Grapes of Wrath

A liquor burden carried by farm workers
– a heritage born by the children
Then the grapes – we can’t make good wine. People can’t buy good wine. Rip the grapes from the vines, good grapes, rotten grapes, wasp-stung grapes. Press stems, press dirt and rot. But there’s a mildew and formic acid in the vats. Add sulphur and tannic acid. The smell from the ferment is not the rich odor of wine, but the smell of decay and chemicals. Oh, well. It has alcohol in it, anyway. They can get drunk.¹

¹ Steinbeck, John (1939), p 237 – 238
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Abstract

The thesis deals with the difficulties concerning alcohol use and misuse among Coloured farm workers within the heart of the wine industry in South Africa. The current extent of alcohol use and misuse in the rural areas of the Western Cape Province is commonly referred to as the legacy of the dop system. The dop system was a legislative practice whereas farm workers were provided with small portions of cheap wine throughout the workday. The practice was racially targeted towards Coloureds and thus contributed to the creation of a dependent labour force and extensive alcohol-related difficulties among Coloured farm workers. The dop system was formally abolished in 1961 but the practice proceeded into the 1990s. Alcohol related difficulties do however tend to continue without signs of change.

The main purpose of the study is to investigate how current difficulties of alcohol use and misuse affect children’s life outcome and educational opportunities. It has also been important to investigate various aspects of living and working conditions in the farm villages that may be linked to alcohol issues. Another aim is to determine contributing factors to the continuance of alcohol use and misuse despite the abolition of the dop system. The work has been conducted according to the method of oral history theories in order to provide a bottom up approach, thus allowing the perspectives and the stories of the farm workers themselves to come forth.

Coloured farm workers in the region are largely affected by socio-economic concerns and uncertainty in regards of labour. Inexpensive and readily available alcohol in illegal liquor outlets, so-called shebeens, is a driving force to the consumption of alcohol. Farm workers are partly isolated upon the farm villages and commonly have limited opportunities of unionizing. This makes it crucial to let the farm workers and their families express how alcohol difficulties are manifested in and affecting their daily lives.
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1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

South African wines have become an increasingly important export product and an important source of income for the South African economy. The international trade embargo against South Africa during Apartheid was repealed after 1994, causing a massive increase in the export of South African wines. Labour conditions for farm workers of the South African wine industry have however been harshly criticized. The growing export of wine leads to increasing demands for fair trade alongside with the development of a more prominent wine industry. A practice named the dop system historically allowed farmers to partly pay the farm workers in servings of small portions of liquor, a dop, throughout the workday. The dop system was legally practiced within the wine industry for centuries until the 1990s, although formally abolished in 1961. It has caused serious consequences upon the Coloured farm workers in the area as the system was racially targeted specifically towards Coloureds.

The term Coloured itself has both ethnical and racial connotations in South Africa. It has come to define a specific culture, ethnicity and identity, which in turn forms the basis of what is commonly known as Coloured communities and Coloured culture. Coloureds are a minority within the South African society as a whole, but form a majority in the Western Cape Province. This affects both the political and the social landscape in the region which largely differ from other regions in South Africa.

The dop system contributed to the creation of a dependent labour force and thus the preservation of the structures of power upon the Coloured farm workers. The practice was supported by law and was economically favourable for the farmers, as farm workers would partly be paid in low-quality wine not suitable for commercial sale. The dop system was practiced in this sense until the 1990s although formally abolished in 1961. The system lacks comparison and has been subjected to harsh criticism. Alcohol related difficulties are highly visible even today and causes great harm upon the farm workers and the families living on farm villages in the Western Cape. The region constitutes the focal centre of the wine industry, an area of which alcohol use and misuse have become widespread among particularly the Coloured population. Alcohol-related problems and other socio-economic

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2 Vinbanken. Sydafrika största vinlandet på Systembolaget.
3 Parry & Bennets (2000), p 24 – 26
4 Cheryl Hendricks (2005), p 1 - 3
5 Cheryl Hendricks (2005), p 1 - 3
difficulties tend to persist among the farm workers and their families in the region and efforts of change have so far been futile.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of the thesis is to investigate how and to what extent the legacy of the Dop system within commercial wine-farming of the Western Cape affects children and their educational possibilities and life outcome. Even if the dop system is no longer practiced, its legacy continues to affect Coloured farm workers and the families working and residing on wine farms within the Western Cape Province. Alcohol related difficulties of the Western Cape testify of deep-rooted structures that are not easily changed. The thesis serves to investigate the ongoing effects of alcohol use and misuse within the area. This will be obtained mainly through a bottom-up perspective upon children and farm workers situation within the rural areas of the Western Cape.

Focus will be upon the abolition of the dop system and the liquor act from 1961, formally forbidding farm owners from providing the labourers with alcohol as a bonus or part of their wage. The dop system served as a tool in order to preserve the racial hierarchy and to prevent empowerment of the labour forces within the wine industry. The abolition of the dop system through the Liquor act of 1961 formally served to deal with the social and health related difficulties caused by the system. The lack of enforced measures in order to implement the abolishment in reality did however allow the continuance of the practice despite a legislation serving to prohibit its existence.

The current alcohol related problems are often referred to as the legacy of the dop system. The difficulties are however complex and do involve various dimensions of social, economical and environmental factors. This thesis seeks to contribute to a further understanding of why the alcohol related difficulties continues and how it affects social and economical aspects of farm workers and their families within the Western Cape Province.

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6 Falletisch (2008), p 52 ff
To gain a deeper understanding of the above mentioned issues, the thesis seeks the answers the following questions:

- How are alcohol related difficulties manifested among Coloured farm workers and their families?
- How does alcohol related difficulties affect the children, their educational and life outcome opportunities?
- What are considered the reasons for the continued alcohol related difficulties despite the abolishment of the dop system?
- How does labour and living conditions on wine farms affect the ongoing difficulties among the Coloured farm workers within the wine industry?

1.3 Disposition

The thesis is divided into three main parts. The introduction explains the essence and purpose of the project followed by a presentation of research questions, choice of methodology and a description of the work process. The chapter also gives a brief description of the current state of research. The background chapter consists of three subchapters that address a variety of issues. It has been important to address the concept of race and its relevance upon the South African society. The following chapter describes the agricultural sector and the wine industry. This also includes the essential description of the dop system and alcohol-related difficulties in South Africa. A few notes upon child welfare are also included. Chapter three provides brief information of Women on Farms Project and other organizations of relevance for the thesis. Chapter four is where I present adapted theories, namely paternalism and class related gender theory. The analysis is presented in two main chapters, each providing their significant perspective upon the dop system and alcohol related issues within the Western Cape. The final discussion serves to present the final results and conclusions in addition to further reflections upon the project as a whole.

1.4 Method and material

This chapter serves to motivate the choice of method and explain the work process. Methodological aspects in this chapter are interspersed with personal thoughts and reflections upon incidents that have affected the study in various ways. This is mainly due to the fact that I believe that the thoughts that have emerged and changed during the process of the thesis have an impact upon the final result.
1.4.1 Preparation

In advance to the journey to South Africa there was a settled connection between my supervisor professor Lars Olsson within the Linnaeus University and personnel in both Stellenbosch and Cape Town University. This eased the process of network building in South Africa pre to the journey. The company of and the mutual collaboration with my fellow student Sven Berg also eased the process of preparation and field work in South Africa. A variety of persons have been helpful and of great advantage when it comes to the progress of and the possibilities of carrying through the work. It seemed important to build up a broadened network of different organizations and persons willing to assist us in the preparation stage in order enable the field work on site.

1.4.2 Choice of Method

The material for the study is primarily empirical and based upon qualitative interviews with inhabitants of the Western Cape countryside. To get to the core of the historical development and changes through time, the method of oral history was favoured. Oral history could in this regard be defined as a method of gathering and preserving historical information through recorded interviews with participants about past events.7 The interviews were followed through with different generations in order to grasp the historical progress and changes since the dop system was practised and up to present. The interviewees' personal experiences of alcohol and alcohol related difficulties make the essence of the material, providing a bottom up and micro perspective on these issues.

Oral history is essentially the preferable method due to the fact that the method gives important information that could not be achieved otherwise.8 Written material and formal documentation on the matter is not sufficient enough when seeking the bottom up perspective of these questions. The formal documentation gives only certain perspectives needed to answer these questions; the main source of material will hence be orally collected through qualitative interviews. A clear documentation of the work process and the conduction of interviews are of importance as it affects the analysis of the material.9

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7 Hansson & Thor (2006), p 7
8 Kjeldstadli (1998), p 184 – 190
9 Hansson & Thor (2006), p 51 – 51
The dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee is the most important source of knowledge according to the method of oral history. In order to get to the core of attitudes towards and the effects of the alcohol related difficulties upon the farm villages, it seemed important to get to know the interviewees and build up a good subject to subject relation in advance to fulfilling the interviews. The aim has been an interview situation with unhampered and relaxed frames.

Oral history interviews are often performed with an emancipatory purpose. The emancipatory view upon history commonly highlights the bottom up perspective, allowing people that are commonly ignored within traditional historiography to be heard and thereby strengthening their position in society. Within the context of this thesis, the emancipatory perspective seems particularly relevant in regards to factors such as class, a gender and race. The paternalistic system within the farm industry traditionally undermines the farm workers in relation to the farmer, but in particular undermines women within the farm industry. The method of oral history allows the interviewer to become part of the process of research. The interviewer is influenced by the interviewees and vice versa. Oral interviews could preferably be seen as a process between the informant and the researcher although the responsibility of performing proper analyses of the material lies with the researcher.

### 1.4.3 Field work approach

A variety of persons with knowledge of and experience regarding alcohol related issues and the wine industry of the Western Cape Province have contributed to the thesis through interviews and conversations upon the matter. The farm workers and their families form the core of this study; the thesis is first of all an opportunity to highlight and analyze their story. A great deal of persons with knowledge upon the dop system and the alcohol related issues within the region have additionally been interviewed. A total number of 31 interviews have been conducted in order to fulfil the thesis. 25 of these have been performed with farm workers or members of farm workers families, all living on farm sites in the Western Cape Province. The younger generation are represented by 12 persons while 19 persons represents the older generation. The rest of the interviews have been conducted with farm owners,

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10 Kjeldstadli (1998), p 180 – 190  
11 Hansson & Thor (2006), p 45  
12 Hansson & Thor (2006), p 54  
13 Hansson & Thor (2006), p 50 – 51
Women on Farms Project, school personnel and others have been of importance in order to obtain a more balanced perspective upon the relationship between farm workers and farmers.

The schools within the Western Cape Province seemed to be a strategic starting point for the thesis for several reasons. Schools are a meeting point for children of same age and similar backgrounds and would therefore be a preferable starting point to compare different areas and different problems through interviews within various schools. Teachers and other staff within the school organization would assumingly have important knowledge and experience of alcohol problems and alcohol related issues affecting the area and how they affect the children.

To gain the farm workers perspectives on alcohol difficulties within the area, it seemed appropriate to conduct the interviews in the farm workers homes. This had multiple advantages. The most important aspect of this was that a meeting with the wine farm workers and their families in their homes somewhat have a disarming effect. It did contribute to a more balanced situation between me, the interviewer, and those being interviewed, thus the latter finding themselves at home in a safe and well known scenery. Additionally it gave the opportunity to obtain a deeper understanding of what they told about their relationship to the farm owners and the living conditions they found themselves in through observations.

The interviews were directed toward different generations of farm workers and their families, presenting various personal experiences of the wine industry and the dop system as well as of educational opportunities and obstacles within the rural areas of the Western Cape Province. The older generation commonly represented the development of two generations. It seemed important to make use of their ability to relate their own lives and experiences into the knowledge about their children’s lives and possible changes over time.

When conducting the interviews, I was immediately reminded of the impact of being an interviewer and research student, in addition to being White and foreign. Awareness arose upon how behaviour influence the interviewee and thereby their response to my questions. The interviewees’ response upon my presence varied greatly from time to time. Similarly, my way of responding to this would also vary. In very informal and relaxed interview situations where the interviewee willingly spoke without interruptions on my part, this went by unnoticed. In the slightly formal interview situation, I became aware upon how my presence and behaviour affected the interview situation. At such times it became important to reveal a relaxed and disarming attitude, as I came to desire the open dialogue and conversation rather
than an interview situation with predetermined questions and rigid frames. Some interviews were performed in groups of up to six people at the same time, complicating factors such as individual views upon these matters. Individual interviews seem to generate more diverse and honest responses. Group interviews do however provide an indication of how accepted norms are expressed in groups compared to the answers provided in individual settings.

When performing field work within a foreign country, certain incidents seem to occur by pure luck and coincidence. This would probably not have been successfully performed without the company and the assistance of the translator Chaleen Arendse from Women on Farms Project. Her knowledge upon the wine industry and personal experience of farm life turned out to be essential in the progress of the field work, in addition to performing actual translation from Afrikaans to English. The notion of bending rules and finding shortcuts seemed to be an easy task for a person with local knowledge and a shred of street smartness. Being a novice foreigner seemed to close certain doors that were easily opened by locals, once again emphasizing the importance of knowledge and an understanding of local norms and standards of the area when conducting field work.

1.4.4 Informants and Interviews

The primary source of material in this study has been gathered through qualitative interviews with people working and living on various wine farms in the Western Cape Province. Most of the farms are located in close proximity to Stellenbosch, but the farms are nevertheless distinctly non-urban. Living conditions and life situation of the interviewees may differ in numerous respects, although they carry a number of common factors regarding their knowledge and experience upon the wine industry and alcohol related issues within the area.

The standard of living conditions in the visited homes varies greatly and ranges from very poor conditions to homes holding a pretty high standard. It is important to emphasize this in order to avoid typical poverty stereotypes commonly made apparent in the context of describing African conditions through a western perspective. Poor and unfortunate conditions were absolutely part of the reality seen when conducting the interviews, but do certainly not form the complete picture.

The overall purpose of the study made farm workers unions suitable as a basis for cooperation. Local NGO:s such as Sikhula Sonke, Child Welfare and the DopStop Association were contacted, but cooperation never stretched further than email contact and
short visits. A well-functioning cooperation did however develop and was established with
Women on Farms Project. Their assistance and cooperation has largely contributed to the
field work.

A majority of the interviews have been conducted with women although a few interviews
have also been conducted with men. The cooperation with Women on Farms Project made it
natural to interview people who knew or were somehow related to the organization.
Interviews were organized mostly through Women on Farms Project. Indirectly, I became a
representative of an organization fighting for farm women's conditions and rights. Women
commonly work as housewives and participate in farm work mainly during the harvesting
season which additionally makes them more readily available for interviews. The
conversations with these women have given a unique insight upon alcohol problems and their
effect upon children, but even upon the distorted relationships between men and women in the
farm industry. The responsibility upon upbringing traditionally and primarily rests on women.
Their knowledge about the lives and the education of their children can easily be connected to
and provide reflections upon their own childhood.

Asking personal questions about alcohol and alcohol problems with strangers is a delicate
task. Alcohol related issues are a sensitive topic linked to a variety of moral values. Drawing
the line between acceptable and not acceptable questions is difficult, at least when having no
former experience conducting similar interviews. The risk of interviewees adjusting their
responses based upon what they perceive as desirable answers is also a factor of
consideration. An important aspect in studies of alcohol problems is that psychological factors
may affect the answers given by interviewees. Several studies show that there is a tendency to
providing higher figures for retrospective alcohol and drug related abuse compared to those
reported prospectively.\textsuperscript{14}

The dop system was racially-targeted and systematically directed towards the Coloured
population. The farm owner commonly provides permanent accommodation for those
working on the farm. Due to tradition and historical practice in the Western Cape, these
workers are mainly Coloured. Racial terminology is closely linked to South Africa's history
and is thus difficult to escape. The term Coloured is however largely considered an ethnicity
more than a race.

\textsuperscript{14} May & Others (2007), p 259 – 271
1.4.5 Adapting to the use of racial terms

It has been necessary to adapt racial terminology as applied in the present South African society in order to facilitate the work. Awareness upon how factors such as race, culture, ethnicity and class relate to each other and how they differ is highly important as they are commonly clustered together or confused with each other.\textsuperscript{15} A number of socioeconomic factors may coincide with racial terms, particularly in South Africa as the Apartheid regime implemented legacies that strengthened any conformity between these factors. According to Michael MacDonald, races have emerged within a political context and through cultural similarities. These have been used by the white supremacy as a way of justifying power relations. Races was used to confirm a division within the South African society between citizens and non-citizens, whereas only Whites where provided citizenship.\textsuperscript{16}

It is important to note that the use of racial terms when describing demographic, social, economic, cultural and political phenomena is important and customary in the South African society. Race simply has a significant impact. South African conventional racial concepts are used in this thesis as they do serve an important function in this context. In a society based on racial definitions, it is hard to describe how racial policies are manifested in the South African society without using racial terms.

1.5 Former research

Research upon the dop system and alcohol related issues in Western Cape are commonly confined to a limited range of disciplines. Focus is upon medical and health issues, while social and socio-economic effects are commonly ignored. The eradication of the practice of dop system was implemented during the 1990s and a majority of the research upon the dop system is thus centred to this period. Research and interventions upon the matter must be carefully constructed and demands a multidisciplinary approach covering the range of legal, clinical, public health, health education, advocacy, media, community development and health promotion skills.\textsuperscript{17}

A variety of studies upon alcoholism, Foetal Alcohol Syndrome and other medical conditions caused by alcohol use and misuse are essential elements of research regarding the Dop system and present effects in terms of its legacy. The Western Cape Province has the highest

\textsuperscript{15} MacDonald (2006) p 1 - 14  
\textsuperscript{16} MacDonald (2006) p 45  
\textsuperscript{17} London (1999)
percentage of Foetal Alcohol Syndrome globally, which makes the area an important target for research upon the matter. There are multiple studies describing the phenomena, several of them conducted by major global organizations such as the UNICEF.

Leslie London contributes to the research field firstly to medical and health aspects of the dop variety of social consequences of alcohol related difficulties. London stresses the need of community based interventions and the need of mobilization and the political support from farmers in order to achieve real changes regarding the alcohol related difficulties within rural farm villages of the Western Cape. Farmers must be convinced that the eradification of the dop system is beneficial for all parties in the farming communities in the long term perspective. Above all, Leslie emphasize that the abolition of the dop system is not enough to curb the alcohol related difficulties in the area. A broader approach is needed in order to grasp the difficulties both regarding health and social issues related to alcohol use and misuse.

London stresses that simplistic and one-dimensional analysis presenting the farm worker as nothing but the vulnerable victim suppressed by the bad farmer is neither correct nor useful in terms of developing coherent and sustainable strategies in the area. In fact, they might even serve to further disempowering of farm workers who already finds themselves in a paternalistic environment. The dop system has provided a “cultural space” for alcohol consumption that is unique and exclusive for farm workers.

Charles Parry and Anna Bennetts describe and summarize previous research on alcohol related issues in Alcohol policy and public health in South Africa. Parry & Bennetts highlight and criticize research upon alcohol related issues in South Africa for being scattered and sporadic. Their aim is to present compiling statistics of different groups' consumption and cultural attitudes towards alcohol are key elements. The lack of generalized statistical comparisons upon alcohol related difficulties in the area makes their research highly important. National statistics or more extensive studies of farm workers' conditions are completely or partially missing. Research upon the farm workers on wine is based primarily on case studies and surveys in confined areas which make it hard to make generalized analysis.

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18 London (1999)
20 Bennetts & Parry (1998), p VI - X
of the difficulties characterizing the area or overall and sustainable measures to improve the conditions on a greater scale.

2 Background and contextualizing

South Africa bears the heritage of colonial exploitation but is partly urbanized and formed by western capitalism in a variety of aspects. Simultaneously, it is marked by poverty and huge economical gaps between different socioeconomic groups. South Africa continues to carry its historical legacy both on short term and long term perspectives. The Apartheid era has turned the term race into a significant part of the South African society. Socioeconomic structures are strictly linked to the matter of race. The contrasts within the South African society are massive and make the country unique in a variety of aspects. It is important to bear in mind that the South Africa of today, with all its complexity, is a result of the summary of its historical events.

2.1 Why race matters in South Africa

Michael MacDonald is the researcher behind the title Why Race Matters in South Africa. The book extensively discusses the concept of race and its particular significance in South Africa. The racial policies and the legacy of Apartheid have left clear traces. Despite having one of the world's most democratic constitutions and major changes since the end of the Apartheid in 1994, there are multiple factors remaining its structures. People are defined by and define themselves by race and in return race tends to coincide with issues such as class, economy, social status and culture.\textsuperscript{22}

A juridical subdivision of three different races was conducted between Whites, Africans and Asians, although later extended through the creation of a fourth racial category, namely the Coloured.\textsuperscript{23} It is important to note that the use of the term Coloured arose early in the colonization of South Africa, as relationships between white settlers and slaves or freed slaves in the Cape Colony became increasingly common. During the Apartheid era, South African inhabitants were no longer free to individually decide their own race. Race was defined and declared by the state in the context of kinship studies and the creation of the pass laws.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{22} Parry & Bennetts (1998), p 24 – 27
\textsuperscript{23} MacDonald (2006), p 46
\textsuperscript{24} Worden (2007), p 108 – 109
Extended time of segregation and arbitrary racial labelling and rights linked to race in South Africa, has created what is sometimes referred to as identities or cultures of race. This is not unproblematic and somewhat controversial as the use of racial categories inevitably leads to violations. Others consider racial categories a natural part of the South African culture and expresses positive sides of defining oneself or others according to race. Drawing parallels between race and culture runs the risk of a righteous execution of inequalities in the South African society, if explained as a cultural phenomenon. Parallels drawn between culture and race have emerged as a consequence of the Apartheid.25

Racial terms are unavoidable in the content of the thesis and will hence be used in order to express values and attitudes that are usually defined in terms of race in the South African society. Racial terms do however carry a series of complications.

