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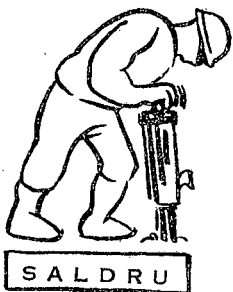
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Subsistence Wages and Primitive Accumulation on Plantations
in Rhodesia

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SUBSISTENCE WAGES AND PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION ON PLANTATIONS IN RHODESIA.

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"A man must always live by his work, and his wages must at least be sufficient to maintain him. They must even upon most occasions be somewhat more; otherwise it would be impossible for him to bring up a family, and the race of such workmen could not last beyond the first generation."

Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (Book I), Chapter VIII, 1776.

This paper attempts to identify the basic conditions of wage-labour supply and subsistence of agricultural workers in contemporary Rhodesia in the context of the prevailing processes of accumulation found in agrarian production. Part of this objective is to sustain the argument that 'primitive accumulation' still remains an essential form of the overall pattern of accumulation on the plantation. At the outset, then, it will be useful to review certain theoretical perspectives on the historico-specific process of primitive accumulation.

I. THEORETICAL DIGRESSION: 'PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION' IN ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND THE ANALYSIS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

The theoretical roots of the notion of primitive accumulation as used here really derive from the ideas of Classical political economy. In particular the notion flows from Adam Smith's extremely brief characterisation of the phase of 'previous accumulation' which must precede a situation in which the labourer's subsistence derives solely from a division of 'the stock which men commonly reserve for their own immediate consumption'.⁽¹⁾ For Smith, the 'previous accumulation' of stock was both previous to the division of labour itself ('labour can be more and more subdivided in proportion only as stock is previously more and more accumulated') and to the natural 'carrying on (of) great improvement in the productive powers of labour'. Ricardian political economy left these notions largely unaltered and undeveloped. Thus, in the Classical tradition, there exists little by way of theoretical explanation of the transition from the social state of dependence on 'previous accumulation' to that process of accumulation founded upon a pre-existent capital stock which itself becomes the fons et origo of the 'revenue' for its own self-expansion.

A fuller explanation, however, was developed in Marx's more explicit notion of 'primary accumulation' by which was meant 'an accumulation which (was) not the outcome of the capitalist method of production, but the starting point thereof'.⁽²⁾ It was seen as a prelude to capitalist accumulation proper, viz 'nothing other than the historical process whereby the worker is divorced from the means of production'. As such, at least in the abstract, Marx saw this as a phase 'traversed immediately before the history of capitalism begins'. This perspective stresses an organic conception of capitalist development, the economic structure of the latter 'issuing out' of the economic structure of feudal society. 'Creation' followed from 'dissolution', as it were.

Most scholars appear to have adopted this emphasis (on the divorce of the producer from the means of production) as the definitive component of primitive accumulation, despite some minor variation.⁽³⁾ Giovanni Arrighi, for instance, has used the concept to provide a convincing empirical refutation of William Barber's dualistic analysis of capitalist development in Rhodesia.⁽⁴⁾ However, Arrighi's work has not embodied a sufficient critique of the theory of dualism (based on Lewis' model) as used in the Rhodesian case.⁽⁵⁾ The central weakness of Barber's analysis

derives from the reliance placed in it on Lewis' explanation of accumulation, (viz, that capital expands solely from the process of re-investment of a given stock, the effect of which is to necessarily further the labour absorption process).

Paradoxically though, Barber explicitly admits in his text that in the Rhodesian case labour is acquired below the cost of its own reproduction, a situation that cannot be said to come about merely as a result of 'market forces'. (6) What Arrighi has largely successfully attempted to show is that political mechanisms have been crucial in the 'labour transfer' process. However, at the same time, Arrighi admits that 'the historical relevance of the Lewis model to the Rhodesian experience is limited to a period of roughly 20 years, i.e. from the mid-1920's to the mid-1940's'. (7) But this can be regarded as inadmissible if Lewis' model of accumulation is fundamentally inapplicable. Indeed, it would imply that the process of primitive accumulation did not apply during these years. Arrighi does not provide evidence to support such a view. Indeed, on the contrary, Arrighi's formidable evidence, together with recent work, illustrates the basic thesis that politico-economic mechanisms remained essential to the process of labour mobilisation after the 1940's. (8)

Arrighi's notion about the 'limited applicability' of the Lewis model can thus in part be explained by the acceptance of an unrigorous concept of 'primary accumulation' based on the orthodox Marxian view. For Arrighi, the notion was defined as 'a process in which nonmarket mechanisms predominate and through which the gap between productivity in the capitalist sector and productivity in the noncapitalist sector is widened ... the process (being) completed when the gap is so wide that producers in the latter sector are prepared to sell their labour-time "spontaneously" at whatever wage rate is consistent with steady accumulation in the capitalist sector'. (9) Once such a situation was reached, the Lewis postulate of the predominance of market mechanisms in the process of labour re-allocation from the non-capitalist to the capitalist sector 'becomes realistic, though political mechanisms may continue to play a subsidiary role'. (10)

These theoretical perspectives may be seriously questioned on a number of counts. Firstly, there is no theoretical clarity in the dichotomy drawn between 'market' and 'nonmarket' mechanisms found in the 'labour transfer'. Secondly, there is no means to assess the 'dominance' or otherwise of either set of these mechanisms. Thirdly, manifestations of differential sectoral productivity presuppose nothing about a processive theory of accumulation and the historico-specific sources of the capital stock. Fourthly, no statement is made as to the cost of reproduction of labour in relation to that wage rate which is 'consistent with steady accumulation in the capitalist sector' and without a specification of which it is impossible to ascertain whether labour is acquired at cost. At the very least in the Lewis model, and in Arrighi's interpretation of the historically-situated conditions in which it becomes 'relevant', labour implicitly exchanges at its subsistence cost and hence its reproduction is ensured by an 'exchange of equivalents', viz one form of subsistence directly for another. It is upon the veracity of this proposition that the issue depends.

At least one of the above criticisms of Arrighi's formulation of primary accumulation is found in Luxemburg's comment in which it is noted that 'there can be no reproduction unless certain prerequisites such as tools, raw materials and labour have been established during the preceding period of production'. (11) Luxemburg's more general thesis was that Marx's formal diagram of 'enlarged reproduction' could not be used to explain 'the actual and historical process of accumulation' because of its very premises, especially the assumption of an exclusive capitalist mode of production. (12) Thus, abstracted 'simple reproduction' and 'enlarged reproduction' schemes did not allow for a simultaneous process of primitive accumulation. Consequently, far from primitive accumulation processes a la Marx being 'incidental, illustrating merely the genesis of capital, its first appearance in the world; they are, as it were, travails by which the capitalist mode of production emerges'. (13) In particular, this point applies to the historical periodisation and the specific

form of the accumulation process, on the one hand in its historical and organic origins and, on the other, in its contemporary manifestations on a world scale in which capitalist development proceeds initially in certain States as a consequence of both implantation and primitive accumulation.

To a large extent, the theory of accumulation underlying Samir Amin's Accumulation on a World Scale derives from Luxemburg's view of primitive accumulation: 'Parallel with the mechanism of accumulation characteristic of the capitalist mode of production, namely expanded reproduction, a mechanism of primitive accumulation continues to operate'. (14) Thus, as it is possible to conceptualise co-existent modes in a particular economic system, so it is possible to envisage co-existent processes of accumulation. The analytical problem then is to identify the overall process of accumulation in the context of an understanding of the relationships between its various constituent parts. (15) It is therefore not necessary to deny one form of accumulation in order to assert the existence of another. (16) It is necessary, however, in the case of any specific economic system, to provide empirical evidence of the form(s) asserted. Here the concept of primitive accumulation must be understood in a technical sense even though at the same time it has socioeconomic implications. Its non-existence or otherwise thus becomes a matter of ascertaining whether or not these specified technical conditions pertain. Part of the problem here is that, as has been mentioned, no readily agreed conception of those technical conditions exists in the available literature although it is possible to trace some consistent threads from Amin through Luxemburg to Marx and Ricardo and Smith.

In the analysis of Rhodesia and South Africa, however, few consistent threads are found. One school suggests at least the partial relevance of primitive accumulation in the recent past whilst neoclassical economists together with those applying a modified Lewis model of accumulation assert the pre-existence of the capitalist stock at the same time as depicting the 'labour transfer' as a process involving the 'exchange of equivalents'. A re-examination of past analysis as well as theoretical elaboration on the process of accumulation would seem to be needed. (17)

Without trying to fully elaborate on a theory of primitive accumulation applicable to Southern Africa, it may be worth setting out a theoretical context within which to evaluate some evidence concerning agricultural wages and subsistence in Rhodesia. This amounts to attempting a technical definition of the form of primitive accumulation. In this regard, the following points appear necessary: firstly, labour must exchange at a wage below its cost of reproduction; and, secondly, socioeconomic means for meeting the labourer's costs of subsistence and reproduction which are not provided from wage-labour must exist and be directed towards this purpose. In the former instance, empirical evidence would be concerned with worker-household wage relationships to (some measured) necessary minimum costs of subsistence for the purposes of reproducing continuous labour supply. In the latter instance, a broader dimension of the relationship between wage-income and necessary subsistence-income derived by workers from sources outside wage-relations is involved.

