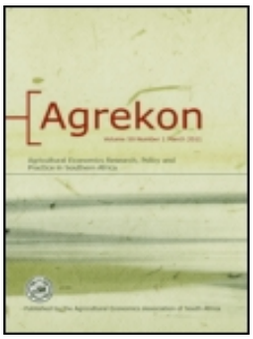

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FARMERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPACT OF LEGISLATION ON FARM WORKERS' WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS: AN EASTERN CAPE CASE STUDY

T. Roberts* and G.G. Antrobus**

ABSTRACT

The status of South African farm workers has changed significantly over the past five decades. Using data from three major surveys conducted between 1957 and 2008, an Eastern Cape district was used as a case study to assess farmers' perceptions of the changes that had occurred, particularly as a result of legislation. Considering the changes, the impacts on the farm labour market and wage and non-wage working conditions are analysed. The legislation focused on includes the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 (ESTA) of 1997, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 (BCEA) of 1997 and minimum wage legislation. Farmers believed legislation had both positive and negative effects, which were compounded by changes in the political and economic contexts. The case study reveals that government has a role in improving the status of farm labourers, with education and healthcare services requiring special attention. However, caution is needed to ensure that further reductions in farm employment are restricted.

Keywords: labour legislation, farm labour, conditions of service, wages

JEL Classification: J43

1. INTRODUCTION

The agricultural sector has played and continues to play an important role in South Africa, as in the economies of many other countries, not only as a means of food security but also because of the opportunities for employment it offers. In South Africa, however, agriculture has shed labour, especially over the past 50 years: the number of labourers (regular and casual) employed in 2007 was only 60 per cent

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of the number employed in 1960 (StatsSA, 2005, in Sparrow *et al.*, 2008:54; and StatsSA, 2009).

The progressive decline in labour, however, was an occurrence not isolated to South Africa, but evident the world over (Conradie, 2005:138). For example, France, with Europe's largest agricultural sector, saw a decline from half of the active population working in agriculture at the beginning of the 20th century to less than 3 per cent of the national workforce by 2010. Crumley and D'Arberoue (2010) suggested that the reasons for the shedding of 4 million jobs in the French agricultural sector over the past 40 years included an increase in efficiency and globalisation, which resulted in a price-cost squeeze. Consequently, 26.4 per cent of French farmers are classified as "poor". South Africa's commercial farming sector experienced a decline from employing 30 per cent of the economically active population in 1970 to only 8.8 per cent by 2007 (StatsSA, 2007). Atkinson (2009:53), however, attributed the substantial change in the demand for South African farm labour in the 1970s to an increase in mechanisation.

Over the past century, changes in political interests and economic fortunes in the South African commercial farming sector have significantly changed the status and situation of farm workers (Atkinson, 2007:2). The farm-labour market was governed by common law until the early 1990s. Thereafter the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 (ESTA) of 1997 was introduced and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 (BCEA) of 1997 was extended to include the agricultural sector (Creamer Media, 1997). Minimum-wage legislation was introduced in 2002 through a Sectoral Determination for the Farm Worker Sector (in terms of the BCEA 75 of 1997), which was effective from March 2003 (Department of Labour, 2002). In anticipation of minimum wage legislation, a concern raised by Newman *et al.* (1997: 83) was that further job losses would be evident in the commercial farming sector.

This paper aims to assess the impact of legislation in the farm labour market in South Africa by means of a case study of the Albany district in the Eastern Cape. The reason for choosing this district was that data was available on farm wages and working conditions, collected over a 51-year period (1957–2008), using research by Roberts (1957), Antrobus (1984) and supplemented by a 2008 survey. No other farming district in South Africa has had this type of longitudinal data available for assessing the changes in farm labour, which makes it unique as a case study.

2. BACKGROUND

Vink (2001:60) found evidence that most farm workers lived in both absolute and relative poverty and the need for policy intervention was required. He recommended minimum wage legislation be introduced to improve the working and living conditions, and simultaneously reduce the precarious position of farm

workers. In support of government intervention, Kassier *et al.* (2003:7) noted that farm workers needed protection as they were the "lowest paid and most marginalised workers in South Africa. Furthermore, evidence was presented by Vink (2001:128) that the agricultural sector was financially able to support the minimum wage.

Contradictory views have been expressed as to whether legislation has improved the plight of farm workers, however, authors agreed that an improvement in the living and working conditions of farm employees was necessary (Vink 2001; Kassier *et al.*, 2003; Conradie 2005 and Atkinson, 2007). Atkinson (2007:4) was of the opinion that the recent social and economic problems facing farm workers were multifaceted and a result of "colonialism, segregation, apartheid, capitalist development, and post-apartheid development thinking". In research on farm labourers in the arid and semi-arid pastoral regions of the southern Free State and Karoo, she concluded that "most farm workers' circumstances … worsened". Atkinson (2007:4) argued that the attempts by the post-apartheid government to improve the livelihoods of farm workers were based on a lack of understanding of the long-term underlying forces, which formed the pressures on farm labourers and their families. In addition, Atkinson (2007:6) described post-apartheid developments in the farm labour market as "distressing". These include an increasing rate of job losses; accelerating rural-urban migration that resulted in burgeoning informal settlement around towns and cities; the very slow rate of land redistribution, especially to ex-farm workers; increasing pressure on communal agricultural land, particularly municipal commonages; a lack of synchronisation among government departments about policies and programmes aimed at the rural poor of whom farm workers form a part; and a scarcity of formal agricultural training. Atkinson (2007:6) also believed that there was a "fundamental lack of capacity of most district and local municipalities to deliver services at all to farm workers".

On the issue of job losses in the agricultural sector, Conradie (2005:139), who researched the Western Cape farm labour market, argued that, *per se*, new legislation, such as minimum wage laws does not create unemployment. Elasticity of labour demand for regular workers (which is industry specific) was emphasised as a factor that contributed to the extent of dis-employment. Conradie (2005:150) found that the demand for labour was marginally inelastic on table-grape farms (-0.59) and wine-grape farms (-0.33). Conradie (2005:151) therefore concluded that the low wage elasticities noted was "good news" for the labourers on grape farms as they stood to gain from "higher minimum wages without facing proportional dis-employment, at least in the short-run". Minimum wages could therefore lift more workers out of poverty in the wine- and table-grape industries, compared with a labour market where the demand was more elastic.

However, following the introduction of new labour legislation, Sparrow *et al.* (2008:52) noted a marked increase in the responsiveness of changes in labour demand to changes in wages. They estimated the long-run price (wage) elasticity of demand for regular farm labour in South Africa, 1960–1990, to be -0.25, but -1.32 for the period 1991–2002. The increase in (demand) elasticity was attributed to increasing labour costs (wage, transaction and risk costs) as a result of government intervention. Furthermore, Sparrow *et al.* (2008:71) found "chemicals and machinery and equipment as technical substitutes for regular farm labour". The extent to which job losses occurred, however, was also dependent on the degree to which commercial farmers had already discounted anticipated further real cost increases.

