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A F R I C A N S T U D I E S I N S T I T U T E

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SOCIAL ORIGINS AND THE ROLE OF KINSHIP IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF WHITE WOMEN WORKERS AT THE ZEBEDIELA CITRUS ESTATE, 1926-195?

by Andrea van Niekerk

> Social and economic developments in the larger society, economic constraints, and changes in industrial organization affect the family's ability to respond to labour markets, organize migration, and influence work processes. In turn, internal changes within the family, as well as the family's priorities, which are dictated by its needs and cultural traditions, affect labor supply, motivation for work, and social relations in the production process.[1]

According to this argument of American historian T. Hareven, it is clear that for an understanding of the adaption of white women workers on the Zebediela Estate, one has to consider the social mileau, the material and personal imperative of these workers. This essay has to remain fairly tentative though, because of the limits imposed by scant references in the company's documents, and by the small size of the survey done. Conclusions are inevitably based on the experiences of the majority of these women, i.e. those who came from the Northern Transvaal.

Zebediela Estate is particularly fascinating because of the way it brings together a rural-agricultural and an industrial world, with both influencing, and even shaping the other. What follows, is therefore incomplete in a way, since it represents only one half of this equation. So one has to keep the 'other half', the industrial sphere of Zebediela, constantly in mind, to retain a sense of the dynamic two-way interaction between the countryside and the factory.

I

In geographical terms, the majority of the white women who worked at Zebediela, came from the Northern Transvaal, as one would expect. In fact, of a group of 36 women, only nine did not come from that part of the country. Others came from the rest of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State (OFS) and as far afield as Mosselbay. The Department of Labour sent two packers from Vryburg, (2) and an application from Durban, although citrus packing was also done in the eastern Cape, and at Muiden in Natal.[3]

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The majority of women migrating from the Orange Free State, appear to have come from the northern part of the province, places like Frankfort, Parys and Sasolburg. From the nearby Western Transvaal, women arrived from Makwassie, Schweizer-Reneke and Wolmaransstadt (although another packing operation was situated at Rustenburg). It is interesting to note how Lichtenburg women were often perceived as exceptionally poor by their fellow-workers. Cities like Johannesburg and Pretoria were not included. In 1948, the Armesorgraad of the N.G.K. applied for vacancies at Zebediela for a number of women.[4] A married English speaker applied from Mayfair, Johannesburg.[5] Others came from the eastern and south-eastern parts of Transvaal, in particular the area around Middelburg-Delagersdrift. They were indeed "of all sorts and places".[6]

The greatest number of women, had at leat one thing in common: they were the daughters of Afrikaans-speaking farmers. Of a group of 33 women for whom the occupation of their father or relative with whom they were living is known, all but three came from farming households. The fathers of the three exceptions were a miner, a transport driver, and an unemployed cripple. They were all members of large families, and often related their faimily history to events like the Rebellion, concentration camps, or figure in history, like Jan Smuts, and even the Voortrekkers. Women spoke with pride about their parents 'taming' the Bushveld. This group of 'pioneers' of the Northern Transvaal, figured prominently in the reports of the Carnegie Commission.[7]

The Northern Transvaal was largely an area of mixed (especially tobacco, potatoes and mealies) and cattle farming. It is therefore on these, and cattle farming in particular, that one needs to concentrate, when seeking to establish the link between the condition of agriculture and young white women seeking employment in the period between the two world wars. Two questions need to be raised: one need to ask why these women were looking for work, and then why did they take jobs at Zebediela specifically.

An Estate memo of 1930, attributed the inefficiency of white women as packers, to the fact that they were not dependent on their earnings as seasonal workers.[8] This was true only in exceptional cases. Application was made by a divorced nurse who claimed that she owned properties, did not need money, but wanted the experience.[9] Interviewers believed that some women went to work at Zebediela for the adventure, the desire to get out of their comfortable houses, the experience, and even for romance amongst the orange blossoms.[10]

But these women were the minority, and others could in retrospect hardly believe that they existed. According to Mrs Heystek, a packer,

> everybody that worked there was poor, because one who had something, would not have stayed there.[11]

Talking about women who complained about their wages, Mrs Smith, who worked as a fruit examiner, said,

> I could never understand how they could pretend to be rich people, but ... it was as if it was only the poor people who worked there, that needed the money.[12]

Another packer, Mrs du Preez, admitted that they divided everybody into two groups, the 'elite', and the 'proppe', who were obviously less well-off. However, even the 'elite' needed the work:

> or else they would not have gone (to work there), because it was hard work.[13]

The Estate management reported that many women arrived undernourished at the beginning of the season, but left at the end, in a better condition.[14]

The position of South African agriculture by the 1920s, has already been too well sketched for it to need any repetition here. According to the Carnegie Commission, the problems suffered by agriculture ranged from natural disasters (especially drought and locusts), to the devastation of the Boer War, industrialisation and the capitalisation of agriculture.[15] The Commission found that although the Cape had the largest number of poor whites, the rural areas of the Transvaal experienced the most rapid rate of impoverishment. It is instructive that J.G. Strijdom, who declared that capitalism in agriculture should be fought, found support especially amongst the tobacco and stock farmers of the Northern Transvaal.[16]

Already in 1897 a migration of poor people was taking place, from the older districts to areas in the north like the Waterberg. As a result, the white population of the Northern Transvaal showed an extremely rapid rate of growth:[17]

> Northern Transvaal (Waterberg, Potgietersrust, Pietersburg, Zoutpansberg, Letaba).
>
> | Date | European Population |
> |---|---|
> | 1911 | 16 593 |
> | 1918 | 22 252 |
> | 1921 | 28 410 |
> | 1926 | 36 815 |
> | 1931 | 40 697 |
>
> Increase 1911 - 1931 145%

The Commission believed that these migrants to the North consisted of people who were in the first place unable to cope with what it called 'the demands of the increased competition'.[18]

> Great social and economic upheavals followed the discovery of minerals. All these things together was the reason why a large part of the old Transvaal population could not adapt to the changed conditions, and stayed behind in the economic race.[19]

The marked attention that the Commission gave the Northern Transvaal, indicated that even in the impoverished countryside this area was regarded as a particular problem.

Although the 1920s did see the beginning of real agricultural development in the north, this development must be seen in context.

