

SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

African population, employment and
incomes on farms outside the
reserves, 1923 - 1969

by

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Introduction

This study is a companion to my 'Agricultural Production in the African Reserves of South Africa, 1918-1969'¹ and wherever possible uses the same methods. In neither study is income remitted from sectors other than agriculture considered; here, however, one has to take into account not only African production on farms outside the reserves (henceforward referred to simply as 'farms') but African incomes (in cash and in kind) from farm employment. The main sources for this study, as for the previous one, are the Population Censuses and the Agricultural Censuses. Throughout the period under consideration information about the production of Africans on farms seems to have been furnished by the White, Coloured or Asian occupiers² or owners, although this was not made explicit in notes until the 1934 Agricultural Census. After the war, information on incomes in cash and kind came to be added to that on production. It is possible to estimate total income in cash and kind from 1929 from other sources.

Population

Six successive Population Census observations of the size of the African farm population form the basis for our estimates. These are presented in Table 1.

The 1921-1936 population growth rate figure suggests a possible small net immigration on to the farms. This was sharply reversed between 1936 and 1951; the rate of emigration slowed considerably with the imposition of influx control in the 1950s and then speeded up again in the 1960s with the introduction of the contemporary resettlement programme. This compares with a slower rate of growth (implying net emigration) from the reserves in 1921-1936, a corresponding pace in the quickening of emigration from 1936-1951, but net immigration from 1951 to 1970, the pace of immigration to the reserves being faster in the second half of the period than in the first.³

Table 1

African farm population, 1921-1970

Date	Male	Female	Total	Growth rate (% p.a.)
		(thousands)		
1921 ^a	718	765	1483	
1936	1063	1133	2196	2,65
1946	1238	1220	2458	1,13
1951	1309	1269	2578	0,96
1960 ^b	1524	1488	3012	1,74
1970 ^c	1747	1657	3404	1,23

Sources: Population Censuses.

Notes: (a) 1921 farm population not given separately from population outside reserves. Assume farm population 10% below rural population (1936 proportion 11,9%).

(b) Taken from Statistical News Release P11.1 of 12.2.1969.

(c) Unpublished tabulation from the 1970 census C-returns.

Farm population estimates for each year (apart from 1931-33 and 1939-45) from 1923 to 1969 are obtained by interpolation and plotted on Figure 1.

The Agricultural Census also counted the total African farm population in 1955, 1960 and 1965 and found 2119435, 2144085 and 1776952 persons respectively. These observations are 25%, 29% and 46% below the Population Census estimates. Since the latter are themselves likely to be slight undercounts, this raises a major problem requiring explanation.

The first element in such an explanation involves reference to the rise in the African/White population ratio in the rural areas outside the reserves which has proceeded without interruption since 1921. This, of course, has not escaped the attention of the state in the period since 1948; the most interesting analysis of the situation is contained in Chapter 4 of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into European Occupancy of the Rural Areas, published in 1959. In order to

POPULATION
(MILLIONS)

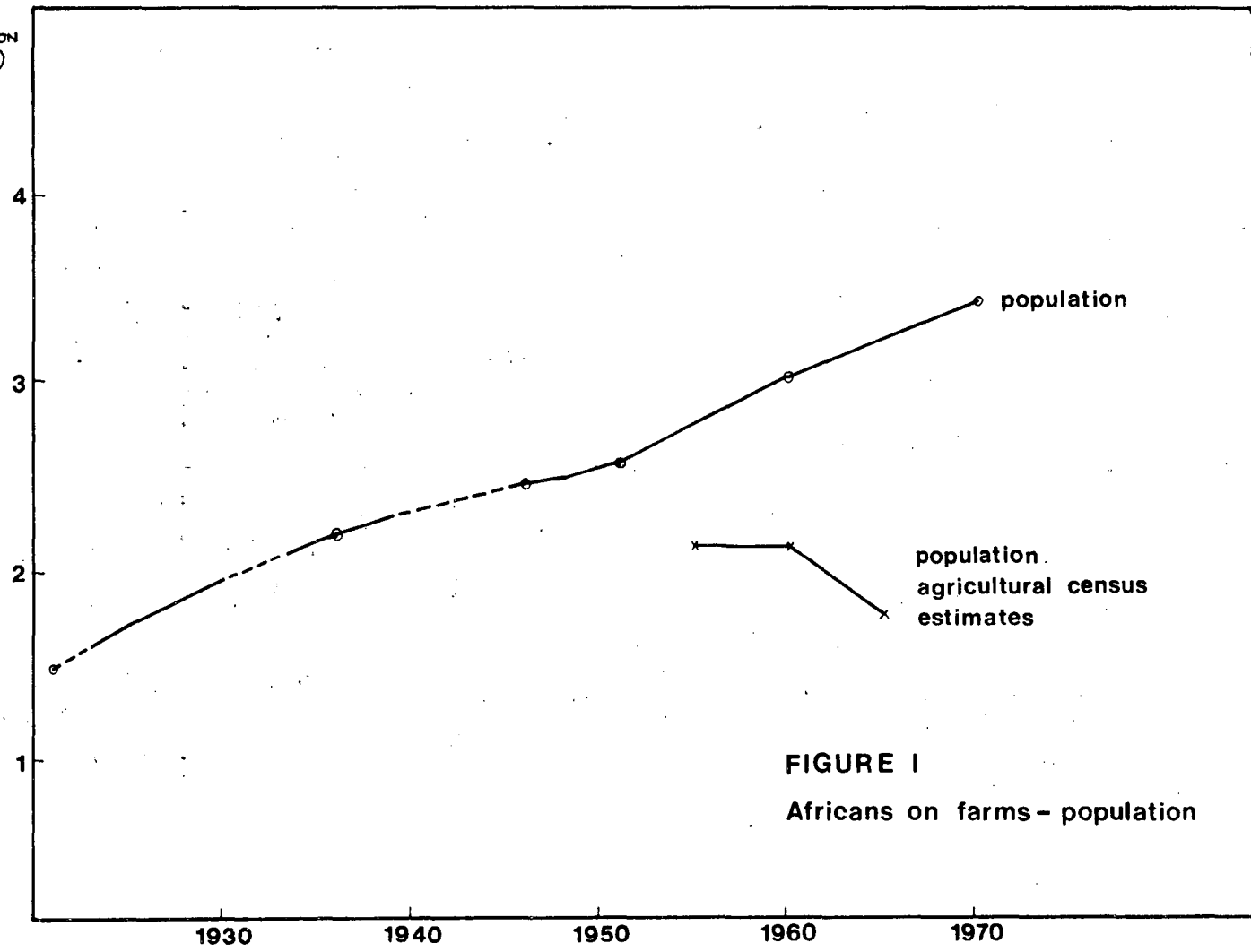


FIGURE I
Africans on farms - population

appreciate the relevance of the Commission's findings to our problem, it will help to draw a distinction between a 'holding' defined from the 1955 Agricultural Census as all pieces of land whether contiguous or not under the control of a single holder (White, Coloured or Asian owner or occupier) and within a single magisterial district and a 'farm' which is a vaguer term, but which generally refers to a single stretch of land. Thus a holding may consist of two or more farms as well as only of one. One may point then to two related ways in which Africans may come to be in de facto occupation of farms:

(i) they may live on always unoccupied land or on farms formerly occupied by Whites but now abandoned by them. The only data we have on the number of Africans on unoccupied farms relate to the late 1940s and early 1950s; the 1951 Population Census sets the figure for 1946 at 167782 and for 1951 at 203784. The South African Police submitted evidence to the Commission that the figure for 1954 was 924422 but the Commission found the Transvaal estimate too high;⁴ yet if the Transvaal figure is halved the revised estimate would still exceed 500 000.

