm labourers are exclusively Africans whose home languages are either South Sotho, Xhosa or Tswana. It was not possible to obtain an exact measure of the proportions in which these language groups were represented in the district.

Most farmers in the area engaged in mixed farming the main components of which are sheep, cattle, maize and what. Three out of the 4 farmers interviewed had sizable farms ranging from 2 400 to 4 000 morgen ( 2 055 to 3 425 Hectacres ). The fourth farmer was semi-retired and farmed on 200 morgen ( 171 ha.).

## TABLE 1.

### AVERAGE NUMBER OF LABOURERS, DEPENDANTS AND FAMILIES PER FARM:

| Category | Number |
|---|---|
| Number of Labourers | 7 |
| Number of Domestic Workers | 2 |
| Number of Dependants | 28 |
| T O T A L | 37 |
| Number of Families | 5 |
| Dependancy Ratio [1] | 5,2 |
| Size of family | 7 |

[1] Dependancy Ratio = $\dfrac{\text{total no. of people}}{\text{no. of labourers}}$

Table 1 provides some statistics regarding the labour situation on each farm. Although the total number of people on each farm was an average of 37, it ranged widely from 17 to 70. On average, each labourer had a wife and five children:

All the labourers on these farms were Africans. The age distribution (Table 2) shows that more than half of the labourers and their dependants were below 18 years of age.

TABLE 2.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS AND THEIR DEPENDANTS:

| CATEGORY | AVERAGE NUMBER PER FARM | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Male | Female | Total | % |
| Below 18 years | 10 | 9 | 19 | 52 |
| 18 - 30 years | 3 | 3,5 | 6,5 | 18 |
| 31 - 60 years | 6 | 3,75 | 9,75 | 27 |
| Above 60 years | 0,75 | 9,75 | 1,5 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 19,75 | 17 | 36,75 | 100 [1/] |

1/ Percentages do not add up to 100 because of rounding errors. The three labourers who were actually interviewed were all married with an average of 7 children each.

Wages:

1) Cost to Farmers:

In order to calculate the wages of farm labourers it has been considered necessary to distinguish between the cost of labour to the farmers on the one hand and the income received by the labourers on the other hand. The reasons why this distinction is made are, firstly, because a farmer's costs and labourer's incomes diverge considerably from each other (for reasons that will soon become apparent) and, secondly, because farmers' costs determine the demand for labour while labourers' incomes determine the supply of labour. Thus, it is what the farmer actually pays in cash and in kind to the labourer and the cost to the farmer of these payments that determines his demand for labour.

On the other hand, it is the real value of his earnings that makes the labourer decide whether to offer his labour to a farmer or to some other employer.

In Appendix 1 a detailed breakdown is given of wages in cash and kind
for each farmer with explanations how the calculations were performed.
The average total wage, seen as a cost to the farmer, was R36,61 per
month while the actual cash wage was R8,00 per month on average.
This means that R28,81, or 79% of the total wage, was paid in kind.
The three largest components amongst payments in kind were milk
(R8,44 p.m.), meat (R5,44 p.m.), and mealie meal or coarse meal
(R4,36 p.m.).

Unfortunately the wage calculation excludes the cost to the farmer
of housing his employees.  Three of the 4 farmers left the con-
struction of a shelter to the labourers themselves while maybe pro-
viding a door, window, or some corrugated iron sheets to the labourers.
The walls are usually built from raw bricks and the floors are smeared
with dung.  The other farmer had housing built with baked bricks,
cement floors and corrugated iron roofs.  None of the houses ('strooise')
had electricity, running water or sewerage.  Of the workers interviewed,
one had a latrine pit at his house while the other three had no
toilet facilities whatsoever.  It is thus clear that,with one exception,
the monthly cost to the farmers of housing their labourers was very
low and probably did not exceed R6,00 per month.

## Wages:

### 2)   Income of Labourers:

The average monthly income of farm labourers in cash and kind is
calculated  in Appendix 2.   The principle adopted in calculating the
income is to determine the value of the payment in kind to the labourer.
In some cases it could be done directly such as the value of a bag
of mealie-meal  provided every month for the worker.  The value was
taken as the price the labourer would have to pay for a bag of mealie-
meal locally.  The only item not taken at market value was milk.
This is discussed below.  In other cases the income could not be found
directly such as the income earned from keeping cattle and sheep.   In
such cases the monthly income stream generated from owning a head
cattle or   sheep was calculated.  The same technique could un-
fortunately not be used for owning horses because they are kept for
transport purposes, usually for a trip into town by horse-cart.