Groundnuts, which was part of an increased diversification, really took-off as a result of the Second World War, which led to guaranteed prices. Tobacco prices were fairly profitable, but with it came the threat of over-production. This crop remained one that was essentially produced with family labour. Citrus production remained constant, while vegetables also came into its own right after the Second World War. Cattle farming saw a rapid increase in productivity and efficiency, which was part of the growing capitalisation of agriculture in the region that took place during the period under discussion.[20]

But the picture presented by cattle farming, was not just rosy. It also contained a warning. The agro-economic survey conducted by the Division of Economics and Marketing, found that farms were divided into too many small units. As a result, the income of the average farmer was small:

> It was found that only the big cattle farmers and farmers who speculated a great deal, make a good living in this area. In contrast, the small cattle farmer, with his uneconomic unit cannot, especially in time of low prices maintain a reasonable standard of living.[21]

The crux of the problem was that few of Zebediela's white women came from such relatively big farms, where an adequate living could be made from cattle farming. A woman who grew up on Witfontein south of Ellisras, stated that:

> there were no big farmers around here as there are today.[22]

Another put it more bluntly:

> everybody was poor - there wasn't really anybody that was ahead.[23]

The Depression produced great problems for white farmers, "years of desperate struggle for economic survival against the seemingly merciless attempts of both the market and nature to drive farmers off their land".[24] The older sister of an interviewee agreed that things were so bad, that it would have been very useful if she was able to find a job. But,

> there was no work. It was a time of poverty. That was in 1930 and thereafter was the Depression. It was a very difficult time.[25]

The Great Depression was followed by a drought in 1933. These two events had a disastrous effect on prices, especially after 1930, which not even the Pact government's price stabilisation measures could counteract.

Only two women said that their fathers were bywoners. Although this is a very tentative suggestion, it would appear as if the majority of women interviewed, came from families who owned the land on which they farmed. However, keeping in mind the downward curve of agricultural prices at the time, it comes as no surprise that the ownership of land did nothing to safeguard one against a crucial lack

of cash income. (See Appendix 111) The daughter of a sheep farmer recalled that during the Depression, her father sold a sheep for 5/-.[26] Another remembered selling her cow for £5, and using the money[27] to buy two calves for £2 each, and a pair of £1 shoes.

> Months passed in which you did not see how a sixpence looked.[28]

Even where they had adequate food, and

> we had our own place, we had enough water and all, but I don't know, money makes money.[29]

For others, the problem was acute to the point of not being able to buy the necessary foodstuffs:

> In those years my mother was a widow, and she struggled to go on ... Then she, my brother and I bought a few groceries from that income, and we just went on.[30]

In some instances, this cash problem was solved by bartering:

> You take two, three dozen eggs and a chicken under the arm, then you go to the shop to barter. Then you buy sugar for a sixpence, a candle and coffee and such things ... You suffered from hunger in the house, even in the countryside. Everything you had, you had to get from the land, because there was no money to buy with.[31]

But of course there were things that could not be bartered for, and this included railway tickets with which to get to Zebediela. These women then had to borrow money to get there in the hope of finding employment.[32] Even occasionally available, especially as orange packers:

> They could not make a living on their farms, so they came to pack oranges.[33]

To sum up, the dilemma of most Northern Transval cattle farmers was in the fact that they were poor, did not own big land, and often did not have large numbers of stock. This was compounded by agricultural prices after the Depression, which created a need for these families to earn cash money. For others, like bywoners and inhabitants of settlement, these problems were magnified. Bywoners, for instance, had to cope with a constant threat of insecurity as well:

> Often, while you are a tenant, the farmers only wait until the crop is on the land, and most of the work has been done, then they find something (fault) ... you had no contract.[34]

In addition, another of the findings of the Carnegie Commission was that, with reference to white urban migration, that,

> the European farm population itself, both the rich and the poor, adjusted their demands to a higher standard of living with amazing rapidity.[35]

This is particularly relevant in the light of the expressed motivation of young women to seek work:

> They (the parents) saw that they could not give the daughters what they needed. And if they worked for themselves, they could buy what they needed.[36]

Under these circumstances, members of rural families were 'only too grateful to get a job', and their attitude to places like Zebediela, that was 'a way out for more than one', became one of great gratitude.[37]

The position of agriculture, falling prices and growing capitalisation, were more than enough reason for members of rural families to seek outside employment. Fathers and brothers got temporary work on the roads, or on relief work like the dam schemes like the Loskop scheme. But, as Bozzoli pointed out,

> there is no logic in the fact of proletarianisation which determine that men should be first off the land.[38]

More often in these families, it was the daughters that left the farm, migrating to Zebediela, and in later years in increasing numbers to the cities. This raises the next question, since if a white rural family was in need of a cash income, why were the daughters more likely to leave, in contrast with rural black families.

The answer seems to lie in the way that young white women formed an untapped supply of labour. This was not a phenomenom exculsive to South Africa. It has been argued in another context that,

> the fact that European labour forces consisted primarily of young, singel women ... is itself an indication of the persistence of familial values. Daughters were expendable in rural and urban households, certainly more expendable than their mothers, and, depending on the work of the family, their brothers. When work had to be done away from home and when its duration was uncertain, the family interest was best served by sending forth its daughters.[39]

For this reason,

> unmarried women provided the most readily available manufacturing labour force because they could be easily freed from agricultural activities without disrupting the ongoing organisation of the family farm.[40]

In the typical white rural family, the unmarried daughters seldom had pivotal importance in the work of the family. In his Psychological Report for the Carnegie Commission, Wilcocks stated that of 24 daughters in a group of 19 poor families, eight were married, and 14 were 'helping mother in the house.'[41] Women presented a recurring image of

the stillness and boredom of farm life. When these young women worked during the season at Zebediela, their mothers did the housework, and during the break between seasons

> then we did all the housework, cleaned the floors, washed the washing and all those sorts of things.[42]

So they could be taken out of the household, and returned, without serious disruptions. Another believed that her parents allowed her to work, because they knew 'it is on the farm, very lonely and boring'.[43]

> My brother and I were still in the house, and it was very quiet. He helped on the farm.[44]

It may be that one can apply the same argument to these women that Hareven found to be true for rural migrants to an industrial milltown:

> Most of these people preferred the industrial city to the 'lost', mythical rural community which, today, is often idealized for its harmonious and wholesome way of life. 'Rather', many were driven into the factory system by the deprivation and tedium of farm life.[45]

The picture whereby young, unmarried, expendable labour on the farm, seeked employment when presented by a combination of material need and opportunity, is slightly complicated by the presence of a minority of married women. But actually, the same argument holds true for them as well. Keyter wrote a treatise on marriage and the family in 1940, and argued that,

> stripped of all significant productive activities the home has become so empty that the woman has also started her exodus from the home.[46]

What this means, is that the same spread of commodity exchange that created the need for rural families to have a member working off the farm, lightened the way for their process of proletarianisation.[47]

In the case of Zebediela, the way was only laid bare once the shortage of unmarried women in the late 1930's abolished the preference for unmarried workers. Many of these women lived permanently on the Estate, and worked as day-labourers. Others lived there temporarily with their husbands (usually in tents), and while the husband did seasonal work in the orchards, the women packed oranges. Other married women left their homes, husbands and children behind, for the entire season. Such women had to have a strong enough motivation to overcome the existing prejudice against mothers leaving their children, 'because a mother has to stay at home'.[48]

Some worked to buy clothes for their children, and others worked to ensure their children a better future, in terms of education, than they had. Usually the children were left with either the father or more often, the woman's mother. Where there were no children and the husband was absent from home, working at Zebediela became very convenient. During the Second World War for instance, the wives of soldiers found it a useful place to earn extra money.[49] But married

women were always the minority, and one can perhaps argue that it was the vulnerability of unmarried daughters to partial industrialisation, that protected the rural household from radical change.