(ii) They may reside on a farm forming part of a holding under the supervision of an African foreman. There may be a de facto share-cropping, ground rent payment, or labour tenancy agreement despite the illegality of the first two practices and the increasing official discouragement of the third. That the greater part of the increase in African occupation has taken place in this form is suggested by the fact that the number of holdings fell from a peak of 106 220 in 1959 to 91 886 ten years later while the total area held fell from 92 859 000 to 89 135 000, a drop of 14,5% in the number of holdings but of only 4% in area held.⁵ To this one has to add the rnostulate (not tested in this study) that increases in output, at least over the greater part of the country, were obtained by intensive rather than extensive productivity gains.

Now it easy to see that a farm for which a White, Coloured or Asian holder cannot be found will not have its occupants enumerated and it is no great further step to suppose that portions of holdings effectively under African control are likely to be underenumerated on the grounds that the holder does not have the detailed interest in these that he is likely to have in the more 'commercial' parts. This granted, it becomes possible to explain part of the discrepancies between Population and Agricultural Census observations of farm population by supposing

that an increasing proportion of Africans have, since 1955, lived on farms with no resident White, Coloured or Asian owner or manager.

This account is as yet, however, inadequately confirmed. The task in the next two sections will be to substantiate and extend it.

Labour supply and employment

Deriving labour supply estimates from population estimates requires a set of labour force participation rates. The Population Censuses, at least in 1960 and 1970, yield estimates of these rates which are considerably too high;⁶ a more reliable starting point are the Current Population Survey estimates for Africans in rural areas in March 1980. The rates are set out in Table 2.

Table 2: Labour force participation rates - White rural areas, March 1980

Age group	Male %	Female %
10-15	6,9	7,3
16-19	48,6	36,3
20-29	86,3	45,9
30-39	92,2	48,2
40-49	91,8	47,7
50-59	83,8	34,7
60-64	65,3	14,1
65-69	61,4	8,3
70 +	25,0	5,7
Average as a proportion of all ages	39,1	20,4

Source: C.E.W. Simkins, The Context of African unemployment, Table 12. (mimeo).

Notes:

- (a) The averages are arrived at by using the 1980 rural age distribution for domestic Africans as estimated in my 'Distribution of the African population of South Africa by age, sex and region-type 1960, 1970 and 1980', SALDRU Working Paper No. 32, Cape Town. Table 1.
- (b) It will be recalled that labour force participation rates measure, for the appropriate group, the proportion of all people in that group who are working or who are willing to work, but are unemployed.

The labour force participation rates among young males are probably lower now than for much of the period under consideration, in particular the 1955 Agricultural Census (Table B1) shows evidence of perhaps the majority of males between 10 and 16 being engaged in farmwork. So for the purpose of construction of a historical on-farm labour supply curve, the overall male labour force participation rate will be taken as 45% and the female rate (unchanged) at 20%. These rates are applied to the population estimates obtained from the Population Census and the supply curve so obtained is plotted on Figure 2. It would, of course, be a mistake to regard this curve as setting an upper limit on labour available to farmers for two reasons:

- (a) participation rates can vary according to circumstance; farmers needing to do so can adopt a variety of methods to raise labour force participation rates for shorter or longer periods or over restricted or extended areas;
- (b) for farmers who live within easy reach of reserves (i.e. those in much of the Eastern Cape, Natal, Northern and Western Transvaal and Northern Cape) it is possible to augment labour supply from the reserves.

Nonetheless, the curve serves as an on-farm labour availability benchmark against which core farm employment (in 'regular' jobs and in domestic service) can be studied. Table 3 sets out the available information on regular and domestic employment on farms.

Estimates for intervening years were obtained by linear interpolation and the employment curve is plotted on Figure 2.

Curve AA plots regular and domestic employment as a proportion of the labour supply. Between 1936 and 1956 the proportion was consistently 90% or higher, reaching a low peak of 92% in 1937 and a high peak of 96% in 1955. The Report of the Native Farm Labour Committee 1937-9 registered the shortage in the following terms:

"Judging by the evidence alone, therefore, your Committee can arrive at no other conclusion than that the agricultural industry is suffering from a substantial shortage of native labour",⁷

and its continuance into the forties and early fifties has been discussed by a number of authors.^{7a}