With these assumptions and limitations the average monthly income (in-
cluding housing) of a farm labourer was found to be R56,03 per month.

(4)

One worker earned considerably more than the other two, earning
R86,54 per month. This was because he kept cattle and sheep and
received a sheep for slaughter monthly. Cash wages alone averaged
R8,00 per month. This means that R42,03, or 86% of income, was paid
in kind.

All three workers received generous quantities of milk ranging from
1½ to 2 gallons (6,75 to 9 litres) per day. If this were valued at
the market price of 26 cents per litre, it would have meant that workers
received an average R52,65 worth of milk per month! It is dubious,
in considering the expenditure patterns of Africans, that they would
buy such large quantities of milk at such high prices. For instance,
in Bloemfontein, which is 66 km. away from Dealesville, urban Africans
with monthly incomes of R104 to R125 purchase milk to the value of R5
per month.[1] At the market price for milk, the labourers' average income
would be R99,24. It would thus seem that a consumers' surplus existed
if milk prices were taken at market value. Consequently the same
price of milk was used for calculating farm labourers' income as was
used for calculating the farmers' costs of supplying milk. (See
Appendix 1, Note 4).

As can be seen from above, the wages of farm labourers, when considered
as income earned by the labourers, was R19,42 or 53% higher than when they
are considered as costs to the farmers. This is because the actual
costs to the farmers of many of the payments in kind are much lower
than the revenue these payments generate for the labourers.

The average income per capita for the families of the three workers was
R6,38 per month. This however, excluded the income received as
domestic workers from the wives of two of the labourers. If this
were included, the average per capita income for these two families
would go up by R2,79 per month.

Hours and Conditions of Work:

There is no doubt that farm labourers work long hours. In summer the
average number of weekly hours worked by labourers (according to the
farmers) was 62 hours while they worked 51½ hours per week in winter.

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[1] Bureau of Market Research, Report No. 50.1, Table 33 M.

They all worked 5½ days per week with milking duties about every
other Sunday.

None of the farm workers on all the farms received any paid leave
during the year.   The only holidays they get were the important festive
or religious holidays such as Christmas, Boxing Day, New Year's  Day
and  Good Friday.

The labourers were unanimous that most of their work was not demanding
except for ploughing which was both tough and long.   Usually they
ploughed round the clock in two shifts of 12 hours each, and they
maintained that ploughing was strenuous and physically very demanding
because the tractor vibrated.

In spite of that, three of the farmers provided no regularised bonus
scheme while one divided out amongst labourers 4% of all revenue from
any grain harvest.   One farmer gives a small reward (vergoedinkie').

## WORKER-FARMER  RELATIONS AND LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT:

One farmer put : forward the following suggestion an African labourer
would be working for one farmer and earn R20 a month, but then he would
decide he was not enjoying his stay.   As a result he would go and work
for another farmer for R8 per month.   Behind this suggestion was the idea
that farm labourers arbitrarily decided to move from one farmer to the other.

Interviews with the labourers revealed concrete reasons for their decisions.
Usually they decided to leave because they felt that they were not being
renumerated adequately or that the farmer was being unfair to them in one
way or another.

The labourers, before being interviewed, were assured that the interviews
were confidential.   Even though they had only my word for it, they did
voice some discontents with their present and particularly their past em-
ployment situations.

They approached farmers individually about their complaints.   None of the
labourers grouped together with other labourers on their farm to discuss
problems or negotiate for better wages.   Instead, they would put their
problems individually to farmers and wait for a response.   If the farmer
showed no sign of acceeding to their request, they left the farm and worked
for another farmer.   In fact, this seems to be the way in which farm

labourers resolved conflict between them and the farmers: they left
the farmer because they were powerless to obtain any concessions regarding
wages or working conditions from the farmer.

For these reasons the average length of time a labourer spent with a farmer
was not very long. The three labourers interviewed spent an average of
3-4 years in their previous jobs. There was however, considerable variation
in the duration of employment as Table 3 indicated.

TABLE 3.