But having argued that these women were available for employment, one still has to examine why they found that employment at Zebediela. Zebediela was not an 'ordinary factory', because working there, also involved hostel accommodation, and the degree of control over individual lives that it implied, and thus provoked an entirely new range of considerations altogether. Two problems have to be addressed. To what extent did women seek work at Zebediela, exactly because of these considerations around seasonal work and hostel accommodation. On the other hand, to what degree is it true that women worked there, because there were no other, more acceptable, alternatives available to them.

Every year contained two orange packing seasons. The Naval season lasted from mid-April to June, and the Valencia season from July to October/November. The two seasons were therefore divided by a break of approximately three weeks to a month. During this break, and after the second season, all packer and graders went home. This seasonal flux did offer some advantages. According to the Matron

> They work a part of the year, then they go home, they go to rest, and then they return and they work again and go back home again. I think they earned enough to save for the times that they did not work.[50]

Others agreed that being able to spend a part of the year at home, and then with some money in your pocket, was very desirable:

> I actually enjoyed it. Three months was a long time to stay away from your home.[51]

But once having experienced seasonal migration, other women left Zebediela when they were able to, exactly because they disliked the back and forth migration.

> I think we got tired of working there. Also because we could not work the whole year. The period we spent at home ... you are bigger and older, and you no longer just want to stay at home.[52]

One of the reasons why they were intitally willing to migrate seasonally, was because it satisfied their parents, whose permission they felt they needed to be able to work. The issue of parental control will be discussed in greater depth below. Suffice to say the parents often approved of having their children back at home for a part of the year, as well as feeling comforted by having them live in hostels, under the strict eye of the matron:

> It gave my mother some sort of satisfaction that we were not completely away from home.[53]

Living in a hostel was not only more acceptable to parents, but also more convenient for married women. With their husbands absent, for instance as soldiers in the Second World War, it rid them temporarily of the responsibility of the household. For others, one could

imagine that the issue of control was as important to their husbands, as it was to some parents. Living on farms that were often situated a considerable distance from the nearest town, also made the hostel a practical feature at Zebediela. Many could probably echo Mrs Heystek's words, who believed that,

> If Zebediela did not exist, I would never have gone to work.[54]

Apart from this, Zebediela was situated in the countryside, and therefore a less alien prospect than moving to a city. It was also well-known. Many of the women learned about Zebediela from mothers and sisters who used to work there. It also rapidly became the largest orange estate in the world, whose reputation spread across the country.

Another major employer in the Northern Transvaal was the Letaba Citrus Estate. Despite similar working - and living conditions, and roughly equal wages, many avoided it because of the stiffling climate and incidence of malaria. Neither was it as well-known as Zebediela. Others preferred not to work in the cities either, for a variety of reasons. Coming back to the issue of parental control, young women were sometimes forbidden to go to the city. Partly because of their parents' negative attitude to 'Sodom en Gomorra' and partly because of the absence of kin there:

> If you said city, they saw something evil. They did not believe that a girl should go alone. There was no family in the city you could go to ... they thought you were lost even before you arrived.[55]

Others simply felt that the city was 'alien and far away and everything'.[56] But it is interesting that this same lady did eventually leave Zebediela for Pretoria in 1941, partly because of the seasonal work, and partly because of 'Pretoria se liggies'. Similarly, a lady who initially felt that,

> for the city Johannesburg, where there was probably enough work available in the clothing factories and so on, we from the countryside did not have the courage at that stage.[57]

Yet three years later, in 1941 at the age of 23, she moved to Johannesburg.

But there was another very basic reeason why many went to Zebediela rather than anywhere else. This had to do with their inability to find alternative employment. Thus one lady agreed that she would have preferred a daily job, but 'in those days there were no such thing'.[58] Another said that she rather enjoyed doing seasonal work, 'because we did not know of other work'.[59]

This lack of employment in the countryside has been well documented. The Carnegie Commission noted that,

> in the country even the daughters of more comfortably situated farmers find little scope for profitable occupation, but in the poor households they can contribute

> practically nothing towards their own support and that of the family.[60]

So Zebediela became the only opportunity for many to earn cash. Such was the surfeit of women, that already in 1931 did the Estate turn many women back who came looking for work.[61]

During this period, the Northern Transvaal contained few big towns. The countryside was scattered with little towns that consisted of little more than a shop and a Post Office. In a typical town like Groblersdal, where many women originated,

> the nearest place we could earn a bit of money was Zebediela.[62]

Women were in any case not always able to utilise the opportunities that did exist. Men, as breadwinners, were regarded as more needy of jobs, and so some jobs were rather filled with men. These included the shops (usually Jewish or Indian), the railways, and even the Post Office (the exchange was usually operated by a woman). 'In those days the men did all the work'.[63] It also had a lot to do with the myth that young Afrikaner women stayed at home, and did not work: 'You did not work of course.'[64] It was interesting to see that this last woman used the notion of women not working, as the reason why she had no alternatives to Zebediela, open to her. It was also suggested that in the towns, women from the town got preference when it came to employment.[65]

Prejudices could prevent women from taking what work there was. Parents could refuse to allow their daughters to do domestic work. The Carnegie Commission explained this attitude with the argument that,

> in other and more prosperous days they had been accustomed to their own home to leaving at least the rougher kinds of domestic work to the coloured or native servant, and so now they refuse to entertain the degrading suggestion that their own child should descend to the level of an inferior race.[66]

It also mentioned that low wages are paid for long hours of work. This did not mean that some women did not do these jobs, but it is instructive that they never stayed at the job very long. One lady went to help in the house of a friend/relative, and his sick wife, until her mother ordered her home. Another looked after an elderly woman but couldn't stand her 'fieterjasies'. 'I sometimes felt that I could not take it any longer'.[67] When she heard about an opening as a cook, a woman went for an interview, although,

> in those times they (parents) were scared of letting you go out/away.