It is not argued here that these two conditions represent the sole expression of the process of primitive accumulation but rather that they are essential in the case of a labour-reserve economy-type. (18) Thus 'extra-economic' relations of dependence, about which much is usually said and which are nonetheless important, are not extensively dealt with here. (19)

II. SOME EVIDENCE OF PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

Before examining some evidence on the issue of accumulation, it will be useful to briefly consider a few salient trends in postwar agrarian production and to situate the context within which the data are to be interpreted.

A. SCALE AND STRUCTURE OF PLANTATION PRODUCTION IN POSTWAR RHODESIA

Here the prime concern is the 'European farming sector' - otherwise referred to as 'plantation sector', because of its distinguishing characteristics regarding land size and division of labour in relation to other forms of agrarian production, notably the African Purchase Lands and Tribal Trust Lands.

LAND, FARM SIZE AND UTILIZATION

Under the Land Tenure Act (1969) approximately 38,7 million acres are reserved as 'European land', this being 40,1 per cent of all land in Rhodesia. The vast bulk of this area is farm land. The land distribution pattern is highly unequal in relation to the population dependent on the respective land areas. This fact has had a major bearing on the accumulation of capital and hence distribution of income in Rhodesia.

In 1914 there were 2042 white-owned farms, the number rising to 3640 in 1944. (20) By 1965 the figure had risen to 6266 and in 1969 the farm count totalled 8716 (though a number of these farms have not been worked or developed). Some farmers own more than one farm and some units are jointly and severally owned.

Data show that the average size of farms has remained relatively constant from 1951-65. In 1951 there were 1047 farms (19,5 per cent) smaller than 1000 acres and 21,5 per cent which were in excess of 5000 acres. The respective portions in 1965 were 23,5 per cent and 21,6 per cent. However, the size of the average holding has increased slightly from 5433 acres to 5476 acres. It is reliably believed, however, that fewer owners now control these holdings.

From 1946-65 the acreage covered by these farms rose from 22,5 million to 33,7 million, a 49,7 per cent rise. Acreage under crops rose from 552,000 acres (2,45 per cent of the total acreage in 1946) to 1 107 000 acres in 1965 (3,28 per cent of total acreage). Increased tracts of land have also been used for cattle ranching and grazing, as well as for other livestock. Allowance for this as well as an incidence of usable land would still permit the conclusion that a large unused land surplus exists in the plantation sector.

LANDOWNERS

In 1914, the first year for which such statistics are available, there were 3475 white persons involved in one capacity or another as farmers (2640 men and 835 women). By the end of the British South Africa Company administration in 1923 the number had increased to 4305 (3245 men and 1120 women). By 1965 7851 white persons were engaged in farming as owners or occupiers (5477 men and 2374 women). At this stage 72 per cent of farms were under the control of owner-occupiers, 16 per cent under lessees and the balance were 'managed' farms. A number of 'absentee landlords' also existed. More recent data on the composition of the rural landowning class are not available.

INPUT/OUTPUT RELATIONSHIPS

The gross value of agricultural output of plantation producers has grown enormously since 1920 when it was valued at \$2 million. (21) In 1955 it was valued at \$77 million and in 1973 at \$257,2 million. Much of the growth in output value has thus been a phenomenon of postwar years.

In 1949-50 the value of crop output was 84,5 per cent of total output value. At this time cattle slaughtering and dairy produce only accounted for 11 per cent of value produced. By 1973 the respective portions were 59,9 per cent and (approximately) 30 per cent. Also by 1973 the output of the forestry sector had grown to just under 2 per cent of Gross Agricultural Product and a processing industry (within the agricultural industry) accounted for a similar amount. These developments have had some effect on the pattern of demand for farm labour and have affected the status of employers and type of production with which workers have been associated.

The total input cost of labour into production has fallen as a portion of total input costs with sharp reductions being experienced in the post-1965 period. Taking African labour inputs separately, the respective input portions for 1965 and 1973 are 34,3 per cent and 27,3 percent.⁽²²⁾ Production has thus become more capital-intensive - a fact reflected in the greater volume/value of inputs like fertilizer, fuel, transport and electricity - and it has depended relatively less and less on unskilled African labour. Thus 'purchased inputs' have grown from 35,6 per cent of total inputs in 1950 to 58 per cent in 1965. In many ways, then, the integration of producer relations with suppliers in commerce, industry and abroad have assumed greater quantitative importance than the measured wage-labour relation with African labour. This is not to suggest, however, that the latter has become any less essential to production.

STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND DIVISION OF LABOUR IN AGRARIAN PRODUCTION

Whilst remaining the most important employer in the economy and the biggest earner of foreign exchange, plantation agriculture has lost ground to other sectors as a contributor to Gross Domestic Product. In 1959 the industry contributed 14 per cent of the total G.D.P. while in 1973 its share was 10,1 per cent. Real G.D.P. grew substantially in this period. Mining, too, lost ground in this period, the central dynamic in the economy being represented by the expanding industrial sector. What must not be forgotten however, is that a growing element of plantation production has also become 'industrialized' in the last two decades.

In relation to plantation production, 'African agriculture' has become less important. However, the wage-labour sector of the latter part of the agrarian system is growing in significance.

Another important indicator of structural change is the changing division of labour on farms. One indicator is the growing number of tractors used on farms. In 1947 there were 1155 while in 1965 there were 14 585. This has created new labour demands for tractor drivers, operators of equipment used with tractors and for mechanics and technical personnel on farms or in allied agricultural services.

It is against this changing production structure that the conditions of labour and subsistence of farm workers must be assessed.

B. TRENDS IN AND STRUCTURE OF WAGES, EARNINGS AND INCOMES DERIVED FROM PLANTATION EMPLOYMENT

It is instructive to examine the historical development of farm wages from the 1890's to the present day, firstly, for the period up to 1948 and, secondly, for the post-war period to 1974. Because of the complications involved in data collection, constructing suitable wage-deflators and the possible variations in treatment accorded the payment of wages in cash and kind between the periods, some care needs to be exercised in interpreting trends.

WAGES: 1893-1948, 55 YEARS OF REAL WAGE STAGNATION AND DECLINE

Wage data for the period 1893-1948 are collected in Table 1. Note that the data are incomplete in some respects, for example in terms of the coverage by year and in terms of being quoted in 'ranges' and not as consistent averages throughout.

The wage data should be read in conjunction with the price adjusted data collected in the Table in order that real cash wages or earnings can be estimated. The real wage figures should be interpreted in the light of the Notes to the Table, which deal with sources and the method of construction of the long-run index used to estimate real wages in constant prices.

The data indicate that the real cash wage of African farm workers in 1948 was quite possibly below the level for 1922 and average wages for intervening years, including the Great Depression (1927-34). If Arrighi's 'African Import Price Index' could be said to have been an adequate representation for pre-1914 price changes, then it would also be a logical inference that the 1912 average wage on the gold belt (35/4 in 1939 prices) was above the real cash wage for 1948 (as measured in 1939 constant prices) by a not inconsiderable margin.

Because of intermittent depressions, and fluctuations in prices between different years, however, care must be exercised in assessing the real wage data when making inter-year comparisons. Qualifications must also be made for the fact that these are cash wage not earnings data. However, it would be not unreasonable to assume that there existed a relatively strong degree of consistency in payments in kind (in terms of volume/value) throughout the period. Allowance should also be made for the fact that the index used for price deflation is based on indices which are not themselves specifically designed to reflect rural African consumer price changes.

The assumption made in drawing inter-annual real wage comparisons, however, is that the indices used are adequate trend indicators of the situation. It may be noted here that because the post-1964 European and African C.P.I. exhibit a high degree of consistency and correlation, this assumption is not wholly unwarranted. Furthermore, even economists of the Rhodesian National Farmers' Union and others in the Ministry of Agriculture have used the African urban C.P.I. to deflate farm earnings in order to obtain estimates of real farm wages.(23)

The broad significance of the 1893-1948 data, then, remains. It is that there is strong evidence to suggest that real cash wages (and earnings, if the additional assumption regarding a constant cash/kind ratio is allowed) for farm workers in 1922 were lower than in 1948. If they were not, then at least these wages were close enough to the 1948 level to justify the statement that evidence of real wage stagnation exists for the plantation sector since the 1920's.

WAGES: 1948-74, A PERIOD OF STAGNATION, DECLINE AND EVENTUAL PARTIAL RESTORATION OF REAL WAGE LEVELS

Post-1948 evidence on African real earnings from plantation employment is shown in Table 2. It is shown that, while (current price) average earnings have increased in real terms, the 1974 earnings level was below the 1954 level. It is also possible, by equating 1953 and 1954 earnings levels (the data are not directly comparable) to argue that the evidence supports the view that the 1974 real earnings level was no higher than in 1948.

Taken in conjunction with the data in Table 1, it can be argued that real wages in 1974 were possibly no better than wages in 1922. Here there is strong evidence to confirm the view that real earnings have been stagnant for the last 50 years - except for when they have declined, for instance in the 1963-74 period. Indeed, because some of the increase in earnings can be attributed to non-labourers employed in plantation agriculture, it is possible that real wages for labourers have even declined.

The significance of the real wage trend cannot be wholly appreciated if taken in abstract. The (relative) constancy of the wage needs to be considered in the context of (i) the situation of farm labour in the overall economic system, (ii) the structure of farm wages and contract forms, and (iii) wage stratification amongst the plantation labour force.