Lewis *et al* (1996:69) attributed the decline of 20 per cent in employment of farm workers, between 1979 and 1994 to the subsidising of credit and capital for white farmers. This decline occurred during a period in which the farm labour market was free from legislation. However, Murray and Van Walbeek (2007:129), who conducted research on farmers in the sugar cane industry in South Africa, emphasised that the cost of legislation to farm labourers included further job shedding in the form of not replacing regular workers who left a farmer's employ.

Another factor identified by Simbi and Aliber (2000:3), Bhorat and Van Walbeek, (2007: 116) and Naidoo *et al.* (2007: 25) as contributing to the decrease in employment was increased casualisation of the labour force. The shift away from a largely permanent work force to a larger proportion of casual employees across most economic sectors of South Africa was both significant and rapid. The problem with casualisation, according to Kritzinger *et al.* (2004: 17), was not so much that it lowered the income of farm workers, but that it increased "the precariousness of their existence". Casual workers were found to command lower wages, incur lower transaction costs and expose farmers to less risk and industrial action and/or claims for land restitution (Sparrow *et al.*, 2008: 71). According to Murray and Van Walbeek (2007:116) and Naidoo *et al.* (2007:25), casualisation occurred mainly as a consequence of new labour legislation. Naidoo *et al.* (2007:25) concluded that "farmers seem able to absorb rising wage costs through selective compliance, work intensification, increased deductions and a strategic use of female and casual labour". However, Conradie (2007:173) argued that labour market reform was not responsible for increases in casualisation, but noted, contrarily, that the ESTA of 1997 had resulted in the employment status of women farm workers being changed from temporary to permanent.

Conradie (2007:188) found that ESTA was perceived by farmers as the labourers' life- right to the land and therefore moved towards capping the number of worker families residing on a farm. This meant that instead of employing a man permanently to replace a worker who left employment, or in a minority of

cases (less than 25 per cent) to expand the workforce who would require housing, farmers opted rather to change the employment status of an existing resident casual or temporary female worker to permanent.

Marcus (1989: 128) found that payments in kind were the base and most prevalent form of remuneration for South African agricultural workers, with six agricultural districts having in-kind payments making up between 46 per cent and 66 per cent of the monthly remuneration of "full-time" black farm workers. In-kind payments included rations such as maize meal, bread flour, slaughter animals, meat, fish, milk, wine, bread, coffee, sugar, tobacco, clothing, shoes, transport, housing, medicine provided to farm workers and medical expenses paid on their behalf (Vink, 2001:37). Wilson and Ramphele (1989:60) found that traditionally (a generation previously) the amount which farm workers received as cash payments varied between region and farm from less than 33 per cent to 75 per cent or more of total remuneration. Furthermore, it was noted that a greater proportion of remuneration on farms has over the years been paid directly in cash, although housing, rations, and in some parts of the country, arable and grazing rights, remained an important part of remuneration. Murray and Van Walbeek (2007:129) suggested that new labour legislation, particularly the requirement of minimum wages, would result in even fewer payments in kind being made. Furthermore, a direct incentive to decrease payments in kind was provided as a consequence of the Sectoral Determination (2002), which stipulated that employers were permitted to deduct a maximum of 10 per cent of a farm employee's wage for both housing and food supplied (Naidoo *et al.*, 2007:30). It was expected by the proponents of the legislation that, by restructuring the portion of remuneration that was paid in kind, it would bring cash earnings of farm workers in line with those in towns.

Naidoo *et al.* (2007: 36), on the other hand, believed that payments in kind frequently were a precious resource for workers. For example, a guaranteed bag of maize provided an inflation-proof form of income and, given the country's housing shortage, on-premises accommodation was valuable. However, payments in kind tend to perpetuate paternalistic relations and bind the employee to the employer. The loss of a job could thus mean the loss of accommodation as well. Lewis *et al.* (1996:70), who favoured a relationship based solely on monetary remuneration, strongly supported phasing out payments in kind.

While standard economic theory predicts the impact of minimum wages on employment, the impact of legislation such as ESTA of 1997 and additional BCEA of 1997 requirements are ambiguous. Vink and Tregurtha (2003:49) pointed out that there have been arguments among economists about whether minimum wage legislation results in improved efficiency or reduces employment or poverty. In a survey of economists, Kearl *et al.* (1979, in Vink and Tregurtha, 2003:49), found that with reference to the statement, "A minimum wage increases unemployment

among young and unskilled workers", 68 per cent agreed, 22 per cent agreed but with provisions, and 10 per cent disagreed. Vink and Tregurtha (2003:49) concluded that the effect of a minimum wage will depend on the purpose for which it is intended. In addition, a range of macroeconomic considerations affect the impact of legislation. With regard to the impact of minimum wage legislation on farm workers in South Africa, the conclusion reached was that "even though the agricultural sector is shedding labour, every indication is that farm workers will remain amongst the poorest formal sector employees in the country in the absence of State intervention" (Vink and Tregurtha, 2003:49). In addition it was noted that the extent of the positive intended benefits from state intervention may be more than offset by the considerable potential for creating adverse effects, especially among the most vulnerable (unskilled) farm workers (Vink and Tregurtha, 2003).

3. METHOD

In assessing changes that occurred in the Albany district, data was used from surveys conducted by Roberts (1957) and Antrobus (1984) in 1957 and 1977, respectively, on farm wages and working conditions in the district, in conjunction with data collected by means of face-to-face interviews conducted in 2008 with 40 farmers in the district. The 2008 sample comprised, firstly, four farmers or their sons who had been interviewed in the previous studies (1957 and 1977); secondly, the owners of five farms previously included but which had subsequently changed hands; and finally a further 31 farmers, using what Roberts (1957) termed a "common sense approach" to the selection of interviewees to give equal representation of the five farming sub-regions , within the district presented in Figure 1. The sample of 40 farmers comprised 26 in Lower Albany – a mainly semi-intensive farming region – and 14 in Upper Albany, which is devoted almost exclusively to extensive livestock farming.