After getting the job, her brother who introduced her to this position, decided that she won't go, saying that

> I don't think it would be the right thing for you to do.[68]

Although the cousins of another woman looked after the children of rich people in Johannesburg, her mother adamantly refused to let her do it. She believed the reason for this refusal was because 'it was humiliating to her'.[69]

Another alternative was to work in a shop, cafe or pharmacy in the local town. Mrs Lotter left Zebediela in 1938 to work at the SB Cash Store, the biggest in Pietersburg.[70] There were problems here as well. Complaints against working in shops resolved around the standing, the responsibility of working with money, and working with the public. Working in a shop demanded some grooming, which few women could afford. This was perhaps less important in the countryside, but there again there were greater problems getting accommodation in a very small town, and much fewer shops around. Very often such a shop was owned by an Indian, which excluded it from consideration altogether.

None of this meant however that there was no opportunities available at all, merely that they were strictly limited, in the Northern Transvaal in particular. It has been shown that some women left their jobs, to go to Zebediela. In most cases this was because of dissatisfaction, or for practical reasons. A women from Koringpunt applied for an office job at Zebediela, but was offered work as a grader.[71] Another who applied from Pretoria, worked for a Mayfair dressmaker, who moved to East London.[72] One woman worked for a small while in a cafe, but it is unclear why she left.[73] A woman who worked at Zebediela for eight years, left to work in a cafe, partly because her parents moved to town (Naboomsrpuit) and partly because of the rumours at Zebediela about a switch to black women.[74] Another worked in a cafe until her parents moved to Marble Hall, from where it was easy to reach Zebediela.[75]

There was other work available in the countryside itself, in tobacco stores, fruit packing plants, and school hostels. These tobacco 'gwais' were sometimes used as a stopgap in the seasonal break. Miss Byrne worked in the Pietersburg 'gwai' during a break, but returned to Zebediela because the wages were the same.[76] The wages were apparently only 10 shillings, whereas at Zebediela it varied according to your ability and hard work.[77] Another complained that in the 'gwai' in which she worked before going to Zebediela, the smell was unbearable.[78] Some women packed apples in summer and oranges in winter.[79] A fairly common job was as cook in school-hostels in places like Heidelberg and Ellisras, which was of course not a seasonal work.

For women who migrated to cities, the scope was of course much wider, with the clothing factories especially providing jobs for unskilled women. A number of women interviewed, did leave Zebediela for the Rands' textile factories, in the 1930s and 1940s. But the greatest expansion of opportunities came in the years after 1939. In these years, Zebedielas' shortage of white women became acute. The Estate Secretary confronted the defence forces recruiting officer with the choice of whether the Estates 'should export oranges, or should release the women to go and work in a munitions factory'.[80]

> In the war, many girls felt that they were still young and could get other work. Circumstances improved, money improved, so they got fixed jobs there, and so we eventually struggled to get the girls.[81]

It is impossible to say how many did leave Zebediela for the ammunition factories. One woman who did so, declared that,

> if you did not have a great school eduation then, you went to work in the Mint.[82]

The subsequent shortage of labour, caused by greater opportunities for better employment elsewhere, forced the Estate to switch to black women as packers and graders in 1953.

Another possibility was of course to work from one's home. Again opportunities for this were limited by the distances between people, as well as the inability of others in the community to pay for such services. A woman from the Orange Free State had a poultry business going with her sisters, but left it for Zebediela because of a lack of success.[83] Another, who lived near Randfontein, made dresses for others, like the local teacher.[84] A woman from Nylstroom,

> went to iron for a teacher's wife during the week, and so earned my bit of pocket money.[85]

So far the most important reason for the inability of women to find alternative work, has only been alluded to. This was the low standard of education that most of these women had.

> You had no book education, something to fall back on.[86]

On a question about what other work was available, Mrs Heystek replied bluntly, 'I was not educated'.[87]

Related to the issue of education, was the age of women employed:

> Many girls only waited until they were 16, whether they were in standard six, eight or three, then they left school.[88]

Another said, that her generation 'all had to go out early to work'.[89] Pauw referred to a 'phenomenal increase in the number of young poeple on the labour market after the First World War.'[90] Pollak also pointed to this age factor, and found that of the women in her survey of clothing workers on the Rand, 83% were under 25 years of age.[91] The age of workers at Zebediela was probably related to the earlier discussion on why rural unmarried women were the most likely to migrate. Such women would be over 16, and yet under the likely age for marriage. Under the Factory Act, no person under the age of 16 could be employed. The Estate Secretary, referring to this clause, insisted that 'we made very sure'[92] that they did not employ girls under age. But in reality, at least one lady insisted that she went to work at Zebediela at the age of 12 years and three months, in 1929.[93] In 1950, the Estate received a warning from the Schweizer-Reneke school inspector about employing a minor.[94] Although the Packhouse Manager was requested to guard against this, by demanding school-leaving certificates in 'doubtful instances', another warning was received for a similar offence from the Pietersburg School Board in 1951.[95] By this time, the Estate was struggling a great deal to recruit sufficient numbers of white women.

Not all the packers and graders were very young though. There are numerous references to older women. Applications received from two married women, stated their respective ages as 39 and 49.[96] One can only speculate on how their age affected their adaption at Zebediela. Younger women did help them where they could. In the Packhouse, women often helped older women pack, while waiting for more oranges to arrive.[97] In the dormitories, older women were allowed to bath, while younger women confined themselves to the showers: This led to some dissatisfaction:

> We are also going to bath. We are no longer always going to give the bath to the old women![98]

Having left school at 16, meant that one had, like the majority of women at Zebediela, only a Standard six school certficate. This is important, not only because it determined success in searching for work, but also because it influenced a worker's feeling and commitment towards her job. In her analysis of the motivation of immigrant workers in a textile mill, Hareven examined the way in which management could control workers and provide incentives for work, by effectively exploiting their hopes and fears. These were generated by their financial dependence on the mill, which was in turn 'compounded by their lack of both educational and professional training.'[99]

Referring to the women at Zebediela, and their opposition to the war, the Estate Secretary described them as 'not of the educated or enlightened class'.[100] As far as the education went, he was not very far from the truth. 'For the greatest part it was women who were not well-educated'.[101] Another said, 'You had no other education', and added that the rest of her family had as little education.[102]

This pattern was repeated elsewhere in the country (see Appendix on the number of children who passed every standard). In her survey of clothing workers in 1935, Pollak[103] gave the following percentages reflecting the level of education:

Total Percentage	100
Under Std 5	61
Passed Std 5	13,5
Passed Std 6	49,8
Passed Std 7	7,8
Passed Std 8	2,9
Higher than Std 8	1,3
Not reported	2,0

As a result of the difficulties for school-going encountered in the countryside, and considering the standard of education in the Northern Transvaal, one can perhaps suggest that for the women who worked at Zebediela, the level of education would have been even lower than in Pollak's survey. According to the Carnegie Commission, the area of the Transvaal Bushveld and Lowveld had the lowest percentage of pupils above Std VI (4,97, compared to 7,94 for the whole Transvaal) and the lowest percent above Std VIII (1,42, compared to 2,37 for the whole Transvaal).[104] It must again be stressed that the education of these women are discussed not merely for descriptive purposes, but because

it was an important factor in how they adapted, or did not adapt, to working at Zebediela.