DISTRIBUTION OF DURATION OF EMPLOYMENT OF ALL LABOURERS:

| CATEGORY | NUMBER | % |
|---|---|---|
| Less than 1 year | 6 | 21 |
| 1 - 5 years | 9 | 32 |
| 6 -10 years | 6 | 21 |
| More than 10 years | 5 | 18 |
| Born on farm | 2 | 7 |
| T O T A L | 28 | 100 [1]/ |

1/    Percentages do not add up to 100 because of rounding errors.

What is more, farm labourers chose to stay longer with farmers who paid
higher wages: 75% of the labour force of the best paying farmer had been
working for him for 6 years or longer whereas 67% of the labour force of
the lowest paying farmer had been working for him for 5 years or less. It
would thus appear that the labourers based their employment decisions on
sound economic criteria.

The labourers interviewed displayed very little regional mobility. They
had all been working for farmers in the Dealesville district with one or
two exceptions when they worked in the immediately adjoining Boshof or
Hertzogville district.

SEASONAL LABOUR:

Up to now the discussion has dealt exclusively with permanent labourers, i.e.
labourers employed all year round.

All the farmers interviewed with the exception of one also made use of
seasonal labour at both shearing and harvesting times. One farmer who
used to use seasonal labour for harvesting no longer did so. He used

combined harvesters instead.

The recruitment procedures for seasonal labourers had also undergone some changes. Most of the farmers used to recruit their labour directly from the Taung district in North-Eastern Cape. It is now part of Bophutha-tswana. Some recruitment also took place from a 'black spot' Blesbok-fontein, between Boshof and Hoopstad, and from Herschel in the Transkei.

Currently farmers still recruit their harvesters from Taung, but they obtain shearers through a commercial enterprise, Skeerdiens, in Bloemfontein. Farmers interviewed did not know where Skeerdiens obtained its labour from. Skeerdiens charged a flat rate of 6 cents per sheep for shearing and ½ cent per sheep for skirting and classifying. The average number of shearers employed each year by farmers was 10.

One farmer using seasonal labour for harvesting, employed about 25 on average. Their payment was 5 bags of maize ('agter die masjien') for every 100 bags harvested. This worked out at about R40 per seasonal labourer.

## MECHANISATION AND TRAINING

Farmers were asked what difference mechanisation did to their demand for labour. Interestingly, it appears that it has decreased the demand for some kinds of labourers while it increased the demand for others.

Mechanisation eliminated the demand for seasonal harvesting labour for one farmer. He used to employ 30 to 35 labourers in order to harvest the mealies, but with mechanisation his demand for them dropped away.

On the other hand some farmers maintained that mechanisation increased their demand for labour. Instances given were that ploughing with a team of donkeys required one labourer, but with a tractor two are required. Every combined harvester requires five labourers to measure out and sew up bags per shift. Working nightshift ten labourers are thus required per combined harvester.

Yet another farmer maintained that mechanisation would reduce labour and gave examples of a cultivator and earth turning machine for potatoes that reduced the demand for labour.

The picture was complicated further by a farmer pointing out that cattle and sheep farming could only be mechanised to a very limited extent.

No clear picture thus emerges whether mechanisation unambiguously reduced the demand for labour or not. It could have evened out the annual demand by lowering demand at peak harvest times. Furthermore, it could also have shifted the demand to different types of labour, in particular labour with a more mechanical ability, but not necessarily any training .

One thing that emerged very clearly was that the farmers interviewed had no demand for highly educated or specially trained labour. They generally did not know what educational standard their labourers had reached nor did they consider their education to make any impact on their ability. They generally learned by trial and error which jobs workers were more competent in performing.

## SUPPLY OF LABOUR

Farmers were asked whether there existed a shortage of labour in their district. They all agreed that there was a shortage although some put it more strongly than others. In spite of this, none of them were personally short of labour. They agreed that farmers requiring labour for milking all had difficulty because this entailed working on Sundays as well.

One farmer was particularly forthcoming about the supply of labour. He maintained that he knew of farmers who were desperately short of labour, but some of the accounts might be based on hearsay. On the other hand, he maintained that two farmers in the district were never short of labour. Upon probing a bit deeper it appeared that one was partial to Africans while the other had a great deal of land and that he allowed his labourers extensive ploughing rights. The implication clearly was that both these farmers paid their labourers more than other farmers did and therefore they were not short of labour.