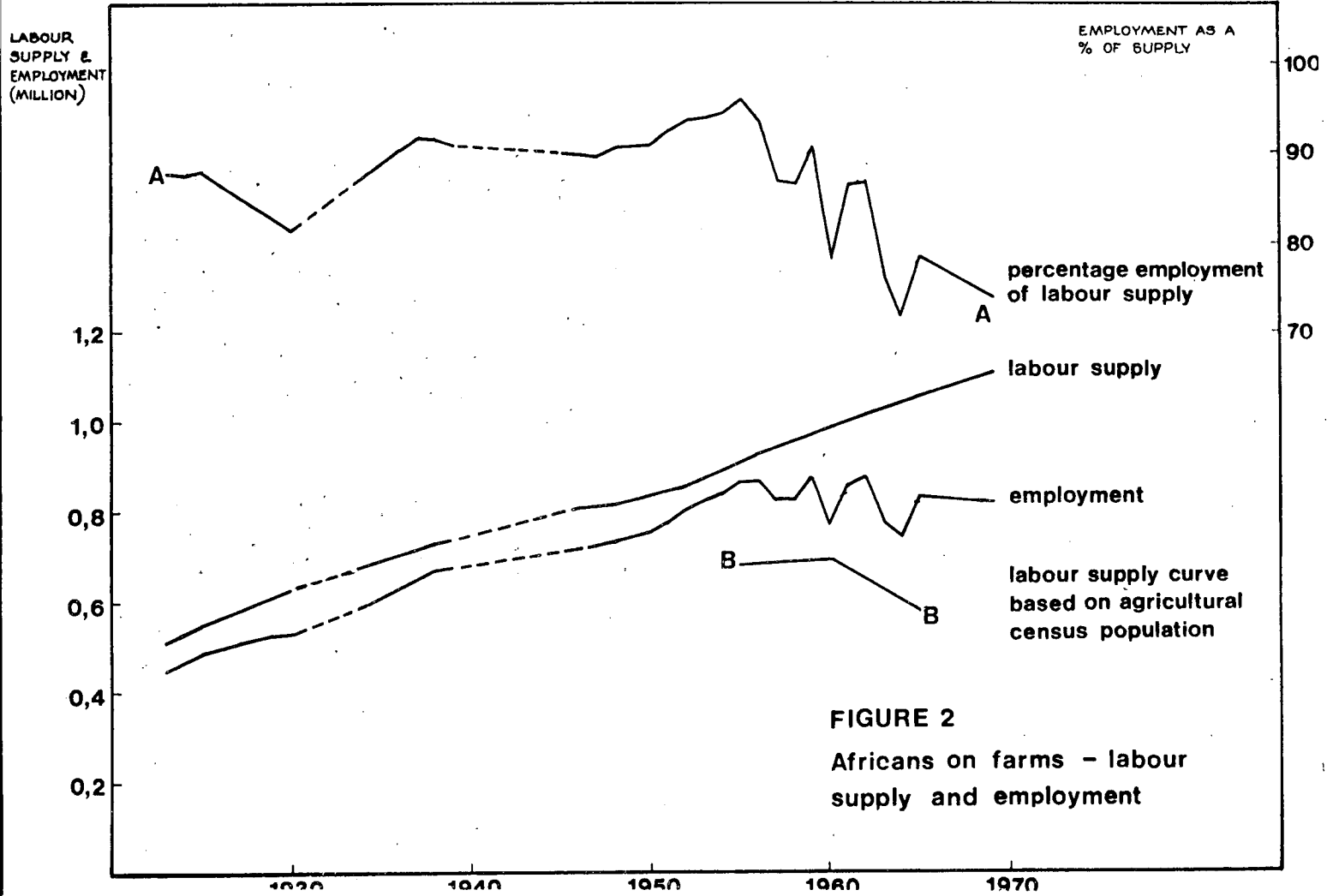


Table 3: Regular and domestic African employment on farms, 1918-1969

Date	Male	Female	Total	Date	Male	Female	Total
1918	254623	104350	358973	1959	659552	214377	873929
1925	341343	139890 ^a	481233	1960	557527	210450	767977
1930	361269	148056 ^a	509325	1961	629359	228636	857995
1937	463889	194523	658412	1962	646543	229077	875620
1947	532655 ^b	192534 ^b	725189	1963	577047	202678	779725
1950	551893 ^b	205174 ^b	757067	1964	565402	179169	744571
1952	592488	208723	801211	1965	592710	229566	822276
1953	605991	216003	821994	1969	606837	211174	818011
1954	623705	216635	840340				
1955	631290	236507	867797				
1956	636839	226512	863351				
1957	623837	204243	827580				
1958	633401	193067	826468				

Sources: to 1957 : Union Statistics for Fifty Years, p.G.3.
 from 1958 : Agricultural Censuses.

Notes: (a) Domestic servants were not counted in these years, so the numbers of women were adjusted so that the male/female ratio was the same as in 1918.
 (b) Only a non-White total was reported in these years, so that the 1952 proportion of Africans in this total was applied to the 1947 and 1950 observations.

Of equal interest, however, is the rapid drop in employment as a percentage of labour supply since 1955 to the point where it fell below 80% for most of the sixties. This reflects the levelling off of employment in absolute terms at a stage when labour supply continues to grow. The question arises: was this a real trend or did the Agricultural Censuses progressively undermeasure employment after 1955? It is clear from the position of curve BB that employment was not nearly as badly undermeasured as population. This could be explained by observing that the volume of paid employment is of much more direct concern to holders than total farm population and therefore

information furnished about employment is likely to be more reliable than information about population. On top of this we would need to postulate, since the late fifties, an increasing proportion of adult African men and women carrying out farming on their own account on unoccupied farms or parts of holdings over which they have de facto control and sometimes paying levies of cash, labour or product to owners. The alternative view would involve having to explain why a procedure which enumerated African regular and domestic employment correctly in 1955 should cease to do so in 1960, 1965 or 1969.

Further light can be shed by carrying out a cross-sectional study of employment as a percentage of labour supply. Labour supply is found as before with the population of magisterial districts taken from the 1960 Population Census; employment by magisterial district is taken from the 1960 Agricultural Census. Only magisterial districts to the north and east of 1963 Western Cape 'African' labour replacement line are included and metropolitan and predominantly reserve districts are excluded. The results are shown in Figure 3. Districts where the percentage falls below 60, i.e. where the incidence of de facto African occupation was high include a couple on the edge of the Ciskei, a number in Northern Natal and a swathe from the southern to the northern Transvaal with a westward extension. When the districts where the percentage falls between 61 and 80% are included in consideration, a reasonably clear picture emerges: considerable de facto occupation around the Ciskei, Northern Natal (with an extension into the north-east Orange Free State) and Zululand and in much of central, northern and western Transvaal, that is to say in the vicinity of most of the major reserve areas. The Northern Cape presents a rather mixed and anomalous picture while most of the Orange Free State (stretching into the north-east Cape) and southern Natal have employment percentages of 81 and above.

Figure 3 suggests, incidentally, that the 1960 Agricultural Census did not significantly undercount regular workers and domestic servants on farms. When one considers that allowance has to be made for casual workers not resident in the reserves, the large number of districts in the 81+% categories must have been making full use of (or nearly full use)