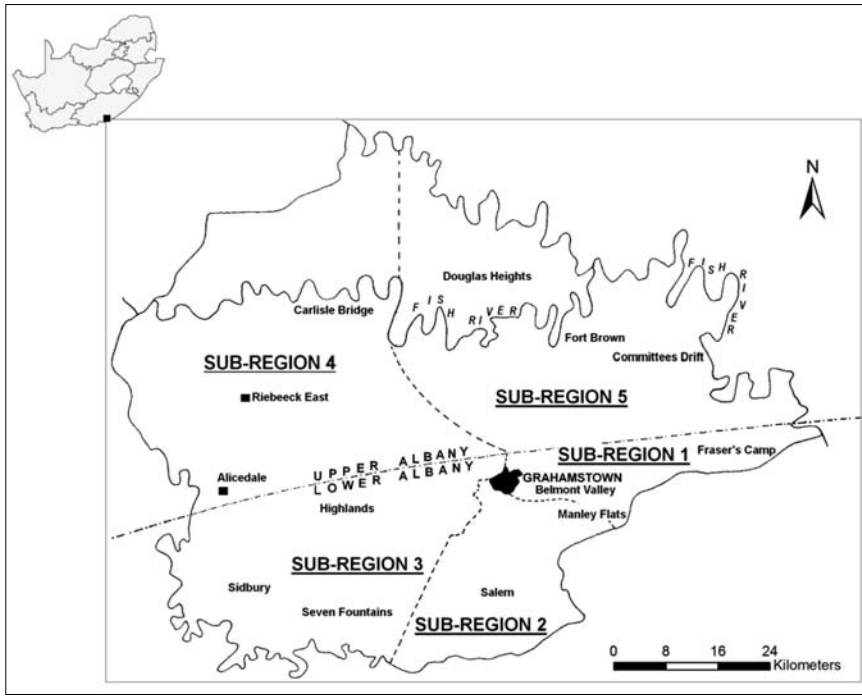

Figure 1: =Albany district located in the Eastern Cape, South Africa
Source: Antrobus, 1984

The farms in the sample varied significantly in size: those in the extensive, drier Upper Albany were about twice the size (2 893ha) of those in the better watered Lower Albany (1 436ha). Two-thirds of the farms in Lower Albany were between 1 001 and 2 000ha, the largest being 3 693ha, while the largest in Upper Albany was 10 400ha.

The main types of farming identified in the survey were "stock", "game-reserve", "game-hunting", "dairy" and "crop". This categorisation was based mainly on the proportion of income derived from the dominant enterprise ("stock" farmers, for example, were those for whom more than 50 per cent of income was derived from extensive domestic livestock, that is, excluding dairy cattle. "Dairy" signified farmers for whom more than 50 per cent of income came from producing dairy products, while "crop" indicated income of more than 50 per cent from horticulture and/or field crops). A clear distinction is necessary between "game-reserve" and "game-hunting" farms. The "game-reserve" farmers included a group of three farmers who were part of a larger joint conservation venture. Each farmer

had a lodge on the part of the reserve they owned. Although a majority of the land of the "game-reserve" farms was used for stock farming, the profit generated from tourism as a result of the lodges was significantly greater; their owners are thus classified as "game-reserve" farmers. The "game-hunting" farmers, however, derived the majority of their income from hunting and breeding game.

A majority of the Albany farmers interviewed in 1957, 1977 and 2008 were stock farmers, which illustrates that the district was and still is mainly a livestock farming area. However, since the late 1970s, there has been a movement towards game farming, hunting establishments and an increase in private game reserves (PGRs), a change which accelerated in the 1990s with the establishment of Shamwari Private Game Reserve in 1992, consisting of approximately 25 000ha. Although no public or private game reserves were included in the 2008 survey, "game-hunting" and "game-reserve" farmers were, since a majority of their land remained in use for commercial agriculture, even though it did not always bring in the major proportion of their income. A movement to "game-hunting" and "game-reserve" farming was evident: there were no fully operational game farmers in the 1950s and 1970s, although a few livestock farmers had game as a side line (Roberts, 1958 and Antrobus, 1984).

The 2008 survey used the 1957 and 1977 questionnaires as a base, but adjustments were made to ensure that the survey was relevant to what was happening in the 2008 farm-labour market. Considering that the legislation concerning farm labour had changed significantly since the research was conducted by Antrobus (1984) and Roberts (1958), the questionnaire had to be adjusted to take the changes into account. The questionnaire focused on obtaining information on the physical information concerning the farming operation, mechanisation, farm population and employment, cash wages and payments in kind, conditions of service, housing, education, training, recreation, and health, as well as attitudes and farmers' perceptions. The questions aimed to establish an overall picture and did not focus only on one aspect of farm labour, and as a result risk suffering from being too narrow and inaccurate. Questions on farm employment distinguished between regular and casual/seasonal labour. Labour turnover was also interrogated. Questions on wage earnings were split according to skill level, responsibility, employment status and gender. Farmers were given the opportunity throughout the interview to provide additional qualitative data.

With regard to farm population, the number of children was given as an approximation where there was a large number of residents, as the farmers were not entirely sure how many there were at any one time. With children boarding in town to attend school, this number also varied significantly during different periods of the year. Also, in the case of wages and payments in kind, which differed from worker to worker, information was given for the labour force as a whole

or as an average per labourer. Because the farm workers were not interviewed, answers could not be cross-checked and the values given by the farmers were assumed to be correct, but it is acknowledged that farmers have an incentive to provide answers which align with the requirements of the farm labour legislation. To further assess the impact of farm labour legislation, the workers perspectives could add significantly to verify the final results. The findings of the case studies are presented next.

4. RESULTS

As with the changes that took place over the 20-year period, 1957–1977, the changes over the more recent period were similarly explicable in terms of the maximising behaviour predictable from the micro-economic theory of the farm. This was explained by Antrobus (1984:230) as follows: "[P]rofits (net income) will determine the product mix (enterprise combinations) and output (production) levels of rational decision-makers (farmers)." What is investigated in this paper, however, is the role that legislation played in these profit-maximising decisions or how it impacted on them.

The main changes identified from the surveys in the Albany district over the period 1957–2008 include: a decline in total agricultural area and the number of farms, an increase in average farm size, an increase in extensive farming and a simultaneous decline in intensive farming, an increasing price-cost squeeze experienced by farmers, an increase in capital investment and the introduction of farm labour legislation. The reasons for and impacts of the changes, particularly on farm labour demand and supply, wages and non-wage working conditions, are discussed next.

4.1. Factors impacting on farming in the Albany district, 1957–2008

Changes in farm size and the number of farms

From the agricultural censuses, 1956–2002, it was observed that the number of farm holdings in the Albany district decreased and farm sizes doubled, as seen in Table 1. Furthermore (as mentioned above), a change in land use occurred over the 1957 to 2007 period with a decline in the commercial farming area from 416 000ha to 286 850ha, mainly as a result of the establishment of public and private game reserves since the 1970s (the Great Fish River, Shamwari, Kwandwe, and Pumba game reserves). In 2007, of the 437 600ha demarcated to the Albany magisterial district, only 286 850ha (65 per cent) were used for commercial agriculture; the

remaining areas were accounted for by state and private game parks (140 765ha) and towns (9 986ha) (Bekker, 2009).

As seen in Table 1, the number of farms decreased from 475 in 1956 to 165 in 2002 (Antrobus, 1984;; Antrobus and Antrobus, 2008:41), which constitutes a 65 per cent decline. It may be concluded that economies of scale were at work: as smaller farms became no longer viable, so larger landowners increased their farming enterprises to remain profitable. Also, some smaller farms were bought by PGRs.