A process was at work whereby farm labourers moved to the homelands, especially Witsieshoek, and from there they would go to work in the cities. It was even maintained that farm labourers would keep changing jobs from farm to farm that would get them closer and closer to the homeland. Then, when they were close enough, they would move into the homeland. The reason for this migration pattern was the cost of transport. A transport contractor in a nearby town, Bultfontein, was alleged to charge R50 to take a person to Witsieshoek. In spite of this, many Africans still made use of his services. On the other hand, there were probably many labourers who could not afford such a fare.

Although some farmers in the Dealesville district did make use of prison labour, none of the farmers interviewed did so. The prison labourers were first offenders from the Boshof prison, but they were not popular with other labourers.

A new aspect to the supply of labour was the fact that the mines became entitled to recruit labour in the farming areas and started doing so in the second half of 1975 in the Dealesville district.  It was too early to say what the impact of this was going to be, but it is clear that the farmers considered this to be some threat to their labour supply.

## CONTROL OF LABOUR

African farm labourers, like other African labourers, are subject to numerous controls.   There are controls over their movements and occupations by numerous authorities and various legislative Acts.   Investigations were conducted into the control exercised by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board and the Bantu Labour Control Board, on farm labourers in the district.

The Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1971 allows for the Minister to appoint members to regional Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, the staff members of which are seconded from the local authorities.   In the case of Dealesville an employee from the municipality was seconded.   In discussions with him he maintained it was the local Board's policy not to allow farm labourers to work in town.   When asked the reason for this he answered that the rural area would be emptied of labour since the Africans would all move to town.   He did not offer an explanation why they would want to move to town, but stated that the factor that limited the flow into the town most strongly was housing.   People could not come in unless there was housing available for them.   The Board did allow farm labourers to move from district to district with the necessary permission from the Board.   He also stated that farm labourers went to the homelands where they then obtained contracts for jobs in the urban areas.

A Bantu Labour Control Board may be set up under Bantu Labour Regulations by virtue of several enabling Acts including the Banty Labour Act of 1964.   In Dealesville the Bantu Labour Control Board was composed of three local farmers and the Magistrate.   One of the members of the Control Board was interviewed.

It was clear that they had given the supply of labour some consideration because the Board has drawn up regulations regarding the maximum number of labourers a farmer could employ.   Their schedule was based on questionnaires sent out to farmers and laid down the regulations regarding the maximum number of labourers a farmer may employ.   This is set out in Table 4.

Table 4 : Schedule of Employment Regulations by Bantu Labour Control Board

| Category of Work | No. of Labourers |
|---|---|
| Every 10 cows | 1 milker |
| Every 500 sheep | 1 shepherd |
| Every cattle or sheep station (e.g. a rented farm) | 1 or 2 herders depending on size : more than 1000 sheep allows 2 shepherds |
| Every tractor | 2 drivers per 200 morgen (171 ha) |
| Every planter | 2 labourers |
| Irrigation | 5 labourers for first 20 morgen (17,1 ha). Application required when irrigating more than 20 morgen |

The schedule is very generous and would, for instance, allow one farmer interviewed to employ 22 labourers in all whereas he managed with only 8 labourers.

When asked the reason for this schedule the Board member maintained that there were many "idlers" on the farms whose children were working. It was thus aimed to flush out unemployed adults on farms in the district.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the controls placed on farm labour is that farmers are afraid of losing their labour to employers in other industrial sectors. In order not to compete with them controls are placed on African farm labourers to "lock" them into the rural area where farmers could be assured of an adequate supply at the wage rates they were paying.

FARM SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL EDUCATION

There were farm schools on two of the farms where interviews were conducted. This provided an opportunity to get some information on education in the rural areas.

The one school had 47 students from Sub A up to Std. 2 taught by a female teacher with a Std. 8 qualification, but no further training. She did not know what she was earning because she had just started and had not been paid yet. The classroom was the front room of an old homestead and had good desks provided by the Department of Bantu Education, who also provided school books. The official

medium of instruction was Tswana although Sotho was also used. English and Afrikaans were also being taught so that the students would hear four languages in the course of one day.

The school on the other farm went up to Std. 4 and had an average of 65 students in 1975. Students were up to 16 years of age. According to regulation, students could not attend the school if they fell outside a radius of 4 miles (6,4 Km) from the School, but some of them walked up to 7 miles (11,2 Km) daily to get to the school. In January 1976 there were 91 students being taught by one teacher with a Std. 8 qualification obtained in Bloemfontein.