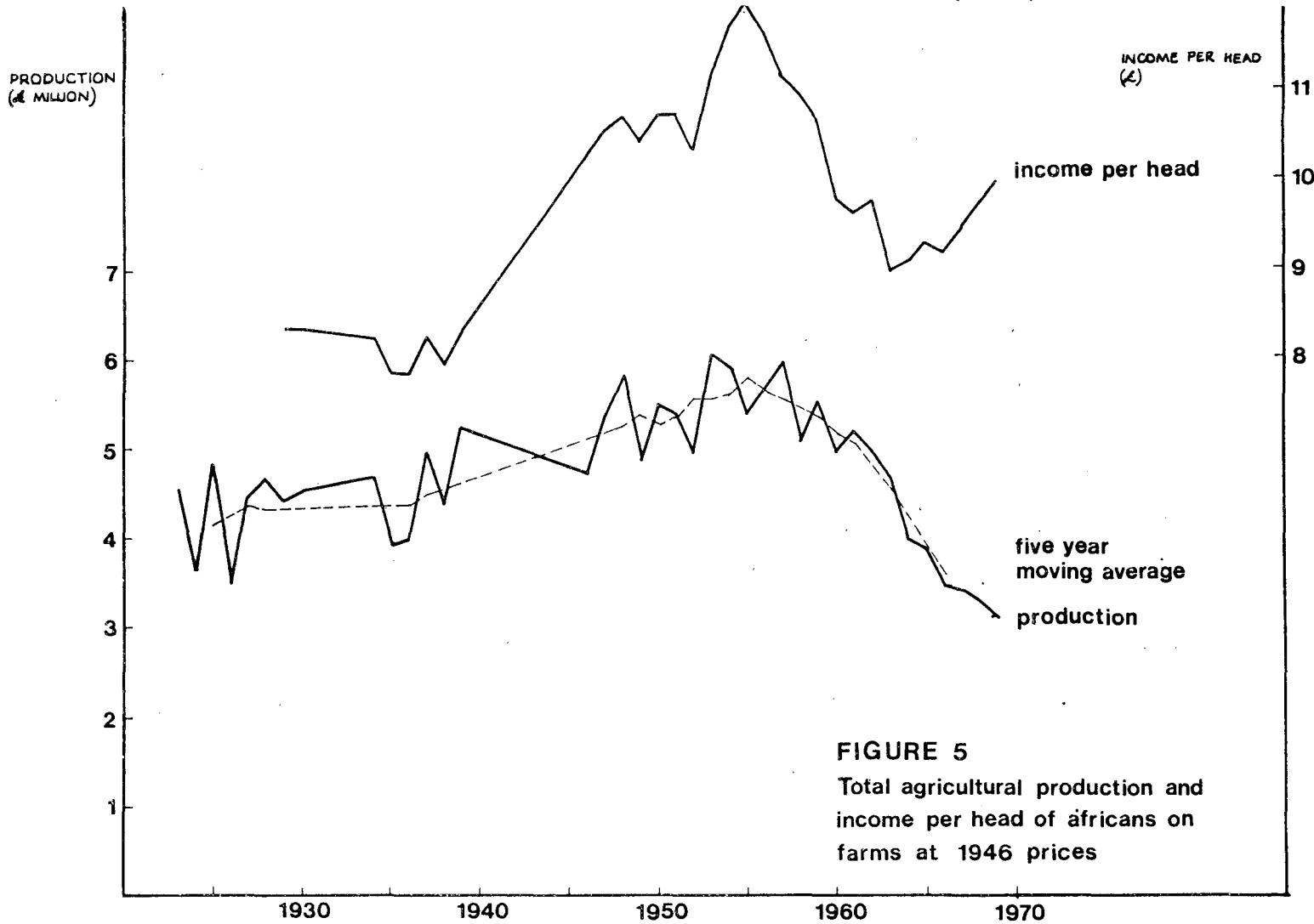


FIGURE 5
 Total agricultural production and
 income per head of Africans on
 farms at 1946 prices

of their labour supply if employment is taken no higher than measured by the Agricultural Census. It therefore seems likely that a substantial part of the population undercount must have been among the old and the young.

Figure 4 presents average African farm population growth rates between the 1960 and 1970 Population Censuses. The general picture is that of correlation between low growth rates and low 1960 employment percentages. Growth rates below average occurred around the Ciskei (extending northwards into the Orange Free State), in north-east Natal and in central, northern and eastern Transvaal. This correlation could be explained by two factors: the greater attraction of areas where wage employment is more widespread and state resettlement efforts whose especial targets are areas where the incidence of 'surplus labour' is high.

Incomes

The first task is to estimate income in cash and kind in the immediate pre-war period; the best source in this respect is the Report of the Native Farm Labour Committee 1937-39. In it are estimated incomes 'illustrative of the economic position of a typical industrious family (assumed to consist of a kraal head, his wife, a son aged 17, a daughter aged 15 and a child) in the service of a normally considerate farmer'.⁸ These exercises are carried out in Natal, the Orange Free State and the Cape and if one excludes stock and crop figures one arrives at estimates of about £3, £6, £6 per head respectively. In the Transvaal the wages of full-time workers in various parts of the province are given; the median cash and kind income per worker works out to about £3.50 per head, a figure probably a little too high in light of the fact that all wages given are for men. Weighting these figures by the proportion of persons in each province reported as working on White farms by the 1937 Agricultural Census, one comes to an average of £4.33 per head, which, multiplied by the African farm population of 2 230 000 yields a total income in cash and kind in 1937 of £9.66 million, which agrees very well with an estimate of £9.73 million made for 1936 by the Department of Economics at the University of Natal.⁹ All cash and kind incomes will be converted to 1946 prices by use of the consumer price index so total 1937 income comes to £13.47 million at those prices. Now in more than one place¹⁰ the Report of the

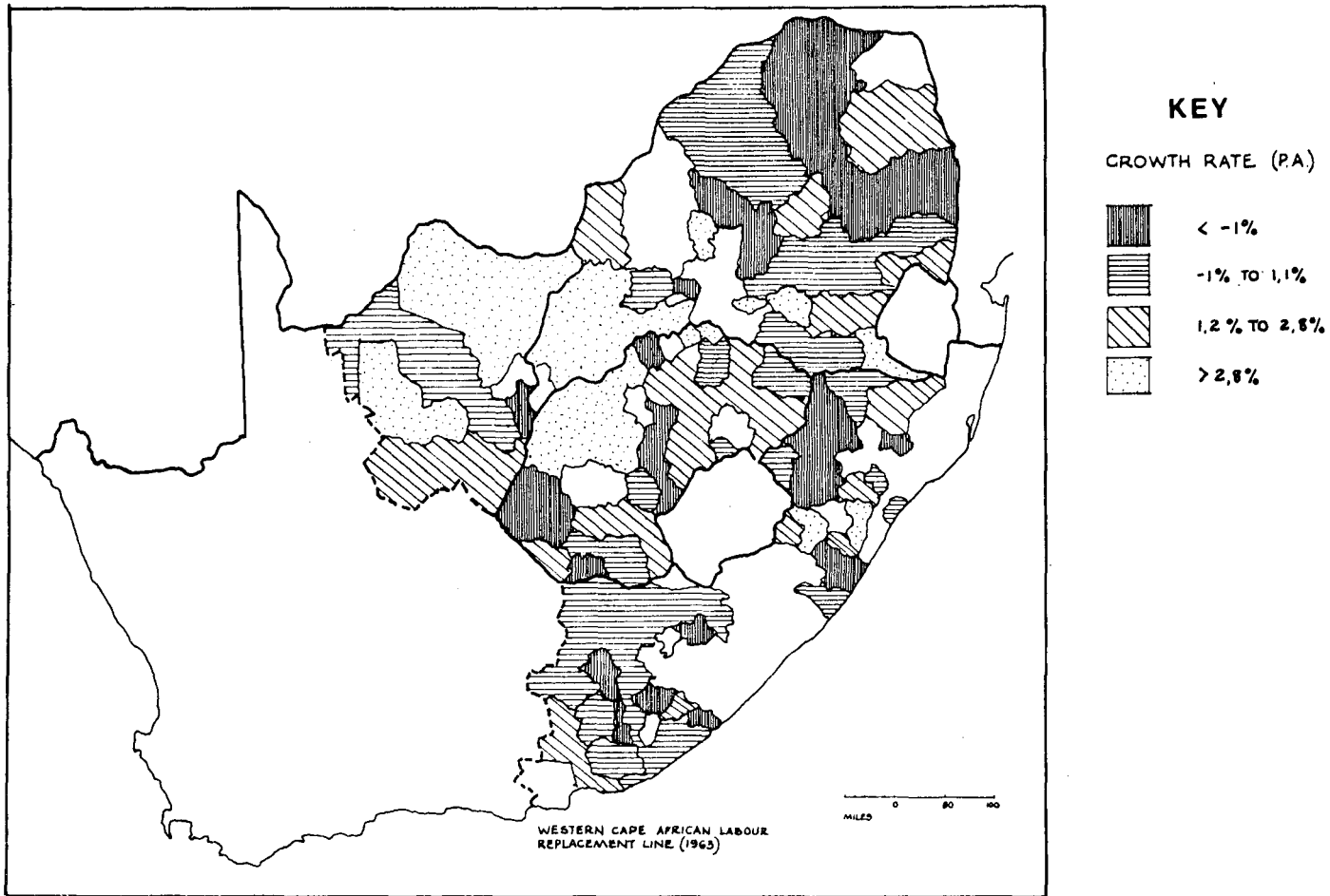


FIGURE 4 African farm population growth rates
1960 - 1970

Native Farm Labour Committee refers to wage tabulations in the Native Economic Commission Report of 1930-2, which reflects conditions at the end of the twenties and states that these 'are still sufficiently indicative of the position'.¹¹ This will be taken as a warrant for assuming that from 1929 to 1939 per capita incomes in cash and kind were constant at 1946 prices, which effectively smooths out year-to-year fluctuations. No attempt is made to estimate these incomes over the period 1923 to 1928.