Table 1: Number of farms and average size in Albany, 1956 to 2002.

Year	Holdings	Total area ('000 ha)	Censuses: average size (ha)	Survey: average size (ha) (ha)
1956	475	416	876	-
1976-77	358	456	1 275	1 315
1988	287	388	1 351	-
1993	281	397	1 413	-
2002	165	287*	1 738**	1 946***

Source: Agricultural Censuses, 1976, 1988 and 2002; Antrobus, 1984; Sample survey, 2008 and Bekker, 2009

Note: * 2007 figure (Bekker, 2009) ** Calculation based on 2002 number of holdings figure and 2007 total Albany agricultural commercial land figure (Bekker, 2009). *** 2008 Albany survey.

Calculations from the labour surveys by Antrobus (1984; 2008) revealed an increase in the average farm size from 1 315ha in 1977 and to 1 946ha in 2008. The trend towards increasing farm sizes evident from the censuses was thus confirmed by the surveys, with a "bias" in the surveys towards larger farms indicated by the discrepancy between the average farm sizes shown by survey and census.

Changes in the relative importance of crop versus livestock farming

The importance of different horticulture and field crops and types of livestock farming has varied through the years for many reasons, most of which were linked to profitability. In essence there has been an increase in the relative importance of livestock farming, as a result of a decrease in crop production (Agricultural Census, 1957; 1976; 2002).

Crop farming, which consists of both field and horticultural crops, experienced a decrease in total area planted, with a 33 per cent reduction evident between 1957 and 1976, and a substantial decline of 69 per cent between 1976 and 2002,

as illustrated in Figure 2. Field crops, in particular, suffered a marked decline between 1976 and 2002 – a period before minimum wages were implemented. Pineapples, which were dominant in the area, continued to be the most important single crop, although on a much smaller scale. A Salem farmer observed: "Hardly anyone ploughs and plants any more, due to the high costs involved, whereas in the past almost everyone used to produce crops, even if on a small scale. It is just no longer profitable." The decline in cropping was noteworthy in that it reduced labour requirements.

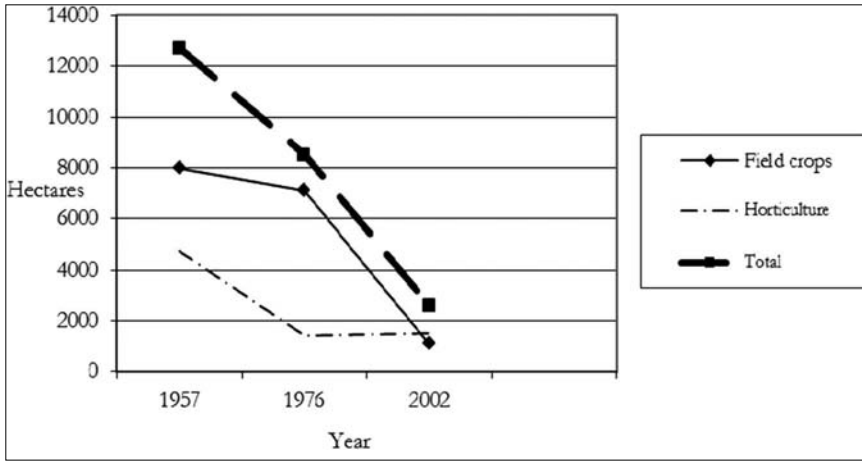

Figure 2: Area devoted to crops in Albany 1957, 1976 and 2002
Source: Agricultural census, 1957, 1976 and 2002

On livestock farming, Antrobus (1984:234) noted an increase from 1957 to 1976 in dairy cattle, angora goats and boergoats, and a decline in beef cattle and mutton and wooled sheep, as seen in Table 2. Considering the percentage contribution to gross income in 2002, it is evident that cattle farming contributed the most in 2002, with dairy being predominant.

Table 2: The importance of livestock types in Albany by percentage of stock units in 1957 and 1976, contribution to gross income in 2002, and percentage of farmers surveyed in 2008.

Livestock	Stock units		Gross income**	Survey of farmers ***
Year	1957	1976	2002	2008
CATTLE*	46	46	47	64
Dairy	24	32	33	20
Beef	22	14	14	44
SMALL STOCK	50	52	26	24
Mutton & Woolled sheep	44	36	17	20
Angora & Boergoats	6	16	9	4
OTHER ANIMALS	4	2	27	12

Note: * Converted to small stock equivalents. ** Percentage contribution to gross income. *** Percentage of the livestock farmers interviewed in 2008 who were classified as cattle, small stock or other (game) farmers

Source: StatsSA, 2006 and Antrobus, 1984:234.

From Table 2 it is evident that in 2002 "other animals", including ostriches, game, chickens, pigs and horses contributed approximately the same amount to gross income in Albany as small stock. This is noteworthy since in the past small stock numbers constituted a greater proportion and would therefore have been expected to contribute more. This was attributable mainly to the increase in PGRs and game farmers. A comparison between the percentages of stock units to percentage contribution to gross income needs to be made with due caution, but it does illustrate the importance of the different livestock types in each year.

The 2008 survey results, presented in Table 2, illustrate the importance of cattle farming in the area (particularly beef) with 64 per cent of livestock farmers interviewed being either beef or dairy cattle farmers (that is, they derived 50 per cent or more of their income from beef or dairy cattle). Farmers reported on the recent greater attractiveness of farming with beef cattle as, compared with sheep, goats, crops, dairy or tourism, it was less labour intensive. Game hunting was the only kind of farming in Albany that was more extensive than beef. Besides the lower labour costs and management intensity involved in producing beef, it also reduced the risk of a decline in profitability due to increasing input costs, such as the costs of fuel, machinery and fertilizer, over which crop farmers had no control. In addition, the increase of PGRs, and the consequent increase in predators to

which small stock were prey, as well as a high incidence of stock theft in the district, made sheep and goats less attractive and contributed to the decline in their importance. It was furthermore noted by Antrobus and Antrobus (2008:43) that during 2002 predators accounted for losses of R878 000 and stock theft for R1 184 000. Together these amounted to approximately 3 per cent of gross farming income from livestock in the district. The comment by a Manley Flats farmer, "I only want to farm with cattle now as the costs are too high to plant crops, and sheep and goats are prey to jackal and easy to steal", illustrates the significance of these exogenous factors on production decisions. Another farmer explained with wry amusement that: "Sheep and goats are now known as 'takeaways' as they are so easy to steal and provide a nice meal." As with the decline in crop farming, the movement to less extensive beef farming had a negative impact on the employment of farm workers as it reduced the labour requirement per farm.