(i) RELATIVE DEPRIVATION OF FARM WORKERS IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

There are a variety of possible measures of relative deprivation. One is to consider the group concerned as against others, e.g. the national position. In doing so, it shall be borne in mind that for the 1965-73 period farm workers and their families have constituted around 20 per cent of the total population.

From 1965-73 the Gross Domestic Product grew by 108 per cent in market prices. During this period of steady growth (in real terms also) the earnings bill paid to agricultural workers fell as a per cent of G.D.P., from 4,65 per cent to 3,05 per cent. The farm earnings bill also fell as a proportion of the total (black and white) earnings bill. Further, it declined significantly as a portion of the Gross Operating Profits earned in the economy as a whole, from 12,60 per cent in 1965 to 7,63 per cent. Thus, while other workers gained relatively, profit-recipients gained even more in proportionate terms. The relative poverty of the African population dependent on earnings from farm employment can also be highlighted by the fact that, as a percentage of total Private Consumption Expenditure, the wage earnings from employment of farm workers dropped from 7,91 per cent to 5,14 per cent in 8 years. As a per cent of total personal disposable incomes in the whole economy, then, this 20-25 per cent of the population experienced a significant negative re-distributive shift against themselves. In 1973 more than a million and a quarter farm workers and dependents commanded less than 5 per cent of total personal disposable incomes (as calculated by their wage earnings). Thus, for the past 10 years, basic trends have all been strongly against the economic interests of the average farm worker. (24)

Relative deprivation may also be assessed on an industry level, though this should be understood in the aforementioned context. The African farm earnings bill has been a more or less constant 77-82 per cent of the industry earnings bill, but as a portion of the value of inputs it has diminished from 31,2 per cent in 1965 to 27,3 per cent in 1972. African labour has thus become relatively less important in economic terms as an input into production - largely as a consequence of mechanization and producer dependence on purchased inputs. The earnings bill/gross operating profits relationship has varied from year to year. Nonetheless, the ratio has fallen in recent years, as has the ratio of African earnings to the value of Gross Agricultural Product.

(ii) WAGE STRUCTURE AND CONTRACT FORMS

The wage structure of agricultural employment by type of contract has changed in some important ways in the last decade. Data on wage structures are shown in Table 3.

The highest paid contract form has been that for permanent workers. In real terms (after deflating wage data by means of the African C.P.I.) the cash wage rate for these workers fell from 1964-71, and rose by 9,6 per cent in 1973 in relation to the 1964 level. It is likely that a large portion of the increase accrued to non-labourers. The permanent cash wage rate has risen in relation to rates applicable for casual workers and RALSC-hired contractees. A most noticeable shift has occurred in the casual/African-hired contractee cash wage ratio. It has moved from parity in 1964 to a 1:1,74 relationship in 1973. The non-wage element of the earnings of permanent and casual workers, while rising in money terms, fell in real terms from a value of \$44 per annum in 1964 to \$39,9 per annum (1964 constant prices) in 1973, a 9,3 per cent reduction. The falling real wages of contractees hired by the Rhodesian African Labour Supply Commission (from Malawi) has been documented elsewhere in detail, but it is quite apparent from Table 3 that their real wages had fallen seriously up to 1971 and the higher rate applicable for 1972-73 only increased the real cash wage by 3,0 per cent over the 1964 level.

The relationship of wage structure to contract form can also be considered from the perspective of the mass of wages.

Although casual workers represented 25 per cent of the permanent and casual African farm labour force in 1974, their earnings bill came to only 12,9 per cent of total payments of wages, salaries and bonuses to Africans. African-hired contractees represented 5,4 per cent of the permanent and casual labour force in the same year and received 4,9 per cent of the payments of wages, salaries and bonuses.

Finally, although omitted from Table 3, account should be taken of a growing number of employees classified in 'Agricultural Services'. Their average wage levels have been considerably higher than rates applicable to other workers (e.g. \$172 in 1971). This group of 11-12000 employees also contributed more to the earnings bill in 1969-71 than did African-hired contractees. By contrast with 'permanent, semi-permanent and casual workers', their real average earnings have been steadily rising.

(iii) WAGE STRATIFICATION ON THE PLANTATION

Agricultural workers depend for subsistence on a large element of payment-in-kind which is normally given in a variety of forms. Real earnings calculations must take these carefully into account, as they have been in Table 2. The published data for earnings are usually aggregated estimates of wages and payments in kind.⁽²⁵⁾ As the C.S.O. Monthly Digest reports: 'Earnings include: (1) all cash wages, salaries, allowances, commissions and bonuses; (2) employers' contributions to pension funds, provident funds, holiday funds and medical aid societies; (3) the cash value of all income received in kind, e.g. free rations, housing, uniforms, etc.'⁽²⁶⁾ But, available data on the distribution of payments between workers only reflect cash wages. However, approximately 34-36 per cent of agricultural earnings are paid in kind (estimates are based on the range exhibited for 1963-71). This income 'in kind' element has not apparently altered much in recent years.

The cash wage distribution probably well reflects the earnings distribution both inter-temporally and between the various wage brackets. One reason for the relative historical constancy of this form of payment is that a significant element of it is derived from on-farm production, viz. workers constitute an important 'market' for plantation output. Hence, in 1973, the recorded ratio of the value of non-wage elements of earnings between provided and purchased elements was \$1,00/\$1,75. Since the annual income 'in kind' payments for 1973 were estimated at \$49,42 per head, and there were approximately 348 000 workers receiving such payments in that year, this implied a value of approximately \$17,2 million, of which an estimated \$6,3 millions were supplied directly from farms themselves.

It should also be noted that available cash wage data exclude non-permanent workers, the bulk of whom would fall into the lowest paid categories. Even so, as shown in Table 4, the vast bulk of permanent workers (84,6 per cent) in 1971 received a cash wage of less than \$12,26 (1971 prices). A growing proportion and number received a cash wage greater than \$24,54 monthly, and those in the intervening category had also increased. It would appear then that for 1961-71 increasing stratification was taking place.

The conclusion that proportionately fewer workers fell below a cash wage level of \$12,26 in 1971 must be considered tentative, however, because the data for 1961 and 1971 are not 100 per cent comparable. In the 1961 figures it appears from comparison with published employment data that almost all workers were accounted for in the distribution. In 1971 some 81,030 workers were excluded. If this latter number was included in the lowest wage band - a reasonable assumption since they consisted of contractees and casual workers - then 285,985 workers or 88 per cent of the total would have been in this category in 1971. It is likely then that, while some structural

change occurred, this was confined largely to the upper end of the wage distribution.

Data are also available for June, 1975 to enable the cash wage distribution to be identified for this period (see Table 5).

In 1975 then, 88,48 per cent of all permanent African agricultural workers received a monthly cash wage of less than \$20. Unfortunately, the data in Table 5 cannot be directly compared with data for 1967-71 in Table 4 because the wage intervals need first to be adjusted for the distorting effects of inflation. What can be said, however, is that a far larger number of workers received cash wages of less than \$10 monthly. If the 'excluded workers' - 93 230 seasonal/casual employees and 28 440 African-hired contractees were included in the lowest wage category (an eminently reasonable assumption) - then the figure for those in the lowest wage interval would be 241 330 (63 per cent of all African agricultural workers). Comparing this to the data in Table 4 (and the qualifications made thereto), it would appear that during 1971-75 a shift occurred in the relative portions in the lowest wage group. In other words, more recently stratification tendencies have increased.

The above conclusion is also supported by the fact that more workers in numerical terms are now in the higher wage categories. Note also that in 1975, 10 employees received cash wages in excess of \$300. These persons, however, were probably ex-Chibero graduates who are now 'farm assistants/supervisors' or employees in agricultural services. Thus the changing occupational pattern has contributed to wage shifts.

C. INDIVIDUALITY AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

Most of the evidence examined thus far has focussed on wage payments received by individuals. Labour-time is supplied by individuals but not simply as individuals in a universe abstracted from a specific social origin. It may be that this social group is best considered as a household or family, or even at a more macro level. Whatever, though, the cost of social reproduction must be assessed at a level beyond the individual if only because of the individual's necessary organic relationship with a broader social unit. It is thus possible to theoretically conceive of a socially necessary minimum level of subsistence of persons constituting the reproductive unit, whether or not in practice such a cost can be accurately ascertained or empirically determined.

The factors crucially affecting the level of minimum necessary subsistence of the reproductive unit are the size and/or composition of the household/family. Thus an assessment of wage 'adequacy' (in relation to the criterion of meeting basic subsistence costs from wage-labour) must take account of household size and needs. The extent to which the capitalist sector avoid these costs - which then must necessarily be met somehow else from other sources - is equivalent to the 'implicit subsidy' which it derives from the employment of workers thus concerned. It is upon the labour-time appropriated as a consequence of securement of such an 'implicit subsidy' that primitive accumulation depends. The 'implicit subsidy' reflects those elements of the social means of subsistence which allow for that addition to capital stock which depends on primitive accumulation. Indeed, this also implies over time a conversion into capital of an existent social means of production. As Sraffa has shown in Production of Commodities By Means of Commodities, 'production for subsistence' in a self-replacing state requires such means of production and their continuous replenishment in order to ensure the reproductive process. (27)

Whilst there are difficulties in conception and construction of Poverty Datum Lines (e.g. because of their typicality in assuming static dimension), they can provide some evidence of the subsistence costs of reproduction of labour in the environment of employment under specific socio-economic conditions at a particular historical juncture.⁽²⁸⁾ But even where this could be considered so perfectly calculated, and where it could be assumed to be essentially no different to instances where family units are not residentially-united, it would still underestimate the total necessary cost of reproduction because no reference in its construction is usually made to the costs of means of production required to produce the necessary means of subsistence.