Post-war information is more plentiful but not complete. There are no observations for 1946, 1948-1951 and 1966-1968 and totals for all these years (except 1946) are obtained by linear interpolation. With the exception of 1955, pre-1958 Agricultural Censuses do not give information on casual workers. It is, of course, a matter for debate whether casual worker incomes should be included in calculations attempting to estimate total African farm incomes; the information we need but do not have is the relative sizes of the casual workforce resident (i) on the farms and (ii) in the reserves. It was decided to include casual worker incomes. The seven independent observations of these we have (for 1955, 1958-9 and 1962-5) indicate that casual earnings averaged in cash and kind 17% of those of regular workers and domestic servants combined, so 17% was added to pre-1958 totals (except 1955) to allow for casual workers. It remains to state that 1947 and 1950 figures were given for non-Whites only, so these were multiplied by the share of African incomes in non-White incomes in 1952.

A note is necessary here on incomes in kind. Perforce farmer evaluations of these are used in this study; some have argued that these tend to be too high¹² while others contend that there are a whole series of goods and services received by farm workers which are not conventionally counted.¹³ The notes in the more recent Agricultural Censuses are silent about what is included but the Summary Report on Agricultural and Pastoral Production 1936-37 to 1938-39 and 1946-47 to 1953-54 refers to 'the value of goods earned ... in the form of rations, by way of mealies, meal, slaughter animals, meat, fish, milk, wine, bread, coffee, sugar and other goods; such as tobacco,

clothes, shoes etc. The rental value of free housing is, however, excluded'.¹⁴ It is clear (from separate tabulations in the 1962 census), however, that the value of grazing and arable land made available to Africans for their own production is not counted. This is important as one will then not be double-counting when one adds production figures to earnings in cash and kind.

Agricultural production figures for Africans on farms are available for each year of the period except 1931-33 and 1940-45. This agricultural production is valued at 1946 producer prices in the same manner as reserve production was valued in the companion paper. Table 4 sets out the components of agricultural incomes of Africans on White farms.

There are two points of interest to be noted from Table 4:

(a) As can be seen from Figure 5 total agricultural production remained flat from the twenties to the mid-thirties, rose from the mid-thirties to the mid-fifties and dropped thereafter. In the light of what has been said about the probable emergence of an unrecorded sector since the mid-fifties, the possibility, indeed probability, must be admitted that total production has not fallen as fast as the graph indicates. The rise from the mid-thirties to the mid-fifties is not inconsistent with the trend towards a lower share of production in total income; the trend was maintained during this period, implying that total incomes in cash and kind rose faster than total production. Of course the post-1955 drop in production led to an acceleration of this trend to the point where the share of production in 1969 was about 10%, compared with the 28% of forty years earlier. If one compares agricultural production per head on the farms with that in the reserves, one finds that throughout the period the former fluctuated without trend at about 59% of the latter, the lower and upper limits of fluctuation being 52% and 67% respectively.

(b) The movement of income per head is interestingly similar. There seems to have been a rapid rise during the war years and a further (not so large) rise in the early fifties, followed by a substantial drop over the decade 1955-1965 and then a rise again in the late sixties.

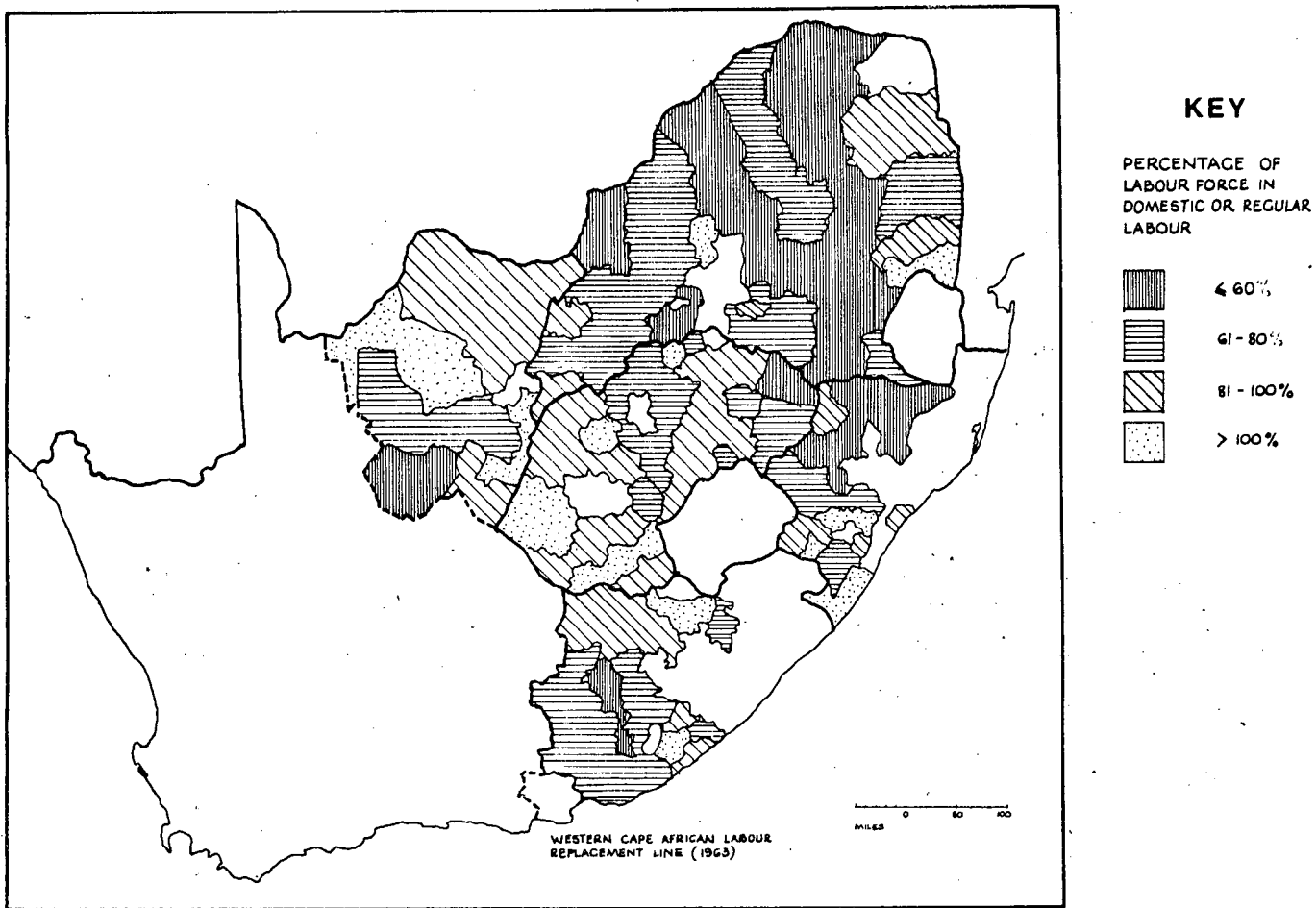


FIGURE 3 Domestic and regular agricultural employment as a percentage of labour supply ; 1960