As already noted, since the 1950s and 1970s, there has been a shift in land use in the Albany district towards PGRs and game farms (including those involved in hunting, breeding and conservation). A study of seven PGRs in the Eastern Cape, by Sims-Castley *et al.* (2004 quoted by TB Network, 2005), found that the reserves generated an income of R2 000/ha, as opposed to the R100/ha of livestock farms. These reserves created 3.5 times more jobs than the previous livestock operations, and paid on average 5.7 times higher wages than livestock farmers. In addition, staff on such farms received additional employment benefits not typically available to farm labourers, including extensive skills training, which made working there an attractive alternative to working on commercial farms. Eco-tourism and game-reserve farming are hence attractive land use alternatives to commercial livestock farming: from the perspective of rural employment, therefore, PGRs have had a positive impact (TB Network, 2005).

Table 3 below illustrates how changing from crop to stock farming drastically reduces the labour requirement on a farm. From the 2008 survey it was evident that crop and dairy farmers in Albany employed, respectively, 17 and 11.2 full-time labourers per 1 000 hectares. Stock, game-reserve and game-hunting farms, by comparison, employed only two and a half, three and one per 1 000 hectares, respectively. The number of labour days worked by casual employees was also much higher on the more intensive crop and dairy farms. It is important to recognise that the game-reserve farmers interviewed used a majority of their land for stock farming, with only a small area being part of the reserve. The labour requirement for game reserves is therefore expected to be higher than this finding.

Table 3: Full-time and casual (number of labour days worked by casual labour) labour force per thousand hectares in the Albany district per farming classification, 2008

Employment Status	Stock	Game-reserve	Game-hunting	Dairy	Crop
Full-time	2.5	3	1	11.2	17
Casuals	125	41.9	48	311	3719

Source: Sample survey, 2008.

Changes in capital investment

Antrobus (1984:236) illustrated that from 1957 to 1977 more capital-intensive farming production methods were used through an increase in machinery, equipment and fixed improvements (such as fences), which had the potential to displace labour. It is not possible to compare accurately the change in capital investment in 2008 with the previous studies, but 85 per cent of farmers said that their labour requirements had declined or remained constant over the previous 10 years. Mechanisation, new farming innovations (such as spray tickicides) and farm developments (smaller grazing camps) were ways in which this was achieved, despite expanding farming enterprises. The majority of crop farmers also stated that they had increased labour productivity through mechanisation. Atkinson (2007:2) found that South Africa was following the global trend of mechanisation and modernisation, displacing labour in response to relative changes in factor costs. It would appear that the same trend was being repeated in the Albany district.

In 2008, as a result of providing tourist accommodation, game-reserve farmers had the highest average capital investment. Interviews with three farmers with fully operational lodges revealed that they had made an average capital investment of R18.3 million, equivalent to R11 329/ha. The Albany district average, including all forty sample farmers, was R15.1 million or R8 678/ha. Thus, although accommodating tourists might be more profitable and had the ability to create employment, it required a significantly increased input of capital per hectare, which many could not afford.

Changes in legislation

Farmers maintained that the BCEA of 1997 increased transaction costs (the time and effort taken to comply with the various requirements, particularly additional record keeping) and the ESTA of 1997 increased the risk of unwanted residents securing land tenure on the farm. Ways and means of working around the prescribed laws found by farmers included reducing payments in kind to decrease

labour costs, employing casual as opposed to regular labour to decrease transaction costs, and limiting the number of farm residents by employing workers who were resident elsewhere.

Farmers were asked whether the impacts of government intervention were perceived as positive or negative and why. As presented in Table 4, farmers generally believed minimum wage laws to have negative or mixed impacts on themselves. Farmers' opinions were, however, that workers found the minimum wage legislation to be positive or had mixed consequences. No farmers considered the ESTA of 1997 to be positive, while only 5 per cent of the farmers assumed that their labourers believed it to be negative.

Table 4: Farmers' perceptions of the impact of minimum wage legislation (MWL) and the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) of 1997 on both farmer and farm worker.

Legislation impact	MWL		ESTA	
Percentage	Farmer	Worker	Farmer	Worker
Positive	15	40	0	51
Negative	32.5	15	56	5
Mixed	52.5	45	44	44
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Sample survey, 2008

Positive feedback from 15 per cent of the farmers about minimum-wage legislation was based on the notion that it set a standardised "decent" wage and limited the differences in pay between farmers. Whether the rate was "decent" or not may be debatable. A Seven Fountains farmer stated: "Staff now own fridges, cars, televisions, all things that they could not afford when they were receiving lower cash wages and more in-kind payments." He also observed that a higher proportion of cash allowed workers the opportunity to make their own decisions on how to spend their money, which had improved their lives. An additional observation from farmers was that workers were spending more on so-called "non-essentials" such as alcohol.

Criticisms of the legislation by one-third of farmers were that it had negative impacts on employment (particularly in the case of unskilled labour) because, firstly, it became increasingly difficult to apply incentives to differentiate wages between good and poor workers, which negatively impacted productivity. Furthermore, farmers could not profitably employ the same number of workers.

A common comment made was confirmed by a Salem farmer, who said: "The workers who have retained their jobs are benefitting from the higher wage, but many have lost their jobs as a result and are much worse off than before." A Manley Flats farmer complained that the rate at which the minimum wage was set was too high. A Salem pineapple farmer stated the contrary: "Many farmers complain that the minimum wage is set too high, but it is actually very low and difficult to survive off. The problem is that the quality of work you get from the unskilled labourers is not worth even the little paid." A number of farmers said that it had had no impact, because in order to retain their hardworking or skilled staff they had to pay a competitive wage, regardless of the laws. Most farmers agreed that, although the wage rate was not unfairly high, it increased costs each year. This perpetuated the situation of rising costs, while incomes were not increasing at the same rate. As a result farmers were "forced" to employ fewer workers and to differentiate wages less, which had negative spin-offs on productivity.

Not any interviewees believed the ESTA of 1997 to be positive for the farmer, because it could result in an unwanted resident obtaining life rights on the farm and occupying a house that could be occupied by an employee instead. Consequently, this would encourage farmers to restrict the number of residents. So-called "unwanted residents" comprised workers who had resigned in order to work elsewhere, particularly on PGRs, disgruntled ex-employees, or distant family members of workers employed elsewhere. Most farmers did not harbour any ill feelings towards workers who had been in their employ for many years and then continued living on the farm once retired.

Table 5 illustrates the average farm population, including the farm owner and family, by farming category. From this it is evident that crop and dairy farms have a greater number of farm residents than stock, game-reserve and game-hunting farms. The farming population had also experienced a marked decline since 1977 when Antrobus (1984:72) found that, excluding the owner-operator, the average population per farm was 63.2 persons, whereas in 2008 the average farm population, including the owner-operator, was 38.5.

Table 5: Albany farms by farming category: average population, by number of families, males and females, 2008.