Ideally, a national farm-specific PDL designed to serve as a tool to meet the aforementioned objective of providing estimates of reproductive costs would be desirable. Unfortunately, only one farm-specific PDL has been constructed in Rhodesia (for 1974).⁽²⁹⁾ Needs were socially-defined, itemised and priced at least-cost. Special account was taken of the payments practices on the farm - e.g. the fact that 'rations' provide a significant element of food consumption, the fact that firewood was 'free', etc. Thus all items provided by the employer were deducted from the value required to satisfy minimum income requirements at every given household size. The results of the calculation are shown in Table 6.

Accepting the limitations of the estimates as shown in Table 6, vis-a-vis comparison with the overall farm situation, they do illustrate the extent to which individual wage levels for most farm workers do not match up to the estimated minimum subsistence costs for family units.⁽³⁰⁾ However, as mentioned, the organic relationship of the individual to the family or reproductive unit means that it would be illegitimate to conclude simply on this comparison that primitive accumulation existed. This is because family earnings from employment in the capitalist sector may have been higher for quite a few households. Earnings from women and juveniles must also be taken into account. Unfortunately, there are no adequately specified macroeconomic data available to enable these two 'streams' of household earnings to be aggregated into a form depicting the household income distribution for farm workers.

However, with the knowledge of the situation as it now stands, it could legitimately be concluded that, even after such an adjustment, it is most probable that the bulk of households would still receive aggregate earnings receipts below their PDL-assessed respective minimum subsistence costs.

The conclusion to be drawn from such a finding is that agrarian capital still remains in receipt of substantial 'implicit subsidies' in order to meet the costs of labour's reproduction.

D. EARNING/SUBSISTENCE-INCOME RELATIONSHIPS: SOME CONTEMPORARY MECHANISMS OF PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

The fact that subsistence costs probably exceed household earnings in the case of many families raises an important issue. Where exactly do the 'subsidies' necessary to meet the shortfall between earnings and the required subsistence income come from? And in what proportions are they related? This issue is of great importance yet little solid empirical work exists which throws adequate light on the answers. It is raised here in order to encourage further investigation, the detailed task of which goes beyond the more limited brief of this paper. Some explanatory points may, however, be made in order to elucidate aspects of the relationship between modes of production in the economic system which allow for primitive accumulation to exist in some measure.

(i) ARTICULATION WITH LABOUR RESERVES

One of the most important sources of 'implicit subsidy' is that provided through the constituted existence of labour reserves, in the Rhodesian case the Tribal Trust Lands. In the past, foreign labour-supplying states fulfilled part of this function. However, the fact of existence of such social means of production capable of producing some social means of subsistence for this purpose is insufficient evidence in itself for identifying a primitive accumulation process in any particular branch of production or enterprise. The availability of subsistence must also be shown to be directed towards meeting the non-wage derived costs of reproduction.

In Rhodesia's case, no adequate macro data exist on the specific relationship of farmworker households to labour reserves. Historical forms of labour contract which have been clearly built around an explicit dependence on subsistence for family members derived from reserve production no longer apply (e.g. contracts with the RALSC). But they have been supplanted to some extent by similar types of contractual labour (e.g. contractees hired by African 'labour contractors').

However, not all workers find plantation employment as 'migrants', contractees, casual or seasonal workers (at wage levels below costs of subsistence). Articulation with and dependence on the Tribal Trust Lands can also take other forms, e.g. the periodic utilisation of rights of usufruct and consumption in their areas of origin or kinship connection. In particular, this access allows women and/or children to find means of production and subsistence outside of the plantation. Usufruct rights to land, communally provided, allow for labour-time to be applied to secure some means of subsistence. More simply, some subsistence consumption may be provided in the context of participation in a broader kinship group. For example, in one fairly typical compound examined in detail in 1976, it was found that, excluding 15 single workers out of a total of 72 employees, the total number of family members both in and out of the compound was 327 persons. (31) Of these, 111 were adults. Average family size was 5.73, but where those children of 16 years of age and over were excluded (numbering 49 in all) average family size was 4.61. When families located inside the compound were examined, a different picture emerged. There were 214 persons living in the compound, the average sized family being 3.75. Thus many women and children were located elsewhere - mainly in the Tribal Trust Lands. In fact, the evidence of reserve dependence was higher than indicated by the fact of absenteeism because a significant proportion of workers was of foreign origin and tended to have fewer dependents away. The age pattern of absent children was also revealing. Of the age group 0-5 years, 12,7 per cent were absent while for the group 6-10 years 29,6 per cent were away and for the group 11-16 years 45,3 per cent were elsewhere. Of those older than 16 years, 79 per cent were living away from the compound.

The contribution of reserves to costs of social reproduction is also evidenced in other ways, e.g. through its role as an 'accommodation mechanism' for the temporary, cyclical and structural unemployed. Under the 1969 Land Tenure Act Africans may not 'occupy' European-designated land areas except as 'employees'. Thus loss of employment forces the worker to seek an alternative domicile. The communal land form, and access permitted to it under customary law and the Act, enable the Tribal Trust Lands to fulfill a reproductive and replenishment role in this regard. The existence of a lineage system in which distributional rules allow for the provision of support to 'distressed' kinsmen (in times of unemployment, illness and old age) permits this set of relationships. Lack of formal unemployment insurance, paucity and insecurity of formal medical assistance, as well as highly constrained

opportunities for the securement of post-employment subsistence consumption under the recently inaugurated compulsory Rhodesian Agricultural Pension Scheme, operate to ensure that workers make the 'rational choice' of maintaining some form of necessary subsistence dependence outside the wage-labour nexus.

Whilst these mechanisms can be identified, and in reality take a complex of forms with workers related thereto in varying degrees of intensity, it is not possible to 'cost' them either jointly or severally.

The importance of labour reserves to the prevailing form of accumulation is also well understood by employers, even, or perhaps one should say especially, by large-scale multi-national agrarian corporations, e.g. Triangle Estates Ltd, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Hullets Corporation (South Africa). The latter is presently one of the highest-paying employers in the plantation sector, accounting alone in 1975 for 24 per cent of all African agricultural workers in the \$20-\$30 monthly cash wage category and 35 per cent in the \$30-\$40 range. One company advisor on labour policy noted in 1973 for instance that workers '(satisfy) their primary needs of survival through securing sufficient necessities for a subsistence living and seeking security both from a wage and from a kinship system as found in the Tribal Trust Lands'. Thus whilst revising its previous policy of exclusive dependence on foreign contract labour (through the RALSC from Malawi), the company examined but decisively rejected the prospect of switching to a wholly permanent work-force stabilised in situ at Triangle: 'The obvious strain ... on services with this size population would reflect an increasingly high proportion of indirect labour costs to direct labour costs ... The profitability of the organisation in the long-term could well be affected by such a development.' It was thus decided to ensure that permanent workers were restricted to 'the most productive and valuable labour available (and) a specified percentage of the total labour requirements'. This instance of labour policy reflects the articulation of forms of accumulation found more generally in the economic system.

(ii) UNPAID HOUSEHOLD LABOUR-TIME NECESSARY FOR SUBSISTENCE

The family members of the worker's household may deploy their labour time on the plantation in various ways which, apart from 'housework', are necessary for subsistence but are unpaid. These activities, insofar as they do not merely contribute to 'discretionary consumption', viz. consumption above the minimum necessary level, enable employers to avoid the full costs of reproduction of labour.

One important institutionalised practice on Rhodesian plantations which facilitates this relationship is the allocation of 'tillage land' to workers, on which crops and vegetables are usually grown. This may be an important supplement to food consumption at certain times of the year, though on average the yields are probably low. The cultivated area under 'tillage land' which in 1973 was used as a (temporary) 'means of production' by farm workers on Rhodesian farms, probably involved about 72 866 hectares of land. That this acreage is not inconsequential may be gathered from the fact that in the same year there were 89 834 hectares under cultivation in all African Purchase Lands in Rhodesia (the privately owned land area constituting some 10 per cent of all African land). It also contrasts with the fact that in 1965 (latest data published), the number of hectares under cultivation on European farms was just less than half a million.

On ranches the practice of allowing workers to keep beasts (usually cattle) on the land is widespread. The returns to the worker from this practice are then used to supplement earnings. However, in the forestry/fishing industries, the environment is often such that only small areas of 'tillage land' are allowed, if at all. Thus the value of this non-earnings source of income can vary from area to area and between one branch of production and another.

The system of allowing small plots of land to be cultivated by workers helps reduce the employers' need for outlaying cash to meet wage costs; and it provides a means of supplying workers with low-cost food. By providing 'private' means of production (however illusory in social reality), the owner gives some incentive to workers to raise their level of consumption. The 'allocation of land' is usually expected to contribute to worker welfare and subsistence. However, it also harnesses family labour to plantation production under a feudal-paternalist system in which the output is regarded as part of the payment for the workers' labour services whereas the input consists primarily of family labour supplies, an input which is not rewarded by the employer in the form of cash wages. The allocation of 'tillage land' thus masks the essential relationship that appears to exist between employers and workers, especially the former and the family of the latter.