Coloureds are described as the descendants of colonialists, slaves and the indigenous Khoisan. Coloured is however more than a racial term even though the term originally referred those of mixed racial heritage. Social factors such as Coloured communities, Coloured culture and a Coloured identity have emerged over time and are frequently used to describe the Coloured stereotype and lifestyle. This means that those of mixed racial heritage will not automatically claim or be labelled with a Coloured identity.26

Four racial categories were stated by the Apartheid regime. The white race was considered superior to others and would therefore be the only race freed restrictions of rights within the South African Apartheid state. The non-white races were defined in terms of the following:

Native means any person belonging to one or other of the following classes: a) aboriginal / aboriginal tribes of Africa, including Bushman but excluding Hottentots. b) Koronnas. c) Persons upon whom are levied general or local tax in terms of Section 2 of the Natives Taxation and Development Act 1925, or any tax substituted for any such tax. d) American Negroes.

Asiatic is defined in Section 175 as meaning any Turk and any member of a race or tribe whose national home is in Asia; but not including: a) Cape Malays. b) Jews and Syrians. c) Any race declared by the Governor General by Proclamation e. f. Japanese in 1928, Chinese in 1943 and Indians in 1944.

26 Hendricks, Cheryl (2005), p 3
Coloured person – any person neither European nor Asiatic nor Native, nor Cape Malay is described as a Coloured person. The definition excludes people referred to in paragraphs b) and c) of the definition of Asiatic.27

One argument for maintaining the use of racial definitions and categories up to present is the need of highlighting the concerns connected to the legacy of the Apartheid and thereby social aspects connected to race in this regard. Although racial definitions are considered socially constructed categories, the fact remains that the implementation of inequality and segregated conditions and rights for an extended period of time has created patterns which in part or completely coincide with definitions of race. To visualize the effects of and the legacy of the apartheid regime and racially discriminating conditions within the Apartheid state, the concepts of race are significant.28

The fact remains, race still matters in South Africa. Racial quotations have an impact on the labour market and social actions are implemented with the aim of balancing up the existing inequality among different inhabitants within South Africa. The main purpose is to make up for the atrocities done towards the non-white population in South Africa. Despite good intentions and a need for restoration, social measures created towards and defined by race nevertheless add certain aspects of tension.

2.1.1 Politics and racial matters of the Western Cape Province

The Western Cape Province differs from other South African regions in a number of aspects, racial matters being one of them. A majority of the population in the Western Cape Province is referred to as Coloured or Cape Coloureds, while the Black inhabitants constitute the majority in other regions. Four million people live in the Western Cape Province. 57 percent of the population is defined as Cape Coloured. 25 percent of the population is White, while 18% are Black. In addition, 1 percent of the population define themselves as other, not stating any of the above mentioned racial definitions.29

The political landscape in the Western Cape Province differs from other regions and the significance of a Coloured identity within a political context has been a question of debate after the general elections of 1994. Western Cape Province is the only region in South Africa where the Nationalist Party achieved great support even after 1994.30 The party received

27 A South African institute of Race Relations (195-?), p 1 – 4
28 Worden (2000), p 139 – 144
29 May and others (2007), p 259 ff
30 Worger, p 113 – 120.
massive support from the Coloured population, a group previously prohibited from voting for
the Nationalist Party as all non-whites were excluded from the party during Apartheid.\textsuperscript{31}

The Coloured vote in favour of the National Party, a clearly discriminating party towards all
non-white South Africans pre to 1994, is a complex issue that commonly could be explained
in terms of identity and the traditional relationship between different groups of South
Africans. The definition of race within the South African state as well as extended segregation
and inequality according to race has both created and clarified borders between the different
inhabitants within South Africa.

The interpretations of the Coloured vote supporting the Nationalist Party in the first post-
apartheid elections in have often been explained in terms of common cultural and social
factors shared with the white population such as language and religious affiliation compliant
with White voters.\textsuperscript{32} Another explanation is that Coloureds have indicated that they have felt
marginalized in the post-apartheid dispensation compared to black South Africans. Claims of
preferential allocation of resources to Africans or Black inhabitants of the Western Cape has
been an issue of debate and is said to have created some tension.

The liberation movement lead by the African National Congress was a movement that first
and foremost received support from and gained a steady foothold among the Black
population, constituting the majority of the South African population. This came to
characterize the agenda and the issues of interest within the organization as the organizations
prime priority is the promoting of the conditions for the black population of South Africa. As
the governing party from 1994 up to present, the African National Congress continues to
advocate the interest of the Black population.

The Democratic Alliance emerged through a brief fusion of the Democratic Party and the
New Nationalist Party. The Alliance have received majority support only in the Western Cape
Province as the Coloured vote tends to separate the political landscape in the Western Cape
from other regions in South Africa. The Democratic Alliance has its roots in the Democratic
Party and holds strong support in the Western Cape Province, while the African National
Congress is the dominating party in other regions and within the state as a whole. This may
imply that Coloured interests or issues are not given priority under the current government, as
the African National Congress prioritizes the interests of the Black majority.

\textsuperscript{31} Worger, p 113 – 120.
\textsuperscript{32} Palmberg (1999), p 167 - 170
2.2 Agriculture and Liquor in South Africa

The historical practice of partly paying workers with alcohol is unique to the agricultural sector of the Western Cape Province. The dop system was introduced in the early years of colonial settlements in the Cape Colony and served mainly to induce indigenous coastal peoples to enter service on farms.\(^{33}\) It has its roots in the common practice of giving payment in products such as tobacco, bread and wine. Wine production in South Africa has historically been directed towards the production of cheap wine, thus heavily relying on the consumption by volume but has come to develop into a more refined industry heavily relying upon export of wine, in particular to Europe.\(^{34}\)

2.2.1 Agricultural Labour in the Western Cape Province

The Western Cape Province is a centre for wine and fruit industry in South Africa. It has been brought to its present state through the use of slavery and suppressed and dependent labour force since the late 1600s.\(^{35}\) The current inequity and imbalance of power within the agricultural sector is one of deep and continuous roots, although the South African constitution from 1994 clearly states various rights that serves to secure the living and working conditions of all South Africans.

Little has been done in terms of farm workers living and working conditions since the dissolution of Apartheid. Farm workers are among the poorest of South Africans and farm workers are commonly still partially isolated and oppressed, both socially and politically. Western Cape has the highest standard of living compared to other regions of the country. The high standard of living is though concentrated to the White population; while the Coloured and the Black population in rural areas is characterized by poor living conditions and poverty.\(^{36}\) The comparatively favourable conditions in the Western Cape causes a steady stream of migrants in search for labour, of which the main percentage is black. The estimate is that approximately 48 000 annually migrates to the province. The rate of unemployment in the region thus rises and the migration particularly creates competition for unskilled work within the agrarian sector.\(^{37}\)

\(^{34}\) Wines of South Africa. History.
\(^{35}\) Labour Research Service and others (2004), p 1 – 2.
\(^{36}\) Fast (1997), p 1 - 33
\(^{37}\) Provincial Government of the Western Cape (2001), p 1 – 8
In the aesthetical geographical setting of the Winelands of the Western Cape, living and working conditions of farm dwellers are not easily seen upon a first glance. The tourist visiting the Western Cape Province is commonly introduced to wine tastings, pleasant and romantic environments surrounding the wine farms, whilst the reality of production runs unseen by visitors. Agricultural labour is recognized by extremely long hours of hard work with low wages. Labour is often conducted on a day to day basis or limited to seasonal employment without contracts. In this area of growth and cultivation alongside with poverty and inequity, thoughts are easily run to the novel *Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck.

The agricultural sector has been viewed upon as one of the key sectors contributing to the national economical development that was considered needed to support the post-apartheid transformation. The agricultural sector is one of the biggest single employers of the economy and the largest source of formal employment for women. Agriculture is largely a seasonal affair and therefore depending on the accessibility of a seasonal labour force. Women form the majority of the workforce being employed as seasonal workers. The agricultural sector of the Western Cape Province provides approximately employment for 150 000 workers and approximately 250 000 dependants.

Despite a constitution expressing equality and common human rights for all South Africans and the adoption of legislations to ensure farm workers labour rights, farm workers remain both isolated and exploited. The imbalance of power is tremendous within the commercial farm industry, whereas mainly white land owners have complete control over farm dwellers and their lives. A number of legal measures have ensured farm owners with cheap and easy access to agricultural workers since the early stages of agricultural capitalism in South Africa.

**2.2.2 Commercial Wine Farming in the Western Cape**

The wine industry has its centre in the Western Cape where the majority of South African wines are produced. Wine production is an important contributor to the economy of South Africa. About one billion litres of wine are produced every year and the numbers are

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40 London (2000), p 2
42 Hamman, Johann (1996)
increasing. South Africa ranks as number seven in overall volume production of wine internationally. South Africa produces 3.6% of the wine on the international market.\textsuperscript{43}

The transition towards democracy has prompted a significant expansion of the industry as a result of the retraction of the trade embargo towards South Africa. This has lead to a massive increase in exported wines since 1994. The South African wine industry is and has historically been white-owned. The majority of winegrowing land remains in white ownership, although there are an increasing number of Black-owned wine ventures.\textsuperscript{44}

A majority of the vine produced in South Africa is exported, mainly to Europe. The greatest importer of South African wines is the United Kingdom, receiving 32 percent of all exported wines.\textsuperscript{45} Approximately 80 percent of the harvested grapes go to the production of wines. The remaining percentage of harvested grapes is spent on the production of brandy, distilling of wine, juice and table grapes. The export of natural packaged wines was 222.3 million litres in the year of 2010.

According to a study from 2004, the wine industry of South Africa contributes with 163 billion ZAR to the South African GDP of which 70 percent directly benefits the Western Cape economy. In addition, 4.2 billion ZAR is contributed through wine tourism. The export of wine has had a steady increase recent years, with a growth from 50.6 million exported litres of wine in 1994, to 280 million litres of exported wine in 2008.\textsuperscript{46}

The wine industry of South Africa has roots that extend more than 300 years back in time. Wine was first produced when the early Dutch settlements came to the Cape in the seventeenth century. The first vineyard was established in the year of 1655. The Dutch did not have much experience or tradition of wine production, only after the settling of French Huguenots in the Cape Colony did wine industry begin to flourish.\textsuperscript{47}

The climate of the Cape Winelands is optimal for the growth of grapes. Most of the South African vineyards are established in the Western Cape, commonly close to the coast.\textsuperscript{48} The Western Cape has a cool climate, more than what its latitude might suggest. The weather conditions are ideal for the growth of a wide range of grapes. The traditional and common

\textsuperscript{43} Wines of South Africa. History.
\textsuperscript{44} Wines of South Africa. History.
\textsuperscript{45} Wines of South Africa. Statistics.
\textsuperscript{46} Wines of South Africa. Statistics.
\textsuperscript{47} Wines of South Africa. Variety is in Our Nature.
\textsuperscript{48} Wines of South Africa. Variety is in Our Nature.
The cool sea breezes and the temperate climate with its warm summers and cool winters are optimal for the growth of both wine and table grapes. The Western Cape is well known for its cool breezes, commonly nicknamed Doctor Cape, a name given due to its positive effect to inhibit the development of disease in the vineyards. The grapes are harvested during the summer season, approximately from December until the end of February.

### 2.2.3 The dop system

The dop system, alternatively the tot system, was developed within the farm industry during the 18th century, as wine was given to labourers by farm owners as partial payment. The system of giving labourers a dop of wine originated after the abolishment of slavery. A dop was approximately 200 ml of rough or sour wine that was sweetened by sugar and given to the labourers up to five times a day. Children down to the age of 12 have been known to be given dop. Certain farms would be giving the first dop to the labourers as early as 7 am during weekdays and it was common to give the farm workers a jug of wine over the weekend.

According to a document from the African Studies archive dated back to the 1950s, the dop system was practiced as far back as the late 1600s, although not systemized. The custom later spread and did not only regard the wine industry. Farm workers within other farm industries are known to have been given daily rations of wine as part of their payment. The origin of the dop system seems to vary between different sources and is therefore difficult to state with certainty.

The system was beneficial amongst the farm owners for various reasons. It was a major contribution to creating a dependent labour force as well as being a way of saving money by not paying the labourers their wage in cash. The system was formally abolished through the Liquor Act in 1961. The legislation was a response to the criticism aimed towards the system. The critique towards the system increased after an extension of the dop system

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49 Wines of South Africa. Terroir.
50 Falletisch (2008), p 54 - 58
51 Falletisch (2008), p 54 - 58
52 South African institute of Race Relations (195-?), p 1 – 4
53 Bennetts & Parry (1998), p 83
54 South African institute of Race Relations (195-?), p 1 – 4
during the 1950s, implemented despite the fact that numerous Commission recommendations gave signals of and expectations of its abolishment.55

Criticism towards the dop system was early on directed towards the fact that the labourer would not receive anything in place of the liquor if he would not consume the liquor. Secondly, the systematic supply of liquor throughout working hours definitely generated drinking habits. Fortified, thus more expensive, wines could be obtained by the labourers on their spare time through liquor stores or shebeens.56 The dop system generated a higher consumption of wine and thereby also more drunkenness. The legacy of the dop system can be seen in terms of alcohol related difficulties with a concentration among the farm workers of the Western Cape unique in comparison to other areas both within South Africa and internationally.57 Despite groups of lobbyists against the dop system in the Stellenbosch area, neither farmers nor farm workers were in favour of an abolishment. For the farmer, the dop system served two vital functions as long as export was hindered by the trade embargo:

1. Maintaining a dependent rural labour force.
2. Maintaining the local market within a wine industry where the export market was harshly underdeveloped.58

The first formal abolishment of the Dop System through the Liquor act from 1961 did not result in any major changes. A trespassing would result in fines not exceeding R 1 000 or the choice of jail up to six months. Ironically, there was never a single reported prosecution of trespass despite the formal abolishment.59 Statistics upon an eventual ongoing practice of the dop system tend to vary largely, but the main impression is that the occurrence have eradicated since 1994.

The Liquor act had certain loopholes allowing the continuance of the Dop system after its abolishment. Alcohol given as a gratitude or reward was not outlawed through the Liquor act. This caused farmers to argue that providing alcohol to their workers should not be considered different from providing vegetables or table fruit to farm workers in these industries. Farm

55 South African institute of Race Relations (195-?), p 1 – 4
56 Schärf (1984), p 149 ff
57 Falletisch (2008), p 50 – 53
58 Falletisch (2008), p 55
59 Falletisch (2008), p 50 – 53
workers themselves sometimes expressed their protest by leaving the farms to work on other farms or refusing to fulfil work in order to reinforce the dop system.60

2.2.4 Racial differences and Colour targeting of the Dop system

Approximately 80 percent of farm workers in the Western Cape are Coloured while the remaining 20 percent are so-called Black Africans. Generally, Coloured farm workers have generally higher living standards than Africans. Most Black workers are men, while there are a considerable proportion of female workers among the Coloured. Women make up roughly one quarter of the farm workers in the region, albeit only a small percentage of these obtain permanent employment. The proportion of female farm workers differs between different types of farms, thus women constitute more than half of the employees on farms for table grapes and deciduous fruit farms.61

There are pronounced racial aspects of demographics within the Western Cape. The Coloured labour preference policy was implemented during the 1950s and is an underlying cause of this unique development in the Western Cape. The policy prevented Africans from living in Rural Areas unless they had public labour contracts. Farm workers within the Western Cape Province were thus mainly coloured and these workers would receive tots or dops of wine during working hours. Farm workers in other areas were mainly Black and would rather receive beer or other liquor.62

Coloured labourers in general, thus not only within wine farms, were commonly given two quarters of wine per working day. The Liquor Act of 1928 specifically laid the conditions for liquor to be supplied by employers towards non-white employees. Along with these regulations allowing farmers to provide their workers with liquor, a number of other regulations restricted Non-European groups within South Africa to obtain liquor.

The restrictions regarding the sales to and the obtaining of liquor by Non-European South Africans were thoroughly imposed by the Liquor Act from 1928:

Native prohibition: No person may supply or deliver liquor to any Native and no Native may obtain or be in possession of any liquor except under the tot system, unless the Native is a minister of religion requiring wine for sacramental purposes, has been advised to take liquor medicinally, has been granted a police, magistrate’s

60 Falletisch (2008), p 50 – 53
61 Fast (1997), p 1 – 33
62 http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/kaffir
or the Minister’s exception, or is the accredited representative in the Union of another state. In the Cape Province, according to some authorities, Natives who can produce a certificate showing that he has passed Std. IV, may obtain liquor.

Coloured and Asiatic restrictions: In the Orange Free State and Transvaal no person may sell or deliver any liquor to any Asiatic or Coloured person and no Asiatic or Coloured (editor’s note) person may obtain or be in possession of liquor. In Natal no Asiatic may be supplied with or obtain liquor saved (editor’s note) consumption on licensed premises, nor may he be in possession of liquor off licensed premises. The sale of liquor to Coloureds must comply with licensing board regulations. In the Cape the supply of liquor to Asiaties and Coloureds must be in accordance with restrictions imposed by licensing boards.63

Despite these strict regulations regarding the obtaining of liquor amongst racially categorized groups within South Africa, a number of exceptions could be made according to the following premises:

Minister’s exemption: The Minister of Justice may issue to a Native, Asiatic or Coloured a special letter of exemption, allowing consumption off the premises, up to one quart of liquor.

Police exemption: May give complete or partial exemption for a period not exceeding three months to a Native, Asiatic or Coloured who is domiciled outside the Union and is not prohibited, in his domicile, from obtaining liquor, provided that he is only temporarily residing in the Union.

Magistrate’s exemption: Gives exemption in magistraterial district for twelve months from discrimination imposed in district, by or under the Liquor Act of 1928.64

In addition to the previously mentioned regulations of obtaining and providing liquor amongst Non-European groups within South Africa, there are several other statutory provisions. In the Cape Province, employers were allowed to provide their employees with up to one and a half pins of unfortified wine or what was stated as “kaffir beer” per day.

The regulations regarded any adult male Native, Asiatic or Coloured farm servant as long as this employee has reached the age of 21. Further, the regulations stated that provided liquor must be consumed in three separate tots that had to be given with a period of at least two hours between every tot. Employers were not legally allowed to provide liquor to any Native,

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63 South African institute of Race Relations (195-?), p 1 – 4
64 South African institute of Race Relations (195-?), p 1 – 4
Asian or Coloured person in their employment, aside for exceptions made for the regions of the Cape Province and the Orange Free State. The exceptions permitted employers to provide liquor to their employees within the Cape Province, albeit limited to male employees and farm labourers only.

Black people, commonly referred to as Africans, were in general prohibited from consuming liquor, but the dop system allowed the providing of up to one and a half dop of wine per day under the regulations of the dop system. Drinking habits amongst black workers were thus legally limited to working hours only. The main target of the dop system was though the Coloured people. Especially in the Western Cape where the wine industry has its centre and where the largest group of Coloured people are living.

According to the draft on the tot from the 1950’s, an estimate of 20 000 labourers working under the conditions of the dop system is given. The dop system was considered an important contributing factor to drunkenness amongst the Coloured. The Meaker commission was launched in order to analyze the drunkenness amongst the Cape Coloureds and stressed that social conditions might be the main factor causing bad drinking habits. Some of the social factors mentioned were poor housing conditions, overcrowding, uncongenial and ill-paid employment alongside with poverty, poor education, lack of recreational facilities and underfeeding. Labour conditions on the farms and hereby the dop system was also criticized by the Meaker commission.

Claimed differences in drinking habits amongst Europeans and Cape Coloureds are expressed in the Liquor act of 1928, whereas certain social factors are considered causing disparate drinking habits amongst different groups within the South African union and in particular drunkenness amongst the Coloured people. In this context the high percentage of excessive drinking amongst the Coloured population is considered caused by numerous social factors. These social factors coincide with the above. In addition, the Masters and Servants act is mentioned as a factor contributing to the creation of a dependent labour force. The act stated practical restrictions preventing the labourer from moving to other fields of labour.

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65 South African institute of Race Relations (195-?), p 1 – 4
66 Schärf (1984), p 152 – 154
67 South African institute of Race Relations (195-?),
68 South African institute of Race Relations (195-?),
69 South African institute of Race Relations (195-?),
70 Worden (2007), p 67
Despite early critique against the dop system as well as fair analysis of the bad effects of the practice of the system, the Liquor act of 1928 argues that an abolishment of the system would not likely bring forth any positive changes regarding drunkenness and damaging drinking habits without other legislations restricting the consumption of liquor. Instead, the liquor act argues that the consumption of liquor and even more harmful concoctions would be a likely effect of an abolishment until social conditions are improved.\textsuperscript{71}

The Apartheid era is characterized by control and incapacitating according to racial theories. The dop system proved being a sufficient way to control the consumption of alcohol. The practice was legitimized as a paternalistic way of exercising control of various Non-White groups considered incapacitated to otherwise control and make fair judgement upon their own consumption of liquor.\textsuperscript{72} The dop system was subjected to harsh criticism which prompted the formal abolishment of the dop system in 1961, regardless of a lack of changes in the socio-economic conditions of both Coloured and Black farm workers.\textsuperscript{73}

\textbf{2.2.5 The Legacy of the dop system}

It is important to bear in mind that surveys reporting figures for the occurrence and the experience of the dop system varies greatly. There is a lack upon unified surveys on an eventual presence of the dop system. Studies conducted within minor areas are not universal or suitable for generalizations; hence the dop system being a local phenomenon whose function and system varies greatly between different farms and areas. Farm workers in South Africa have traditionally not been covered by labour rights. The lack of formal legislations ensuring the rights and the conditions of the farm workers has allowed farm owners to individually shape the conditions for work only according to their personal opinion and moral view. Consequently, the conditions of farm workers vary greatly between various farms.

According to the CAGE survey followed through in 2000, a percentage of 19.4 of the interviewed workers from the Western Cape region reported a current use of the dop system. When being asked about previous experience of the DOP system a percentage of 47.8 of the workers would confirm personal experience of the system on one or more farms.\textsuperscript{74} The experience of the dop system is common among the workers, meaning that a number of the workers presently carry experiences from the dop system.

\textsuperscript{71} South African institute of Race Relations (195-?),
\textsuperscript{72} South African institute of Race Relations (195-?), p 1 – 4
\textsuperscript{73} Schärf (1984), p 149 ff
It is however difficult to relate to statistics and studies on the subject as they tend to state strictly different results. This may be explained by numerous factors. The conditions vary greatly between different areas and between different farms. The dop system seems to be defined in a variety of ways. There seems to be a large span in which different interpretations of what defines the dop system flourishes.