There are several peripheral causes of this low standard of education. One was obviously the incidence of malaria. Children found it difficult to attend school when suffering from malaria attacks.[105] Another cause was the fact that people's attitudes towards education adapted slowly, to a new realisation of how important education was. Even women who attributed their difficulty in getting well-paid jobs to their lack of education, still said that education was not very important:

> It was fine if you went to work. You did not worry about studying.[106]

Above all though, rural children found it difficult to get a high school education, because of the inability of their parents to pay for it:

> If you were not financially well-off, there was no opportunity for you to study.[107]

Mrs Smith's mother got two school board warnings because she was too young to have left school, but while here mother may have wanted to keep her at school, 'she could not afford it'.[108]

'Then we had to go to high school, but there was no money'.[109]

Few of the small towns in the Transvaal countryside had high schools with hostels. In the Northern Transvaal, children had to go away to places like Bronkhorstpruit and Middelburg, Johannesburg or Pretoria, after standard VI. In the Transvaal, secondary education was free, and bursaries were available for board, transport and books. Eligibility for a bursary depended on inability to pay, and a certain measure of ability. After the Depression, the emphasis was increasingly on inability to pay. But if a child was disqualified for a bursary on the grounds of not really being indigent, it did not necessarily follow that the parents could easily afford to send such a child to town, especially if there was a number of children in the house. And when such a child did go to school, his or her clothes categorised them very clearly as poor. This makes the importance that some interviewees attached to the subject of clothes, very understandable. Talking about her husbands' desire to finish his education, Mrs Erasmus said,

> His stepfather could not or would not help him with clothes for high school.[110]

And,

> I could not go because I had no clothes.[111]

Daughters were also burdened by their exclusion from the role of breadwinner, since it made greater sense to spend what funds and opportunities there were on the sons as future providers of families. Mrs Swanepoel won a half bursary for the high school at Nylstroom, as did her twin brother. Only one child could go by pooling the two bur-

saries, since her parents could not afford to contribute anything. Despite their equal academic qualification, she was obliged to give up her half bursary.[112] The result was that,

> there is a tendency for male persons to be more intent on completing their school education than female persons. That is to say that girls tend to leave school earlier or when they have reached the minimum required level.[113]

This is also why the higher posts in Zebediela's management were largely filled by men.

'Huishoudskole' were established to counter the low standard of education among girls. But even here, many of the same problems remained. Prinsloo described the low attendance figures at these schools (an increase between 1927-1951 from 139-795 girls) as due to the stigma attached to these schools, as schools to train girls as housekeepers.[114] But at least it did provide an opportunity to gain an education, with the aim,

> of teaching children trades, so that they do not stay on the farms.[115]

The Carnegie Commission found in 1932 already that,

> one fact stands out very clearly in the light of the higher demands made by modern conditions of life, and that is that Standard VI is increasingly considered to be an inadequate educational qualification for entrance into the arena of life.[116]

Many women also realised the truth of this statement. Miss Groenewald, questioned on whether she enjoyed working at Zebediela, replied that she did not like being so far from home, but

> I do not have good qualifcations to be able to work anywhere.[117]

Their lack of education also reduced their ability to find work in the towns, until such time as there was a big demand for unskilled labour in the cities.

> Those who did not study stayed at home. Those who did study, naturally took work in town after matric, although they mostly did standard eight.[118]

For those who remained behind in the countryside, Zebediela became 'a refuge for young girls who did not have an advanced school education'.[119] The growing shortage of white women that the Estate experienced, was related to the increase in education opportunities for women.

> Over time it decreased (women that went to Zebediela) as more girls went to study.[120]

II

Having established that the majority of white women that worked at Zebediela were from rural families, unmarried and relatively young, leads one to look at these families in greater detail. Assumptions made about the breakdown of the family under the impact of migration and industrialisation, have been challenged by sociologists like Smelser and Anderson. The latter showed, in a study of nineteenth-century Lancashire, how kinship ties did not only survive, but also played an important role in the development of these twin processes. There are two aspects to this family background. The one concerns the family network in general, but the other is concerned with the parents in particular, and their roles as sources of authority.

It is impossible to determine how many young women never went to Zebediela because they were refused permission by their parents. Women that appear in the Estate records or who were interviewed, were ones that, either on own authority or with parental permission, did get to work there. Some women did admit that they needed the parents' permission to go pack oranges. A woman from Frankfort had to beg her parents to let her go because it was so far away.[121] Others believed that they would not have gone if such permission was withheld.[122] This is not to suggest that everybody needed permission, but merely that interviews highlighted the role of parents in the decision to work at Zebediela.

Once parents gave their permission, they could impose conditions or retract. One woman worked as a housekeeper until her mother ordered her home.[123] Another left Zebediela to work in a store in Pietersburg, but

> then my parents decided that I should no longer work, because I did not need it.[124]

After going once, the parents of two sisters

> saw that things went well, so we always went back again.[125]

When her sister left Zebediela to marry, another was no longer allowed to return because her parents did not want her to go alone.[126]

Some parents found it very difficult to let their daughters go. The reasons for their reluctance varied. The Estate Manager admitted that in the early years, Zebediela had quite an infamous reputation.[127] A concerted effort to change this, was launched after 1935. Parents suggested that 'where there are so many together, there is evil'.[128] One mother was reluctant because of the reputedly arduous nature of the work.[129] In one instance, the mother first asked the father, who refused. Together they went to the 'Gereformeerde' Minister, who said 'it was not a good place'.[130] The daughter did not go. This incident apparently occurred in the 1940s, which suggests that attempts to 'clean up' Zebedielas' reputation were not entirely successful. Some believed their parents' reluctance had something to do with the notion that Afrikaner daughters did not work,

> All the daughters had to stay in the home until they married.[131]

But on the other hand, other parents let their daughters go because of their own circumstances, or because of the conditions of employment at Zebediela. Mrs Botha heard about Zebediela when her father told them about the opportunities for work there.[132] Others were quite explicit about their parents' motivation:

> My parents did not believe a girl should work outside the home, but later my father relented because times were difficult.[133]

> They were very sceptical about it, but we were poor ...[134]

> In the beginning they did not want to hear about it, but ... those were difficult years.[135]

Some parents allowed their daughters to work at Zebediela, but adamantly refused them permission to migrate to the city. Their concern for the welfare of their children was partly based on fear and ignorance of the city of rural people. Daughters may be allowed to go if there was already kin in the city, with whom they could find a home.[136] If not, daughters had to adapt to seasonal work at Zebediela. One can of course only speculate on the extent to which this concern with keeping the daughters effectively tied to the household, either directly through seasonal work or indirectly through kinship networks, was motivated by the need of the household for her income. But none of the four women who remembered their parents' adamant refusal to let them migrate to urban centres, actually sent cash home.