However, as the value of land has risen, and as land close to the compound/central working area of farms has come to have advantages (from a production viewpoint) so, it is reported, some employers have begun to 're-think' their previous practices. Some have sought to more closely direct the agricultural practices of the workers on 'their' lands, in order to control the process of asset depletion, but at the same time raise yields so that, on the one hand, non-wage demands for income for subsistence on the employer are reduced and, on the other, less land is required to provide a minimum level of food output for workers-own-consumption. Thus farmers to-day often give seed to workers - to ensure that planting is not inhibited for financial reasons - and fertilizers, to raise yields. Sometimes, too, agricultural machinery will be applied to the land - at the cost of the farmer. Here the economic interest would appear to be to raise yields per unit of the worker's 'free' labour-time as applied to the cultivation of these fields. But it is also a means to release this labour-time for direct employer use. In a sense, then, the employer 'competes' (albeit at a substantial advantage) with the worker for the use of his/her total labour time. By ensuring reductions in the labour-time necessarily required to produce a given output from 'tillage lands', the employer is able to make greater 'call' on the balance and to ensure a higher potential labour input into farm production. Needless to say, at any given wage (or 'price' of subsistence met by the employer) the greater the available labour-time for the employer's use, the larger the latter's potential gains in productivity and profits.

Other forms of necessary subsistence may be obtained from the plantation but by the utilisation of unpaid labour-time, e.g. from legally permitted or 'illegitimate' foraging. Typically, workers and their dependents (often children) will gather food commodities from the land, e.g. dried caterpillars, insects, flying ants, wild fruits (prickly pears, loquats, figs, berries, etc.), mushrooms, beetles, crickets, field mice, fish, rock rabbits, birds, etc. Some farms have dams and some farmers give permission for fishing. Firewood may also be gathered at zero or little cost - again except in terms of the labour-time involved. Even accommodation - usually a pole and dagga hut - will be typically built by the worker in his 'own' labour-time.

(iii) PETTY PRODUCTION AND TRADE

Petty handicraft production and trade is engaged in by some men and women, though available evidence of this in farm compounds is limited. Beer is brewed and/or sold, legally or otherwise. This is often a lucrative trade, if the practice is permitted by the employer.

(iv) RE-APPROPRIATION OF THE PRODUCTS OF LABOUR NECESSARY FOR SUBSISTENCE

The low-wage system associated with primitive accumulation and the variegated articulation of forms of subsistence do not themselves guarantee a minimum subsistence for households. Workers and dependents thus often 'volitionally' appropriate commodities necessary for subsistence from employers. This 're-appropriation' of necessary subsistence-commodities, which can be distinguished from 'theft' (as understood as a 'discretionary process' of 'enrichment'), is facilitated by the relative ease with which commodities produced or used on the plantation can be taken without payment (e.g. maize, vegetables, sugar cane, milk, seed, fertiliser, etc.). Employer recognition of 'losses' from this quarter is widespread, typically taking expression in the employment of security guards for crops and compound policemen to discourage 'theft'. Naturally, there exists no means to measure the value of such consumption (whether directly consumed or sold for cash or exchanged) but it is no less important for this reason.

E. MECHANISMS OF ACCUMULATION: ASPECTS OF TRANSITION

It is not here suggested that primitive accumulation processes have an inherently indefinite life. The available social means of production and subsistence outside the capitalist sector are limited and processes of their conversion into private capital, although they may take generations, contain within them transition elements tending towards 'dissolution' and decomposition of the productive base upon which they depend. Their 'conservation' by Statist policies may or may not guarantee a more protracted longevity of life in specific areas. To suppose as much would be to fall prey to a mechanistic view of socioeconomic change. Nonetheless, as far as plantation labour policy is concerned, it is possible to discern tendencies which explicitly or implicitly account for the diminishing proportionate relevance of primitive accumulation in the overall accumulation process. Some of these are noted below.

(i) POLYVALENCY, SUBSISTENCE AND CONTRACTUAL FORMS OF LABOUR SUPPLY

Typically, farmworkers and their families must depend on a variety of sources of wage income, i.e. from a number of different contracts varying in duration, residence, type of payment and land access. This is polyvalency - the multiple number of wage labour (contract) bonds linking workers to employers through the reproductive unit.⁽³⁴⁾ Inability to survive merely on the basis of one employment contract alone causes workers and their families to rely on a number of other (inevitably) worse ones. For employers, pursuit of a policy of polyvalency enables the establishment of the least-cost mix of contracts which helps maximize profits. There are other effects as well. Families are kept in a state of imbalance - inevitably some contracts are temporary and contingent on (changing) demands. Employers may benefit from this insecurity because it undermines collective mobilization, raises social tension amongst families and in the compound. The 'parcellisation' of the total quantum of work-supply tends to reduce employee bargaining power. As a result workers deal with the management as individuals in respect of their own contracts and not as a group. Nonetheless, it is seldom that even complete family proletarianization enables more than basic necessary subsistence to be obtained. Ernest Feder has in a different context referred to this as an 'iron law of subsistence', an image with a Ricardian ring about it which is of import in the Rhodesian context.

The use of a polyvalent labour policy can also be regarded as a means facilitating the transition from primitive accumulation to expanded reproduction as well as joint articulation during the transition. Whilst such a policy may help reduce labour cost, by introducing or making greater use of labour with relatively lower wage rates, the policy has two other effects: that of raising household/family income and that of enabling (but not necessarily guaranteeing) labour stabilisation.

In order to assess the extent to which the phenomenon discussed here has become more significant on plantations, it is necessary to consider the character of farm labour supply and its changing contractual forms in recent years. Here data is incomplete, but it is sufficient to enable perception of some relevant tendencies.

The number of African farm workers has increased 252 per cent to 358,000 in the 28 year period to 1974. The last 5 years showed a positive annual average rate of employment growth of 3,86 per cent. It is also worthwhile recording that whilst agricultural employees have become a smaller component of African wage-labourers (falling from 39,3 per cent in 1965 to 34,5 per cent in 1974), the industry has maintained a relatively constant share of G.D.P. per worker employed in this period.

Since 1956 the numbers of women workers have increased markedly, from 29,450 to 84,556 in 1975, thereby increasing employer dependence on this source from 11,9 per cent to 24,7 per cent of total labour supply. Most of these workers have been 'drawn' from farm compounds where a greater degree of 'labour stabilization' has taken place in the last two decades. Only an element of the female labour force has however been employed on a permanent basis, but this appears to be an increasing proportion of permanent workers. The vast majority constitute a casual or seasonal labour supply. In 1972, for instance, there were 17 992 women employed as 'permanent and semi-permanent' workers in plantation agriculture. This was 6,3 per cent of all African employees at the time and 26,9 per cent of all women so employed. What is also striking is the fact that employers have placed relatively less dependence on permanent labour vis-a-vis casual labour during the 1969-74 period, a trend which reflects the lower price of the latter form of labour supply and the wage 'discrimination' element whereby African women workers have received lower rates of pay than men.

Juveniles also became a more important source of labour from 1961-69. Data show that in respect of males, the ratio (juveniles to men) rose from 12,4 per cent to 14,4 per cent in this period. The data also understate the use of juvenile labour as they exclude female juveniles. No comparable data exist for the 1970-75 period.

It can thus be shown that in 1969 women and male juveniles - both groups paid below the rates applicable to adult men workers - constituted 28,3 per cent (72,181) of the total African agricultural labour force. Even though the above data are not broken down by occupational category, it would be correct to state that the juvenile/female component constituted an even greater element of the labourers in the industry - because most skilled/semi-skilled and service jobs have been held by adult men. This proportion has most likely increased since 1969 as employers have become more dependent on non-permanent/female labour supplies.

Another relatively cheap source of labour supply, provided through African labourer contractors, should also be noted. This has been another important form of labour contract which has been used to reduce labour costs. The annual average number of African-hired contractees rose from 7.200 in 1967 to approximately 22,000 in 1975. As a portion of total employment, the supply from African contractors has risen from 2,6 per cent in 1967 to 4,7 per cent in 1975. In some intervening years (e.g. 1969 and 1972) it has been even higher.

These supply shifts have been accompanied by changes in the relative significance of different elements in the ownership structure of plantation agriculture. The most important shift in the status of employer for 1961-69 has been in the greater number and proportion of workers falling under the control of limited liability companies. This reflects two basic tendencies: the expansion of the agricultural operations of large (multi-national) corporations, e.g. Triangle Ltd, Hippo Valley Estates, Liebigs, Mazoe Citrus Estates Ltd, etc., and the greater extent of incorporation of smaller-settler producers into private limited

companies. The influence of familial/personal paternalism in framing labour conditions has thus given way in relative priority to a corporate/multinational regime.

The increasing dependence on a wider variety of contract forms, especially those to which lower wage rates apply, provides some evidence of a polyvalent labour policy under conditions of stagnant real wages and an increasing volume of employment. It is also important to note that this process has taken place whilst the industry's reliance on foreign African labour supply (137,030 workers or 60 per cent of the total in 1956) has significantly diminished in both absolute and relative terms (to 116,618 or 32 per cent of the total in 1975). The co-existent replacement of local for foreign workers as a gradual process has only been possible as a consequence of sustained underdevelopment in the Tribal Trust Lands.