2.2.6 Shebeens

Shebeen is the South African term for liquor outlets, commonly illegal. There are both urban and rural variants of Shebeens and they commonly function more as a bar than a plain liquor store. According to a study of Alcohol Policy and Public Health performed in 1998, easy access to alcohol through shebeens is a contributing factor to the continuous structure of alcohol related difficulties.\(^{75}\) Within the rural areas of the Western Cape Province, shebeens are commonly situated upon governmental property or on farm owners’ private property with common public knowledge of their existence.\(^{76}\) Few or no barriers are denying under age children access to alcohol within the Shebeens. Enforcements serving to bring the illegal distribution of alcohol from shebeens to an end have not been sufficient. Common acceptance of their existence allows them to continue the distribution of illegal liquor, thus encouraging continuance of risky drinking habits within the area.\(^{77}\)

2.2.7 Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS)

Western Cape Province has the highest rate of children born with *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* internationally. The amount of children born with *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* is rising,\(^{78}\) a factor indicating that alcohol related difficulties within the area are escalating. Violence and sexual abuse alongside with poverty and parental neglect are common problems amongst children growing up in conditions embossed by alcohol use and misuse.\(^{79}\) The pattern of risky drinking and alcohol related difficulties are commonly inherited by the next generation, allowing the legacy of the dop system to continue.\(^{80}\)

The first formalized diagnosis of *Foetal alcohol syndrome* was published in 1973. A number of delineations and clarifications of the diagnosis have been done since. *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome*

\(^{75}\) Parry & Bennetts (1998), p 79 – 100  
\(^{76}\) Brady & Rendall-Mkosi (2005), p 4 ff  
\(^{77}\) Brady & Rendall-Mkosi (2005), p 4 ff  
\(^{78}\) Brady & Rendall-Mkosi (2005), p 4 ff  
\(^{79}\) London (2000)  
\(^{80}\) London (1999)
Syndrome is characterized by a pattern of anomalies and developmental disorders in children exposed to large amounts of alcohol during their foetal stage. Children born with foetal alcohol syndrome have external characteristics such as facial and body dysmorphologies. Growth retardation, facial dysmorphic features as well as head circumference are used as physical measurements to state a diagnosis.\textsuperscript{81} Other clinical features may include dysfunction within the central nervous system in terms of decreased intelligence and hyperactivity. Typical features are not universal and tend to vary depending on the timing and dose of alcohol exposure along with other risk factors such as maternal liver function and nutrition. There are no concrete biological markers to facilitate a diagnosis of foetal alcohol syndrome and it may be difficult to state a diagnosis at birth. A diagnosis has greater reliability if stated between the ages between 3 to 10 years.\textsuperscript{82}

All of the three diagnostic categories must be present in order to make a diagnosis.\textsuperscript{83} It is common to make a diagnostic distinction between various degrees of foetal alcohol syndrome, depending on how many of the symptoms that occur in each case. In milder cases of foetal alcohol syndrome a diagnosis can be given even if symptoms in all three categories cannot be found. A distinction is then made between foetal alcohol syndrome and partial foetal alcohol syndrome.\textsuperscript{84}

In a survey of the extent of foetal alcohol syndrome conducted in a small community in South Africa in the year of 2000, the frequency of foetal alcohol syndrome among first grade children was estimated to 4.1 – 4.6 percent. A similar study conducted two years later showed an even higher frequency, from 6.5 – 7.4 percent. Both these rates of prevalence are the highest ever reported in the world.\textsuperscript{85} It is important to note that there is a wide variety of methodologies when investigating the prevalence of Foetal Alcohol Syndrome and that it is therefore difficult to perform comparisons between different countries and studies.\textsuperscript{86} The first population-based study in this community was prompted by a bi-national commission between the USA and South Africa. A follow-up study was undertaken in 1999 concluding that both surveys revealed the highest rate of foetal alcohol syndrome ever reported.

\textsuperscript{81} May & Others (2007), p 259 – 271
\textsuperscript{82} Schneider & Others (2000), p 17 – 19
\textsuperscript{83} May & others (2007), p 259 – 271
\textsuperscript{84} May & others (2007), p 259 – 271
\textsuperscript{85} May & others (2007), p 259 – 271
\textsuperscript{86} May & others (2007), p 259 – 271
Alcohol culture has deep roots in the Western Cape Province and the high rate of foetal alcohol syndrome speaks of a high consumption of alcohol during pregnancy. A study upon mothers and their alcohol consumption during pregnancy did not show any distinctive difference of alcohol consumption during pregnancy between mothers of children with foetal alcohol syndrome, with *Partial Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* and a control group of mothers whose children did not show any symptoms of *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome*. Mothers whose children did not show any symptoms of *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* consumed significant amounts of alcohol during pregnancy. In total, 96 percent of the mothers of children with *Foetal alcohol Syndrome*, 94% of mothers of children with *Partial Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* and 24 percent of the mothers of children within the control group, reported drinking during pregnancy.

Studies of *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* in the Western Cape shows that the children with *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* whose mothers either live in rural areas or are farm workers, are overrepresented in the statistics. Another interesting factor is that no white children in the survey have either foetal alcohol syndrome or partial foetal alcohol syndrome. White South Africans of the Western Cape are largely shielded from these kinds of alcohol related difficulties as they are basically the symptoms of racially implemented alcohol policies.

### 2.2.8 Childhood and Child Welfare

There is a strong formal consensus regarding child welfare in South Africa. The South African constitution strongly insures that children do have the same rights as any fellow adult South African citizen in addition to special rights for minors, defined as every citizen under the age of 18. Children constitute a significant proportion of the South African population. 14 million of the population is under the age of 14, which in turn represents 29.2 percent of the population. 3 of 5 children are living in poor households where the total income is below 1200 ZAR a month.

Poverty is most severe in rural areas. One fifth of all children in South Africa suffer from malnutrition and starvation. It is quite common for children to live and grow up separated from their biological parents in South Africa. This is explained furthermost by labour

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87 May & others (2007), p 259 – 271  
88 May & others (2007), p 259 – 271  
89 May & others (2007), p 259 - 271  
90 May & Others (2007), p 259 – 271  
91 Childrens Institute (2005) s 2
migration and care arrangements that involve extended families.\textsuperscript{92} A great deal of children is orphaned, by either one or both parents. HIV and aids is said to be responsible for 50 percent of the cases of orphaned children in South Africa. HIV and aids are major problems within South Africa and 5 million South Africans are estimated to be infected with HIV, although the estimates are considered uncertain. The spread of HIV is presently declining.\textsuperscript{93}

13.6 percent of the South African population cannot read and write properly, which means that a significant proportion of the population are excluded from basic opportunities and activities in the community. Education is an important socio-economic right confirmed both by the United Nations as well as by the South African constitution.\textsuperscript{94} Education forms the basis for lifelong learning and sets the conditions for economic opportunities in life. According to figures from 2008, 96.4\% of all children aged 7 – 17 participated in some form of educational activities. This in turn implies that of a total of 11.6 million children of school age, 400 000 pupils were reported not having participated in any educational activities.\textsuperscript{95} Additionally, there was a slight increase in school participation among Black and Coloured students in the period between 2002 and 2008. School participation of Coloured children is however lower than the national average, while there is no real difference between white and black students' participation.\textsuperscript{96}

South Africa still struggles with severe structural issues and the long term effects of the apartheid regime era. Poverty is a factor often connected to grave unemployment rates and there is a significant link between poverty and unemployment rates and education opportunities. Poverty within South Africa predominately consists within more periphery and rural areas within families with little access to land, education, assets and basic services.\textsuperscript{97} Parental education seems to have a positive effect on child school attendance and results.\textsuperscript{98}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{92} Hall (2010), p 1 – 5
\item \textsuperscript{93} Pendlebury, Lake & Smith (2008), p 93 – 96
\item \textsuperscript{94} Hall & De Lannoy (2010), p 1 - 6
\item \textsuperscript{95} Hall & De Lannoy (2010), p 1 - 6
\item \textsuperscript{96} Hall & De Lannoy (2010), p 1 - 6
\item \textsuperscript{97} Children’s Institute (2005), p 2
\item \textsuperscript{98} Children’s Institute (2008), p 27 - 28
\end{itemize}
3 Unionization and unions of cooperation

3.1 The Unionization of Agricultural Labour

Farm workers are the least organized group of labourers within South Africa. The union density among farm workers in the Western Cape Province is estimated by the Human Rights Watch to only three percent. For the formal sector in South Africa as a whole, the percentage is 30.\(^{99}\) There is no historical tradition of collective movement among farm workers, thus they have traditionally, and are still to a partial extent, socially and physically isolated.\(^{100}\) The introduction of union movements in the Western Cape has caused a shift in the paternalistic structure of the relation between farmer and farm worker, whereas the farmer has gone from being a “Pater familias” to an opponent. An important asset has been an increased understanding amongst farm workers about their rights and entitlements as employees. It is important to note that the ability of organizing is not an automatic consequence of the formal right to be organized.\(^{101}\) An important task for the farm workers unions in the area is educating the farm workers upon their rights as workers.

Farm workers were excluded from any labour legislation pre to the implementation of the Labour Relations Act 66 in 1995, in which farm workers finally were afforded the same legislative protection as all other employees within other sectors.\(^{102}\) High illiteracy rates and minor emphasis upon educating farm workers about their rights in addition to a combination of lack of logistic and social possibility to gain access to the courts to enforce their rights, somewhat makes it hard for farm workers to gain use of the legislation made for their benefit.\(^{103}\)

Employers have a traditional tendency of expressing scepticism and a hesitating attitude towards employees engaging in trade union activities. There are a number of cases where workers have been denied contact with unions during working hours. Union members are commonly labelled as trouble makers and a vision of the employer as a “Pater familias” enhances the picture of family and a sense of us and them, where the union members represents the outsiders.\(^{104}\)

\(^{99}\) Human Rights Watch (2011), p 12
\(^{100}\) Falletisch (2008), p 50 – 53
\(^{101}\) Falletisch (2008), p 50 – 53
\(^{102}\) Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
\(^{103}\) Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
\(^{104}\) Falletisch (2008), p 50 – 53.
3.2 The Dopstop Association

The Dopstop Association is a small non-governmental organization founded in 1994 in order to deal with the impacts of the Dop System. The organization is centred in Stellenbosch and its work focuses upon promoting and creating sustainable and healthy rural agricultural communities in South Africa. Another mission is to enable farm workers to deal with and take control over alcohol in their lives. It is one of few organizations in South Africa whose main aim is to deal with the problems and the effects of the Dop system.\textsuperscript{105}

The Dopstop Association consider the dop system as a direct cause of alcohol dependency amongst a majority of farm workers within the Wine Districts of the Western Cape Province. The younger generation is a particular priority for the Dopstop Association, given the fact that they are influenced by both attitudes towards and the consumption of alcohol seen within their social environment. Alcohol consumption is widespread even among youngsters and children within the Western Cape.\textsuperscript{106}

A major part of the work done by the Dopstop Association is arranging workshops and camps for self – empowerment amongst farm workers. The organization relies for the most part on voluntary initiatives and partnerships, including cooperation and support from the departments of public health at both Cape Town University and Stellenbosch University, with the Centre for Rural Legal Studies, as well as upon the representation from both farm workers and farm owners. Their office space is provided by the Winelands Municipality. Being a small organization, hard work and volunteering is demanded to maintain funding.\textsuperscript{107}

3.3 Women on Farms Project and Sikhula Sonke

Women on Farms Project is another non-governmental organization (NGO) working with women within the commercial agricultural sector. They are settled in Stellenbosch and works mainly within the areas of the Western Cape Province.\textsuperscript{108} The aim of the Women on Farms Project is to have a strong organization of women led by women within the agricultural sector. This is considered important and vital to bring about change for women within the agricultural sector of the Western Cape Province.\textsuperscript{109}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{105} DopStop Association. About us.()
\bibitem{106} Brady & Rendall Mkosi (2005),p 112 – 114
\bibitem{107} DopStop Association. About us.
\bibitem{108} Women on farms project. History.
\bibitem{109} Women on Farms Project (2002). Women on farms.
\end{thebibliography}
Women on Farms Project became an independent NGO in 1996. The project grew out of a 1992 Lawyers for Human Rights initiative that aimed for meeting the specific needs of women living and working on farms. Women on Farms Project were originally part of a network of *Vroue Regte Groepe*, which could be translated into women’s rights groups on farms. Awareness about the economical vulnerability of donor funded NGOs such as Women on Farms Project arose and led up to a process of forming a member based farmwomen’s movement.\(^\text{110}\)

This was the starting point for *Sikhula Sonke*, an organisation operating as a sister organisation to *Women on Farms Project*. The organisation received institutional support from Women on Farms Project until 2009 in order to enable independent sustainability. *Sikhula Sonke* is a non-government organization operating as a social movement with the aim of dealing with all livelihood challenges of primarily farm women. It is a members’ driven organization functioning as a vehicle for women’s voices to be heard. The organization has seven branches and more than 3500 members from more than 120 farms within the Western Cape Province. Former president of the organization, Wendy Pekeur, was the youngest female to ever become the leader of a trade union in South Africa.\(^\text{111}\)

*Women on Farms Project* have a vision of an engendered society that treats women living and working on farms with dignity and respect in accordance with the constitutional rights that are formally guaranteed to all South African citizens. Important aims held by the *Women on Farms Project* are that:

- Equality, respect and dignity are afforded to all women within the economic, social and political institutions, as well as in the community and home.
- Women play a leading role in sustainable agricultural production and are ensured of access to secure agricultural employment, food, land and housing, while preserving the natural environment for future generations.
- Access to affordable basic services such as water, health and electricity are assured and rural women are active in securing these services.
- Women lead the restoration of the social fabric of rural and agricultural communities so that respect, tolerance and accountability prevail.\(^\text{112}\)

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\(^{110}\) *Women on Farms Project*. History.

\(^{111}\) *Sikhula Sonke*. About us.


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Women on Farms Project has a vision of a South African rural landscape in which women play active leadership roles within both family, community, labour, economic and government structures. An important mission of the organization is to strengthen the capacity of claiming rights and fulfilling needs by women living and working on farms within the rural areas of Western Cape. *Women on Farms Project* focuses on socio-economic rights-based and gender education to achieve its mission as well as advocacy and lobbying, casework and support for the building of social movements of farmwomen.\(^{113}\)

An important belief within the Women on Farms Project is that self organization is a preferable way of counteracting the marginalization of women experienced in workplaces, homes and within the farming communities. Self organization is also considered ensuring women’s leading role in accessing services as well as for securing employment, land and housing. Another important belief within the organization is that women should organize themselves, speak for themselves and mobilize resources to support their needs and dreams. This is achieved through self reliant, accountable and sustainable organizations of women working for women.\(^ {114}\)

4 **Theoretical Frames**

4.1 **Agrarian paternalism**

The relationship between farmer and farm worker in South Africa has historically been characterized by paternalism. Paternalism could be defined as a set of social relations between two or more parts, distinguished by the hierarchy between the superior and the inferior. Paternalism may also refer to a specific conception of moral or welfare action, whereas the superior one carries a responsibility and a belief of promoting the good of the inferior.\(^ {115}\)

The paternalistic relationship between farmer and farm worker in South Africa consists of several dimensions. Racial aspects need to be taken into account when discussing the paternalistic relations between the two as they may enhance and influence certain aspects of the paternalistic relationship between the farmer and the farm workers. The lasting and severe repression of the agrarian labour force may have impaired the workers ability to visualize

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\(^{113}\) Women on Farms Project. History.

\(^{114}\) Women on Farms Project. History.

\(^{115}\) Atkinson (2007), p 42 – 48
themselves as free economic agents, into an extent that would enhance the imbalance of power characterizing a paternalistic relation.

“Farm worker see the farmer not only as an employer, but as a source of strength when they are in need of help, the authority from whom they must obtain permission for almost everything they do, even out of working hours… In turn, the farmer must see his workers not only as factors of production, but as heads of households or members of families with whose whole welfare and with whose problems he is concerned at all times.”116

Apartheid had the intention of tying down and isolating farm workers on the farms. Harsh legal measures were imposed by apartheid regime, although farms to some extent were not truly institutionalized.117 Farmers and farm owners would commonly establish and continue their relation for generations, living and working in close proximity for an extended period of time. The two would commonly establish certain positive aspects of their relationship.

Paternalism has a number of negative connotations. The concept of paternalism nevertheless has a variety of aspects that needs to be taken into consideration. The wine industry has far-reached historical traditions in South Africa and in particular within the Western Cape Province. The relationship between farmer and farm worker involves a much broader implication than the aspect of the pure labour force and employee relation. The farm owner has traditionally provided housing, education, church and sometimes even some sort of a friendship.118

Farm owners have traditionally been in control of a number of aspects of the farm dwellers lives. There is commonly a lack of written contracts that formalizes the working relationship between farm owners and farm workers. This in turn means that workers can easily be subjected to arbitrary decisions that are difficult to challenge. Farm workers are commonly exposed to a number of occupational dangers or perils throughout working hours. It may involve the handling of hazardous chemicals, or the lack of proper safety equipment. This kind of working conditions implies insecurity and uncertainty for farm workers. A study conducted among farm workers in South Africa in 1995, showed that 80 percent of farm

workers would rather have more certainty concerning their work situation, compared to a higher income.  

4.1.1 Paternalism and the wine industry of Western Cape

According to a report from the Surplus People Project from 1997, there was an increasing number of farm workers receiving temporary employment. The main change was an increase in terms of seasonal work, mostly among women. This is caused by the fact that an increasing proportion of women are becoming economically active farm workers. A study performed by the Rural Foundation indicates a discrepancy in the relationship between farm workers and farm owners, where farm workers on the one side defines themselves as permanent workers, while farm owners define the same workers a temporary workforce. This is particularly evident among female farm workers. The study concludes that there is a pattern of better working conditions and a higher degree of work formalization within larger farms. Smaller and less profitable farms are more commonly characterized by less favourable working conditions such as low wages, minimal training and poor unionization.

An interesting development mentioned by Helene Fast is that racial preferences seem to control how the employment of farm labourers is done. Seasonal workers are mainly Coloured women and Black men. According to Fast, a common attitude among farm owners and a reason for this development is a belief that Coloured and Black workers are in conflict with each other. Black workers are also considered to be more militant and inclined to unionization. This can in part be explained by the fact that Coloureds historically have a background and roots in the region, while Blacks have migrated to Western Cape from other regions. In a region where unemployment is severe, the migrant labour force might constitute a threat to Coloured farm workers. This threat is further exacerbated by the tendency of migrant workers accepting lower wages and thus may be seen as more desirable employees to the farmers.

Distances are great in the rural areas of the Western Cape in addition to poorly developed communication and public transportation. Farm workers are usually dependent on the farm owner for transport. This reinforces farm workers dependency towards the farm owner as well

119 Fast (1997), p 1 – 33
120 Fast (1997), p 1 – 33
121 Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
122 Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
123 Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
124 Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
as contributing to the isolation of farm workers from social activities and alternative employment opportunities, apart from the farm community. The lack of communication facilities and logistics also complicates farm workers opportunities of organizing themselves.125

A crucial event in the relationship between farm workers and farm owners has been the extension of the Security of Tenure Bill in 1997. The Extension of Security of Tenure Bill aimed to achieve long term security of tenure for occupiers of land through the joint efforts of occupiers, landowners and government bodies where this is possible.126 An important aim of the extension of the tenure bill was to regulate evictions with a retroactive function through the following key provisions of the bill:

- Evictions will be granted only if the right to occupy [land] is lawfully terminated, correct procedures are followed, and measures are taken to secure appropriate alternative accommodation for evictees
- Certain categories of people cannot be evicted, namely occupiers who have lived on the land for ten years or more and are 60 years or older, an occupiers who have lived on the land for 10 years or more and are disabled as a result of working for the owner.
- The farm owner must inform the Provincial Director of the Department of Land Affairs, the relevant local authority, and the occupier(s) at least two months in advance of the intention to evict the occupier(s)
- The parties involved in an eviction can ask the Director – General of Land Affairs to provide mediation before the start of the legal process.127

Housing is still governed by employment and paternalistic structures are thus retained. The extension of the Tenure Bill is said to have added certain aspects of conflicts between farm owners and farm workers, due to the fact that the bill entitles former farm workers or their successors to live upon the farm owner's land and within his accommodation, even if the labour contract has expired or ceased. The aim of the legislation has been to even out power distortions between farmers and farm workers, between whites and non-whites, but a clear consequence of the legislation is a growing polarization.

Paternalism on farms has been part of a complex social construction in which physical proximity coexists with social distance. The inherited system of paternalism within the

125 Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
127 Fast (1997), p 13 – 32
agricultural sector of the Western Cape has also been described in terms of a micro welfare system, in which the effect of the low wages are partially offset or compensated for by private welfare contributions provided by the farmers.\textsuperscript{128} These are mainly provided within a combination benefits provided to the farm workers on both an informal and formal level. These actions have a variety of positive effects, although even welfare benefits inevitably do participate in maintaining a structure of dependency towards the farmer.

\textbf{4.2 Gender perspective upon farm women in the Western Cape}

The image of women in society has been recreated and repeated throughout history and thus been dominant for an extended period of time. This is described by the historian Yvonne Hirdman in terms of the gender contract. The gender contract is a pattern of stereotypical ideals which continue and are remained through the repetition and a structure of power determined by gender. It describes a culturally inherited system of structural constraints that both sexes are burdened by. The term expresses a created imbalance of power, a certain order of the sexes. The gender contract is thus not a given constant or an unchangeable factor in any given context.\textsuperscript{129}

The gender contract origins from historical descriptions of the woman's subordinate role, usually associated with distinctions in the descriptions of women and men’s particular roles in society. There are a number of typical and ideal distributions of the different sexes' respective rights, duties and responsibilities. This is usually explained by women’s fostering duty as well as through a structural scheme throughout history confirming men’s primary role; taking care of women. The gender contract is a term created to concretize this structural order in society.