The parents, quite naturally, felt more at ease when they knew Zebediela themselves, or were acquainted with the people who accompanied their daughters, especially when it was family members that went together:

> but when us children could go and work together, it probably reassured her.[137]

In at least one case, a mother travelled with her daughters to Zebediela to chek out the conditions there, 'and if it is safe for us to work there'.[138]

But the paternalistic policies followed towards the white women by management, went far in reassuring anxious parents. In the context of the textile mills she studied, Hareven noted ways in which the factor acquired an image

> not entirely alien for workers from rural backgrounds. The paternalistic environment was intended to assure young women workers and their parents that the boardinghouses in Lowell and Manchester were observing some of the traditional values of rural society.[139]

At Zebediela, one of managements' concerns in their treatment of the women, was 'what will you tell the parents?'[140] In turn the parents were 'reassured because of the Christian character'[141] that prevailed at the Estate.

In this way, it was possible for the Estate to use the family as a 'model for work and social relationships', so that 'the practice did serve the family interests to some degree'.[142] To a question about how her parents felt about her living in a hostel, Mrs Hugo replied that,

> we had a strict old housekeeper. The idea that there is someone looking after you, you are not on your own, there are strict rules, it suited them well.[143]

One can perhaps speak of a two-way interaction between parents and the Estate management. A mother wrote to the manager about her daughter, who was apparently the unmarried mother of two children, that

> as you probably know, she cannot control herself. So I would appreciate it if you did not allow her to go out, or week-ends to people, because I don't know anybody there.[144]

In turn management informed a woman that her granddaughter was being sent home because she refused to obey hostel rules and under the circumstances, 'we cannot acept responsibility'.[145]

One can imagine that these daughters gained a greater feeling of independence and freedom, as they continued to work. So by the time some of them left Zebediela, to migrate to the cities, they no longer felt obliged to get parental permission for this step. While acknowledging their parents' dislike of this move, women were not prevented from doing it. Instead, when they decided to go, it was a matter of 'we just said we are going now'.[146]

Before looking at the wider family, instances where daughters used their parents as their motive for working needs to be examined. An attitude of obligation to repay the parents, and to help them in difficult times; was often expressed

> We gave our parents money because we felt we had a duty towards them.[147]

This sense of family duty expressed the existence of a 'family culture', which is equally obvious when looking at other manifestations of the interaction between the migrant and her family:

> For most young women, factory work represented a transitional phase - usually one or two years - between domestic work in their parents' farm homes and marriage. The savings they accumulated from their factory labour were sent back to their families on the farm. Again, the interdependence of the countryside and the factory was maintained through back-and-forth migration; family ties still linked factory workers and rural communities into a common social system.[148]

Anderson[149] went so far as to argue that kinship was the most important source of assistance on which the migrants could rely. Such kinship assitance was partly based on a principle of reciprocity. But this did not merely involve the flow of money between the migrant and

her home. Family help also played a role in recruitment, adaption, creation opportunities to work, and of course outright financial assistance. But having argued earlier that the families of these migrants needed a cash income, does not mean that financial assistance by the migrants was only provided in cash.

The notion of familial aid was not set into operation only when a migrant left her family to work. It was an integral part of the family culture referred to earlier. It is noticeable how often this aid involved the area of education.

Sisters were often encouraged by their brothers and older sisters to finish their schooling, even where these siblings themselves did not have a high level of education.

> I was still at school when she (older sister) said to me: 'You will not go and work, you will study'.[150]

When Miss Thorolt was awarded a bursary to go to Johannesburg, her parents refused her permission. But her brother resisted this:

> He instited that he will pay for everything: Let her go. It's her life. She can go ahead.[151]

Women that worked at Zebediela in turn helped their younger siblings to a higher education. One lady contributed from her income, and her brother from his hunting, to help their brother become a teacher.[152] Such aid was not necessarily cash. It could have been the provision of clothes, necessary to send a child to school. Or it could be pocket money for the studying brother or sister. This sense of family duty was probably even more intense where the children had a large part in the upbringing of the other children, as did sometimes happen:

> Her mother died early on, and the 12 children looked after each other and brought each other up.[153]

Children occasionally grew up outside their parents' home, with relatives. These were often grandmothers, but could be an older, married sister:

> She (oldest sister) could not work, since she had a rash on her hand. So my mother gave me to her so that I could help them a bit.[154]

Once they married, they could make use of the same source of assistance. Married women could only work at Zebediela, if they had a relative, like their mother, who could take care of their children.

The family continued to play a big role in the womens' working lives. Siblings could for instance, help each other find work. Reference has already been made to an older brother who took his sister to be interviewed for a job as cook. At the same time, one child was often expected to stay at home with the parents, on the farm. A daughter could work for a while, and then return home to stay. In return for helping her folks on the farm, she did not have to earn a living, often in a factory, like her sisters.

A migrating daughter had the security of knowing that you could return home, if things did not work out. The Zebediela workers could spend their seasonal break at home if they were unable or unwilling to find another job. It did not mean that they necessarily enjoyed staying at home, but if that home was not available, seasonal employment of this kind would not have been possible.

When looking at the role of kin assistance, one has to consider the issue of reciprocity. These women did not inevitably receive aid on the basis of their membership of a family. This implies a series of calculative motives, but at the same time, it does not seem possible to explain all the motives of the women in question by 'economic exchange theory'.

It is unlikely that women were allowed to use their break at home simply as an unpaid holiday. They usually had to help around the house, as they would have done if they never worked. So in return for kin assistance, women could allow themselves to be placed under the authority of family members, and to be directed by the needs of the family. The woman referred to above, whose brother took her for a job interview, accepted his dictum that she will not take the work, apparently without demanding an explanation.[155] Another accepted the demand that she drop her work in a hostel to go to Zebediela because her married sister did not want to go alone, so 'they actually forced me to leave the work in the hostel'.[156] Mrs Biddulph left Zebediela for a sweet factory in Volksrust to live with a cousin who, as the wife of a train-driver, was often alone :

> She asked my mother if I - I would not, because I wanted to return to Zebediela - so she asked that I should come and stay with her. She would find me a good job there.[157]

There are many other examples of daughters leaving or changing their jobs, or simply looking after their parents, at the request of the parents.

At Zebediela the central role of kin networks becomes very apparent. This is already true in the process of recruitment. The Estate relied on different forms of recruitment. It made use of official institutions and church bodies, like the Armesorgraad, and the Departments of Labour and Social Welfare. This institutional recruitment had its advantages as the Estate Secreatry, Mr van Blerk, pointed out:

> One wanted to help the people, and we also realised that working with such institutions, you will get the people that need it, and you will also find people that are worth the effort.[158]

As the Estate experienced a growing need for packers and graders (about 500 by 1950), because of increased output, it was not possible to rely only on these institutions.