Social and labour stabilisation has also taken place, although it is only possible to make inter-censal estimates on these phenomena based on 1962-69. The bulk of the farm population (in 1962) was male/adult and of the age group 16-44 years. A notable sex imbalance existed in this age category (1,59 males for every female) though it was much less pronounced in the under 16 age group. However, slightly fewer young girls stay on farms, some being sent to live in the reserves or in the countries of origin of their parents. The ratio of 'adult men' to others in 1962 was 1:1,30. There is little doubt that this has changed since 1962 as more families have taken up more-or-less full-time residence on farms. In 1969 the non-urban African population of the 'European Areas' totalled 928,379 (assumed here to be equivalent to the on-farm population). In the 1961-69 period the total farm labour force grew by 10,3 per cent (28,000) some of it in the form of female and juvenile workers. It can thus be concluded that the estimated 91,949 increase in farm population from 1962-69 was mainly an increase in numbers of dependents brought to live with the breadwinner in farm compounds. It is likely that these trends have continued in the period 1969-76.

The process of 'labour stabilization' on farms has also reflected the changing division of labour in plantation production and a lessening of dependence on supplies of unskilled/'migrant'/foreign labour. Higher paid employees, bureaucratic groups, 'service workers', African supervisors and 'Boss boys', semi-skilled operators and technical employees have typically lived with their families on the farm. These groups now form a more significant element of the labour force.

Stabilisation policies have been reflected in a number of fields and in different ways. For instance, in cases they have been a consequence of deliberate policy e.g. as exemplified in the policy of Rhodesia Tea Estates Ltd: 'What we are really aiming at in the long run is family participation - the wife, husband and children all working on the plantations'.⁽³⁵⁾ Similarly, in Lowveld sugar estates (e.g. Triangle Ltd), adjustment to wage structures has been specifically geared to the imperatives of more settled labour and a reduction in labour turnover within a policy of dependence on a reserve-located work force, the higher wage policy of the 1973-76 period having already reduced turnover to 11 per cent in the case of industrial workers on the mill and 30 per cent of average complement in the agricultural division.

Stabilisation policies have also been reflected in, and encouraged by inter alia, the compulsory national pension scheme, the greater involvement of Rural Councils in the provision of social amenities and health services, the provision of educational facilities (notably on large estates) and a greater interest in the improvement of housing and compound accommodation.

To some extent these changes can be said to have been a necessary element in the rural proletarianisation process. They underpin aspects of social reproduction which cannot any longer be adequately fulfilled by complete dependence on lineage relations or production structures found in the Tribal Trust Lands.

(ii) THE 'PRIVATISATION' OF SOCIAL MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND SUBSISTENCE

The transition from primitive accumulation does not exclusively necessitate the conversion of social means of production and subsistence into capital through the labour mechanism which allows for wage payment below costs of social reproduction. The decomposition of the reserves and the disarticulation of the previously pertaining relative unity between production and consumption has also been brought about by other forms, in particular the 'privatisation' of social means of production.

'Privatisation' has been most complete in the legal and effective conversion of 'communal' land into private ownership and tenure, e.g. in the case of the African Purchase Lands. Were this process to extend to the limit, without significant compensatory adjustment to labour and social policy, the basis of the labour system and the primitive form of accumulation would be seriously threatened. Thus the proposals of the Land Husbandry Act (1951), which embodied just such principles, and more recent calls for similar action (e.g. the Witsun Foundation's programme for 'national development' and some proposals of the Quenet Commission), have fallen on largely stony ground.

'Privatisation' has brought into existence its own specific articulation of wage-relations with pre-existent or installed systems of production. The APL's have really only developed since the 1930's and it is still common to find household in this small-scale agrarian sector using a combination of family labour supplies and hired workers (both permanent and casual). Indeed, as found in one sample of 27 farms for 1964, hired labour constituted around 15 per cent of labour-time (less than in the case of children, 24 per cent, and the wife/wives of household heads, 21,5 per cent). During 1970-74 permanent wage-labourers constituted only 4,3 per cent of the total APL population. But they represented 27 per cent of men over 16 years of age. To this should be added the structurally-incorporated element of casual labour supply (measured as equivalent to 4.4 permanent workers per APL farm in 1974). A fairly high degree of 'illegal occupancy' (442 of 9000 farms were 'vacant' in 1974), evidence of 'squatters' on-site, availability of itinerant labour-gangs, and the proximity of a marginal peasantry allow for the securement of such labour supplies. On average, as shown by available evidence, wages and conditions of labour are worse in APL's than on plantations - many of the workers typically being young, 'landless' or foreign. (36)

From the viewpoint of social reproduction, the evidence of the APL's, as well as of the conditions in which there has been a spread of wage-relations in the TTL's, implies one or both of two tendencies. On the one hand, the historical transformation of the peasant into a rural worker has been a decidedly uneven process, in terms of the effect it has had on basic levels of subsistence. On the other hand, in the case of a number of rural workers, a lower level of subsistence has been enforced. The limited nature of available evidence does not allow for a firm conclusion as to the exact extent to which these two inter-related tendencies have been manifest in the development process.

III CONCLUDING PERSPECTIVES

I should like to divide some concluding perspectives into three parts: the empirical, the theoretical and a note on unresolved contemporary research issues.

A EMPIRICAL

The evidence of long-run wage constancy does not imply that the ratio of wages to domestic (or even domestic and foreign) social means of subsistence in the non-capitalist sector(s), upon which base part of the cost of reproduction of labour depends, has been constant for the period examined. Contemporary

evidence regarding the involution and stratification experienced in the Tribal Trust Lands would rather suggest that the ratio has probably been rising. But, by contrast with some non-agrarian sectors (e.g. manufacturing), this has not been a consequence of rising real wages, except for a small class of mostly semi-skilled workers. Such a process could lead to the further stratification of African workers.

B THEORETICAL

If the technical definition of primitive accumulation advanced in Section I can be accepted, and the evidence of its existence admitted, then it follows that critical questions are raised for economists seeking to analyse accumulation and labour mobilisation in Southern Africa.

Firstly, some neoclassical models of 'labour exchanging at its cost' would not be relevant, at least to the extent to which primitive accumulation was present. Since this is the dominant paradigm of many but not all Rhodesian economists, much of their work might be considered on this score to have been based on unsound premises.

Secondly, in so far as primitive accumulation can be traced to its historic root in the theories of Classical political economy, a case exists for arguing that the 'classical' Lewis model of dualism represents only a special case of a fully fledged classical theory of accumulation. Lewis' explicit preclusion of the element of primitive accumulation is thus not wholly consistent with orthodox classical doctrine. And both Arrighi's depiction of primary accumulation and acceptance of the Lewis' model's restricted relevance to Rhodesia would appear to be misplaced.

Thirdly, it seems that an explanation of the place of primitive accumulation in the overall accumulation process makes some contribution, albeit incomplete to the theory of wage-determination in Southern Africa. On the one hand, it breaks with neoclassicism and the orthodox Lewis-variant of classicism. On the other, there appears a break both with the orthodox Marxian variant, in so far as in the latter wages come to depend upon a subsistence theory of wages combined with an unemployed reserve of surplus labour, and also the strict Ricardian model, with its subsistence theory of wages combined with the assumption of a highly elastic labour supply for Malthusian reasons.⁽³⁷⁾ It is apparent, however, that to some extent the latter two theoretical views co-inhabit some similar territory. And whilst neither was designed specifically to address the question of the determination of (subsistence) wages in the phase of transition during which primitive accumulation is relevant, a theoretical vacuum has developed. What appears required for the Rhodesian, if not Southern African, context, is a coherent theory of subsistence wage-determination that gives due weight to the changing character of the accumulation process, explains the formation, decomposition and re-structuring of different types of labour reserve as well as relationships between them, and embodies a theoretical understanding of demographic change in the transition to a dominant capitalist mode of production.

Fourthly, in so far as primitive accumulation represents a process, the ending of which is dependent time-wise on the exhaustion of a limited volume of social means of subsistence, can it be so strongly asserted that 'blocked transition' is an inevitability? Already, of course, some have argued that (for South Africa) this itself is a false problem because the reserves do not constitute a mode of production which has ability to reproduce.⁽³⁸⁾ It is in effect implied that the transition is past. Whether valid or not, the evidence presented here would suggest the contrary for Rhodesia and by implication for the "Southern African economic complex", if such a perspective has any meaning

C UNRESOLVED ISSUES

At the very least, this paper has indicated the basically unsatisfactory nature of much of the available evidence. This is not to suggest that better data will 'solve' what are often theoretical issues: but they could clarify the latter. It may thus be worthwhile noting some aspects of clarification which might be sought for the Rhodesian case. Listing these, without any special ordering, they are: (1) a method and data to estimate the relative contributions of different forms of accumulation to the capital stock in different enterprises, sectors and branches of production; (2) a more adequate measure of and data on the cost of reproduction of labour; (3) evidence of the exact level and value of dependence of wage-labourers on forms of production which provide for 'implicit subsidies' to employers; (4) in conjunction with (3), evidence on the value of the various forms of contribution of non-wage 'subsidies' upon which capitalist production necessarily depends. Data deficiencies in these areas may also be relevant to other countries as well.

However, even with the best data in the world, economists will probably only compound their existing credibility crisis if they do not rid themselves of restrictive foci in their attempts to comprehend and explain social reality. For many in Southern Africa, however, immersed in formalism or praxiology, the biggest unresolved issue still remains the hereditary bias of received doctrine and a neglect of the fundamental theoretical issues which the Classical school of political economy began to try to explain.