On the four farms where interviews were conducted an average of 3 to 4 children from each farm was attending school. The average number of children below the age of 18 on each farm was 19. Figures of about the same proportion were found for the farm labourers interviewed. Out of 6 children between the ages of 6 and 15, 2 were at school.

CONCLUSION

The average wage (in cash and kind) of farm workers in this small micro-study was found to be R36,61 when viewed as a cost to the farmers and R56,03 when looked upon as income received by the farm labourers. This compared unfavourably with wages in the urban industries and farmers in the Dealesville district were thus faced with the risk of losing their labourers. As a result, methods of legal and institutional control have been introduced to keep the African farm labourers on the rural areas.

From the labourers' point of view, the situation of some can be summarised by one worker's reply to the question whether he had ever thought of moving to a city. He replied, "Yes, but I don't know how to leave. The pass". Other farm labourers were alleged to go to a homeland where they could get contracts to work in the city.

It is also clear that farm labourers worked long hours with no annual leave other than the major holidays. They have no means at their disposal of solving problems at work other than looking elsewhere for employment. At present the farm labourer required no special education or training to do his job.

Taking all these factors into consideration, many farm labourers in Dealesville can be expected to find their way to the cities unless farmers raise their

wages to make them competitive with urban wages.

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REFERENCES:

Bureau of Market Research, Income and Expenditure Patterns of Multiple Bantu Households in White Rural Areas (Bethal/Viljoenskroon Survey). Research Report No. 31, (University of South Africa, 1972).

Bureau of Market Research, Income and Expenditure Patterns of Urban Black Households in Bloemfontein, Research Report No. 50.1, (University of South Africa, 1976).

APPENDIX 1

## MONTHLY WAGES IN CASH AND KIND (AS A COST TO THE FARMERS)

| Item | FARMER 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | Average |
|------|------|------|------|------|---------|
| Cash | 6-00 | 6-00 | 10-00 | 10-00 | 8-00 |
| Maize | 8-33[1] | 2-72[2] | | | |
| Wheat | 5-84[1] | | | | |
| Mealie Meal[3] or Coarse Meal [3] | 4-00 | 4-50 | 3-00 | 5-95 | 4-36 |
| Sugar,Tea & Coffee[3] | 1-20 | 1-00 | 1-20 | 1-75 | |
| Milk [4] | 7-69 | 4-05 | 14-40 | 7-62 | 8-44 |
| Meat [5] | 12-50 | 3-00 | | 6-25 | 5-44 |
| Fruit [6] | | | | | |
| Vegetables [6] | | | | | |
| Cattle [7] | 2-53 | | | | |
| Sheep [7] | 2-06 | | | | |
| Insemination [8] | 1-67 | | | | |
| Horses [7] | 2-25 | 3,60 | 1-80 | | |
| Clothes [9] | 1-67 | 1-67 | 2-00 | -92 | |
| Bonus [10] | | | | 1-25 | |
| Other | | - 40 | | -36 | |
| TOTAL | 55-74 | 24-22 | 33-65 | 32-85 | 36-61 |

NOTES ON CALCULATIONS

1. Maize and Wheat

   4% of revenue from sale of grain.

2. Maize

   Cost of cultivating the maize to the farmer, i.e. the cost of seed, fertiliser, diesel fuel and depreciation. These added up to R23 per morgen (R26,86 per ha).

3. Mealie-Meal,etc.

   Estimated cost to themselves by the farmers.

4. Milk

   Revenue foregone by farmer as estimated by Grootfontein, Middelburg :

   Estimates are : 2 cents per litre for skimmed milk, 10 cents per litre for full-cream milk. When unclear whether milk was skimmed or not, a one-to-one ratio between skimmed and full cream was assumed.

5. **Meat.**

   Revenue foregone by Farmer.   Local price of a sheep approximately
   R25,00.

6. **Fruit and Vegetables**

   Although labourers were liberally supplied with fresh fruit and vegetables
   these always seemed to be surpluses to the farmer.   Hence there was no
   cost in allowing labourers to help themselves to fruit and vegetables.

7. **Livestock**

   Cost to farmer was assumed to be reflected in grazing fees.   These were on
   Beaufort West's common grazing, 30 cents per month for small stock (sheep)
   and R1,80 per month for large stock (cattle and horses).

8. **Insemination**

   The cost to the farmer of artificial insemination of a cow that calves
   annually.