Average per farm	Stock	Game-reserve	Game-hunting	Dairy	Crop	Albany
Population	31.9	30.3	26.3	52.5	47.8	38.5
Number of families	8.31	7	6.5	14	11.9	9.8
Number of males resident	16	14	13	26.2	25	19.6
Less than 15 years	6.31	4.33	4	10.2	8.92	7.2
15 – 65 years	8.38	8.33	8.5	13.8	14.7	11.0
Over 65 years	1.31	1.33	0.5	2.2	1.42	1.4
Number of females resident	15.9	16.3	13.3	26	22.8	19.0
Less than 15 years	5.8	4	4.5	9.6	8.3	6.8
15 – 65 years	8.69	10	7.75	13.6	12.42	10.4
Over 65 years	1.44	2.33	1	2.8	2.08	1.8

Source: Sample survey, 2008.

A further issue concerning the ESTA of 1997 arose in the event of farmers wanting to sell their land. As a Seven Fountains farmer pointed out: "A potential owner may not want to buy a farm if there are a number of residents who have obtained life rights. In this case it is unfair that the farmer would have to secure housing for these residents elsewhere at his own cost." Farmers thus preferred non-resident labourers, but this increased transport costs and some farmers were too isolated to employ staff who lived in town. In a majority of cases, the concerns expressed by farmers regarding the legislation were not problems actually encountered, but potential problems that they were worried they might have to face.

The impact the ESTA of 1997 had on farm labourers was in essence that it provided secure tenure, although when workers were dismissed they would require alternative employment and thus would most probably have to relocate in any event. Pensioners benefitted but had, in most cases, previously been allowed residency on the farm once they retired, so this was nothing new. One Seven Fountains farmer stated: "There is a verbal agreement with staff that, once dismissed, labourers [and their families] have to leave the farm after a month." This was not the case for pensioners who retired on the farm. He believed dismissed staff had to find alternative employment to survive and a month (an unrealistic consideration) was long enough for them to obtain another job and thus another

place to stay. He claimed to have no objections from staff with regards to the "rule" (although this was more likely a one-sided "understanding" rather than a verbal agreement between both parties). This was clearly contrary to the stipulation in the ESTA of 1997 and would not hold up in a labour court.

Antrobus and Antrobus (2008:20) found that the ESTA of 1997 "was not being implemented and its provisions were not adequately protective of farm dwellers". It was also noted that the majority of evictions were a result of labour disputes, pertaining mainly to the payment of minimum wages and deductions. Antrobus and Antrobus (2008) quoted ECARP/SCLC as noting that other unlawful evictions occurred as a result of changes in ownership, especially when land was converted from agriculture to game/tourism.

To further assess the attitudes of farmers towards government intervention in the farm labour market, the 2008 interviewees were asked to comment on the statement: "Farm workers would be better off if there was no government intervention". On the whole (90%), farmers disagreed, but 12 farmers, although mentioning that government intervention was positive, also commented on its shortfalls. Comments made included that it protected labourers, as on some farms previously workers had been unfairly exploited. It also standardised wages and disciplinary procedures. This was surprising, given that initially farmers opposed the intervention, but it would appear that farmers had come to accept the laws and see the positive role that the government could play in protecting workers. Farmers were of the general opinion that limited intervention in the form of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997 was necessary but, when laws were very strict or unions became involved, the working relationship between labourer and farmer was upset. A Manley Flats farmer was of the opinion that government should rather focus on improving the educational and health services available to farm workers in rural areas, instead of stipulating wages and setting out the tiresome procedures for how to discipline and fire a worker. Only four farmers agreed outright with the statement, commenting that government legislation in the form of labour laws had negatively impacted the relationship between worker and farmer and contributed to unemployment.

4.2. The size and composition of the farm labour force

There was a substantial decline in the total farm labour force (regulars including managers and foremen, plus casuals) over the period 1957 to 2002, as indicated in Table 6.

Table 6: Labour force in the Albany district: 1957, 1976, 2002 and 2008

	Agricultural Census			Survey
Year	Regular	Casual	Total	Per 1 000 ha***
1957	5 086	2 945*	8 031**	
1976	2 898	2 245	5 143	8.24****
2002	1 308	2 174	3 482	
2008				5.58

Note: * June 1958 figure. ** This included the casual labour figure from June 1958. *** Average number of permanent workers (including males, females and youths) per 1000 hectares. **** 1977 figure.

Source: Agricultural census, 1957, 1976 and 2002; Antrobus, 1984 and Sample survey, 2008.

The most pronounced decline was in the number of regular workers: for every one regular worker employed in 2002, there had been 3.9 in 1957. The decline in casual labourers was not as significant: in 2002 the number of employees was approximately two-thirds of the number in the earlier period. The result was that, in 2002, more casuals were employed than regulars. This was in contrast with 1976 and 1957, when the inverse was true, and revealed a degree of casualisation. The surveys confirmed the decline in regular labourers hired, with two-thirds the number employed in 2008 per 1 000 ha compared with 1977.

Most of the changes that took place over the 51 years would have contributed to the decline in the number of farm employees, a phenomenon not restricted to the Albany district, but seen as a worldwide trend. What was the driving force behind these changes and the decrease in labour? For the Albany district, the 2008 survey would explain it as an increase in costs contributed by government legislation, combined with a price-cost squeeze that encouraged extensive low-cost farming. In times of changing input costs such as labour, fuel, fertilizer and machinery, labour expenditure is one of the few costs over which farmers have control. In a drive to decrease costs and increase profitability, farmers became less intensive, which resulted in a decreasing labour requirement (as noted in Table 6 above), and decreased their expenditure on labour by employing more casual as opposed to regular workers, or simply by employing fewer workers. In 2004 a labour survey in the Albany district noted that farmers anticipated the changes in legislation and therefore began adjusting their labour requirements and reducing payments in kind prior to the implementation of minimum wage legislation (Roberts, 2004).

The other alternative for farmers, in cases where there is an opportunity for large capital investments, would be to move towards eco-tourism or a game reserve, which would increase profitability and decrease the labour requirement of

unskilled or semi-skilled workers towards a more skilled labour force. However, due to the need for a large capital investment and financial constraints, in most cases farmers perceived such a movement as not feasible. One Salem farmer stated that: "Accommodating tourists is the way to go if you want to make money, but I cannot afford the infrastructure necessary."

As for the employment status of labourers, regular labourers enjoy benefits, including financial and housing security, not afforded to casual workers. For the farmer, casual workers incur lower costs, although they are not preferred in all cases – particularly when on the job training is required.

To establish whether farmers were choosing to decrease labour costs at the expense of the workers' security, the composition, in terms of the proportion of the two labour categories (regular and casual), is assessed next.