Table 4: Agricultural incomes of Africans on White farms 1923-1969
(1946 prices)

Date	Value of production	Income in cash or kind	Total income	Income per head	% Income from production
	(£ million)	(£ million)	(£ million)	(£)	
1923	4.425				
1924	3.616				
1925	4.824				
1926	3.494				
1927	4.467				
1928	4.652				
1929	4.411	11.543	15.954	8.35	27.6
1930	4.510	11.821	16.331	8.34	27.6
1934	4.666	12.824	17.490	8.24	26.7
1935	3.928	13.047	16.975	7.86	23.1
1936	3.967	13.265	17.232	7.85	23.0
1937	4.968	13.470	18.438	8.27	26.9
1938	4.379	13.663	18.042	7.98	24.3
1939	5.203	13.851	19.054	8.31	27.3
1946	4.712				
1947	5.372	20.785	26.157	10.56	20.5
1948	5.801	20.939	26.740	10.70	21.7
1949	4.867	21.484	26.351	10.45	18.5
1950	5.490	21.870	27.360	10.73	20.1
1951	5.385	22.279	27.664	10.73	19.5
1952	4.929	22.208	27.137	10.32	18.2
1953	6.060	23.915	29.975	11.18	20.2
1954	5.892	26.004	31.896	11.68	18.5
1955	5.387	28.053	33.440	12.03	16.1
1956	5.695	27.228	32.923	11.64	17.3
1957	5.931	26.092	32.023	11.13	18.5
1958	5.099	26.866	31.965	10.94	16.0
1959	5.515	26.074	31.589	10.64	17.5
1960	4.915	24.584	29.499	9.79	16.7
1961	5.184	24.172	29.356	9.61	17.7
1962	4.949	25.183	30.132	9.73	16.4
1963	4.680	23.526	28.206	8.98	16.6
1964	3.960	24.922	28.882	9.08	13.7
1965	3.814	26.028	29.842	9.27	12.8
1966	3.403	26.447	29.850	9.16	11.4
1967	3.390	27.796	31.186	9.46	10.9
1968	3.262	29.146	32.408	9.72	10.1
1969	3.098	30.495	33.593	9.97	9.2

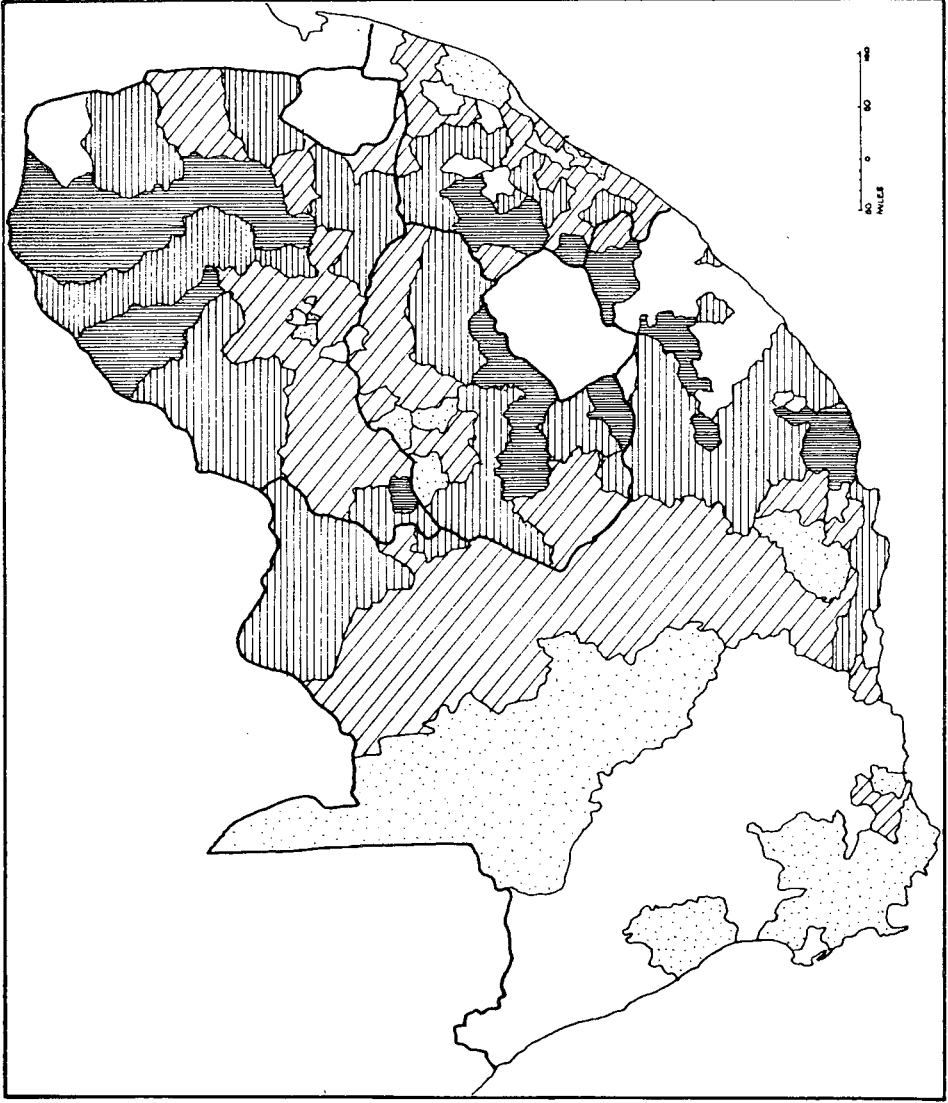
With the exception of the rise in the late sixties (which can be seen as marking the beginning of the contemporary situation whose analysis would require another study) these movements correlate with the graph of employment as a proportion of labour supply (see Figure 2), incomes increasing when the proportion is high, as one would expect from elementary supply and demand considerations.

As in the case of the analysis of population and employment, it is useful to complement a time-series with a cross-sectional study. Figure 6 displays by magisterial district, total income (excluding casual worker income) divided by the sums of regular employees and domestic servants for 1955. Income per worker is calculated in current (i.e. 1955) prices. Figure 6 shows that the low wage regions in the country were the Eastern Cape, the eastern Orange Free State, northern and western Natal and an arc along the northern boundary of the Transvaal and the Cape. High wage regions were the western, south-western, central and north-western Cape, coastal, southern and midland Natal, the southern Transvaal and the western Orange Free State.

Figure 7 displays the proportion of total income received in cash by magisterial district in 1955. (Again casual worker incomes are excluded). In general, there is a correlation between Figure 7 and Figure 6, the lower the income per head, the lower tends to be the proportion of income paid in cash i.e. a relationship observed by R.H. Smith in Natal in 1941¹⁵ held generally in the conditions of 1955. The principal divergencies between Figure 6 and Figure 7 lie in the Northern Transvaal (where wages were low but cash formed the greater part of them) and parts of the Orange Free State where exactly the reverse was the case.