NOTES

1. Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, Pelican, 1970, p. 374, (original 1776). Other quotes in the passage are from p. 372.
2. Karl Marx, Capital, Dent, 1974, p. 790. When referring to this Marxian concept, the term 'primary accumulation' will be used in distinction to other interpretations. Other quotes in the passage are from p. 792.
3. See for instance Maurice Dobb, Studies in the Development of Capitalism, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963, p. 185.
4. G. Arrighi, Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective, Journal of Development Studies, 6, 3, 1970; also W.J. Barber, The Economy of British Central Africa, OUP, 1961.
5. The model is found in W.A. Lewis, Economic Development with unlimited supplies of labour, Manchester School, May, 1954; also Unlimited Labour: Some Further Notes, Manchester School, January 1958; and Reflections on Unlimited Labour, in L.E.D. Marco, International Economics and Development, Academic Press, New York, 1972. Lewis does however refer to Marx's 'primary accumulation' directly, but he ignores this phase of the accumulation process.
6. W.J. Barber, op. cit., p. 184, where the following statement appears: 'migration (in Rhodesia) --- frees the employer from the responsibility to pay a wage high enough to support both the worker and his family. Thus, in all probability, the money wage is lower than it would be if the indigenous family were completely dependent upon cash wages for their minimum requirements.'
7. G. Arrighi, op. cit., p.226.
8. For example, see Peter S. Harris, Black Industrial Workers in Rhodesia, Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1974.
9. G. Arrighi, op. cit., p. 214. See here some similarities with M. Leggasik's definition in Capital Accumulation and Violence, Economy and Society, 3, 3, August, 1974: 'primitive accumulation may be regarded as the utilisation by capital of instruments of extra-economic coercion inherited from the previous mode of production' (Emphasis added). It is similar to some aspects of Arrighi but is basically unacceptable because it tries to define the process by means of a set of instruments and furthermore it makes these contingent on inherited forms.
10. Ibid.
11. Rosa Luxemburg, The Accumulation of Capital, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1971, p. 31.
12. Ibid. See especially p. 417, for example the following: 'Marx's diagram of accumulation is only the theoretical reflection of the precise moment when the domination of capital has reached its limits.'
13. Ibid., p. 364.

14. Samir Amin, Accumulation on a World Scale; A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment, (Volume I and II), p. 382: 'There is expanded reproduction when profit - the income from invested capital - is saved and reinvested in order to expand productive capacity. In contrast to this, in the prehistory of capital, the income that is originally turned into capital cannot itself be derived from a profit from a previous investment of capital, but must emerge from exploitation of non-capitalist sectors: this is primitive accumulation.'
15. Here one should not omit the prospect of net foreign capital additions to the capital stock if accumulation is being considered at the level of a particular nation state.
16. This seems to be implicit for example in Merle Lipton, White Farming: A Case Study of Change in South Africa, Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, XII, 1, March, 1974.
17. In noting some of the problems in contemporary analysis of migrant labour in South Africa, Bell has said that 'disagreement stems largely from the lack of an adequate explanation of migrant labour, the formulation of a satisfactory theory.'
It could be ventured here that an understanding of accumulation would need to be incorporated into such a 'satisfactory theory'. See R.T. Bell, Migrant Labour: Theory and Policy, South African Journal of Economics, 40, 4, 1972.
18. I have ignored as self-evident the point suggested by Hindess and Hirst that displacements and transformations at the level of the state apparatus are also 'essential elements of the so-called primitive accumulation.' Whilst being part of it, such aspects do not define the process. See Barry Hindess and Paul Q. Hirst, Precapitalist Modes of Production, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1975.
19. These aspects are discussed in D.G. Clarke, Agricultural and Plantation Workers in Rhodesia: A Report on Conditions of Labour and Subsistence. Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1976, (f/c). Much of the empirical data is taken from this source where its origins are documented in detail.
20. Data extracted from C.S.O. Economic and Statistical Bulletin of Southern Rhodesia, 1, 4, 1933, p.4 and H. Dunlop, The Development of European Agriculture in Rhodesia 1945-1965, Dept. of Economics, Occasional Paper No. 5, University of Rhodesia, 1971, p. 61. Unless otherwise cited, data in this section are taken from these two sources.
21. C.A.S.O., Report on Agricultural and Pastoral Production in Southern Rhodesia 1946-1947, Salisbury, p. 27.
22. See Rhodesia, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Agricultural Input Costs, Salisbury, 1973, Table 1, p. 24.
23. See B.H.G. Duncan, The Wages and Labour Supply Position in European Agriculture, Rhodesian Journal of Economics, 7, 1, March, 1973; also E.D. Ely, Background to the Present Labour Shortage, Rhodesia Agricultural Journal, 72, 6, 1975.

24. As against other African workers, it can be calculated that in 1948 some 38 per cent of the total African earnings bill accrued to farmworkers, then 38 per cent of all African workers. In 1970 these two proportions were 16 per cent and 39 per cent respectively. Other data confirm similar shifts as against other classes or groups, e.g. white workers.
25. The procedure adopted for estimation in Rhodesia has been as follows: The C.S.O. asks all farmers to complete a return (the last was in 1975 and the one before in 1971). Returns specify the quantities of commodities given to workers in respect of various items. These data are then 'priced' or valued at cost to the farmer, then aggregated and put into per capita terms and finally added to wage data derived from the quarterly enquiries on employment. The estimates are updated annually. The end result is an industry 'average earnings' figure.
26. Rhodesia, Monthly Digest of Statistics, C.S.O., August, 1975, Explanatory Notes, p. 75.
27. Piero Staffa, Production of Commodities by Means of Commodities, C.U.P., 1960.
28. I am proposing here that modified PDL's can be used for such purposes. This is independent of whether or not some economists have constructed them for different purposes or whether it is 'legitimate' or not to use PDL's for wage-fixing.
29. It is contained in Roger C. Riddell and Peter S. Harris, The Poverty Datum Line as a Wage-Fixing Standard, Mambo Press, 1975, Table 23, p. 68.
30. At the time, Riddell and Harris calculated that the single man's P.D.L. was \$9,62. It could be shown that 73,1 per cent of farm workers received a cash wage below \$10 monthly in that year.
31. For details see D.G. Clarke, Agricultural Workers, op. cit.
32. Documentation supplied to the author by Triangle Ltd. For a full analysis of the company's labour policy see D.G. Clarke, Agricultural Workers, op. cit., Ch. 9. Quotes in this section are taken from the above source.
33. Own estimate on the basis of CSO information regarding average size of 'tillage lands.'
34. I have made use of this concept as used by Ernest Feder, The Rape of the Peasantry, Anchor, New York, 1972. The theory was first expounded by J. Barbosa.
35. Sunday Mail, 23 June, 1974 (Emphasis added).
36. See for example, A.K.H. Weinrich, African Farmers in Rhodesia, OUP, 1975 also Norman Reynolds, a Socio-economic study of an African Development Scheme, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1969.

37. For a lucid discussion on the distinguishing features see Maurice Dobb, Theories of Value and Distribution Since Adam Smith, Cambridge University Press, 1973, pp. 151-154.
38. For example see Michael Williams, An Analysis of South African Capitalism: Neo-Ricardianism or Neo-marxism? Bulletin of the Conference of Socialist Economists, iv, 1, February, 1975.

AFRICAN AGRICULTURAL WAGE RATES, 1893-1948

| Year | Current Price | Price Index Constant 1939 Prices (Linked Series) | Real Wage 1939 Prices | Remarks | Source (Original cited where possible) |
|------|---------------|--|---------------------------------|---|---|
| 1893 | 10/- monthly | - | - | 'Rations' probably given in addition | Decle, <u>Three Years in Savage Africa</u> , p. 131, Hist. Mes. C04/1/1 |
| 1903 | 15/- to 30/- | - | - | Probably per ticket | CNC, Annual Report, 1903 |
| 1906 | 22/6 (av.) | - | - | Monthly | CNC, Annual Report, 1906 |
| 1912 | 30/- to 40/- | - | - | Probably per ticket, for 'raw' non-RNLB labourers, plus food and quarters | Civil Commissioner, Annual Report, Hartley, 1912 |
| (a) | | | | | |
| (b) | 15/- to 25/- | - | - | Probably per ticket; off the gold belt; 'all found' - supply scarce | |
| 1914 | 10/- to 25/- | 90,3 | 11/1 to 27/9 (av. 16/7) | Wages noted for 23 districts; average around 15/-; probably per ticket | Office of the CNC, 22 Nov. 1920, Salisbury, HAR N3/33/2, Schedule B |
| 1919 | 18/- ticket | n/a | n/a | Considerable worker discontent at wages reported | CNC Annual Report, 1919 |
| 1920 | 12/6 to 40/- | 124,9 | 10/- to 32/- (av. 16/- to 20/-) | Wages noted for 23 areas; av. around 20/- to 25/-. Real wage 1914-20 reported to have fallen 165% | Office of the CNC, 22 Nov. 1920, Salisbury, NAR N3/33/2, Schedule B. |
| 1922 | 20/- | 88,1 | 22/9 | 'Ration' in addition | Official Year book of S.R. 1924 |
| 1923 | 5/- | 86,1 | 5/10 | Some employers in Mrcwa/Mount Darwin | Rhodesia Herald, 9/3/1926 |
| 1926 | 21/- | 84,5 | 24/10 | 'Rations' in addition | Report on Industrial Relations, 1930, by Sir Henry Clay |
| 1926 | 18/- to 22/6 | 84,5 | 21/4 to 26/8 | Re ticket for RNLB labourers | M.C.Steele, Labour Research Seminar No. 6, 1973, University of Rhodesia |
| 1927 | 15/- | 86,2 | 17/5 | Mean level | Ibid., reported by CNC |
| 1934 | 8/- | 104,7 | 7/7 | Some 'bad' employers: ticket rate | CNC, Annual Report, 1934 |
| 1946 | 28/9 | 131,3 | 21/10 | RNLSC ticket rate | RNLSC, Annual Reports |
| 1948 | 30/9 | 144,2 | 21/4 | Industry average derived by applying known 1971 cash/kind ratio to 1948 earnings level of 46/3 monthly. | S.R. National Income and Social Accounts 1946-51, C.S.O. |