Regular labour made up 61 per cent of the total farm labour force (regular and casuals) in 1957. However, in 2002 casual labour made up 62 per cent. Thus the ratio of regular to casual labour over the period was inverted. The decline in the proportion of regular employees from 1957 to 1976 was very slight (61 per cent to 56 per cent, respectively), but a significant drop occurred from 1976 to 2002 (56 per cent to 38 per cent respectively). This suggests that casualisation occurred, but only insofar as the proportion of casual labour rose. The main reason given by farmers was that the BCEA of 1997 and minimum wage legislation had resulted in lower transaction and other costs incurred by employing casual labour relative to regulars. Casuals are only paid for hours worked and there are no legalities surrounding termination of employment. The benefits perceived by farmers from employing regulars were outweighed by the costs involved.

Gender equity, a second element of the labour force composition, is examined to establish whether women have started to feature more in farm employment. Over the period 1958–2002, the agricultural censuses (Antrobus, 1984; and Agricultural Census, 2002) revealed a slight decline in the proportion of regular male to female workers. A decline in the proportion of male casuals is documented between 1958 and 1965, however, a subsequent increase is noted, which over the longer period, 1958–2002, resulted in a minor rise (2.7), as seen in Table 7 below. In comparison, the survey data on the proportion of males in the labour force, 1976/77–2008, illustrated a larger decline in regulars and increase in casuals.

Table 7: Proportion of males in the regular and casual labour force in Albany.

Category	Censuses			Surveys* 2008 survey	
	1958	1965	2002	1976/77	2008
Regular	86.3	86.4	80.5	92.4	76.6
Casual	53.6	33.8	56.3	5.6	32.4

Note:* The survey calculations, with regards to casual workers, are based on the number of labour days worked by female and male workers.

Source: Agricultural Census (1958, 1965 in Antrobus, 1984); Antrobus, 1984; Agricultural Census, 2002; and Sample Survey, 2008.

Although many farmers said they preferred female seasonal workers, the rise in casual male workers, illustrated by both the survey and census data since 1976/77 and 1965, respectively, could be due to casualization: men who were previously employed on a regular basis were now working as casuals throughout the year. Also, the supply of female casual workers might have declined following the introduction of child grants, which farmers mentioned as a problem. However, more regular female employees were evident in 2002 and 2008 than previously. One reason for this might be the effect of minimum wage legislation that enforced the regulation that equal wages be paid to females and males, and that encouraged females to work as regulars. Men, however, remained the predominant regulars.

It is noted that reducing casualisation of the farm labour force is an issue which government needs to focus on. Reducing the ratio of casual to regular labourers could possibly be achieved by reducing the transaction costs associated with regular labour or by increasing the transaction costs associated with casual labour. The latter option could result in a further increase in job shedding – a situation which should be avoided.

4.3. Farm wages, 1957, 1977 and 2002

In order to assess the changes that occurred in total farm wages paid, the percentage which labour costs contributed to current expenditure was investigated. Antrobus (1984) calculated total cash wages and rations as a proportion of current expenditure to be 43 per cent in 1957, 37 per cent in 1965, 34 per cent in 1971 and 36 per cent in 1976, while Antrobus and Antrobus (2008:46) quoted the 2002 Agricultural Census to show that remuneration and labour expenses made up 17.6 per cent of total current expenditure. A notable decline in labour costs as a percentage of current expenditure occurred between 1957 and 2002. In the 2008 survey, farmers complained about rising costs, including labour. However,

when considering labour costs as a percentage of current expenditure over the years, labour's share decreased. One suggested reason is that farmers decreased their labour requirement to a minimum in an attempt to decrease total costs. Other costs, such as feed, veterinary services, fuel and repairs to machinery, were more difficult to control.

Farmers noted that over the years they had increased cash payments and simultaneously decreased rations as a proportion of total remuneration. Both the earlier surveys found that farmers supplied rations to their staff in one form or another. However, in 2008 this had changed, with only 42.5 per cent of farmers in the sample including regular rations as a part of remuneration, while 10 per cent only supplied a once-off annual ration. All farmers who no longer supplied rations said this was as a result of the high cash wage required by minimum wage legislation. There were mixed feelings about whether this was positive or not, but farmers who discontinued rations were grateful for the change and believed it was positive, as the rationing process was tiresome. A general comment was: "It makes life easier, paying cash only." However, a few perceived it as negative for labourers and their families since rationing was potentially a protection against rising food prices and also served as a means of ensuring that the labourer's family regularly received an adequate quantity of basic foodstuffs. A majority of farmers commented that the main problem experienced with staff was alcoholism, which resulted in lower worker productivity and increased absenteeism. As previously mentioned, since the larger proportion of remuneration was being paid in cash, the increased purchase of non-basic items, such as alcohol, was noted by farmers as exacerbating an already serious problem. Farmers were furthermore of the opinion that rations protected workers' families from the consequences of wages being spent on non-essentials instead of basic items such as food.

4.4. Non-wage working conditions, 1957, 1977 and 2008

Farmers said that non-wage working conditions, including insufficient public services and recreational facilities available to farm workers, an increase in casualisation and an increase in social grants, contributed to a declining supply of labour in the district. However, it was noted that the BCEA had improved conditions with regards to working hours and the length of the working year. These findings are discussed next.

The decline in farm residents, as an indirect result of ESTA of 1997 and PGRs replacing agricultural land, has contributed to a decline of community life on farms. Added to this, a lack of education, health and recreational facilities available to rural residents, as revealed by the 2008 survey, also limited the supply of farm labour. Table 8 below illustrates the average distances to the closest shop, town/bank, and church from the farms in the different Albany subregions. As Upper

Albany is a drier, more extensive farming area, it is evident that the distances are greater, except for churches, which appear to be closer. The reason for this was that labourers in the more isolated areas had religious gatherings in their homes. Thus it is noted that in subregion 5 the distance to church is zero. The vast distances from farms to the closest shop or bank highlight the challenges farm labourers may have in obtaining their weekly supplies. However, farmers stated that they assisted labourers in obtaining groceries, either by collecting the goods in town for their labourers or by assisting with transport to town. Farmers noted that transport facilities were now more available to farm labourers than in the past, through taxis or, in the case of some labourers, the purchase of their own vehicles, which reduced the need for farmers to provide payments in kind in the form of rations. The closest hospital or doctor was located in the nearest town and for both Lower and Upper Albany this distance was on average over 25km as noted in Table 8. Mobile clinics did serve most of the farms, though farmers believed these often did not have the necessary supplies to perform their function. Most of the labourers used public healthcare services. Four farmers stated that they paid all their labourers' medical expenses. Two farmers paid a minor portion (less than 40 per cent).

Table 8: Albany farms, average distance of shop, bank, school and church from the farm, 2008.

Average distance	Lower Albany (km)				Upper Albany (km)			ALBANY-km
Subregion	1	2	3	Total	4	5	Total	
Shop	8.8	13.3	17.1	**12.8**	21.2	27.8	**23.6**	16.7
Town/Bank	21.7	22.8	33.7	**26.7**	46.8	43.2	**45.5**	33.4
Place of worship	2.1	4.3	3.0	**2.8**	2.0	0.0	**1.3**	2.3

Source: Sample survey, 2008.