The theoretical frames for the gender contract provides explanations for a number of change mechanisms forming the basis for decomposing the existing gender terms. Women’s role and position on the labour market increases due to the emergence of wage labour, although they are still a frequently exploited labour force.\textsuperscript{130} There are a number of norms conflicting with female wage labour, such as marriage and fostering of children. South Africa has a history characterized by paternalism and a structure where women are looked upon as naturally subordinate to men.\textsuperscript{131}

\textsuperscript{128} Atkinson (2010), p 91 – 99
\textsuperscript{129} Hirdman (2003), p 83 – 84
\textsuperscript{130} Hirdman (2003), p 50 ff
\textsuperscript{131} Hirdman (2003), p 50 ff
The value of work conducted within the homes has traditionally not been taken into account economically. The home is a private sphere and work conducted within domestic frames is concealed and thus not subjected to the same requirements or given value comparable to wage labour. The value of work performed in the home is only made evident, as women enter the labour market and achieve wage. Female labour conflicts with gender structures expecting women to continue to carry the responsibility for domestic work.  

Working women have commonly been considered a threat towards a natural state, a prevailed stereotypical contract where women's primary location should within the domestic sphere. Female labour force is considerably less paid in comparison to men. Women have been perceived as smaller and poorer in comparison to men in the labour market and therefore not given reasonable value.

Women within the agricultural sector within the Western Cape Province are caught in a structure of both economical and social exploitation. They are denied the status and the rights and benefits given to male workers within the same industry and are at the same time common subjects of domestic domination and violence. The use of female labour force within the agricultural sector has increased steadily. Women commonly work seasonally and without steady employment and have thereby partially come to compete with the permanent, male labour force.

According to the Farm Workers Research and Resource Project, there were about 55 000 female farm workers in the Western Cape in 1996. They are usually employed as seasonal workers without formal contracts and will hence not receive the rights and benefits that exist for farm workers with permanent and formal contracts. This makes it hard to find accurate and up to date estimates of the number of female farm workers in the region. Temporary employees do not have the right to maternity leave, sick leave or annual leave and there are thus legal incentives to retain women in temporary employment and will not achieve payment if staying home from work for any of these reasons. Child-rearing is considered the responsibility of women although women rarely are given rights enable proper support for their children. In some cases this may have dire consequences for the children.

132 Hirdman (2003), p 50 ff
133 Lanz (1994)
135 Fast (1997), p 13 - 33
136 Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
Wages are generally much lower for women than for men, a phenomenon that is usually defended by the employer due to facts such as shorter working weeks and that women performs less demanding work. The problem is that inequality and indifferences in payment would remain significantly lower than men’s even if these factors were evened out. Housing contracts are allocated to men, with the consequence that primarily married women, whose husbands are presently employed farm workers, will receive employment. Single women will therefore have difficulty obtaining housing and work on farms. The consequence of divorce or the death of husband is thus fatal to women farm workers, as they in many cases no longer will have the right to housing on the farm.

In the event of an existing formal employment contract, it usually is subjected to the agreements upon their father or their partner’s contract. Women's employment is often achieved through a third-hand arrangement between the farm owner and a male authority figure in the woman's presence. This makes women’s work conditions particularly uncertain, hence they run the risk of losing their job if something happens to the male farm worker or his employment. The main outcome of these conditions is that women find themselves in a situation where they for logistical reasons are forced into relationships with men, and remaining them, in order to secure both work and accommodation.

5 Grapes of wrath

5.1 Farm Workers and their families

5.1.1 Labour structures and race

5.1.1.1 Labour conditions

Labour conditions vary greatly from farm to farm according to the interviewees along with personal observations when visiting farms. A recurrent factor among those interviewed was poor and inadequate resources to question or protest against the working conditions on the wine estates. A majority of the farm workers participating commonly have little or no knowledge upon their rights as farm workers.

The lack of knowledge upon labour rights or employment contracts seems to be closely linked to illiteracy and hence a communication gap between farm workers and the farm owner. The farm workers commonly make reference to some documentation or work contract that has

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137 Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
138 Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
139 Fast (1997), p 13 – 33
140 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No 1 – 4, No 6. (Group and Individual)
been signed. The main reason for conflicts is caused by the fact that farm workers do not understand the content of these documents but are nevertheless forced to sign.\textsuperscript{141} The farm workers claims that they have asked the farmers about the content of the documents that were to be signed, but that this had been dismissed by the farm owners as unimportant.\textsuperscript{142} According to the farm workers there is no alternative but to sign for those who wish to maintain or gain the ability to work. A group of female workers does however claim that there never was any contract to sign.\textsuperscript{143} The consequence is nevertheless that farm workers remain without any opportunity to argue for their rights.

At one specific wine farm, the farm workers mutually refused to sign the document until they were provided with information upon the meaning and the content of the documents. The farm workers were finally forced to sign the document without further explanation or information upon its content.\textsuperscript{144} The farm workers possibilities of speaking up are seemingly limited, thus the high unemployment in the area and numerous people willing to work at the wine farms intensifies the competition for work. Fighting for their rights is simply not an option, if they wish to retain their employment.

Some of the farm workers mentioned that the wine farm they work for is certified as a Fair Trade farm, although without following the basic principles of the Fair Trade concept entirely.\textsuperscript{145} Above all, the farm workers should be guaranteed decent working conditions on certified Fair Trade farms. It is thus the guarantee of these basic principles that the customers are willing to pay the higher price for. The employees on this particular Fair Trade certified farm did however not seem to be fully aware of their rights as employees. They did not seem to be well informed about what the concept of what Fair Trade really means and thus lacked the skills to question the basic principles upon their employment and working conditions.\textsuperscript{146} The certification did not give the impression of any major changes for the farm workers, as the only change that would come to their mind was the installation of a new sink with a soap dispenser.\textsuperscript{147} Most surprising is the fact that the farm workers did not appear to be particularly

\textsuperscript{141} Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 1 – 2, No. 4 – 5 (Group and Individual)
\textsuperscript{142} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group of 6)
\textsuperscript{143} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 1, No. 2.
\textsuperscript{144} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 1 (Group of 6)
\textsuperscript{145} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group of 6)
\textsuperscript{146} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group of 6)
\textsuperscript{147} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group of 6)
familiar with the basic principles of the Fair Trade concept. These conditions are not unique and similar cases have recently been highlighted by the Human Rights Watch.148

On several wine farms, the workers report that they do not get any sickness compensation if a situation arises where the workers are injured or become ill while working. One worker describes his despair upon the fact that he did not get any compensation or grant for his hospital stay when he got tuberculosis.149 At another farm, a young boy was paralyzed from the waist down by an accident at work and has thus become unable to work.150 Even when damage occurs in the workplace and during working hours, no form of compensation or sickness benefit seems to be provided to a number of the workers. It is clear that farm workers commonly feel disappointment against the workplace in the way they are treated when illness and injury occurs.

5.1.1.2 Labour rights and union membership

Membership in unions and interest groups is a sensitive topic among the workers on the wine farms. It was upon this topic that the core of conflict issues between the farm owners and the workers were put to the test. A majority of the farm workers participating in the study told openly about the difficulties surrounding memberships in trade unions and how these usually are based in sanctions fulfilled by the farm owners to curb the access of unions to the farms.151

Most farm workers and the women interviewed have been living on farms for several years, albeit moved to the farm villages as adults. A majority of these women became pregnant at a young age and presented the pregnancy as the main reason for moving to the present farm. Research shows that the social structures within the farm industry have a tendency of reproducing, as farm workers commonly inherit from farm workers several generations back. Many of the women in this study did however origin from more urban areas and families without a background in the agrarian sector.

At some wine farms where both living and working conditions were apparently miserable, farm workers explained how either the farm owner or the manager prevent union membership through a variety of sanctions. The farm worker upon one wine farm reports that the

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148 Human rights watch (2011), p 93
149 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 1 (Group of 3)
150 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 2 (Group of 2)
151 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 1, No. 2, No. 5, No. 6 (Group and Individual)
employees were members of Sikhula Sonke a few years ago. In conjunction to a shift of manager, the farm workers were no longer allowed to continue their membership in the organization. According to the farm workers, both living and working conditions appeared to have deteriorated severely since the new manager was employed. Farm workers and their families expressed great dissatisfaction at the situation on the farm.\textsuperscript{152}

Farm workers have limited opportunities to move outside of the farm village. Union fees are thus usually paid and organized by the farm owners through a subtraction of the fee from the farm workers' wages. This scheme gives the farm owners a tremendous power over the farm workers' capacity to organize themselves. In the above mentioned farm, the interviewees stated that the new manager simply refused to make the payments to Sikhula Sonke. At another wine farm, the farm workers explained how the farm owner threatened to no longer arrange transportation for farm workers if they were to join union membership.\textsuperscript{153}

The paternalistic structures continue to complicate the farm workers' capacity to stand up for their rights as the term of the relationship between them is personal and unique. The terms of their relationship is commonly set by the farmer, as it is the farmer who possesses power of employment and means of payment. Agreements between farmer and farm worker are often built upon tradition and a lack of formal contracts. Without formal documentation upon their agreements, nothing prevents the farm owner to refrain from performing a service or overrule an agreement.

Several farm workers mention incidents where the farm owner has threatened to deviate from various agreements with the workers if they were to join a union or NGO. Threats upon certain sanctions and lack of formerly provided services seem to be an easy way for farmers to prevent unionizing. Halting the access of unions and organizations upon the farms and hence minimizing farm workers opportunities of organizing is likely to have both economical and practical incentives among the farmers. The absence of unions and organizations is likely to provide a more responsive workforce without tough demands upon wages and working conditions. Union density has traditionally been low among farm workers in the region. A lack of resources and the experience of how to achieve coherent unionization may be an additionally contributing factor to the continuing low union density among the farm workers.

\textsuperscript{152} Interview with farm workers: Farm No.2, Interview No. 1 (Group)
\textsuperscript{153} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3 (Group)
5.1.1.3 Farm worker and farm owner

The relationship between the farmer and the farm owner has a history characterized by conflict and imbalance of power. Their relationship is traditionally paternalistic and has been reproduced and strengthened through generations. The interviews have come to provide an insight into the variations of ways in which farm workers relate to the farm owners or the manager of the wine farms. Descriptions of good relationships with farm workers are frequent.154 Farm workers commonly speak of the farmer with warmth and a positive attitude. The relationship often goes far beyond the frames of a professional relationship between a manager and their employees. The opposite description of the relationship between the farm workers and the farmer seem however to be just as frequent.155 This study has a limited range of interviews, of which the relationship between farm workers and farmer appears to be unique to every single wine farm. In this content, it is impossible to deduce any specific pattern of the relationship between the two. The variations clarify the farmer’s arbitrary freedom to form the wine farm as a workplace and living for their workers individually.

All workers on a farm village lost their jobs without warning when the fabric they worked upon went bankrupt. Some of the workers have been working on a nearby farm during the harvesting season. When the harvesting season ends, there is probably no work available for the people living on this particular farm village. Poor finances complicates their possibilities of finding work elsewhere, as the train station is situated far away and travel expenses are too high, especially when unemployed.156 The chances of finding work elsewhere are considered by the interviewees as poor and sporadic. The lack of permanent employment makes it almost impossible to travel in search for new employment due to poor finances. The isolation and unemployment quickly becomes a vicious cycle that is difficult to break.

It is very difficult for us to go to look for a job. We must have a ride to town, you must have money for the train. (…) We want to work but the distance is very far for us.157

According to the interviewees on the farm village, the relationship with the farmer was well-functioning until their retirement was enforced without warning. The workers hence lost their employment without receiving their arrears.158 This constitutes the essence of the conflict between the farm workers and the farm owner on this farm. The workers made contact with a

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154 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 1, No. 3, No. 4, No. 6. (Group and Individual)
155 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 2, No. 4, No. 5 (Group and Individual)
156 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 1 - 4 (Individual)
157 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
158 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
union immediately after the enforcement of their retirement, although according to a farm worker this was not welcomed by the farm owner:

The owner of this farm does not want the union people to come here.159

One of the interviewees reports that some of the workers on the farm were threatened with expulsion from the village if they were to enter a union membership.160 In addition, the economic situation on the farm is extremely poor. The people who live there are partly depending on charity and donations from various parts of society to cope with everyday life. Their situation is particularly difficult during the winter months. The now unemployed workers on the farm stresses that the children from this very farm village are considered particularly less fortunate.

The farm workers on another wine estate describe distrust particularly towards the manager of the farm. There has been a frequent circulation of managers on the farm estate and the situation is described as widely varying between different managers. The living and working conditions are exposed to changes when new managers enter the farm estate. The farm workers express that their situation completely rest upon various manager's arbitrary and shifting values.161

He is a very very bad manager. He does not care about us.162

On another farm, an interviewee clarifies that it is the manager who determines the farm workers' conditions.163 The farm workers situation is said to vary between different managers. A former manager is spoken well of as he made an effort to organize leave for the farm workers in addition to raising their wage on two occasions. The women reports that the manager was considered too generous towards the farm workers and that he consequently had to step down from his position.164 The farm workers describe the present manager as inhumanly harsh and there are clear conflicts between the farm workers and the manager. Interestingly, the farm owner is however still mentioned in positive terms. According to the farm workers the farm owner is not involved in the farm on a daily basis and the farm workers

159 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 4 (Individual)
160 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
161 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 1 (Group)
162 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
163 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
164 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
thus consider that he cannot be held responsible for how the farm is operated by the manager.\textsuperscript{165}

On a farm villages situated far off from communications, the farm workers depend on the farmer to provide transport for their children. In the morning, the farm owner's wife provides transport for the youngest children in order to bring them safely to school. There is no transport provided for them on their way home. The route from the school to the farm village is heavily trafficked and the school is situated several kilometres away. Yet the distance is too short for getting governmentally substituted transportation for the children. It takes one hour and twenty minutes for the children to walk from school. The younger children often have to wait up to two hours to go home with older children, in order to ensure some safety for the children along the road. From time to time the children are given a lift home by strangers, which of course is a worrying issue for the parents.\textsuperscript{166}

These mundane difficulties of farm workers living conditions are excellent examples upon how and why the farm workers dependent relation with the farmer arises. It also exemplifies how farm workers are locked into the surroundings and the situation they find themselves in, as financial worries and physical isolation makes it virtually impossible for the farm workers to change their own situation. Despite the fact that this case shows a willingness of the farmer to provide transport for the children to get them safe to school, it nevertheless includes the fact that these arrangements create a dependent position in relation to the farmer that is difficult to escape.

\textbf{5.1.1.4 Paternalistic structures}

The interviewed women are usually seasonal workers on the wine farm and therefore dependent on her husband’s income during the remainder of the year. Most of the women speak of difficulties finding work outside of harvesting season and that they would have preferred to work compared to staying at home. The financial incentives are dominant, as in many cases these are families with very limited finances. Some of the women manage to get work at times apart from the harvesting season, but these are often temporary and with any guarantees for future work. Women continue to depend on their husbands to be able to both work and live on the farm.

\textsuperscript{165} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 1 - 4 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{166} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group of 6)
There are commonly few or no opportunities for women to find work in this area. Wine farms are often remote and characterized by poor communication facilities in order to enable work outside the farm village. One of the interviewed women explains that she works as a cleaner in the farm owner's home. This is considered by the farm workers as a good job, in many cases preferable to other work on the wine farm.167

When visiting a wine farm of particular poor conditions, some seasonal working women tells of a neighbour who has been thrown out of her home with only one week's notice. The couple in the household had been working on the farm for several years, but when the husband was sentenced to prison for unknown reasons, the female worker did no longer have any right to stay on the farm with their children.168 The women’s dependent position towards the permanent employed man is palpable in these situations, especially as women are commonly employed upon the contract of their husband. Women's ability to obtain other work independently is difficult and limited both due to women's dependence towards the man in addition to the logistical and economic isolation of wine farms:

It is very difficult for us you know, because it is only our husbands that get to work.169

The women are once again the most vulnerable group of workers on the wine farms. Not only are their employments usually underlying the contract of their husbands, women additionally have slimmer opportunities of finding work. Now that the work opportunities on this farm village are limited, it is only the men who get to work, albeit even the men do not obtain secure employments.170

There are also men that are not working, but just stay home just lying down. Most men are working and the women stay home. There is nothing for them to do.171

There is a combination of resignation and despair among farm workers in terms of job opportunities in the area. Above all, women have few or no opportunities to independently seek employment outside the farm village. Unemployment is also high among men, but men are normatively and structurally more free to seek jobs elsewhere.

167 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
168 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No.2, Interview No. 1 (Group of 3)
169 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
170 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 1 – 4 (Individual)
171 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
5.1.1.5 Reproduction of structures

A typical phenomenon among farm workers and their families participating in the study is that they often have a history of early departure from school. This was common even among the younger generation of interviewees, students who have not been attending school during apartheid years. This clarifies the social structures being prevailed among farm workers in the Western Cape Province.

The variations in farm workers' educational level are widespread and the rates of illiteracy among farm workers in the Western Cape Province are significant. Although the farm workers themselves often did not have the opportunity to fulfil their elementary education, all interviewees consider a proper education being the only way to broaden the opportunities for work and to break out of the structure of unemployment and poor economic conditions. The farm worker believes that the opportunity of getting a proper education has improved much in comparison to the situation during apartheid years. Present schemes for economic support and scholarships enables entrance into schools that Coloured farm workers previously were excluded from.

A number of farm workers mention that they were forced to quit their education in order to help the family financially. A woman says that the family economy deteriorated when her father passed away. On another farm a woman explains that she had to start working because she was the oldest in a growing flock of siblings. There are various explanations behind every single drop out from education, but it is clear that it was common among the older generation of those interviewed. It is difficult to make certain conclusions about whether they worked because of the early drop-out, or if they dropped out of school in order to work. Regardless of outcome, the fact that child labour was still allowed should be considered a decisive factor.

I wanted to become a nurse. But there was no money for me to continue school, so I had to work instead.

Farm workers usually reports economic conditions in the family as the main reason why they prematurely dropped out of their education and started working at a very young age. In some

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172 Interviews with farm worker: Farm No. 1 – 10 (Group and Individual)
173 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 1 – 6 (Group and Individual)
174 Interview with farm worker: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group)
175 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 1, Interview No. 1 (Group)
176 Interview with farm worker: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
cases, the need for an extra source of income in the family is the main decisive. In other cases, it is above all that there was a lack of family funds in the family in order to finance continued education.

5.1.1.6 Cheap labour and competition for work

Another factor creating uncertainty of work and employment in the wine industry is the influx of foreign and cheaper labour. Immigration to South Africa from the north is rising and a significant proportion of these are illegal immigrants. Conversations with people in the region has shown that farm workers and other easily replaceable labour force, feel threatened by the migrant labour force from the north. Immigration from Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia appears to be particularly significant in this particular area. In many respects, this work force is attractive for employers because they do not demand high wages. Another and perhaps more interesting aspect is that the immigrant workers have reputation for good work ethics and willingness to work. One possible explanation is the fact that the migrant labour force does not carry the stigma and negative experiences of apartheid, as compared to the South African population.

According to the farm workers on one particular wine farm, immigrant workers from Nigeria constitute the main threat to the farm workers employment opportunities. The farm workers are expressing anger over the fact that they themselves, who have lived and worked at the wine farm for more than a decade, are losing their jobs to the immigrating workforce. This is expressed in parallel with a resignation upon the fact that experience and long and faithful service does not seem to matter in the end.\footnote{177 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 1 (Group)} The long established Coloured population is deeply rooted in the Western Cape province. The migration into the region consists largely of black immigrants from northern and eastern regions, in particular those of Xhosa heritage.\footnote{178 Provincial Government of the Western Cape (2001), p v – vii}

5.1.1.7 The Coloured youth of rural Western Cape

A number of adults between the age of 20 and 30 are living at home with their parents. The youth unemployment is a major problem in the area and many young people have only sporadic jobs, mainly during the season. Young pregnancies are common, thus making the youth depending upon family to care for their children. One farm worker at a farm village has two unemployed children in their twenties living with her, 26 and 28 years old. According to
the mother they do not do much during the days as employment is hard to achieve and other activities cannot be financed. A number of young people obtain employment mainly during harvesting season and have nothing to occupy themselves with beyond the season.

The young learners participating in the study moreover presented a positive vision upon their future. A view upon good opportunities of achieving what they want regarding education and work was dominating of those still attending school. Despite limited finances at home, these youngsters considered entry to attractive schools and thereby work opportunities could be gained by showing good academic performance and grades.

Several of the young women interviewed are involved in projects organized by the Women on Farms Project. The organization describes these young women as very ambitious and conscious regarding studies and education, albeit whose opportunities would have been limited without the support and resources from the organization. For this reason it is necessary to take into consideration that the majority of young people who contributed to the study, are getting support and training from an organization that are promoting women's rights in the area. The support from Women on Farms Project is likely to contribute to an increased awareness of their rights and opportunities in addition to the fact that the organization provides resources to give young women the opportunity to get into desirable schools and programs that would otherwise not have been within reach. The Women on Farms Project additionally focuses on maintaining constructive workshops and activities in order to lead young women away from destructive patterns and social networks.

There is a noticeable difference between the young people who are members of the Women on Farms Project's youth group and other young people participating in the study. A number of young people we spoke to belongs to the group of youth that do not finish their education. Some of them had already started to work as farm labourers, others again were unemployed. Notable is the fact that these young women were not part of the Women on Farms Projects youth group or any other union or interest group, even though this might have been a pure coincidence. Two of the interviewees reported that they could not continue in the progress of their education due to young pregnancy.

\[^{179}\text{Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 2 (Individual)}\]
\[^{180}\text{Interviews with youth: High school and Farm No. 8, No. 9, No. 10. (Groups of 3 and 4 and Individual)}\]
\[^{181}\text{Interview with Women on Farms Project representative Elna Lindoor: Interview No. 1 (Individual)}\]
\[^{182}\text{Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 3, Farm No. 6, Interview No. 1, No. 3 (Individual)}\]
\[^{183}\text{Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 3, Farm No. 6, Interview No. 3 (Individual)}\]
5.1.2 The impact of substances

5.1.2.1 Attitudes towards substance abuse

Alcohol and alcohol abuse is in part a delicate subject and the interviews have been characterized by this fact. Asking questions about alcohol and alcohol related difficulties seemed at first difficult and the approach was somehow quite formal. More unhampered and relaxed attitudes developed parallel to an increase of knowledge and experience upon discussing the matter. The consequence was a gradual improvement and an ease of the interview situation as the work process progressed.

All farm workers interviewed expressed some concern about alcohol and alcohol abuse at the farm village where they live. The matter of alcohol related difficulties would be brought to the surface through general questions and attitudes. Depending on the farm workers' response, more personal questions about their personal relation to and experience of alcohol and alcohol related difficulties would then be asked. Some interviewees would initially show some unwillingness to speak about their personal relation to alcohol but would open up during the interview.