Conclusions

The implications of both the time-series and the cross-sectional analysis may now be discussed.



KEY

INCOME PER WORKER



£ 30 P.A.

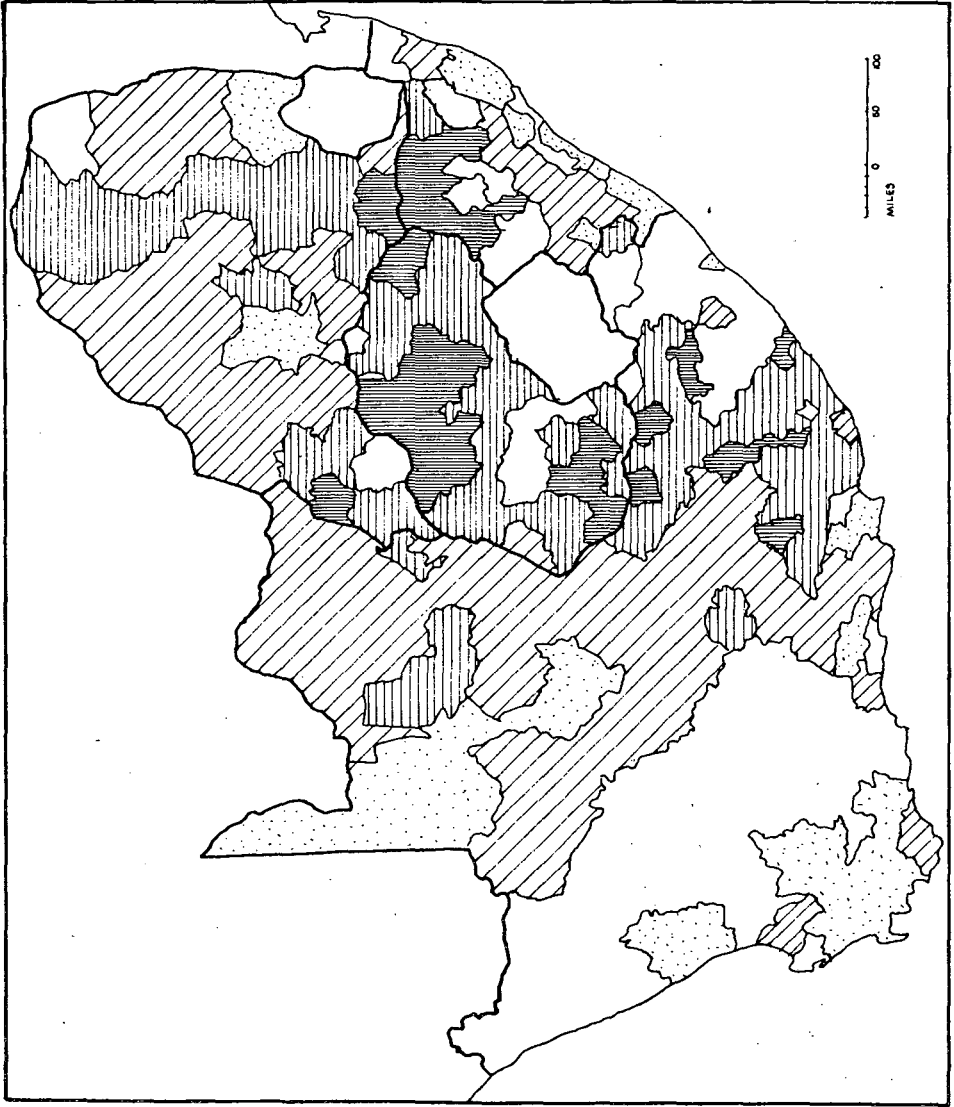
£ 31 - 40 P.A.

£ 41 - 55 P.A.

> £ 55 P.A.



FIGURE 6 Income per regular employee and domestic worker; 1955



KEY

PROPORTION

- 4 - 35%
- 36 - 50%
- 51 - 70%
- > 70%

FIGURE 7 Proportion of total income received in cash
1955

(a) 1955 was a turning point for Africans on White farms just as it was for Africans in the reserves and for the same reason - the installation of the labour bureau system and the modern form of influx control. Indeed it has been argued¹⁶ that pressure from White farmers was a major cause of the introduction of the new system. Table 1 shows that it had a modest effect in that it increased population growth between 1951 and 1960, though not sufficiently to stop emigration. But there is an irony too little discussed: that within a decade of the new system being introduced demand for labour had started to level off in absolute terms, rendering the system unnecessary for farmers since even at the height of the African urbanisation of the forties African farm population growth had not dropped to zero. Enforced retention was rapidly replaced by a policy of expulsion for many.

(b) If one looks at Figure 3 in conjunction with Figures 6 and 7, a further set of correlations may be discerned. In general, the regions with a plentiful labour supply are the low-wage, low cash proportion regions. If one takes high wages paid in cash and efficient utilisation of labour as touchstones of modernity, then it is clear that there are three unambiguously backward regions: the Eastern Cape, north-western Natal and parts of central and northern Transvaal. Progressive regions are most of the rest of the Cape and the southern Transvaal with other areas displaying a more mixed picture. All three backward areas are situated near to major reserves: the Ciskei/Transkei, Zululand and the Northern Transvaal. Plentiful labour in these areas then testifies to the permeability of the farming area/reserve boundaries.

In an original and very useful paper published in 1977¹⁷ Merle Lipton questioned the conventional thesis that 'there are two quite distinct agricultures in South Africa: the efficient white capital-intensive sector and the underdeveloped black sector which, burdened with traditional 'tribal' customs and attitudes and operating on unmechanised, small-scale holdings is, and will remain, inefficient'.¹⁸ Lipton considered the problem from a number of different perspectives: it is appropriate for me to deal with only one, namely African incomes from farming. Figure 8 shows African agricultural incomes per capita in 1960 prices by magisterial district, wages and own production in the case of Africans on white farms being added to production in reserves where both