Note: The Price Index shown in the Table is a composite Linked Series derived from three separate sources. The first, for 1914-23, calculated as a 1914 base, has been obtained from the C.S.O., Letter to the Author, Ref. No. CPI/2/02 21 Nov 1975. The second was calculated from the deflation Index used by W.J. Barber, The Economy of British Central Africa, O.U.P., 1961, p.104 for converting National Income to constant prices. Its base is 1929 and it runs up to 1939. The third index is an All Items Index (base 1939 = 100) derived from the C.S.O., Letter to the Author, Ref. No. CPI/2/02, 4 February, 1972. Figures are available on this index for 1939-71. The rate of change is consistent with the presently published European C.P.I. found in Rhodesia, Monthly Digest of Statistics, C.S.O. Arrighi, (Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective, Journal of Development Studies, 6, 3, April 1970) has constructed an African Imports Price Index (base 1914= 100) and quotes 1904 = 148 and 1911 = 94. Linked to the series above, these would read 1904 = 133,6 and 1911 = 84,9.

TABLE 2

AFRICAN AGRICULTURAL EARNINGS 1948-74

| Year | Earnings Bill Current Prices \$ millions | Av. Earnings Current Prices \$ per annum | Av. Earnings 1964 Prices \$ per annum | Year | Earnings Bill Current Prices \$ millions | Av. Earnings Current Prices \$ per annum | Av. Earnings 1964 Prices \$ per annum |
|------|---|---|---|------|---|---|---|
| 1948 | 8,7 | 55,7 | 99,1 | 1962 | 30,2 | 111,0 | 115,4 |
| 1949 | 9,6 | 57,8 | 97,6 | 1963 | 34,4 | 121,9 | 125,2 |
| 1950 | 10,6 | 60,0 | 95,5 | 1964 | 36,2 | 123,5 | 123,5 |
| 1951 | 11,2 | 60,9 | 88,6 | 1965 | 35,9 | 123,5 | 120,4 |
| 1952 | 12,8 | 69,9 | 97,5 | 1966 | 33,9 | 124,9 | 117,8 |
| 1953 | <u>14,0</u> | <u>70,0</u> | <u>93,1</u> | 1967 | 33,2 | 122,5 | 114,2 |
| 1954 | 21,0 | 96,3 | 125,0 | 1968 | 34,6 | 122,6 | 111,7 |
| 1955 | 22,6 | 100,4 | 128,2 | 1969 | 36,9 | 123,0 | 111,7 |
| 1956 | 23,8 | 104,3 | 127,7 | 1970 | 36,8 | 126,8 | 112,8 |
| 1957 | 24,4 | 99,6 | 118,2 | 1971 | 39,8 | 131,0 | 113,1 |
| 1958 | 26,4 | 104,3 | 119,7 | 1972 | 44,5 | 133,0 | 111,7 |
| 1959 | 27,0 | 104,2 | 116,4 | 1973 | 49,5 | 142,0 | 115,6 |
| 1960 | 28,6 | 105,9 | 115,5 | 1974 | 55,8 | 155,8 | 119,0 |
| 1961 | 29,2 | 108,1 | 114,6 | | | | |

Sources: Southern Rhodesia, National Income and Social Accounts of Southern Rhodesia 1946-51 C.S.O.; W.J. Barber, The Economy of British Central Africa, O.U.P., 1961; Rhodesia Monthly Digest of Statistics, C.S.O. (various)

Note: The data have been deflated in accordance with the relevant price index cited in Table 1. Also note that data prior to 1954 cannot be compared directly with data thereafter.

TABLE 3
AFRICAN AGRICULTURAL WORKERS WAGE RATES
AND EARNINGS BY CONTRACT TYPE

1964-73

(in dollars per annum)

| Year | Cash Wages | | | Income in kind | |
|------|----------------|--------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Perma- nent | Casual | African- hired Contractees | RALSC- hired Contractees | Permanent & casual workers |
| 1964 | 81 | 48 | 48 | 62 | 44 |
| 1965 | 82 | 48 | 50 | 62 | 43 |
| 1966 | 84 | 48 | 55 | 62 | 44 |
| 1967 | 85 | 48 | 60 | 62 | 42 |
| 1968 | 85 | 48 | 64 | 62 | 44 |
| 1969 | 85 | 48 | 72 | 62 | 46 |
| 1970 | 87 | 48 | 89 | 62 | 44 |
| 1971 | 91 | 52 | 96 | 62 | 47 |
| 1972 | 99 | 49 | 97 | 78 | 46 |
| 1973 | 109 | 50 | 87 | 78 | 49 |

Source: C.S.O. Earnings of African Employees on European Farms, Salisbury 1974 (data supplied by C.S.O. to Mr. E. Ely - cited in Background to the Present Labour Shortage, Rhodesia Agricultural Journal, 72, 6, 1975); D.G. Clarke, Contract Workers and Underdevelopment in Rhodesia, Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1974.

Note: Data for the 1964-70 period are C.S.O. estimates, except for data on RALSC-hired contractees.

TABLE 4

INTER-TEMPORAL CASH WAGE DISTRIBUTION FOR
PERMANENT AFRICAN AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

(constant 1971 prices)

1961-1971

| Wage Group | 1961 | | 1971 | |
|-------------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|
| | Number | % | Number | % |
| Under \$12,26 | 212 767 | 89,4 | 204 955 | 84,6 |
| \$12,26 - \$24,54 | 21 484 | 9,0 | 30 315 | 12,5 |
| \$24,54 + | 3 645 | 1,6 | 6 930 | 2,9 |
| Totals | 237 897 | 100,0 | 242 200 | 100,0 |

Source: Calculated from Rhodesia, Cash Wage Distribution of African Employees, C.S.O., DL/599/500, December, 1971 (mimeo); Rhodesia, Final Report of the September, 1961 Census of Employees. C.S.O. Salisbury, 1965. On the method of adjustment of wage intervals see the method as used in D.G. Clarke, Domestic Workers in Rhodesia: The Economics of Masters and Servants, Mambo Press, Gwelo, 1974, Table 12, p. 71.

TABLE 5

CASH WAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
PERMANENT AFRICAN AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

JUNE, 1975

| Wage Interval | Numbers | Per cent |
|---------------|---------|----------|
| Under \$10 | 119 670 | 46,31 |
| \$10 - \$20 | 108 960 | 42,17 |
| \$20 - \$30 | 17 970 | 6,95 |
| \$30 - \$40 | 6 120 | 2,37 |
| \$40 - \$50 | 2 340 | 0,91 |
| \$50 - \$60 | 1 690 | 0,65 |
| \$60 + | 1 660 | 0,64 |
| Total | 258 380 | 100,00 |

Source: C.S.O., Wage Distribution of African Employees by Industrial Sector for the Month of June, 1975, DL/933/60, November, 1975 (mimeo).

TABLE 6

MONTHLY P.D.L. BY FAMILY SIZE

(AFTER ACCOUNTING FOR PAYMENTS IN KIND)

SELECTED FARM

FEBRUARY 1974

(dollars)

| Family Size | Food | Clothing | Fuel & Lighting | Personal Care & Health | Household Goods | Transport | Education | Post Employment Consumption | Total |
|-------------|-------|----------|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 2 | 9,02 | 3,48 | ,45 | ,83 | 1,98 | ,59 | - | 1,47 | 17,82 |
| 3 | 9,93 | 4,34 | ,45 | ,93 | 2,09 | ,59 | - | 1,47 | 19,80 |
| 4 | 14,43 | 5,48 | ,45 | 1,21 | 2,72 | ,59 | ,65 | 1,47 | 27,00 |
| 5 | 19,30 | 6,81 | ,45 | 1,47 | 3,13 | ,59 | 2,67 | 1,47 | 34,56 |
| 6 | 25,90 | 7,95 | ,45 | 1,74 | 3,76 | ,59 | 3,36 | 1,47 | 45,22 |
| 7 | 31,15 | 9,28 | ,45 | 2,01 | 4,17 | ,59 | 4,05 | 1,47 | 53,17 |
| 8 | 38,26 | 10,61 | ,45 | 2,27 | 4,80 | ,59 | 4,05 | 1,47 | 62,50 |

Source: Roger C. Riddell and Peter S. Harris, The Poverty Datum Line as a Wage-Fixing Standard, Mambo Press, 1975, Table 23, p.68.

Note: Riddell and Harris stress that the above data represent minimum costs needed beyond what employees receive 'in kind'. No value is included for accommodation. I have taken the smallest families size in each instance. The original table shows two sizes of household for each family unit (i.e. young as opposed to older children).