The woman below expressed that she was forced to quit drinking as alcohol brought trouble and complications into her life. According to her statement, the woman currently avoids alcohol in all forms. Incidentally, an interview with her sixteen year old daughter was conducted a few days later. The interview with the daughter presented a quite different perspective upon the use of alcohol in this family. According to the daughter, the mother was currently drinking heavily since a new husband became part of the family.

Many people on this farm use alcohol every day, both women on men. But not me! They often start fights with each other.

The discrepancy between the daughter and the mother’s response clarifies the fact that the study addresses a very sensitive topic. The interviewee may be suspicious of both the purpose of the study and how the information will be used. Participants usually do not want to be presented in an unfavourable manner. Secondly, the importance of alcohol is significant in these communities and thus has an impact on the perception of what alcohol related difficulties actually may involve. An effect of the long lasting tradition and the importance of

184 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 1 (Group of 3)
185 Interview with youth: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 3 (Individual)
186 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 1 (Group of 3)
alcohol is a naturalization of alcohol use in these communities and hence a high threshold for tolerance.

The younger generation generally appeared more inclined to provide morally correct and desirable answers. Their response was occasionally modified during the interview. The response to slightly alike albeit different questions would not always correlate with earlier questions upon the same issue. On one occasion a few girls that were acquaintances of the interpreter, the interpreter would correct and question their answers causing them to change their reply.\textsuperscript{187}

A female interviewee considers women to be the main source of problems regarding alcohol in the area. Statistics presented in Alcohol Policy and Public Health in South Africa by Charles Parry and Anna Bennett does not indicate that women are drinking more than men\textsuperscript{188}, even though it possibly could be the case on this farm. However, it is likely that women’s consumption of alcohol is normatively valued differently from men, as women carries the main responsibility for taking care of and fostering the children.

\begin{quote}
Yoh, women! Women are the worst when it comes to drinking. You see on that farm, on Friday they get their pay and they go straight to the shebeen. They are drunk from Friday until Monday morning.\textsuperscript{189}
\end{quote}

In accordance to tradition, managing the home is typically considered the responsibility of women. This is likely a contributing factor to why the respondent primarily criticizes the women for not carrying out their tasks in the home due to drinking. Similarly it is primarily the women who are criticized for neglecting the children, albeit the use and abuse of alcohol concerns both men and women. Women are thus given the responsibility and blame for the difficulties caused by alcohol use and misuse.

\begin{quote}
They [the women] do nothing at home; they do not care about their children.\textsuperscript{190}
\end{quote}

Not only are children exposed to neglect and poor conditions due to the use and misuse of alcohol. When parents are unable to care for their children due to the use and misuse of alcohol, there is commonly a shift of responsibility from the parents towards the elder children. A number of children are thus carrying a burden of responsibility and workloads that normally should be performed and carried out by adults:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{187} Interview with youth: Farm No. 8, Interview No. 1 (Group o 3) \\
\textsuperscript{188} Bennets & Parry (1998), p 34 ff \\
\textsuperscript{189} Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual) \\
\textsuperscript{190} Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\end{flushright}
The elder one must look after the younger one.191

Yet another example of alcohol consumption affecting children's lives and even their school day is confirmed in an interview with a female farm worker. She explains that there are clear problems for school children during and after the weekend, as the alcohol consumption peaks during the weekend.192 The image is confirmed through conversations with union representatives, teachers and social workers. The consequences of drinking do not only concern neglect or violence during the time of consumption, it commonly also means that children are not given proper opportunities to eat and that the daily household chores are not fulfilled. A woman explains that the neighbour children on her farm village rarely have clean uniforms to wear when the school week starts after the weekend:

On Monday morning there is no school uniforms clean for them and no money for taxi193 or bus to school for them.194

Another mentioned difficulty is futile efforts to improve children's conditions in the area. A number of farm workers report that both the police and social workers occasionally visit the vineyards, albeit there is little or nothing they can do to change the situation. Others mention a desire for more police presence or action done by social workers, although they claim that especially the police usually do not prioritize vineyards with recurrent alcohol-related problems.195 A few female farm workers on a farm village reports that they repeatedly try to get hold of the police whenever alcohol-related fighting or violence occurs. They explain that the police are tired of the constant calls from the area and thus no longer prioritize calls that come from alcohol burdened wine farm villages.

We used to call the police, but they do not come here anymore. We call, but they do not come.196

A woman speaks of frequent visits by the social worker on the farm village. According to the interviewee, the main problem is that social workers mainly deal with individual cases. Efforts made by social workers would thus not lead to any major changes in the greater perspective, as the problems are rooted in deeper attitudes and structures.197 Individual cases

191 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
192 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
193 Mini buses used for public transport in South Africa
194 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
195 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 4 - 6, (Individual)
196 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
197 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
dealt with by the social workers are primarily the symptom of a larger spectrum of problems that exists within the farm villages. As long as no action is taken in order to address the social structures linked to the alcohol problems, changes of structure will not be achieved:

The social worker is coming and coming, but it looks like nothing is going to change.\(^{198}\)

A farm worker provides an interesting perspective on the relationship between farm workers and farm owners. This woman explains that farm owners are trying to implement constructive solutions to access the alcohol difficulties and consumption in the area. The farmers often organize activities for farm workers and their families during the weekends in order to provide alternatives that do not involve the consumption of alcohol. The offered activities are free, albeit the primary problem is that farm workers do not take advantage of this opportunity:

The farmers try their best, but they can do nothing. They arrange activities and provide transport for whenever there is a sports day or church or anything, but the farm workers do not go.\(^{199}\)

Important to note is that a positive attitude towards the farm owner is commonly shown. The conversations with farm workers reveal various initiatives taken by the farm owners to address alcohol issues on farms. Despite the farm workers' dependence against the farm owner, it is not uncommon to encounter positive attitudes towards the farm owner. The material of this study above all verifies great differences in how the relationship between farm owners and farm workers are expressed. The main impression is that the farm owners have arbitrary freedom to define the working relationship and that it therefore appears to be unique and different among various wine farms.

Conversations with two farmers revealed benevolence on their part to change the situation. Farm owners mentioned different approaches to address alcohol related issues on farms. They spoke about the importance of involving the farmers in the process of alcohol problems. Only through the joint efforts of both farm owners and farm workers can change be achieved in the long run.\(^{200}\) The view is not shared by the Women on Farms and there is thus conflict

\(^{198}\) Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\(^{199}\) Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\(^{200}\) Meeting with farm owners: Agricultural Centre.
between different organizations in the field regarding suitable approaches even though their goals may coincide.²⁰¹

**5.1.2.2 The dop system**

Very few farm workers report having knowledge or awareness of a present existence of the dop system.²⁰² A number of workers claim to have heard of the continuance of the dop system in certain areas, but that they personally have no experience of it. A present prevalence of the dop system is an issue characterized my uncertainty and rumours. A sharp division is however seen amongst the older generation as a number of them have personal experience of the dop system and its eradication.

I have not seen but I have heard about the dop system. When I grew up there was no alcohol you see, because I grew up on a fruit farm.²⁰³

A woman with personal experience of growing up on a wine farm where the dop system was practiced verifies that the system caused major problems among farm workers and their families. The woman partly grew up on a vegetable farm, partly on a wine farm. The vegetable farm practiced wages in kind, in vegetables and foods produced on the farm. While living on the vegetable farm, hunger or food was never an issue. The farm workers would be paid partly in foods produced on the farm.²⁰⁴ There was however a significant shift upon the situation when the family moved to a wine farm in the Western Cape, as the only product that was provided to the workers in addition to the actual salary would be wine:

They would get no money or food during the weekends, only wine.²⁰⁵

On a small farm village just outside of Stellenbosch, a group of six farm workers were interviewed on the very same occasion. There was an equal distribution between men and women and the interview was an opportunity to hear the men's view. The farm workers described a well-functioning relationship with both the farmer and the manager of the farm. This came to be exemplified in the farm workers description of how their relationship is organized and agreements have developed between them.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ Meeting with farm owners: Agricultural Centre.
²⁰² Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 1, Interview No. 2, Farm No. 4, Interview No. 2 (Group and Individual)
²⁰³ Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 6, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
²⁰⁴ Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 6, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
²⁰⁵ Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 6, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
²⁰⁶ Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group)
The families on the farm seemed to be quite unified and tightly linked to each other. They reported that the dop system had operated until 1994 but that it then came to an abrupt end.\textsuperscript{207} The consequence of the abolition of the dop system was described in terms of a significant decrease in the use of alcohol, mainly because of the fact that the farmers were poorly paid and that there was no money left for alcohol. The main priority among the farm workers when the dop system was abolished would be bringing food on the table for the children, as there would be no change in the salary for the farm workers when the dop system ended.\textsuperscript{208}

Most farm workers disclaim having knowledge upon a present implementation of the dop system as they have not seen it personally.\textsuperscript{209} Conversations with teachers and Women on Farms Project representatives do however provide a different perspective upon the situation.\textsuperscript{210} The picture of what a present implementation of the dop system actually involves has become increasingly fragmented throughout the work process. This in turn means that various replies upon any present existence of the dop system or not may have different interpretations depending upon how the dop system and its legacy are defined.

The original practice of the dop system meant that farm workers were provided alcohol in small portions during the work day. The dop system was heavily criticized for causing alcohol related difficulties among farm workers in the Western Cape. Current possibilities of practicing the dop system in its original form are generally considered slim. The main impression is a consensus upon the fact that the dop system in its original form no longer exists.

This leads to further questions and confusion for where the boundary of the dop system lies. Additionally it leads to uncertainty about the answers provided by various people throughout the work process, thus there is no uniform definition of the dop system or its legacy in the discussions with farm workers and other persons relevant to the thesis. It is common to define the dop system according to its original form. This being a given, the answer to whether the system exists or not is simplified. According to this definition it does no longer exist, partly because it would involve too great a risk for the farm owner to practice the dop system in its original form.

\textsuperscript{207} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group)
\textsuperscript{208} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group)
\textsuperscript{209} Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 1 – 6 (Group and Individual)
\textsuperscript{210} Interview with teacher, Women on Farms Project representative Elna Lindoor: Interview No. 1 (Individual)
If instead defining the dop system, not from the way it is practiced, but from its consequences, the limitation of its existence is more ambiguous. It may be illustrated through the following definition: The dop system can be defined as the creation and the maintenance of farm workers dependence to alcohol use and thus also of their dependence towards the farmer. If addiction to and a culture of alcohol use has already been created through the original form of the dop system, it is easily maintained in other forms. Thus, the definition of the dop system can be broadened to include the retention of farm workers' use and abuse of alcohol in the vineyards.

This can be done in a variety of ways. The Women on Farms Project report that certain farms still provide alcohol directly to the farm workers.\(^{211}\) In cases where this is still ongoing, it is done outside of the work week; usually by giving the farm workers access to cheap or free alcohol over the weekend. Another variant is farmers allowing the existence of shebeens on the farm. One or more shebeen is situated in the immediate vicinity on most of the farm villages visited.\(^{212}\) Farm workers reports that farmers have knowledge upon the existence of shebeens on the farm, albeit commonly do not make any effort to prevent their existence.

When the dop system appeared in its original form farm owners lost little or nothing financially from providing alcohol to the workers, thus the so called bulk wine used for the dop system could not be used for sale. Farm workers access to alcohol has now been transferred into illegal shebeens and is thus no longer the farm owner's responsibility. The farmer does not carry formal responsibility for the alcohol use and misuse on the farm villages as the dop system has been abolished. The question of responsibility does however become an issue of ethics whenever shebeens are run upon a farmer’s grounds. The general impression is that the approach varies among different farms. Some farm workers testify a passive acceptance of their existence among both the farmer and the police, while others are talking about various actions in order to deal with shebeens and the alcohol problems on the farm villages.

It is difficult to state clear boundaries on what to consider the legacy of the dop system and not. It is nevertheless clear that the readily available access to cheap alcohol in illegal shebeens facilitates the consumption of alcohol among the farm workers. Some additionally speak of a certain alcohol culture within Coloured communities that may be difficult for the

\(^{211}\) Interview with Women on farms Project representative Elna Lindoor: Interview No. 1 (Individual)

\(^{212}\) Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
farm workers to separate from. In addition to the difficulties associated with alcohol consumption, alcohol does serve as an important ingredient in social events and celebrations.

5.1.2.3 Foetal alcohol syndrome

There are one or more children having Foetal Alcohol Syndrome on most of the visited farms. Interviewed farm workers are usually familiar with children having the syndrome, but the conditions under which these children grow up varies. At one of the visited farm villages an interview was conducted with a housewife and seasonal worker whose sister has a child with Foetal Alcohol Syndrome. The child had certain physical dysmorphologies and was adopted as the biological mother did not want the child after giving birth to him. The biological mother had been an alcoholic and the interviewee explains that the child is better off now than if he was to grow up with his biological mother.

Children with Foetal Alcohol Syndrome are commonly adopted by someone in the child's surrounding environment. In this particular case, a woman in the very same village as the young and alcoholic mother of birth later adopted the child. According to the interviewee, the boy in question does not receive any education or schooling that differs from what is provided for children without Foetal Alcohol Syndrome. The interviewee stresses that the boy in question is just like every other child in all aspects and that he does not attend to or receive schooling for children with special needs.

A student from another farm village explains that there are three young children with foetal alcohol syndrome in the village. These cases are said to be a matter of teenage pregnancies in which the young mothers have continued to consume alcohol despite knowledge of the pregnancy. The parents are still attending school while members of the family or others in the community contribute to the care of these children. The student believes that teenagers are too young to understand the consequences of drinking as they continue to live their life as normal despite the pregnancy.

5.1.2.4 Access and availability – the Shebeens

Shebeens play a significant role for farm workers in various farming villages of the Western Cape although their design and impact varies considerably. Although Shebeens by definition

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213 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 1 - 2, No. 4 – 10. (Group and Individual)
214 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
215 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
216 Interview with youth. High school, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
of the word are illegal, some interviewees state that shebeens that have been licensed to sell alcohol on legal premises.\textsuperscript{217} It is thus a significant difference between shebeens albeit they normally are in fact illegal liquor outlets.

According to a number of farm workers, certain farm owners attempt to avoid the appearance of shebeens by prohibiting the workers from bringing alcohol into the farm village.\textsuperscript{218} Another measure done by farm owners is to regularly check and visit the farm village to stop fights and violence due to alcohol use. Shebeen owners also live with the risk of eviction if the illegal activity is detected.\textsuperscript{219} Public authorities, primarily the police, are the ones responsible for halting the abundance of illegal liquor outlets in the area. According to the farm workers in this study are the public authorities as well as the farm owners often fully aware of the existence of various shebeens in the area. Little or nothing is however done to address the problem. Some farm workers claim that the police commonly have a completely passive approach to the problems that exist on alcohol use and abuse in the Rural Areas of the Western Cape.\textsuperscript{220}

On a farm where the employees have lost their job, a shebeen formerly used to be situated on the farm. It was forced out of business due to the financial problems that arose when the workers lost their employment and income.\textsuperscript{221} Availability and economy seems to be key factors behind the consumption of alcohol. A woman explains that there really are people who tend to drink amounts of alcohol on the farm, albeit the means to do so are limited by the distance to the nearest shebeen as well as by the economic circumstances.\textsuperscript{222}

Availability seems to be a key factor behind alcohol problems in the area. There is nearly always a shebeen nearby. Attempts to address the illegal distribution of alcohol through various methods have given little or no success. It appears to be certain differences in how shebeens are organized. Some young girls tell of how a shebeen in their village recently became legal and have been given authorization to sell alcohol. The girls mention that it has become calmer in the area since the shebeen got its authorization. The premises for authorization was that the distribution of alcohol occurs at fixed times and that the alcohol is consumed on the spot. The interviewees claim that fights and disturbances do not occur to

\textsuperscript{217} Interview with youth: Farm No. 10 (Group)
\textsuperscript{218} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 6, Interview No. 1, 2 and 4 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{219} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3 (Group)
\textsuperscript{220} Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 3, No. 4, No. 5 (Group and Individual)
\textsuperscript{221} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 1, No. 3 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{222} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
the same extent as it used to since the legalization. The shebeen had been operating illegally for a long time and eventually emerged into a central hub for the people of the village. The authorization appears to be some kind of compromise solution that according to the girls' statement provides the desired results as there is seemingly less trouble and unrest in the area.\(^{223}\)

Shebeens are illegal institutions and thus not governed by any laws or regulations for the distribution of alcohol and whose main purpose is making profit. This in turn means that there are no restrictions upon persons who distribute or purchase alcohol. There are no formal limits of age. If any restrictions of age, these are arbitrary and unique for each shebeen. Interviewees testify that any child could go into a shebeen and get hold of alcohol without anyone questioning it:

> A ten-year-old could easily buy alcohol in the shebeen. No one will ask questions upon it.\(^{224}\)

This is common knowledge and the youth are well aware of the simplicity of obtaining alcohol. Consequently, alcohol is commonly introduced amongst the youth at a significantly low age range. When asked, the younger generation all replied that they started drinking between the ages of 13 to 15.\(^{225}\) It is spoken of in negative terms, even among those introduced to alcohol at a very early age. Formally there is a consensus on what is right and wrong in relation to alcohol. The conversations thus express the norms regarding the general acceptance towards alcohol consumption among the young.

Various farm workers speak of farmers various attempts to address alcohol related problems through various initiatives that would complicate distribution and consumption of alcohol.\(^{226}\) At one wine farm, it is illegal for the farm workers to bring the alcohol onto the area.\(^{227}\) The interviewees on the farm speak of how people on the farm find ways and methods of bringing in alcohol without the farmers knowledge. The interviewees claim that the farmer has tried various methods to limit or prevent to the drinking on the farms, albeit that it in many respects does not provide any real effect.

\(^{223}\) Interview with youth: Farm No. 10, Interview No. 1 (Group of 3)
\(^{224}\) Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 6, Interview No. 3 (Individual)
\(^{225}\) Interviews with youth: High school, Farm No. 6, No. 8, No. 9, No. 10 (Group and Individual)
\(^{226}\) Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1, No. 6, Interview No. 1 – 4 (Individual)
\(^{227}\) Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 6, Interview No. 1 – 4 (Individual)
5.1.2.5 Addressing the legacy of the dop system

The dop system was known for retaining a dependent work force within a paternalistic structure as well as for being the main cause of the massive alcohol related difficulties within the Western Cape Province. There are massive alcohol-related problems in the region, with particular concentration amongst the coloured population. Most farm workers considers alcohol related difficulties being primarily a personal responsibility among those who use and abuse alcohol. The general attitude brought forth in the interviews is that alcohol related difficulties are brought upon the single individual by him or herself and that the responsibility for these problems lies entirely upon the individual. Any change in alcohol use and abuse can thus only be achieved on an individual level.\textsuperscript{228}

Substance abuse largely affects children growing up in the Western Cape Province. The way in which adults in their surroundings relates to alcohol has a major impact upon children's everyday lives. Given this fact, it seems somewhat contradictory to impose the full responsibility for alcohol-related problems on single individuals, particularly when speaking of alcohol related difficulties in terms of the legacy of the dop system. When asked upon who carries the responsibility in cases where children suffers as a direct cause of alcohol use and misuse, some interviewees replied that substance abusing parents still hold the full responsibility for taking care of these children.\textsuperscript{229}

This developed into a pattern of similar views as the work of the thesis progressed. A great deal of the alcohol problems exists as a direct cause of a legally supported system that systematically and deliberately placed the farm workers in a subordinate position as well as endorsed the development of alcohol-related difficulties in the area. This view is shared by organizations such as the DopStop Association and Women on Farms Project. Interestingly, the farm workers in this study did not seem to reflect upon other parties of responsibility when it comes to alcohol related difficulties in the area.

What causes this can be discussed from a variety of perspectives. Farm workers in this particular thesis commonly have an appearance of distrust towards both employers and the state, whereupon the latter in particular is not considered to carry out its duties towards the citizens of rural areas. Interviewees give statements of the absence of both government representatives and unions on the farms. The main impression given is that farm workers are

\textsuperscript{228} Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 1, No. 2, No. 4, No, 5 (Group and Individual)

\textsuperscript{229} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
partly isolated on the farm villages in terms of both logistical and socio-economic aspects. The farm workers and their families are rarely given the opportunity to even physically leave the farm village. The possibilities of unionizing or even getting outer political, intellectual or social inputs are particularly limited.230 Such factors may be a reason behind their lack of statements of alternative solutions to the problems.

According to the statement of the farm workers on a farm village, the drinking has declined significantly on the farm since the abolition of the dop system. On the other hand, the farm workers also claim that there were none or had not been any problems related to alcohol on this particular wine estate even during the practice of the dop system.231 None of the farm workers knew of any children with Foetal Alcohol Syndrome in the area, either. The farm workers still claimed that there is room for drinking alcohol on the farm on weekends.232

These farm workers claim to be too worn out to drink alcohol during the week and that the consumption of alcohol is impossible to combine with work. One of the farm workers states that it would definitely affect his work day if he was to consume alcohol during the week. However, the farm workers agree upon the fact that the farmer does not mind drinking on the farm village, when on the farm workers own leisure. They all seem to share a perspective that shows that they are aware of the risks of alcohol use and an attitude that implies that the consumption of alcohol is not successfully combined with work, even though they claim that the farmer does not have any objections as long as the use of alcohol does not interfere with their work performance.233

The farm workers usually report that they see no immediate solution to the problems connected to alcohol use and misuse. It is clear that the farm workers are aware of and reflect on the use of alcohol as problematic, but the main impression is that they do not see a way out of the problems. The problems are too deeply rooted and have been going on for so long that they seem to have become a natural part of everyday life.

A house wife on a wine farm appears to reflect and worry about children’s conditions on the farm village because of ongoing alcohol related problems. During our conversation she expresses an uncertainty about the future of the majority of children on the farm regarding education and life opportunities due to alcohol use and misuse. The lack of positive adult role

230 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 1, No. 2, No. 4, No. 5, No. 6 (Groups and Individual)
231 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group of 6)
232 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group of 6)
233 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 3, Interview No. 1 (Group of 6)
models was highlighted as a major cause of problems, given the fact that alcohol plays a critical role in some of the families on the farm. One of the problems that the woman pays attention to is that the children's needs are not prioritized because the parents usually spend the majority of their income on alcohol.