A point of concern raised was the lack of adequate and accessible educational facilities for children living on the farm as this was also believed to affect the supply of labour. From the sample farms, 72 per cent had educational facilities for children living on the farm, either at farm schools or at schools in a nearby town. Two of these schools were, however, 10km away, while the average distance to farm schools was 4.1km. This meant that in the absence of other modes of transport, which was mostly the case, learners would have to walk the return journey of 8.2km a day on average. Taxi services and bicycles were other means by which children made their way to school but these were not always available to learners. Of the schools available, the highest grade ranged between three and seven, with grade 5 being the most typical. The remaining 28 per cent of the sample

had to send their children to school in town from a young age because insufficient educational facilities were available within a reasonable proximity: the average distance to the closest school was 23km, thus entailing a return journey of 46km. The workers' children attending school in town were required to board with family or friends. One Sidbury farmer added that this had in some circumstances resulted in social problems. The farthest distance from any form of educational facility was a Carlisle Bridge farm 67km away. The poor quality of education offered by some accessible schools was also a point of concern. Thirty-eight of the sample found that once the staff's children left the farm school, the majority (62 per cent) continued their education in Grahamstown. The rest sent their children either to Alicedale, Bathurst, Port Alfred, Paterson or Port Elizabeth, depending on where they had boarding available, on distance and on the educational needs of the child. One of the reasons farmers gave why workers left their employ to work in town was the lack of adequate health and educational services in the farming districts. It was furthermore emphasised that government intervention was needed to improve farm workers access to such services.

Another factor affecting supply was the possibility of better paid jobs in industries such as construction and hospitality, which had higher minimum wages. Casualisation of farm labour also negatively impacted their working conditions and encouraged workers to seek jobs in other sectors where work was of a more permanent nature. However, despite the decrease in the supply of labour due to the decreased demand, this did not pose a problem for the majority of farmers. A major result of fewer farm labourers being employed was that of increased urbanisation and poverty. Several Southwell farmers believed that a rise in the availability of social grants had caused a decline in the supply of labour, especially casuals. One farmer stated: "For two weeks of the month the casual labourers are not interested in working as they live off their social or child grants. When that money runs out, then they want to work again."

Additional changes which resulted from the BCEA of 1997 included a decrease in the number of working hours per week and the length of the working year.

Working hours

A distinct decrease in the length of the working week took place over the 51-year period. The BCEA of 1997 stipulated a maximum of a 45-hour week, while time worked over and above this was seen as overtime and had to be remunerated accordingly. The average numbers of hours worked per week declined from 63.2 in 1957 to 61.1 in 1977, and further to 43 in 2008. The difference between the number of hours worked in summer and winter also declined, from 17.4 per week in 1957, 10.3 in 1977 and only one hour per week in 2008. In 2008 labourers benefitted from shorter working weeks, compared with those experienced in 1957

and 1977. It could be said that, as a result of legislation, the hours worked by farm labourers were further brought in line with other industries.

Length of the working year

According to all farmers, labourers received annual leave in 2008 in accordance with the requirements of the 1997 BCEA, which was three weeks per year or one day per 17 days worked. Antrobus (1984:256) noted that in 1957 only 58 per cent of farmers gave their labourers annual leave. In 1977 91 per cent granted such leave, with the average period for the sample increasing from 3.9 days to 6.4 days per year. Thus, both in hours and days worked, the length of the working year decreased significantly. In addition to annual leave, the BCEA of 1997 also required that farm workers receive sick leave, maternity leave and family responsibility leave. This impacted positively on labourers, as previously these kinds of leave were granted at the discretion of each farmer.

5. CONCLUSION

It was established that farm employment decreased significantly over the years 1957–2008, while the composition of the work force consisted of a larger percentage of casual workers. The cash portion of remuneration increased and working conditions improved with shorter working days and a shorter working year. As a result of new labour legislation for farm workers, labourers are now protected against unlawful evictions and dismissals. However, evidence was presented that these laws have not been adhered to on all farms.

The rate of change post-1994 has been accelerated by increasing costs (financial, transaction and risk) associated with labour. However, other factors have also been at play in the changes in the farm labourers' fate in the Albany district. The price-cost squeeze forced farmers to reduce costs and labour was targeted because of labour's lower marginal productivity compared with other inputs, that is, a farmer can plant a crop without labour, but not without seed and fertilizer. Extensive farming has also been favoured because increased costs of intensive farming further diminishes the labour requirement per farm.

A change in land use in the Albany district has led to a decline in the number of farmers and has decreased the rural population. In addition, farmers reduced the numbers of resident labourers because of the requirements of the ESTA of 1997. Farm residents have thus become more isolated as the size of farming communities has diminished. Also, they have access to increasingly inadequate educational, health and recreational facilities, when the demand for these services has actually increased. The supply of farm workers has decreased because life in town is seen as preferable. Legislation has not been responsible for all the changes nor the degree to which the farm labour market has transformed. However, government

intervention has accelerated adjustments that were inevitable as a result of the changing economic and political environment in which farmers operate.

Issues identified by the Albany case study, to which the South African government needs to give attention, include declining farm labour employment; financial, transaction and risk costs associated with regulating the farm labour market; casualisation; improving the living conditions and public services available to farm workers; skills improvement; urbanisation; the price-cost squeeze farmers are experiencing; and issues of land tenure and property rights. The issues identified on which government intervention has had a positive impact include reducing payments in kind and simultaneously increasing the cash portion of total wages, which has diminished the paternalistic relationship between farmer and employee; improving the labourers' situation with regards to land tenure; and decreasing the length of the working week and year.

NOTES

1 In 2007 the agricultural sector had 800 thousand paid employees compared to 1.3million employees in 1960 (StatsSA, 2005, in Sparrow et al, 2008:54 and StatsSA, 2009).

2 *Research was conducted on selected farms in the Eastern Cape.*

3 The Albany district consists of two distinct geographical regions: Lower and Upper Albany. Within these two regions, using Antrobus' (1984) classification as a guide, Lower Albany is seen to consist of Manley Flats – Coombs–Fraser's Camp (sub-region 1), Salem – Southwell (sub-region 2) and Seven Fountains - Sidbury (sub-region 3). In Upper Albany Alicedale - Riebeek East - Carlisle Bridge (sub-region 4) and Fort Brown - Committees Drift – Douglas Heights (sub-region 5) are found.

4 Extensive farming is defined as farming that requires relatively small amounts of inputs (including labour, machinery and chemicals) compared to farm size e.g. "stock" farming.

5 Community life is defined as community members involved in recreational activities outside of work.

6 Although Roberts (1958) did not calculate the length of the working day, Antrobus (1984) calculated the 1957 working week based on Roberts's data that a summer day was 12 hours long and a winter day 9 hours.

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