Recruitment done by the Estate itself, also had its drawbacks. Adverse publicity could easily influence the recruitment drive, and the kind of women recruited, did not always fit the needs of the Estate:

> this wide spread (recruitment area) intensifies the difficulty of verifying that all prospective recruits are of the right type.[159]

The difficulties of control and discipline engendered by a few hundred women living together, and working together for low wages at an exhausting job, shaped managment's perception of 'the right type'.

While advertising was important, recruiters were also sent in places like Potgietersrust, and even Pretoria, from house to house, especially when shortages began to hamper the Estates' labour supply. But the most effective recruitment was done by word of mouth passing of the message about employment at Zebediela. Friends and relatives who worked at Zebediela or lived nearby, informed those who lived further away, about the place:

> Friends of ours heard from friends of theirs. When they returned they told us about the work, and they told us they made such good money.[160]

Pauw argued that the Afrikaner family had fewer contacts with employers, that could have eased their entry into the labour market.[161] And under these circumstances, one had to rely a great deal on friends and relatives for information about employment. Anderson also referred to this phenomenon, where

> relatives were ... also economically dependent on each other in other ways and this was particularly so when it came to obtaining a job.[162]

At Zebediela, in the absence of relevant records, it is not possible to state exactly what percentage of women migrated under the auspices of kin. Of the 28 women for whom this information is available, five went to the Estate because of its reputation or because they lived nearby, five were recruited, and 18 heard about the work through friends and relatives. In one case,

> the next season the older sisters simply took her younger sister, who just left school, with them.[163]

Relatives also assisted with the railfare to get there. In one case, a brother offered to pay the railfare.[164] In another, the money was borrowed from an uncle, on the condition that it will be repaid out of the wages earned at Zebediela.[165]

Parents could decide to let their daughters go, provided that they were accompanied by another sister or sisters. So it was then to their advantage to migrate in a family group. Moreover, where children felt an obligation to repay their parents or to contribute to the household, every supporting members lightened the burden of obligation of all. Some women went to Zebediela because their brothers were already working there, either in the orchards, or making wooden cases in which to pack the oranges. The mother of two girls from Vryburg, who went to Zebediela in 1949-1952,

> did not want them to leave the farm to go and work elsewhere, but she allowed them to go there because their brother was there to keep an eye on them.[166]

But having a brother or sister already working there, could help a young man adapt easier:

> I felt there was somebody who knew my brother (who was already working at Zebediela). Because she (older sister) was there, and we were a number that came together, we did not feel out of place.[167]

There were also a number of mother-daughter combinations working together at Zebediela. These relatives and friends were allowed to share dormitories. This arrangement enabled the management to use pre-existing social structures to serve its own purposes. Women whose sisters could report their actions to their parents, were likely to be more disciplined. Talking about women who slipped out of the hostels at night, an interviewee added that,

> we never did it, because we were three sisters together.[168]

Older sisters could also act as a source of authority over younger ones:

> We did not go out with boyfriends there. I did, a bit, but my sister was very angry about it ... She was always my boss, more than my mother.[169]

But on the other hand, being part of a small group of familiar people, reduced the necessity of making friends or mingling with other less desirable people:

> You were more with the people you knew, like a clique, so that you were excluded from the others. You did not want to mingle with them. These were more your type.[170]

Family relationships were also an advantage in the sphere of work. Although packing and grading were not complicated jobs, one had to be shown the rudimentaries at least. This was usually done by female supervisors ('floorladies'), but could be done by a relative or friend. The woman who was to become Zebediela's champion packer, learnt to pack exceptionally fast when her sister, who was already working there, placed her behind the fastest packer.[171] This enabled her to pick up the rhythm and method of speed packing, which in turn helped her to become the highest earner, since packers were paid on a piece-rate system. If the relative happened to be a good worker, the worker could benefit from their reputation:

> It was in favour that my previous and my second sister did good work. They were well thought of. So they treated me well from the beginning.[172]

Earlier in the text it was said that cash money was not necessarily the most important aid that a migrant could extend to her family. It was argued that these women often came from families that needed cash income. Money was necessary to buy products which rural families were no longer producing for themselves, like material for clothes, household goods like stoves, and candles, and foodstuffs like sugar. So the fact that few women sent money (a part or the whole of their wage) home, did not mean that there was no flow of resources back to the rural household.

There were of course cases where women sent home the biggest part of their wage, believing that their family needed it. None of these women were apparently forced to do it, but rather did it out of a sense of duty and obligation. Others only sent home a part of their wage. Of the three women that claimed that they sent back most of their money, one was the daughter of a bywoner, and two had widowed mothers.[173] The money that they sent home, was mostly used for groceries.

The majority of women questioned on this, sent home either money and presents, or just presents. Even a family who had enough food, may still have needed other things that had to be bought with money. Seen in this light, 'presents' could be vital household commodities. It could, and did, very often include clothes and material for the parents and for the other non-working siblings.

At least two instances were recorded where the wages of the daughters helped their families survive amidst poverty. One woman recalled a night in the early 1930s, when for their family,

> there was no food for the next morning, and then my cousin arrived with a letter from us, from Zebediela, with £5 in it. Then they had food again.[174]

In another family, eight of the nine daughters worked at Zebediela at different times; and throughout the 1940s,

> In this way the poor family was to a large extent kept alive by the income of the daughters.[175]

But on the other hand, some women contributed nothing to the household, but spent their money on their 'trousseau', own clothes, and holidays. Although this appears somewhat callous at first glance, it was entirely understandable. Since Zebediela provided only seasonal employment, the wages one earned over those seven or eight months of the year, had to last throughout the break. And since many of them went to work because grown-up daughters were a financial burden with which their fathers may have had difficulty in coping with, their ability to keep themselves, removed some of the strain in itself. An interesting variation of this was where the daughters generated opportunities for the fathers. Working at Zebediela, they were allowed to buy cull oranges, intended for the local market, at low prices. These they could send home for the family's consumption. But one woman admitted that her father took the oranges they sent home,

> then he went around to the neighbours, to the neighbouring farms, and sold those oranges.[176]

It has been argued that,

> changing conditions in the rural economy, as well as the internal changes within the rural families, were therefore essential conditions for releasing a labour force for industry.[177]

This essay has tried to sketch these 'essential conditions' that were opperating in especially the Northern Transvaal, in the first half of this century. In doing so, it traced the reaons why the labour force that was released in this case, consisted largely of the daughters of Afrikaner farmers. It was shown that this release by no means severed the relationship between the migrating women and their rural families. On the contrary, these relationships were extensively employed in a variety of ways, to facilitate the entry of the migrants into an industrial environment, and even an urban one, while at the same time answering the needs of the rural households from which they originated.