I do not know, because they use it all on alcohol.\textsuperscript{234}

This woman considers the parents and no other person or institution responsible for children’s conditions in every respect, even in cases where the parents are unable to do so. An important aspect when considering parental neglect or child abuse as an effect of alcohol use or abuse is that children are innocent and unable to change or influence their situation. Children completely rely upon adults in their surroundings to care for them. The woman predicts a bleak future for children in the area whose parents do not properly care for their children. When asked if the government or any other third party bears any responsibility for ensuring that children receive a good upbringing, the woman responds that the parents themselves must change and that this must be based on their own initiative.\textsuperscript{235} The woman's perspective is interesting as the concern for child care is thus considered purely a family concern.

A woman in another village expresses that there are those who drink and those who do not drink at all on the farm, but that there has been a significant decrease since the workers lost their job.\textsuperscript{236} Declining use of alcohol has resulted in less trouble and unrest in the area. An important aspect of this is supposedly the large distance to shebeens in the area.\textsuperscript{237} The farm workers on this very farm do however not provide a unified perspective upon the effects of the unemployment regarding the drinking habits. The overall impression given by the farm workers is that the drinking has declined due to the abrupt unemployment of the workers. The financial situation affecting the people on the farm makes it difficult or impossible to afford or to get hold of alcohol. The unemployment forced the shebeen that previously existed in the area to shut down.\textsuperscript{238} Contradictory, some of the interviewees consider the unemployment being one of the reasons behind the use and misuse of alcohol on the area. The view upon the development is thus not uniform and represents some diversity within the picture upon how alcohol difficulties in relation to social conditions may be manifested in reality:

\textsuperscript{234} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{235} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 4, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{236} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 1 - 4 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{237} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 1 - 4 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{238} Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
If people is drinking it is because of this problem.239

It is evident that there is a variation in how alcohol problems are manifested between different farm villages. There are also considerable differences in tolerance and thus how use and misuse of alcohol is dealt with upon the farms. A young woman reports of major changes in alcohol habits in her family since their move to the farm where they presently live and work. The woman stated that there were no difficulties related to alcohol use or misuse on the former farm of residence and work for the family.240 During the interview it is however revealed that the family actually was evicted from the farm because of the drinking conducted by her stepfather. According to the young woman’s statement, alcohol abuse seemed not to be tolerated on the former farm of work and residence. When the drinking was discovered, the family was consequently evicted from the farm.241

Since moving to this farm village the drinking had increased heavily and both of the adults in the household are drinking. The young woman is still a student and reports that alcohol is consumed in the home every night of the week. The drinking at home is perceived by the daughter as problematic. Fights and conflicts at home are common due to the drinking and the daughter reports of some verbal abuse directed towards her. A consequence of the drinking is that the daughter has to manage dishes and cleaning herself now as she no longer can rely on anyone else in the house to do it.242 The young girl seems to regard the instability as the most difficult aspect of the drinking, as there is always an uncertainty about how the domestic situation will develop. The difficulties have developed since moving to this farm:

The drinking started a year ago, when we moved to this farm.243

During the interview it becomes clear that the daughter herself consumes alcohol. The parents do not have any knowledge of it and she states that it will not be appreciated if they were to become aware of it. The personal experience of the problems related to alcohol consumption, does not hinder the daughter from consuming alcohol herself. She expresses that it is not the same thing when younger people drinks.244 The woman makes a distinction between alcohol consumption at parties and among the youth in the area and the way that drinking is expressed

239 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 4 (Individual)
240 Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 1 (Group of 3)
241 Interview with youth: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 3 (Individual)
242 Interview with youth: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 3 (Individual)
243 Interview with youth: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 3 (Individual)
244 Interview with youth: Farm No. 2, Interview No. 3 (Individual)
by her parents in the home. She explains that the main reason for drinking is that everyone else is:

My friends are all drinking.245

Despite having seen alcohol related difficulties at close range, it might be nearly impossible not to be drawn into alcohol consumption as everyone else is drinking. Social conditions tend to be reproduced. This also applies to alcohol problems, which are usually passed on from one generation to another. Interestingly, the young woman clearly express a displeasure concerning alcohol issues in the home, albeit nevertheless draws no parallels to the dangers of her own consumption of alcohol.

This attitude grips the core of the alcohol problems prevailing in the Western Cape. The farm workers are aware of the dangers of alcohol and see the consequences of drinking at close range. Alcohol is simply too tightly linked to everyday life to be avoided. The alcohol culture of the Western Cape is difficult to escape and is not limited to farm workers in the vineyards. Alcohol plays a significant role in all social strata of the South African society, but is expressed differently in various areas and between different groups.246 A woman expresses her concern regarding the fact that farm workers have personal experience of the negative aspects of alcohol use and abuse, although they may nevertheless not be able to keep away from alcohol:

They do not know how to stop. It is very, very difficult.247

A woman from another farm village claims that the acceptance and tolerance for drinking is generally very high, but there are still clear limits on behaviour that is unacceptable regarding alcohol consumption. Especially anything that concerns or affects the child is perceived as particularly serious. The low acceptance does not, however, prevent children from being exposed to alcohol use and abuse:

There are occasions when it is not okay to be drinking, like when you are in front of a child.248

The farm workers moreover reports of no particular change in alcohol consumption or alcohol related difficulties due to the abolition of the dop system.249 The main difference stated by the
farm workers is financial, as the abolition inescapably forced farm workers to personally finance and provide themselves with alcohol. Alcohol consumption involves additional costs for the farm workers, as alcohol was provided as a bonus additional to the salary while the dop system was implemented. No raise was given to the farm workers in compensation for retracting the bonus formerly provided in terms of alcohol. Some farm workers even claim that the difficulties in the area have increased.250

I do not think there has been much change at all251

According to information provided by the farm workers, the consumption of alcohol has nevertheless not been particularly limited by economic means. Alcohol is commonly stated as a priority among a number of farm workers and is readily available in nearby shebeens, even among farm workers who find themselves in a difficult economic situation. The dop system may have contributed to the development of a particular alcohol culture and alcohol use within the farm villages which is hard to break out from despite the fact that alcohol is no longer is provided during work hours.

Alcohol is in certain cases more readily accessible than grocery products. Anthropologist Susan Levine at the University of Cape Town mentions in an informal conversation that products such as groceries and clothing are not always given main priority in the homes of farm workers in the wine farms. This is a consequence of farm workers wanting to remain able to fund alcohol upon the same budget in which alcohol previously was excluded from. This in turn gravely affects the children. Many of the interviewees testify of children going hungry because of parental alcohol abuse. This is particularly noticeable during the weekends. Others state lack of care and that a significant proportion of children do not have proper clothing or other supplies necessary for school or other activities as alcohol is the main priority of their parents.252

They [the parents] do not care about their children. It looks pretty terrible, they do not buy things for their children. There is no food on the table for the children.253

A male learner speaks of how the death of a sibling came to trigger alcohol abuse in the family. He was nine years old when an older brother died. After his death the mother suffered from depression and started drinking as a consequence. The drinking meant that he would have to

250 Interviews with farm worker: Farm No. 1, No. 2, No. 6 (Group and Individual)
251 Interview with farm worker: Farm No. 6, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
252 Interviews with farm workers:
253 Interview with youth: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
take care of himself as the mother commonly slept during the day and could be violent while drinking. He would sometimes choose to sleep over at friends when problems became severe. As a child he would feel a responsibility to be the caretaker when the mother was under the influence of alcohol, as she only had him to relate to.254

The student thus has a background in an alcoholic home. The mother was forced to quit drinking for medical reasons as the drinking came to make her seriously ill. According to the son it was never a problem for her to stop drinking, although it has brought significant changes upon the family. There is presently a zero tolerance for alcohol within his family255 The student expresses a negative attitude towards alcohol and alcohol abuse. He initially provides an impression of being a teetotaller as high ambitions for education and an aim for a career in the military comes first. Alcohol and drinking nevertheless has a significant impact in his surroundings and most of his friends consume alcohol. It is however revealed during the interview that he was introduced to drinking at the age of 13. He states that the drinking is presently limited to parties with friends on certain weekends.256 There is a pattern among the younger generation to gradually open up and thus providing more honest answers, although normative expectations seem to have some effect upon their response.

There are big problems there, but for me there are no problems.257

Violence is considered a major problem caused by alcohol use and abuse. The interviewees reported men being the major source of trouble and violence on farm villages. Others reported both men and women being responsible for the violence occurring when under the influence.258 Stone-throwing was reported as a common action of which the violence would be manifested. Fractions and conflicts between men and women in the household is identified as usual explanations behind the violence. Fighting between mainly various men on the farm village is also stated as common.

254 Interview with youth. High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
255 Interview with youth. High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
256 Interview with youth: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
257 Interview with youth: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
258 Interviews with farm workers: Farm No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, No. 5, No. 6, No. 8 (Individual & Groups)
5.2 Teachers, Social Workers and the Women on Farms Project

5.2.1 The impact of liquor

5.2.1.1 The School Situation

A visited rural primary school is at times burdened by economic troubles since most parents in the area are not able to pay school fees and school uniforms for their children. Economic factors may not, according to law, prevent children from attending school. The finances of the school are however heavily burdened as direct cause of this. The school is highly dependent upon voluntary work and voluntary organizations’ efforts to be able to provide the children with the best possible conditions both during the school day and in their everyday lives.259

There are fifty employees at the school in addition to two volunteers contributing with the preparation and the serving of food to the children.260 The teacher density at the school is very low and the workload is thus high. Therefore, teachers additionally depend upon help from pupils in grade 7 to 9 in order to cope with the work.

At our school we also have a parent teacher. For every child, there is a parent teacher. We have to look over everybody. And the prefects are also helping us, the seniors of our school.261

The teachers do their fair share of effort by making use of their leisure time and by providing some tangible goods from their own pocket. It is considered both a necessity and an integral part of teaching at the school, mainly due to the fact that their profession and work allows them to see the situation and living conditions of these children in close proximity. Several of the teachers have a personal background from farm villages with similar conditions and thus felt that they somewhat have a binding role in making the best of the situation for children in the area:

I think it is our responsibility to feed the children. If there is no-one else to do that, we have to make a plan.262

The headmaster spoke about how the school cooperates with various voluntary organizations to improve the conditions on the poorest farm villages. In cooperation with the church and the grocery stores, occasions where clothing and food are supplied to the farms are organized.

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259 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
260 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
261 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
262 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
Transport and poor communication facilities are thus mentioned as aggravating factors that impede the possibilities for volunteer work and the aim to help.²⁶³

Many people bring stationary goods to us, clothes and shoes.²⁶⁴

A number of families are very poor and consequently, many children are hungry. Efforts are made by the school in order to make the best of the situation for these children through a combination of logistical solutions and voluntary work. The school has no control of the children’s lives during weekends. It is in particular during the weekends that the alcohol problems of the area are expressed.²⁶⁵ The less fortunate children are dependent on both the food and the care they receive in school during the week. To reduce the problems encountered during weekends, the school therefore serves a particularly good meal on Mondays when children are expected to be particularly hungry. By the end of the school week, the children in need of it are given the opportunity to bring fruit and vegetables home so that it to a higher extent can be guaranteed that they have something to eat during the weekend.²⁶⁶

I have three phones, you see, so I see to the homes. I must take care there; I must see that the children are ok. So you see, even outside of school, we have a lot to do. Not with school work only, but with feeding and look at homes and to see that nothing is wrong.²⁶⁷

Tangible misery exists for a great deal of the children attending the primary school. Volunteering seems to be a natural part of the work for the staff.²⁶⁸ Much of their work is not according to the framework of the teaching profession, albeit nevertheless necessary in order to allow the learners to function in school.²⁶⁹ The situation is nevertheless characterized by certain aspects of hopelessness, as there is a limit to what could be done for the situation of children through school. The headmaster considers that even farm owners carry some responsibility for the children. The alcohol related difficulties are after all cases of conditions and problems existing upon their grounds and among their workers:²⁷⁰
I think that the owner of the farm can do something, really. They can involve the parents, they can talk to them.\textsuperscript{271}

There is an obvious desire to create a good institution of learning under the conditions of which the school operates. The school has certain financial difficulties and must constantly work to get donations. Additionally they do rely on voluntary work. Nevertheless, the school gives a certain impression of success. The classrooms are bright and clean although the number of students residing in each class is significantly high. There are modern amenities such as a computer room and a basketball court is in the making:

Model C school [explained by the interviewee as White schools] students have their parents, the rich parents that can provide the children with stationary goods such as pencils handbooks and textbooks. The children at this school get it all for free. (…) We do not allow these factors to affect the teaching.\textsuperscript{272}

The primary school speaks of certain financial troubles. Among others, there are some difficulties paying charges and salaries for government body teachers. Both schools are no-fee schools, meaning that it is impossible for the school to require fees from parents and families. Instead, the school depends upon donations and functions in order to pay the teachers.\textsuperscript{273}

The headmaster exemplifies difficulties of learning upon the school by mentioning the results of annual systematic evaluation tests performed upon the pupils in the subjects of mathematics and Afrikaans a few weeks ago. The school has traditionally achieved significantly low scores on these tests, although a significant improvement has occurred in recent years. The lowest result showed a total percentage score of 14 percent, while the present results are at 40 percent. According to the principle, the significant improvement of these tests are mainly an effect of the fact that teachers have been given the opportunity to stand behind the students and assist them during the tests.\textsuperscript{274} The principal speaks of a certain hopelessness regarding the situation in the region as it is rooted in very strong and enduring structures.

The lack of the right kind of resources combined with socioeconomic factors contributes to poor conditions for learning. Financial difficulties among parents, often in addition to alcohol related problems, are described as contributing elements to poor learning conditions. The

\textsuperscript{271} Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)  
\textsuperscript{272} Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)  
\textsuperscript{273} Interview with teacher: Primary School (Individual)  
\textsuperscript{274} Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
following quote stated by a teacher at the primary school, summarizes the difficulties to ensure the children's education despite resources provided by the government. The resources and the financial support are commonly not sufficient enough, while some resources unfortunately are not used according to or do not reach their intended purpose:

The parents at home, they do not have any resources for the children. There is no library for the children to help them, no things like these. It is very bad for the children’s education.\textsuperscript{275}

The principle considers poverty and illiteracy among the parents along with poor social and physical conditions under which the children are living in as the main hinder for children’s educational opportunities. An important component of efforts to ensure the children's conditions on the farms is thus to regularly keep in touch with the manager of the farms, NGOs, and social workers. A psychologist or the police are contacted in cases where it is found necessary.\textsuperscript{276}

\textbf{5.2.1.2 Alcohol related difficulties}

The personnel speak of several individual cases where children have suffered as a direct cause of parental alcohol abuse.\textsuperscript{277} The situation of children in school is influenced by the severe alcohol related difficulties in the area. The following and similar stories are described as frequently occurring among the children in school:

We have a small one, in grade one. Two or three weeks ago, the mother was drunk and she put on some water on the stove to bath him, but she did not cool it, she just threw it directly upon his legs, the hot water. So she burned his skin. He was told that he could not tell the teachers, so he did not tell. But we could see, you know. We have a lot of problems like that, every month.\textsuperscript{278}

The boy still lives at home and the staff claims he is now better and that he does attend school. The staff seem accustomed to handling these cases. In terms of concrete actions or consequences performed by the school when receiving information of such incidents, a school policy determines how such cases shall be dealt with.\textsuperscript{279} In relation to the social and socio-economic conditions in the area, the actions performed by the school do however seem slightly maladjusted and bureaucratic, as the children do not necessarily receive the needed

\textsuperscript{275} Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{276} Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{277} Interview with teacher: Primary School (Individual)
\textsuperscript{278} Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{279} Interview with staff: Primary School (Individual)
help in time. The drinking and the accompanying elements exceeds during the weekends. The staff notices the difficulties that the children suffer from and experience as a direct cause of drinking. One teacher expresses her concerns as follows:

When you see these children on a Monday morning, the parents have been drinking over the weekend. The children are not here, and we ask them: “Where were you?” They answer: “My clothes were dirty”, “Mommy was drunk” and stuff like that. It is very sad. 280

Once again, the resignation among the staff is prominent. They seem to find it both difficult and worrying watching the children suffer of various problems caused by alcohol use and misuse, although the extent of the problems commonly leaves the staff with little or nothing to do to solve them. Despite a given policy and well-functioning contacts with social workers, psychologists, police and voluntary organizations, their work is limited to prioritizing a selection of the worst cases.

The following sets a clear example of how alcohol-related problems affect the children. The fact that financial support intended for the children is used to finance parental alcohol abuse is nothing but depraving. An ongoing struggle with the finances of the school makes it difficult to cover the needs of struggling children with the very limited resources and budget of a public school. The aim of creating the best conditions for a proper education is limited by financial reasons as the school does not achieve school fees or income from parents or private investors that would benefit the school.

The parents they all get 210 ZAR281 every month for the children in school. They have to use it buy stuff for the children, stationary goods and so on. But the parents take it and they drink it up.282

The interviewed teachers at the primary school all have long working experience at the school. Their experiences and knowledge gave an insight upon the changes and developments in the region since the 1990s, both for the school as an institution as well as regarding farm workers and their families.283 Unfortunately there was no glowing optimism on display as they did not describe any signs of positive changes in the social misery that prevail among the Coloured farm workers in the area. As a whole they do leave the impression that the alcohol

280 Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
281 Utgör ungefärligt 210 SEK (2011-08-05)
282 Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
283 Interview with teacher: Primary School (Individual)
related problems may actually have gotten worse. One teacher expressed the prospects for children living in homes with alcohol-related difficulties with these words:

The future looks very dark for the children with drunk parents.\textsuperscript{284}

A social worker works at the primary school and bears the main responsibility for social issues at a total of three primary schools in the Western Cape Province. According to her own testimony, alcohol-related difficulties constitute the main reason for the need of a social worker on the school. Alcohol-related difficulties are multifaceted and linked to a variety of social and economic factors, which means that the social worker nevertheless deals with a broad base of social issues:

The main reason why I am here is the substance abuse.\textsuperscript{285}

According to the social worker, a number of farm workers are aware of the fact that they have problems related to the use of alcohol. The social worker reports that farm workers commonly lack the skills and resources to stop drinking. It is described as difficult for people living in the region to avoid drinking, as alcohol is so readily available in the shebeens.\textsuperscript{286}

Additionally, alcohol related difficulties have become a deeply rooted phenomenon and almost a part of culture within the area:

I think a lot o people know that they have a problem with substance abuse. They know that if they drink there is a problem if they drink in front of a child. Another thing is that alcohol syndrome is a big thing here, so they know that if they drink the children suffer.\textsuperscript{287}

The social worker's primary task is to ensure that children do not suffer from alcohol use and misuse. Work with parents appears in this respect essential as it is the parents who create the conditions for the children's environment. The social workers task thus concern educating and organizing workshops for parents in order to create awareness and to change attitudes towards alcohol. The high levels of illiteracy among farm workers is stated as an important factor behind the social worker’s and other staff’s approach towards the parents.\textsuperscript{288}

\textsuperscript{284} Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{285} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{286} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{287} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{288} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
At the moment we do a parenting thing, a parental training we have one night, where we speak to parents about substance abuse and have a supper.\textsuperscript{289}

Although the personnel in many cases consider the situation as hopeless and difficult to change, the school and the school's work nevertheless do play a crucial role for the children. This is apparent in basal needs such as that fact that the children are being fed during the school day. A common problem in the area is the unfortunate existence of a pattern among parents with alcohol problems. Instead of purchasing food for their children, some will prioritize the purchase and their own consumption of alcohol. A consequence of this is that a number of children are hungry, especially during weekends. The drinking increases during the weekends and during holidays, parallel to the fact that children do not get the free meal they would otherwise get on school:

\begin{quote}
During the holidays, the children get so skinny. By the end of the semester, the skinniest ones are actually getting chubby.\textsuperscript{290}
\end{quote}

Violence commonly occurs in conjunction with drinking on the farm villages. Children are continuously exposed to problems accompanying the use and abuse of alcohol. Despite a common view that children should be spared the problems related to alcohol, children appears to repeatedly take part in, be affected by and even directly damaged by adults' alcohol consumption.

\begin{quote}
They fight all the time, although there are more fights during weekends. Most fighting is during the weekends. When they are under the influence, they usually fight. They are beating each other and fighting with stones. They are throwing stones on each other and the children see these things, you know. They see it all.\textsuperscript{291}
\end{quote}

The responsibility of the school expands as a direct consequence of the existing alcohol-related problems. A number of parents are unable to care for their children. The scale of socioeconomic and alcohol-related problems in the area forces a priority in changing the conditions of the ones in more need. The school thus carry an important responsibility even regarding the moral upbringing of children. The headmaster stresses that an important part of the school's mission is to teach children the values that they cannot take part in or see in their own homes:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{289} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)  
\textsuperscript{290} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)  
\textsuperscript{291} Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\end{flushright}
The stuff that they need that they do not learn at home. We can teach them values at school, they do not get that at home.292

Children commonly suffer from verbal abuse when adults around them are influenced by substances. Some children also suffer from physical abuse. The teachers speak of children who live in homes where alcohol use and abuse dominate the everyday life. Pupils are commonly tired and have trouble concentrating during the school day. The children are not able to achieve the needed peace and stability in their environment required in order to concentrate in school when their parents are drunk, when drunk people in the farm village are arguing, fighting or having parties.293

They do not get enough sleep and it is difficult to get their attention. The children cannot concentrate or they sometimes fall asleep during lectures. Sometimes, the children just stare outside or up in the air. You can see these effects, definitely.294

These noticeable problems are obviously a tough challenge for the staff at the school. The headmaster describes how teachers struggle to address these problems by various methods in order to get the children's attention and interest. One method mentioned is giving the children minor tasks that keeps them awake and focused, such as assisting the teacher with handing out books.295

We try to get their attention by saying "look here" and "go to the teacher" or something like that. We see if there is something for them to do, letting them hand out the books for everyone, for instance.296

Teachers and staff often have limited powers to intervene in the situation of children outside of school and the underlying cause of the problems that are physically expressed in school. The consequence is that teachers primarily address only the symptoms of the problems through various methods to keep students focused instead of dealing with the actual cause of problems. It is likely a consequence of low teacher density and limited opportunities to invest in long-term measures.