9. **Clothes**

   Money spent on clothing by farmers.   Estimated by me on 2 occasions.

10. **Bonus**

   Christmas R5,00   Harvest R10,00

* * * * * * *

APPENDIX 2

MONTHLY WAGES IN CASH AND KIND (AS INCOME RECEIVED BY LABOURERS)

| Item | LABOURER [1] | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | Average |
| Cash | 6-00 | 6-00 | 12-00 | 8-00 |
| Maize | 5-21 | 9-73 [2] | | |
| Wheat | | | | |
| Mealie-Meal or Coarse Meal | | 4-50 | 2-98 [3] | |
| Sugar, Tea & Coffee | | 1-00 | 1-20 | |
| Milk [4] | 7-69 | 4-05 | 14-40 | 8-71 |
| Meat [5] | 25-00 | 3-00 | 3-00 | 10-33 |
| Fruit & Vegetables [6] | 6-00 | 6-00 | 6-00 | 6-00 |
| Cattle [7] | 11-00 | | | |
| Sheep [7] | 15-62 | | | |
| Insemination [8] | | | | |
| Horses [9] | 5-40 | | 1-80 | |
| Clothes [10] | 1-67 | | | |
| Bonus | | | | |
| Housing [11] | 2-95 | 2-95 | 2-95 | 2-95 |
| TOTAL | 86-54 | 37-23 | 44-33 | 56-03 |

NOTES ON CALCULATIONS

1. Labourer

   Labourer 1 works for Farmer 1, and so on.

2. Maize

   Number of bags harvested X selling price of 1 bag = 28 x 4,17 rand per annum = R9,73 per month.

3. Mealie-Meal

   Purchasing price of mealie-meal = R5,95 per 80 kg. bag.

4. Milk

   Calculated in exactly the same way as in Appendix 1.  See main text for reason why this was done instead of taking market price of milk.

5. Meat

   Local price of mutton.  A sheep sold for about R25 at the butcher's shop.

## 6. Fruit and Vegetables

It was impossible to estimate the value of fruit and vegetables consumed by farm labourers and their families. As a result, the monthly expenditure by urban Africans in Bloemfontein on fruit, nuts and vegetables were used as a substitute. (Reference : Bureau for Market Research, Report No. 50.1, Tables 34M and 35M for income group earning between R500 to R750 per annum). This probably underestimates the value of fruit and vegetables.

## 7. Livestock

The monthly income was calculated from the total revenue received over the lifetime of a head of cattle or a sheep. This was done as follows:

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text{Ratio of cows to oxen} &= 2:1 \\
\text{Lifetime of ox} &= 1 \text{ year} \\
\text{Lifetime of cow} &= 8 \text{ years} \\
\text{Market price of ox} &= \text{R90} \\
\text{Market Price of cow} &= \text{R145} \\
\text{Monthly income per head of cattle} &= \frac{1}{12} \left( \frac{2 \times 90/1 + 1 \times 145/8}{3} \right) \text{rand} \\
&= \text{R5,50}
\end{aligned}
$$

Since the labourer already appeared to receive more than sufficient milk for his and his family's needs, the value of milk was not included.

### Sheep(at local prices)

Some sheep are kept for three years before being sold, while lambs are slaughtered at six months. Assumed ratio of sheep kept for 3 years to slaughtered lambs = 4:1.

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text{Selling price of sheep} &= \text{R19} \\
\text{Value of wool clip per sheep} &= \text{R4,50 per annum} \\
\text{Price of hide} &= \text{R2,50} \\
\text{Monthly income per sheep} &= \frac{1}{12} \left( \frac{19}{1/5(3 \times 4 + 0,5 \times 1)} + 4,50 + 2 \times 2,50 \right) \\
&= \frac{1}{12} (7,60 + 4,50 + 5,00) \text{ rand} \\
&= \text{R1,42}
\end{aligned}
$$

## 8. Insemination

The value of insemination is already counted in the income received from cattle.

## 9. Horses

The nearest approximation of the value of a horse to a farm labourer that would be found was the cost of grazing a horse.

## 10. Clothes

The price of the labourer would have to pay for the clothes.

## 11. Housing

The value of housing was assumed to be comparable to the rent spent on housing by Africans in the Viljoenskroon area. (Reference : Bureau of Market Research, Report No. 31, Table A28).
Housing expenditure was found to be R2,27 per month in 1972.