FOOTNOTES

1. Hareven, TK: Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. ix.

2. Letter from the Kimberley office of the Department of Labour to the Manager of the Zebediela Estates, dated 23 April 1947 (Zebediela Collection, Abj 1).

3. Letter from the Juvenile Affairs Board, Durban, to the Secretary of the Zebediela Estates, dated 21 March 1952 (Zebediela Collection, Abj 1).

4. Letter from the Secretary of the 'Armesorgraad van die Witwatersrand van die Nederduitse Hervormde of Gereformeerde Kerk', to Dr. Quin, Manager of the Zebediela Estates, dated 18 February 1948 (Zebediela Collection, Abj 1).

5. Application for work by M M Hodgson, date unkown (Zebediela Collection Abn ii).

6. Interview with the former Secretary of the Zebediela Estates, Mr van Blerk, conducted in Potgietersrust on 12/6/1984.

7. See interview with Mrs A S van Niekerk, (ex orange grader), conducted in Pretoria on 2/10/84.

8. Report on Native Packers by the Packhouse Manager, dated 4/12/30 (Zebediela Collection - hereafter referred to as ZC - Aa 1)

9. Letter to Dr Quin, dated 31/3/49 (ZC Abj 1)

10. See interviews with Mrs Lötter, conducted at Bulge River on 11/2/85, and with Mrs E Barnard, conducted at Bulge River on 27/11/84. They were respectively a grader and a packer at Zebediela.

11. Interview with Mrs Soes Heystek (ex packer), conducted in Warmbaths on 4/4/85.

12. Interview with Mrs Lenie Smith (ex orange examiner, at Roedtan on 3/4/85.

13. Interview with Mrs Rita du Preez (ex packer) in Krugersdorp on 11/6/85.

14. Report by the Inspector of Factories, following complaints about conditions at Zebediela, dated 28 June 1939.

15. See Grosskopf, JFW: Carnegie Commission, Report I: Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus, Pro Ecclesia, Stellenbosch, 1932.

16. O'Meara, D: Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1983, p 51.

17. Grosskopf, ibid. p 77.

18. Malherbe, EG: Carnegie Commission, Report III: Education and the Poor White, Pro Ecclesia, Stellenbosch, 1932, p 94.

19. Albertyn, JR: Carnegie Commission, Report V: Die Armblanke en die Maatskappy, Pro Ecclesia, Stellenbosch, 1932, p 8.

20. Article on 'Boerdery in die Noord-Transvaal', in Die Môrester, 2 June 1950.

21. Ibid.

22. Interview with Mrs Pollie Erasmus, (ex packer) at Bulge River on 28/11/84.

23. Interview with Mrs Elsie Oosthuizen (ex packer) in Potgietersrust on 1/4/84.

24. O'Meara, ibid. p 37.

25. Older sister of interviewee Mrs A S van Niekerk, ibid.

26. Personal correspondence with Mrs G Strydom (ex packer at Letaba Citrus Estate), from Messina, 24/6/1985.

27. Telephone conversation with Mrs Barnard, ibid.

28. Letter received from Mrs Henna Swanepoel (ex packer) from Vaalwater, 4/3/85.

29. Interview with Mrs Kotie Botha (ex packer and grader) in Boksburg on 12/9/84.

30. Interview with Mrs M Kok (ex packer and grader) in Naboomspruit on 3/4/85.

31. Older sister of interviewee Mrs A S van Niekerk, ibid.

32. See interview with Mrs Annie Greyling (ex supervisor) at Zebediela on 12/2/85, and with Mrs Rita du Preez, ibid.

33. Interview with Mrs Lamont (ex matron) in Potgietersrust on 12/2/85.

34. Interview with Mrs C G Ferreira (ex packer) in Johannesburg on 25/3/85.

35. Grosskopf, ibid., p 8.

36. Older sister of interviewee Mrs A S van Niekerk, ibid.

37. Interview with Miss Lucy Byrne (supervisor and permanent member of staff) at Zebediela on 14/6/84.

38. Bozzoli, B: 'Feminist Interpretations and South African Studies, some suggested avenues for explanation', African Studies Institute Paper, October 1981, p 5.

39. Scott, J W & Tilly, L A: 'Women's Work and the Family in Nineteenth-Century Europe', in Comparative Studies in Society and History, v 17, 1975, p 52.

40. Salaff, J W: 'Working Daughters in the Hong Kong Chinese Family', in Journal of Social History, nr 4, Summer 1976, p 440.

41. Wilcocks, R W: Carnegie Commission Report II: Psychological Report: The Poor White. Pro Ecclesia, Stellenbosch, 1932, p 20.

42. Interview with Mrs Bodenstein (ex grader) in Springs on 13/9/84.

43. Interview with Mrs M Thorolt (ex grader) in Westonaria on 26/2/85.

44. Letter from Mrs H Osmers (ex packer at Letaba Citrus Estate), from Tzaneen, 27/2/85.

45. Hareven, T & Langenbach, R: Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City in New England, Methuen, London, 1979, p 12.

46. Keyter, J de W: Die Huwelik en Huisgesin, Tweede Trek Reeks no. VII, Nasionale Pers, Bloemfontein, 1940, p 109.

47. See Bozzoli, ibid. p 15.

48. Interview with Mrs Soes Heystek, ibid.

49. See for example interview with Mrs Annie van Zyl (ex packer) in Potgietersrust on 12/2/85.

50. Interview with Mrs Lamont, ibid.

51. Interview with Mrs Biddulph (ex seasonal clerk) in Naboomspruit on 3/4/85.

52. Interview with Mrs A S van Niekerk, ibid.

53. Interview with Mrs Rita du Preez, ibid.

54. Interview with Mrs Soes Heystek, ibid.

55. Interview with Mrs Hugo (ex grader) at Zebediela on 2/4/85.

56. Interview with Mrs A S van Niekerk, ibid.

57. Letter from Mrs J Horn (ex grader from Vredefort, 26/6/85.

58. Interview with Mrs Annie Greyling, ibid.

59. Interview with Mrs Pollie Erasmus, ibid.

60. Grosskopf, ibid. p 215.

61. Minutes of the Estates Management Committee held on 28 July 1931 (ZC Aa 1)

62. Interview with Mrs Bodenstein, ibid.

63. Interview with Mrs Rita du Preez, ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Letter from Mrs A Grobler (ex packer) from Steynsrus, 4/3/85.

66. Wilcocks, ibid. p 58.

67. Interview with Mrs Kotie Botha, ibid.

68. Interview with Mrs Thorolt, ibid.

69. Interview with Mrs Rita du Preez, ibid.

70. Interview with Mrs Lötter, ibid.

71. Application from Miss D Botma, dated 2 June 1947 (ZC Abj 1).

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