292 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
293 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
294 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
295 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
296 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
5.2.1.3 Underage drinking

Accessibility and attitudes toward alcohol appears to have an impact upon how alcohol problems are transferred to the younger generation. Interviews on both the primary and secondary school gave the impression that alcohol is easy to obtain even for children of very low age.297 This is somewhat the main obstacle when it comes to underage drinking, thus it in many respects is accepted and considered normal for minors and sometimes even children to consume alcohol.298 There has been a clear normalization process that is difficult to change, even though there is an awareness regarding the problems that are associated with alcohol use and misuse.

Substance abuse is a big thing here. It is very easy for them to get alcohol. Young children, there are children that are four years old who is drinking. It is something that is very easy for them to do. And they will tell you straight. (…) For them it is nothing. Some of them, not all of them, alcohol use is like drinking a coke or water.299

According to the social worker on the school, alcohol-related difficulties are the main reason for her employment. The problems in this specific area are particularly difficult, meaning that alcohol problems among the children themselves, in turn, are particularly severe. There are in fact a number of very young children drinking alcohol. According to the social worker, the government was surprised of the results when she delivered an annual report upon the situation at the school:

My cases were so young. They expected the older children to be using alcohol, but when I sent in my report last year, they were horrified of the age group using alcohol.300

Alcohol has a different impact upon the students on the high school compared to the primary school. It is more widely accepted that learners are using alcohol at this age, although it is not according to law. Teachers concern regarding under age use of alcohol is limited to keeping track of what is happening during school hours as the personnel have little or no control of what is done after school. The teachers does however claim to keep an open eye especially on activity days and times at school where regular classes are not on the schedule, thus the teacher claims that a number of students use such occasions to drink alcohol:

297 Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
298 Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
299 Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
300 Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
High unemployment rates are highlighted by Women on Farms Project and teachers as a major problem in regards of youth drinking. Along with the lack of organized social activities for children and youth in the area, these are crucial factors behind the extensive drinking habits of the youth. The high school teacher expresses the problem as follows:

There are always people who are not working, so they make a plan to have some drinks with them through the day.  

The opportunities of obtaining alcohol differ among various locations. Underage children know where to turn to get hold of alcohol. Availability is the determinant. Minors may not easily purchase alcohol in legal liquor stores, albeit questions about age are rarely asked on the shebeen or other illegal liquor outlets. No one questions age or purposes of purchase on the shebeens thus the shebeen owners are primarily interested in making profit:

You know when the young kids here go to the yard, as we call it here, to get alcohol, they do not ask about what age they are. They give them to get the money. Even primary school children, some of them!

5.2.1.4 The Dop system

The dop system has played a crucial part in the creation of a certain alcohol culture among farm workers in the Western Cape. Tendencies of alcoholism and alcohol misuse within the farm villages have not changed even though the system itself has been abolished. The abolition of the dop system allows the remaining of the alcohol related difficulties but detaches the government and farmers responsibility for the difficulties associated with alcohol use and misuse. The greatest difference is that the alcohol presently is financed by the farm workers themselves, after working hours. The abolition of the dop system thus poses a financial burden for farm workers, as it may be difficult to cut down on consumption as a result of a law which prevents the farmer from providing the alcohol for free but nevertheless allows alcohol dependency to continue. The high school teacher speaks of a present existence of the dop system in terms of the following:

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301 Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
302 Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
303 Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
I could take you to on farms where the dop system is still running. In other ways of course, but it is still there. (...) Farmers do not want to talk about it.304

Whether one might call the following a continuance of the dop system depends entirely on how one chooses to define it. The dop system was found in a number of variants in the Western Cape Province and varied from farm to farm. According to some of the interviewees, the dop system existed on farms that did not even produced wine. In this thesis, I have chosen to restrict the definition of the dop system to when alcohol was provided to the peasants by the farmer, during the working day or after working hours, directly, as a bonus or gift. It is however important to bear in mind that this does not constitute a universal definition. The teacher defines the farmers’ awareness of alcohol on the farm villages and the fact that it is being supplied and sold illegally to the farm workers, as part of the dop system in the following:

They [the farmers] do not share the wine to you, but on this farm, when the people have finished working, they go to the shebeen owner. The farmers do nothing about it. And then you will see that when the people is out, say half past five, you will see that the badge is on. Every night you will see that, after work. Not on the farm, but just around there is a place where they can go get their wine.305

This is not part of the original or official definition of the dop system. This fact does however not mean that it is neither wrong nor contrary to what I try to emphasize. In particular, it visualizes the difficulties with investigating a system that has been developed and defined and effecting in a number of different variations within the Western Cape Province. The work process has in summary lead to an insight into the various perceptions and definitions upon the dop system and the legacy of the dop system.

5.2.1.5 Foetal Alcohol Syndrome

Alcohol related difficulties are particularly evident at the primary school. The percentage of children with Foetal Alcohol Syndrome at the school is significantly high. The high percentage is explained by the simple fact that the pupils on school come from surrounding wine farm villages with severe alcohol problems. The geographical setting of the school is the main explanation of these numbers.306

304 Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
305 Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
306 Interview with teacher: Primary School (Individual)
According to the staff, the children at this school are not systematically diagnosed, but nevertheless show clear and visible symptoms of *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome*. Children with *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* commonly have both physical anomalies and mental disabilities, problems that are significantly expressed through learning and reading difficulties along with trouble concentrating. Although a formal diagnosis is rarely given, the teachers say they do know when a child has Foetal Alcohol Syndrome:

> The problems of alcohol can be seen in their bodies, in their eyes. It is not right. You can see it when the children are born this way, you can see the difference.\(^\text{308}\)

The principal was asked about the conditions under which pupils with *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* are living and growing up in, whereupon the immediate response was that the parents of these children are alcohol abusers.\(^\text{309}\) The situation of these children still differs significantly from child to child. A number of children grow up in pretty good conditions. Parents who give birth to children with *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* are commonly not capable of taking care of a child and it is thus common for children to be raised not by their biological parents. Children who cannot be taken care of by their biological parents are adopted usually by friends and family, or of someone in the farm village in which the biological mother originates from.\(^\text{310}\)

The teacher says that a great deal of learners on the high school have *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome*, although they are not formally diagnosed.\(^\text{311}\) The teachers are well aware of the symptoms and according to the interviewee; the personnel always recognizes *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* among learners. There is no form of special support or educational training provided for children with Foetal Alcohol Syndrome or other conditions due to a lack of resources. Children with *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome* do not get diagnosed upon any of the visited schools. As there are specific cognitive and physical disabilities among these children, these children would possibly benefit from and have better opportunities of success in school if provided with more resources and opportunities of learning:

\(^\text{307}\) Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)  
\(^\text{308}\) Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)  
\(^\text{309}\) Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)  
\(^\text{310}\) Interview with teacher: Primary School (Individual)  
\(^\text{311}\) Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
We know the symptoms of FAS, we can see it on the children. But we do not have the time to give special education or special treatment for certain children. You know about it but you cannot give them time that you want to, so you go on.\textsuperscript{312}

You can actually see it in the performance of the children with FAS. Most of the children, say 30 percent, are not equipped to be in high school. After two or three years, they just go on. They fail in the standards. Academically, they are not in the standard that you want them to be.\textsuperscript{313}

According to the teacher, the children with \textit{Foetal Alcohol Syndrome} perform differently compared to other students. This is clearly evident in the youngest grades, as the teacher makes an estimated calculation that 30 to 40 percent of students do not have the skills or the academic standard required when they enter high school.\textsuperscript{314} This is of course a tough task even for educators, as it easily reduces the level of teaching as a whole. Many students who initially are academically weak never manage to complete high school, they commonly drop out or finishes without complete grades.

Various methods of diagnosing Foetal Alcohol Syndrome and the fact that the syndrome is classified according to a comprehensive variety of symptoms, may affect the public perception of the phenomenon. Single symptoms may be interpreted as the syndrome even if medical evaluations would not necessarily give a diagnosis. This possibility does however not change the fact that a number of learners who have educational difficulties show a need for additional support which is not addressed due to insufficient resources.

\section*{5.2.2 Social structures and difficulties}

\subsection*{5.2.2.1 Teenage pregnancies}

Early pregnancies are considered quite common by the personnel on the primary school. The headmaster mentions two current cases of child pregnancy within the school. Particularly a girl who recently gave birth to her child and who has now back in school, is mentioned in this regard. The girl is 13 years old at the time of the interview and the headmaster reports that the baby is taken care of by her family during schooldays. The principal describes the student as a “bright star" and predicts a bright future for her if she is given the opportunity to prioritize school and education.\textsuperscript{315} The following comment from the headmaster does however give rise

\textsuperscript{312} Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)  
\textsuperscript{313} Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)  
\textsuperscript{314} Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)  
\textsuperscript{315} Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
to the question upon how and where the normative and moral responsibility for these kinds of situations is directed:

The girl is doing better now. I think she has realized now that it was wrong to do that, to get a baby.316

These uttered words sum up much of the paternalistic and gender oppressive norms within the South African society. The comment is made by a seemingly well educated and competent female headmaster. This should be emphasized in order to clarify how cultural values upon gender structures expressed in the statement permeates the social strata of the South African society. The spoken words set a clear example upon how South African gender structures are manifested in practice.

The thirteen year old girl is the one given and bearing the moral responsibility of the pregnancy. Without knowing the details of the case, it appears striking that a thirteen year-old is said to have made the mistake of getting pregnant, thus it is then her mistake, her actions. If there is anyone to blame in the event of a child having a child, it should certainly not be the child. Given the fact that the South African constitution clearly states the rights of children until the age of 18, this comment ignores the fact that the child is, both formally and in reality, nothing but a child and thus should not be held responsible for getting pregnant.

Additionally, the principal reports that the mother of the girl is known to be using and abusing alcohol.317 However, alcohol problems are common and coexist with a variety of economic and social concerns deeply prevalent in the area. Only in particularly serious cases where children suffer as a consequence of alcohol problems does the school take action. The scale of the problem raises the threshold for tolerance.

Young pregnancies and children having children appear to be a widespread problem. This seems to have taken place over time and appears to be a part of the social structure. According to staff, most children and young children at the schools visited do not live with their biological parents:

Many of these children do not stay with their actual parents. You see, it is aunties and grandmothers and so on. They try their best. You can see when we have parent meetings; it is the older ones that come. Not the actual parents of the children. It is a big problem. Many of the parents are too young. They cannot take care of their own

316 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
317 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
children. Approximately, we had about 30 or 40 pregnancies last year, 4 of them
down in grade 8, 13 years old!

Aunts, neighbours, or grandparents usually take care of the children and are the ones
responsible for the upbringing. The main reason for this is that the parents are commonly too
young to care for their children. Either they work elsewhere or are simply not fitted to or able
to care for their children themselves.\textsuperscript{318} The high school teacher considers this to be a major
problem in the region, although those who take care of the children are making an effort to
make the best of the situation:

5.2.2.2 Sexual abuse

It is hard to determine whether and to what extent alcohol and alcohol abuse can be linked to
physical, mental and sexual abuse or violence. That it may be interconnecting factors are
nevertheless clear. These are widespread problems in the region and even among the learners
in school. The social worker at the primary school describes sexual abuse as particularly
serious and widespread.

\begin{quote}
It is considered a very shameful thing, actually, both for the child and the family.

The parents do not want anyone people to know about these things. (…) it is not
necessary family-related, it has to do with the whole community. It is like that, it
is kept behind the bushes and there is nothing but bushes here.
\end{quote}

The social worker mentions 40 cases of sexual abuse that she knows of, and that they in turn
only concern children up to the age of twelve. Most cases are children between the ages of 4
to 12 years old, but there are a few cases with even younger children, including a baby, only
13 months old.\textsuperscript{319} Despite knowledge upon statistics showing severe numbers of rape and
sexual abuse in South Africa, this fact is startling and I personally was quite disturbed by the
information provided by the social worker:

\begin{quote}
I have now 40 cases of sexual abuse, the cases that I know of. That is only on my
school. And they are all under the age of twelve. (…). They range from 4 years old,
or actually there are few cases of babies, one or two cases. (…) The youngest one
was only 13 months old.\textsuperscript{320}
\end{quote}

Sexual abuse is described as common, albeit a phenomenon carrying shame and a sense of
guilt. Sexual abuse is a shameful matter, both for the family and for the children that has been

\textsuperscript{318} Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{319} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{320} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
a victim of sexual abuse. According to social worker, it is often easy to both implement and get away with such actions in this area.\textsuperscript{321} It is commonly difficult to detect symptoms in children at early stages of abuse as they are commonly disguised as games, making it difficult for the child to understand what has happened and that it is wrong:

\begin{quote}
It is funny, they make it as a game for the child. It is sick. (…) They will play with them at first and then the child will not be sure what have actually happened.\textsuperscript{322}
\end{quote}

The social worker speaks of the importance of keeping a professional distance in these cases in order to manage. Cases of sexual abuse of very small children are expressed as the most difficult part of her job. When these things are detected it is particularly important that the machinery of psychologists and social workers, police and the like are involved instantly. Children are usually taken care of immediately upon knowledge of sexual abuse.\textsuperscript{323}

The social worker describes a current lack of facilities and the common solution thus tends to be that a neighbour or someone in the community takes care of the child. This means that the child would still live in the same community where the abuse occurred, even if no longer situated in the same house. The social worker seemed to see certain difficulties with keeping the child in the same environment even after the detection of sexual abuse, but given the fact that there are no other options it is unfortunately the only thing that can be done. Again, the lack of resources and the scale of the problem limit the personnel’s ability to change the situation of the children.\textsuperscript{324}

\subsection*{5.2.2.3 Social care}

An important part of the responsibility of the personnel at the primary school is to visit pupils' homes and to contact parents if necessary. Their policy is to call or visit the home if a child does not come to school and to make use of its contacts and ability to locate the child as quickly as possible. When three days have passed without the school receiving notice, the social worker and the psychologist are contacted and taken into the case.\textsuperscript{325}

Substance abuse in the area is far too widespread according to the social worker, making the problems somehow ungraspable. She claims that it is not possible to detach all children from alcoholic homes, homes of abuse and homes of neglect thus the task would be too extensive.

\textsuperscript{321} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{322} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{323} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{324} Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{325} Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
It is not possible to access problems by using the usual social support mechanisms that are effective in the case of similar problems to a lesser extent:

The exposure to violence is increasing as well. Alcohol related cases. Child abuse, which will be sexual, verbal and physical. It is extreme here. Neglect. Parents who are using drugs and are not able to take care of their child.326

According to the headmaster of the primary school, all children at the school currently have parents or family to take care of them. She does however describe previous cases where mothers’ has both left the home and the children, leaving very young children to care for themselves. In such cases, the schools task is to immediately contact a social worker or the police so that a plan and a proper solution for the child can be made.327 A number of orphaned children or children without family or others to take proper care of them are placed in so-called children’s homes:

There may be hundreds of children living in a single children home, with very few adults and staff to take care of them. The conditions in children homes are not so good. (…) They receive far too little attention from adults; they feel isolated and left out. There are also cases where the older children in the homes, the teenagers, are beating and raping the younger ones.328

If placed in a children home, a child commonly stays there until the age of eighteen. The conditions for children living in these orphanages are considered neither good nor satisfying. The density of children homes in the area is too low, with the result of them normally being quite overcrowded.329 Placing children in such homes are thus considered to be a solution of last resort.

5.2.2.4 Farm Villages

The problems fluctuate with the seasons and the greatest difficulties arrive when the harvesting season has passed. The number of unemployed farm workers increases after the harvesting season and many of the families in the region thus enters a period of poor finances. During the summer season, there are plenty of both crops and jobs. The temperatures are favourable and it is generally easier to manage than during the chilly winter months. The differences are particularly noticeable for families in underprivileged farm villages where no

326 Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
327 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
328 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
329 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
heat or proper insulation is provided. Most women working in the vineyards have seasonal employment and depend on their husbands to get by financially the rest of the year.

Poverty is a lot of time the main problem. A lot of parents are not working and they live on a grant that is very little. And now that harvesting season soon is finished there will be a big problem with food and winter is coming up.

There is commonly a lack of proper activities and things to do at the farm villages. Financial means usually makes it difficulties to even physically leave the area. The social workers state that this in turn means that children tend to rather engage themselves in making pranks, criminal activities, drinking or the use of other substances. Alcohol is readily available and causes drinking to be what young people typically engage themselves in. The access to alcohol is not necessarily the single cause for drinking; there are a number of social factors at work. The social worker emphasises that she does not try to paint a negative picture of the minors in the area when she speaks of the state of youth drinking and youth behaviour in the area. She presents these facts as part of a structure that impedes young people's opportunities to stay away from what she describes as negative exposure and negative activities:

They get into trouble. They do a lot of criminal activities and drugs and do naughty things around the farm. They get into big trouble.

The lack of recreational activities on farm villages is also a major concern. The social workers states that minors in the region are easily exposed to bad influences, thus the lives on the farm village is commonly the only thing these kids get to see. This can easily lead to drug use and crime among young people. Children of poor farm workers are often unable to physically leave the farm, as they are, through logistical and economical means, limited to travel and hence isolated in the farm village:

Another problem is that there is nothing for the children to do on the farm, nothing to do for the young ones. Absolutely nothing. There is no bath, cinema or any activities for the children to do.

The greatest concern for the families who live in small farming communities in the area is isolation and lack of constructive inputs. The social worker experience that many of the
children she encounters have little or no external influences, as there are no opportunities for them to gain perspective or inputs from outside the farming community. Many children have no idea of what is happening outside their community. They are thus both socially and culturally limited and the inputs they receive from outside their environment comes mainly from television, if there even is a TV available in the area.

Some of them have never ever seen the sea, and the sea is not even real far from here. Some of them have not even gone outside of this area. We went for a visit to the dentist a while back. It is kind of funny, to me it was funny. Going to the dentist was like the greatest field trip for them.

Bad influences are described by the social workers as the main source of inputs from outside of the farming community. Especially those who travel from the community to serve a sentence in prison and then return are mentioned in this regard as it leads to negative exposure for the children and creates a limited and negative perspective on the world outside the farming community. She states that they often become role models for young people, while being the only ones who can tell something about the outside world, even though it might primarily concern prison stories, drugs and crime.

### 5.2.2.5 Parental involvement

The school is struggling not only to help the children; they are trying to help the parents as well. This is considered a necessary part of the work with the children, thus a major problem described by the personnel is the lack of parental involvement in the children's education. Problems of violence, crime and alcohol is said to create distrust towards government officials and causes a lot of families to keep a certain distance to the personnel of their children’s school. High illiteracy levels among parents in the area are commonly stated factors, as is shame and timidity before the conditions at these farm communities.

What is difficult for us is the fact that the parents are not very eager. My thoughts are, maybe they are not literate enough to take the challenge to help the children.

The staff describes it as difficult to get parents involved in their children's education. Illiteracy is stated as a reason behind the lack of parental commitment along with the fact that

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337 Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
338 Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
339 Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
340 Interview with social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
341 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
parents are working very long hours and may lack the time and energy to get involved in their children's education. Another explanation, not mentioned by the staff, could be that illiteracy among parents may create both a subjective and an actual social distance to educational institutions, and that this in return could complicate the relationship with their children's education and the staff at the school.

The attending of parent meetings is not very good. It is something I am working on to change. Parent involvement is not so good. Because most of the parents work on the farm, I understand that they are tired. But they are not really interested in the child.

Lack of parental involvement is considered an underlying reason for the difficulties many children have in school. The school gives the impression of endeavouring parental involvement and engagement, but that the efforts are often fruitless. Children with Foetal Alcohol Syndrome need special assistance to manage school, but the personnel give the impression that especially among these children is the support from home is absent. Hence, their challenge is difficult to overcome.

The children I teach here today, I taught their parents before. And there is a big, big difference between the child and the parents. The parents do not care, they are not committed enough.

The common response from parents is that home visits by teachers and staff are allowed. The headmaster claims that most of the parents realize the problems they have with drinking. Many parents are shy and embarrassed after home visits, which according to the headmaster speaks of the fact that the parents who are using and abusing alcohol are aware of the situation and the problems caused by their substance abuse:

This tells me that they think about it. Yes, they do think about these things, the parents.

I am very straightforward towards the parents. "You are under the influence, why?" "Where did you get the money, do you have food, come show me", "I will come visit you."

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342 Interview with teacher: Primary School (Individual)
343 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
344 Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
345 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
346 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
Farm workers seem to hold an awareness of the problems and dangers associated with alcohol use and abuse. Despite this, the problems tend to continue without significant changes. Both school staff and representatives from Women on Farms Project frequently speaks about information sessions and workshops as methods in order to change attitudes towards alcohol use and misuse and to achieve an awareness of the dangers of drinking.

5.2.2.6 Educational structure and opportunities

It is the combination of circumstances of the farm workers that allows the difficulties to continue. There are too many negative structures that young people easily can be drawn into. According to the personnel, these schools do not provide any special assistance or other considerations for young people with special needs or from poorer conditions to succeed in school. The problems are unfortunately thus far too widespread and hence difficult to handle. The high school teacher says the following about the work done at his school:

There is only one lady at this school dealing with these problems, and it is not enough.

The teachers states that there are up to fifty students in each class and only one teacher per class. A great deal of learners has special needs, but the teachers do not have the ability to adapt the teaching or providing extra support when needed. The high school has previously tried providing extra classes during weekends or afternoons, but the teacher explains that they do not have the desired effect as the students who actually are in need of these classes do not show up on such occasions:

The main problem is that kind of children. They cannot come. You can say that we have weekend classes, but that child will not come. You can be sure, you must go fetch him, then maybe. We organize extra classes, but it is only the children that are already going to pass that are going to come.