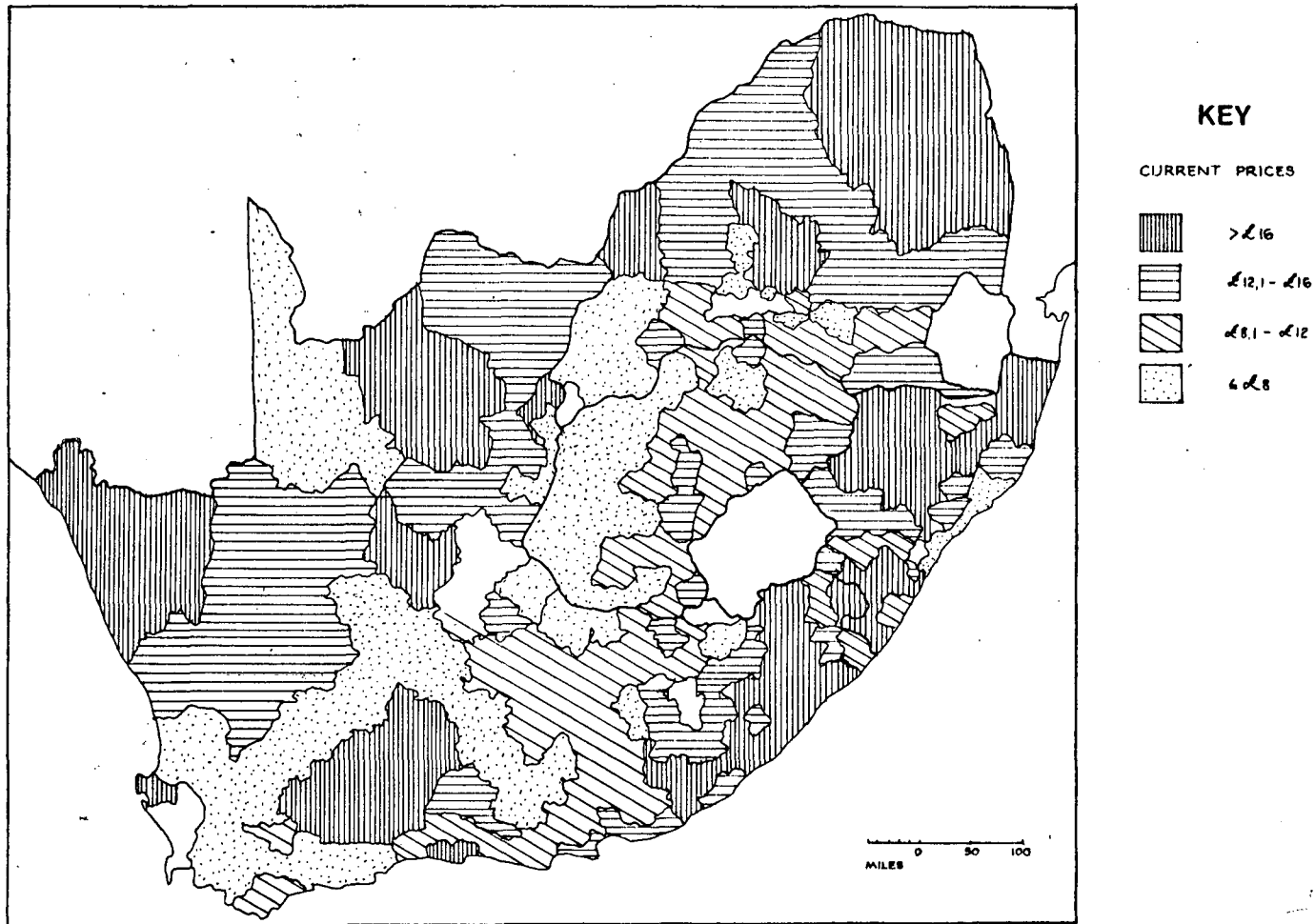


FIGURE 8 African agricultural incomes per capita 1960

occur in the same district. The picture it shows is by now a familiar one: low incomes concentrated in and around the reserves of the Eastern Cape, Natal and the Northern Transvaal-giving way to somewhat higher incomes in areas without reserves (with some exceptions notably the Karoo and North-western Cape). The transitional belts are quite extensive and the inter-quartile range of incomes is not very great; both these observations support a questioning of the thesis of two sharply divided agricultures. Yet it is still possible to conclude that blacks received higher agricultural incomes per capita in some parts of the white rural areas than their counterparts in the reserves. Perhaps it would be best to distinguish three agricultures in South Africa which shade into one another:

- (i) progressive capitalist agriculture where the cash wage is most highly developed,
- (ii) backward capitalist agriculture in which there is a constant tendency for officially discouraged forms to emerge: labour tenancy, share-cropping and rent-farming, arising from high African/white population ratios as the reserves are approached,
- (iii) reserve agriculture in which the wage form is virtually absent.

Figure 4 suggests, in general, that the rate of emigration from these backward areas has been fastest in the decade 1960-1970. This in part is to be attributed to the natural tendency of labour to migrate from low wage to high wage regions; very important, however, was the resettlement of farm residents to the reserves by the state in terms of the anti-squatting provisions of the 1936 Land Act. These three regions are by their nature prime targets for removals.

Consider the logic of the situation. The resettlement programme was prompted by a rising black/white ratio on the farms, a trend accelerated from about 1960 by an absolute decline in the number of white farmers. Accompanying this decline is, in part, a rationalisation of holdings with more extensive production per farmer, but also a rise in the number of abandoned farms and farms under de facto African control and we can assume the backward areas have their share of these. The state response has been a policy of encouraging labour-saving technical change: in practice an important part of this process has been the conversion of backward white agriculture into progressive white agriculture. The effect of state action is to raise reserve population

densities and reduce adjacent farm densities; to the extent that is successful this creates an unstable situation characterised by stock theft, clandestine re-emigration to farms etc. If the thin white line of farmers becomes too stretched in a particular area de facto African control could become very extensive with an accompanying drop in land values. Under the present dispensation, one might predict attempts on the part of the state to buy up such land and transfer it to the nearest homeland. Perhaps the rural aspects of successive rounds of homeland consolidation could be seen in just this light. Whether large enough pieces of land can be transferred to avert an unmanageable rural crisis remains to be seen.

C.E.W. Simkins
Cape Town
3 April 1981

Notes

1. DSRG Working Paper No. 10, Pietermaritzburg, 1979.
2. African-owned farms outside the reserves are excluded throughout this study.
3. Working Paper No. 10.
4. Union of South Africa, Report of the Commission of Enquiry into European Occupancy of the Rural Areas, Pretoria, 1959, pp.19-20.
5. Republic of South Africa, South African Statistics 1978, p.9.4.
6. On this, see my 'Context of African Unemployment in South Africa', forthcoming, pp.43-50.
7. Union of South Africa, Report of the Native Farm Labour Committee 1937-39, Pretoria, 1939, p.7.
- 7a. For two accounts from differing perspectives see F. Wilson, Farming 1866-1966 in eds. M. Wilson and L. Thompson, The Oxford History of South Africa Vol. II, pp.143-153, and M. Morris, State intervention and the agricultural labour supply post-1948 in ed. F. Wilson et.al. Farm Labour in South Africa, Cape Town, David Philip, 1977.
8. Report of the Native Farm Labour Committee, p.38.
9. in 'The National Income and the Non-European', p.316 in ed. E. Hellman, Handbook of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1949.
10. Paragraphs 158 and 166 of the Report of the Native Farm Labour Committee.
11. Paragraph 166 of the Report of the Native Farm Labour Committee.
12. See for instance Farm Labour in the Orange Free State, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1939, p.21.
13. For a militant statement of this view see J.C. Neethling, Lone en die Algemene Posisie van Naturelleplaasarbeiders in Die Naturel in die Suid-Afrikaanse Landbou, SABRA, 1954.
14. Summary Report, p.12.
15. R.H. Smith, Native Farm Labour in Natal, South African Journal of Economics, 1941, p.156.
16. On this see M. Morris, State intervention and the agricultural labour supply post-1948.
17. Merle Lipton, South Africa : two agricultures?, in (eds.) F. Wilson, A. Kooy, and D. Hendrie, Farm Labour in South Africa, David Philip, Cape Town, 1977.
18. Lipton, p.72.

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