It is explained as difficult to get the children to come to school after school hours, even if the extra lectures could be necessary for the student. The teacher stresses that the school is of importance for all students, no matter how they manage academically. He mentions that expelled students nevertheless continue to come to campus every day, first and foremost to

347 Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
348 Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
349 Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
meet friends and to get away from home for a while. The school seems to have an important impact even for those students who fail education academically:

Some of the children, they do not come to learn, but they do want to be at school. There is nothing outside of school to do, but they do not want to work. It is a nice place for them.\(^{350}\)

The main impression is that both teachers and learners do not see any possibilities of change upon the situation as a whole. Things simply are the way they are. To render an accurate and balanced picture of conditions at the school, it is important to point out the fact that the teacher makes an effort to point out that there are a number of talented students at the school and that the difficulties at the school do not represent the whole.\(^{351}\)

According to the teacher, there is no real opportunity or space for the staff to provide special support to pupils with difficulties. It is the clear that there is a hopelessness in this situation, as the teachers would prefer to provide support to those students in need of it. The requirements from above and the resources at the school prevent such work, thus in the end what matters is that results must be reported by the end of the school year. The teacher says that this forces the personnel to continue their work at the same rate, despite knowledge of students with difficulties and their desire to help students who are not able to keep up or who fails tests or the like:

I am sorry to say, we do not have the time to help them. We try, we do, but there is not enough time.\(^{352}\)

The teacher is more than willing to speak about the problems of the area, but is also eager to balance the negative image by mentioning the positive aspects of the situation. He claims that the learners typically reflect the conditions they come from in the results they achieve. The conditions for success in education are clearly tougher for students from homes of poverty, alcoholism and social misery.\(^{353}\) Exceptions to the rule in terms of success stories provide hope for others by proving that anyone can succeed, despite poor conditions. It does however require much more to be achieved:

There is no money. Two weeks ago we brought bread to the place near the bridge here. There is nothing. Every day they struggle to survive. There is one girl in grade

\(^{350}\) Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\(^{351}\) Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\(^{352}\) Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\(^{353}\) Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
twelve, she has got that vision that she wants to go somewhere, to be something. She wants to make something out of her life. If you see that girl on this school you will not believe where she stays. If you can turn the picture in that mindset, then some of them will move out of this state.\footnote{Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)}

According to the teacher, universities and colleges in the region take social conditions and background into account if the students exhibit particularly good performance in school.\footnote{Interview with teacher: High School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)} These things occur only rarely. Class and socio-economic structures are repeated and passed on from one generation to another and are virtually impossible to break out from other than in exceptional circumstances. Exceptions to the rule may provide the hopes of a brighter future for learners from poorer conditions.

### 5.2.2.7 Post-apartheid transformation

The primary school has undergone major changes since apartheid. The interviewed headmaster has been in the position since 1997 and worked as a teacher on the school even before that. She has thus been an employee of the school for 27 years. When starting the career as principal, the school had only 125 pupils divided among four teachers. As of today, there are 396 students divided upon fifteen teachers.\footnote{Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)} According to the headmaster, the school has gone through a massive progression since apartheid. An important part of the principal assignment is according to her to keep good contact with parents and families of the children belonging to the school.

It is all about the principles way with the parents. I know each parent. I respect them. I think that what they want is that you must come and talk to them, and be interested in what they are doing.\footnote{Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)}

Pre to 1994, the visited school used to be defined as a Coloured school. Even after 1994, the racial demography has maintained. Most pupils at the school as of today are Coloured, with the exception of a few Black students. No White children have ever attended the school according to the teacher.\footnote{Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)} The headmaster and the teacher on the primary school say that most learners finish primary school and continue their education on nearby Coloured secondary schools. No rule without exceptions, as the headmaster highlights the fact that a single girl from this school continued her education at a so-called White school. The event
went a few years back in time and it was made clear that the incident had been slightly sensational. According to the teachers, the main reasons for the continuance of racial structures within the educational system are mainly economic. The principle stated the following upon the matter:

Model c schools, as we name them here in South Africa. They are the schools where all the white children go. Coloured families cannot afford these schools. The uniforms alone cost 4000 ZAR and the outings and the fees are all too expensive. (...) They cannot afford it, that’s all.359

The personnel of the primary school speaks of great connection with and a good day to day relation with prominent schools in the Western Cape. Upon this matter, the headmaster especially mentions a secondary school that is known for having provided great players of the well known rugby team, the Springboks:

When I need them, they are there to help me. Again, it is a financial problem. They have got more, a lot more, of all the modern facilities. They can do everything.360

The financial resources vary greatly between different schools. Economic disparities in turn create differences in opportunities for development and hence the quality of education. Racial aspects are still clearly evident in the education system, despite major investments in education for all since the end of the Apartheid. The personnel emphasises major differences between the so-called Coloured, Black, mixed or White schools. Despite a shift from the legal segregation within educational institutions, the racial structures in the region commonly remain demographically and socially even though they no longer exist according to law. There are also significant differences between public schools and private institutions, as their possibility of obtaining finances varies.

A teacher showed her despair over the way the educational system is structured. The teacher was in the opinion that the schools of today are more privileged in terms of tangible facilities, but that there are major deficiencies in how educational institutions are governed and that there is a need for higher teacher density.361 The teacher questions the priorities set by the government, thus the conditions found among children in the region sometimes require other ventures.

359 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
360 Interview with headmaster: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
361 Interview with teacher: Primary School, (Individual)
The aspect of poverty and the social concerns existing in the area are the main factors causing difficulties for the children living in the area. It should be noted that both the teachers and the interpreter, Chaleen Arendse, felt that the situation is particularly difficult in this region and that the school thus should be presented as a worst case scenario.\textsuperscript{362} The school has on the other hand been particularly beneficial as a starting point for the study, as it, for this exact reason, clearly points out the most important difficulties of the region.

Despite heavy investments in education since the apartheid regime, the personnel believe that it is impossible to discern a positive development among the children. One teacher mentions a change in the children attending school during her employment, when it comes to their behaviour in school. The development seen by the teacher could imply that conditions among the farm villages in the area are deteriorating.\textsuperscript{363} The mentioned factors could be symptoms of poverty, which hinders the children’s ability to succeed in school:

There is a lot of change in children. I do not know what it is, if it is poverty or something, but it is not the same kind of children. They are disobedient, they just do not care about how they look and they do not care about their schoolwork.\textsuperscript{364}

The school gives the impression of great commitment and sympathetic attitude amongst the staff in order to provide the best conditions for children in school. However, there are also aspects of hopelessness and that the provided efforts are not sufficient enough. There is much to do with very few resources. The school depends on charitable and voluntary work to function, thus public funding and support is not enough. One teacher expresses the situation as following:

I do not know how we can solve this. I think that the government must do something about it, but I do not know what.\textsuperscript{365}

Despite what appears to be strenuous efforts to make the best of the situation for the children, little change in living conditions and situation of children is described by the teachers. The personnel express a lack of improvements in alcohol-related problems.\textsuperscript{366} According to the staff, the government carries responsibility upon improving the situation, but they do not see any concrete solutions to the problems.

\textsuperscript{362} Interviews with teacher: Primary School, (Individual), Comment from interpreter Chaleen Arendse.
\textsuperscript{363} Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{364} Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{365} Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
\textsuperscript{366} Interview with teacher: Primary School, (Individual)
5.2.2.8 Race

The racial matter is still prominent in every aspect of the South African society, even in school. Formal racial labelling is no longer applied, albeit commonly maintained in practice. Due to the demographics in the region, the majority of learners in the school are Coloured. Most of the personnel are also Coloured. I dare not to reflect upon whether or not the racial composition of the school workforce may affect the teaching or the way in which teachers act towards learners of different backgrounds. Worth noting is however, that Black learners usually have a different language background than Coloured pupils. Coloured and White South Africans in the region mostly speak Afrikaans, while black South Africans in the region commonly speak Xhosa.

A teacher at the school mentions that the worst conditions of poverty are seen amongst the Black children.367 This is applicable with general socio-economic factors. There are racial differences in how Black and Coloured farm workers are treated on the labour market, these differences are clearly reflected upon the different pupils.

I would say that the black children are the less fortunate ones, at this school.368

The teacher describes that race is a considerable factor regarding the way children interact with each other.369 In general, Black pupils are generally described as less fortunate by the moreover Coloured interviewees. On several occasions, it is also indicated that Black and Coloured learners do not socialize with each other.370 This also applies to Coloured learners of different socio-economic background and class. The legacy of apartheid still makes it difficult break out of the socio-economic patterns created by its politics.

367 Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
368 Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
369 Interview with teacher: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
370 Interviews with teachers: Primary School, Interview No. 1 & 2, Secondary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
6 Final discussion and conclusions

Countless conversations with farm workers, farm workers families, farmers, organizations, South Africans in general have all contributed to this study in various ways. Three months of field work in the Western Cape leaves its mark. The final result has a slightly broader approach than originally planned for and thus may not provide foundation for verifiable or concrete conclusions about the dop system and alcohol issues in the Western Cape. On the other hand, that might not be the main purpose after all. The thesis provides a bottom up perspective on a topic where farm workers rarely are given the opportunity to express their views. The findings provide a deeper qualitative understanding of farm workers situation in the Western in relation alcohol issues in the region. The advantages of the oral history method are clearly evident as the method allows the researcher to connect with the interviewees in a more personal and informal manner. Hopefully this is reflected in the results.

6.1 Alcohol related difficulties among farm workers and their families

The farm workers described the lack of actions from public authorities such as the police and social workers as a contributing factor behind the continuance of alcohol related problems. The resources of social workers are perceived by the farm workers as inadequate in relation to the extent of the difficulties on the farms. A social worker personally describe their actions as in part ineffective as they are commonly limited to address present problems and lack the resources to address the difficulties through a long term perspective. A number of farm workers attest that there is no use calling the police in connection with alcohol-related problems or violence on the farm villages. Although the police have knowledge upon illegal shebeens on the farms, the main impression is that they have a passive approach and rarely intervene in order to halt their existence. This might be an effect of the fact that a shebeen has a tendency of reopening despite efforts from the police. The lack of response from authorities does however make the interviewed farm workers doubt any future solution to the alcohol related problems in the region.

Both union representatives and school staff speak about the importance of educating and change attitudes towards alcohol in order to achieve changes in use and abuse. A lack of the right set of tools among farm workers in order to quit or refrain from drinking is commonly mentioned. In parallel, there are perceptions of an increase of alcohol-related problems in

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371 Interview with Social worker: Primary School, Interview No. 1 (Individual)
recent years. The interviewees do however demonstrate good knowledge and clear normative values regarding the consequences of alcohol use and misuse. Knowledge alone is thus not necessarily a determining factor for achieving change.

Easy availability is commonly regarded as a contributing factor behind the continuance of alcohol related difficulties in the area. Profit-making and illegal shebeens are frequent and it is not unusual to have several shebeens in immediate proximity to the farm village. Shebeens are not governed by any regulations as they are illegal. Children of low age can thus obtain alcohol without any difficulties in the shebeens. Shebeens are hence a contributing factor to the extensive underage drinking in the Western Cape. The absence of concrete measures to prevent their existence is clear. A majority of farm workers speak of both farm owners and the police having knowledge of the illegal shebeens in the area but that no real action is performed to hinder their existence. The lack of actions to hinder the existence of shebeens is sometimes perceived by the farm workers and the Women on Farms Project as a passive measure to detain the existence of the alcohol related difficulties in the region. The shebeens are usually driven by someone within the farming community. The general perception is however that the farm owner bears some responsibility when the shebeen exists on the farm owner's land. The very existence of shebeens does seem to be an important contributor to the current alcohol related difficulties.

It is primarily farm workers in the region who consume alcohol through shebeens. Shebeens are driven by alcohol consumption and a number of those interviewed considers shebeens and the readily available access to alcohol as the core of the alcohol problems in the region. Their existence can be perceived as a public responsibility as they are in fact illegal. A number of farm workers testify of farmers who does make an effort to curb the alcohol consumption upon the farm village, while others make statements of farmers that does not seem to care. The difficulties seem to proceed inconsolable regardless of the attitudes and efforts of the parties involved.

### 6.2 Alcohol related difficulties affecting the children

The main problem in terms of whether and to what extent children are affected by alcohol problems in the area, is the combination of the severity of difficulties and inadequate and limited resources to deal with them. The visited schools have at least partially developed policies and specific arrangements for dealing with the problems caused by alcohol-related difficulties in the area. The problems are however too difficult to handle and extensive for any
real solution to be within reach. In total remains an impression of resignation among teachers and social workers with enduring experience dealing with the problems without being able to witness any repentance.

Children and young people are definitely affected by alcohol use and abuse in the region, both indirectly and directly. Children often experience violence and neglect when parents are drinking. Lack of good role models and a transfer of destructive drinking behaviour appear to be problematic. Youth from alcoholic homes have occasionally difficulty concentrating in school and often lack a framework of security and a peaceful home environment in order to focus on their education.

Another difficulty is the statements of parents who prioritize the purchase of alcohol for personal consumption rather than purchasing groceries or household assets for the family. The majority of those interviewed believe that the abolition of the dop system has not contributed to a reduction in alcohol consumption. The abolition has contributed to a tighter budget for farm workers who are not able to decrease their alcohol consumption. Consequently the purchase of food, household items or school supplies for the children is sometimes not given priority.

Socio-economic factors and alcohol-related problems are closely linked to each other. This creates complications clarifying the difference between cause and effect when it comes to alcohol related difficulties. A number of interviewees make a connection between underage drinking and teenage pregnancies, even if not verifiable in this context. Interesting is though the fact that young girls seem to be given the moral responsibility associated with underage pregnancies. The paternalistic structure and women’s subservient role to men, especially on a sexual level, has its impact even in cases of children having children.

The reproduction of social structures is evident in the visited schools. Expectations upon the performance of children from burdened farms or regions are generally low. Alcohol-related problems are linked to class, race and gender and can be seen in the social structures within the schools as there is a recognized division of learners from different backgrounds. This is evident as the interviewees state that learners from different backgrounds do not interact with each other.

Conversations with both school staff and farm workers show that there is a common perception that there are a significant proportion of children with Foetal Alcohol Syndrome in
the area, without any diagnostic evaluation of children ever being made. Both school staff and
farm workers appear to be making arbitrary diagnosis of Foetal Alcohol Syndrome on the
basis of external characteristics and learning ability in children. The lack of formal diagnosis
implies a lack of measures for support in order to facilitate the situation of children with
special needs in school. Arbitrary estimates are likely to provide an exaggerated portrait of the
prevalence of children with Foetal Alcohol Syndrome. The estimates made by the teachers do
however give an indication upon the school situation for children in the area. Alcohol related
difficulties characterize everyday life and teachers recognize a variety of difficulties that
children experience in school as a direct cause of alcohol issues in the area.

Children and young people's opportunities for education are affected by alcohol and alcohol
related problems. All interviewees present clear descriptions of alcohol problems in the
region. Certain examples of alcohol-related difficulties were given on every visited farm.
Insight upon personal and familial problems related to alcohol and thus a more concrete
picture of how alcohol problems affect children in the area were provided on a few occasions.
The sensitivity of the issue would suggest that there are more stories among the interviewees
yet to be told. The material is nevertheless generous.

6.3 The continuance of alcohol related difficulties

The alcohol related difficulties tend to continue without noticeable change and are commonly
referred to as the legacy of the dop system. Current alcohol related difficulties in the region is
a complex matter with possibly more diverse implications than what is implied by the term
the legacy of the dop system. The dop system is obviously a contributing factor to the existing
problems although it does no longer exist in its original sense. The question is whether it
provides the full explanation.

The overall impression is that there is no clear consensus upon who carries the responsibility
for resolving these problems. Most interviewees submit a somewhat dystopian attitude to the
development of problems in the area as they see no real or sustainable solution. Efforts to curb
alcohol use and abuse are simply not perceived as equivalent to the magnitude of the
problems. Complex issues do not provide easy solutions. Despite this, significant changes
seem unlikely as long as no sustainable actions are implemented in order to stem the shebeens
in the area.
A consensus regarding the cause of the continuing alcohol-related problems among Coloured farm workers in the region despite the abolition of the dop system would ease the question of cause and responsibility. The issue of debt is a given if interpreting the difficulties in terms of the legacy of the dop system. This is however not an unambiguous interpretation of the causes of the current problems. The fact is that the difficulties primarily concerns Coloured farm workers. This is usually explained by the fact that the dop system was racially targeted towards Coloured farm workers. This fact does however also give rise to explanations based on race, ethnicity and culture and thus the idea of a certain inclination for alcohol within it. Such an interpretation makes the question of responsibility and guilt unclear, making it a favourable argument for those with interests of shifting the issue of responsibility, namely the government and the farmers.

The study shows that certain farm owners are willing to put actions into force in order to address alcohol issues in farming communities. This is confirmed by a number of farm workers giving numerous examples of initiatives serving to hinder alcohol use and abuse on the farm villages. Both parties do however stress a somewhat dystopian approach to alcohol issues in the area, as no real solution or change appears to be within reach. Somewhat surprising is the fact that farm workers themselves do not impose any legislative responsibility for alcohol-related problems upon neither the government nor the farm owners. Alcohol issues in the area are easily interpreted in terms of the legacy of the dop system, albeit farm workers generally seem to consider alcohol issues being a family concern. A common attitude among the interviewees is that a solution to the problems can only be accessed on a personal level, by the farm workers themselves.

6.4 Working and living conditions upon the farm villages

The relationship between farm workers and farm owners appears unique to each farm village, causing working and living conditions for farm workers to vary greatly between various wine farms. This has its background in a paternalistic structure allowing farm owners to design living and working conditions arbitrary according to their own will and interests of profit. The lack of implemented labour rights ensuring the rights of farm workers has been devastating for farm workers and continues to characterize the working conditions of farm workers up to present. This fact remains although there are multiple examples of benevolent farm owners and a well functioning relationship between the two. Physical and social isolation among farm workers in combination with various and occasionally limited opportunities to unionize.
impedes their opportunities to strive for their work and living conditions. Conflicting unions and organizations additionally hamper the development of their common goal; the benefit and improvement of farm workers conditions.

The main aspect of conflict between farm workers and farm owners is the question of organizations and union membership. Various unions differ in their view upon the appropriate approach in order to access the conditions of farm workers and hence alcohol-related problems in the area. One farm owner had voluntarily taken the initiative for farm workers' membership of a union at one of the visited wine farms. In the majority of the visited farm villages, farm workers did however speak of difficulties entering membership in unions and organizations due to reluctance from the farm owner. Numerous farm workers stated examples of various sanctions used by farm workers to stem their access to the wine farm.

Elna Lindoor on Women on farms Project points out that the organisation gladly involves the farmer in cases when resistance from the farmer is not expected.\textsuperscript{372} Disparate attitudes regarding appropriate approaches seem to be one of the conflicting aspects between different organizations and unions. The main policy for Women on Farms Project is primarily to work with farm workers in order to provide them with the knowledge and resources to enable them to stand up for their rights. This view is confirmed in conversations with the farm workers, many of which express a need for the unions to take the initiative of their membership as their opportunities and experiences on how to fight for their rights are otherwise limited. Two farmers expressed benevolence to organize farm workers, but with the premise that the farmers are involved in the process.\textsuperscript{373} Both farm workers and Women on Farms Project however give the impression that farmers’ benevolence is limited to cases where the farmer is not disadvantaged by a union membership. This might vary between various organizations and unions, whereas the resistance can be expected to be greater against an organization known for not being particularly prone to involve the farmer.

Farm owners’ efforts to improve farm workers' conditions are thus duplex. The combination of a paternalistic structure and interests of profit seem to contribute to the farmers’ contradictory actions towards farm workers. This is consistent with the Women on Farms Project statements about how the farm owners' attitude to unions is determined by the issues

\textsuperscript{372} Interview with Women on Farms Project representative Elna Lindoor (Individual)
\textsuperscript{373} Meeting with farm owners: Agricultural Centre (Group of 2)
being addressed. They state that farm owners are willing to put actions into force primarily when both farm workers and the farm owner benefit from them. There is seemingly a resistance to the promotion of farm workers' rights when there is a risk or fear that they may threaten farm profit.

A commonly mentioned attitude is the importance of involving farm owners in the process of improving farm workers' conditions. The underlying argument is that the involvement of both parties is required in order to induce change in the longer run. Women on Farms Project and their representatives do not share this view and hence work primarily with farm workers. The approach of Women on Farms Project is hence criticized by unions with a different approach, despite sharing the common aim to improve farm workers conditions. The Women on Farms Project is one of few organizations in the region whose main focus is the rights of farm women. Women's present position within farming communities and in the South African society might make their approach favourable in order to achieve actual change for female farm workers.

Despite frequent positive descriptions of the farm workers' relationship to the farm owner, fact remains that a large share of farm workers does not seem to be aware of their rights as employees. Numerous farm workers seem to be unaware of the content of their working conditions. The level of illiteracy among farm workers is palpable, which in turn leads to a gap of communication between farm owners and farm workers. Several farm workers make reference to some kind of document or work contract, albeit they do not have any knowledge upon its content.

6.5 Final words

A significant proportion of the interviewed farm workers and their families find themselves in a difficult situation because of a combination of problems of financial and social character. In regards to labour does factors such as unemployment, uncertainty of labour, poor housing and working conditions and the lack of formalities ensuring labour rights complicate the everyday life of farm workers in the region. Interviewees states that trade unions and interest groups commonly are denied access to the wine farms by the farm owners through various means. The opportunities of improving the farm workers situation are thus further impeded.

374 Meeting with farm owners: Agricultural Centre (Group of 2)
Alcohol related problems are widespread and constitute a part of the everyday life in a great deal of the visited farm villages. Many of those interviewed lack the ability or the means to break out of the situation they find themselves in as the magnitude of the difficulties makes them too difficult to handle. The easy access to and the availability of cheap, illegal liquor in shebeens is often presented as a driving force to alcohol problems. Several interviewees describe the lack of action from farmers and state authorities to stem the shebeens as a contributing factor to the legacy of the dop system and a way to detain farm workers in a structure of alcohol use and misuse. Different interpretations and definitions of the legacy of the dop system complicate the derivation of the responsibility and appropriate approach to address the difficulties associated with alcohol use and misuse among the Coloured farm workers.

The alcohol-related problems do to some extent affect all farm workers within the farm villages, but above all are women and children in a vulnerable position that can be related to alcohol use and misuse. The difficulties of children are manifested both at home and at school. Although their problems are commonly noted and well known among teachers and other personnel in the schools, do interviewees indicate that there is a lack of means and an ability to deal with the problems in a satisfactory manner and with sustainable arrangements for the children. The problems are thus allowed to continue and to contribute to the reproduction of existing structures and difficulties. Most interviewees do not express an optimistic vision of the future development of alcohol problems in the region. Unsurprisingly, the children are the ones carrying and inheriting the burden of social, economical and alcohol related problems.

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Interview with farm workers: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 2 (Individual)
Interview with youth: Farm No. 5, Interview No. 3 (Individual)
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