INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

PLANTATION WORKERS

Conditions of Work and Standards of Living

GENEVA
1966
FOREWORD

The International Labour Conference in 1958 adopted a resolution in which it requested the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to consider the possibility of undertaking, in co-operation with other international organisations, a world-wide survey of the standards of living and conditions of employment of plantation workers, taking into account all relevant economic factors. Such a survey was to cover such types of crops and of production as might be selected having regard to their importance in international trade to the national economy of the countries concerned and to the number of workers employed.

To follow up this resolution, the 1962 budget of the International Labour Organisation made provision, amongst the special projects, for a study on the living standards and working conditions of plantation workers, to be undertaken in Africa, Latin America and Asia by three specially appointed experts.

Subsequently, this study was included in the Rural Development Programme.

On its side, the Committee on Work on Plantations 1, at its Fourth Session in 1961, adopted a resolution calling upon the Governing Body to invite the governments and employers’ and workers’ organisations concerned to co-operate fully with the I.L.O. in the proposed survey, and to instruct the I.L.O. to make the results of the survey available to governments and employers’ and workers’ organisations of those countries in which plantations exist.

Three experts were chosen to carry out this survey: for Asia, Mr. John Johnston; for Africa, Mr. Jorge Kibedi; and for Latin America, Mr. Jacques Dorselaer. The last named was moreover made responsible for drawing up the final report, in collaboration with the I.L.O. technical services. The survey was carried out in 12 countries in these three

---

1 The Committee on Work on Plantations was set up following a decision taken by the Governing Body during its 107th Session, in December 1948. Its terms of reference were to examine and report to the Governing Body on the basic questions common to workers on plantations as a whole, suggesting appropriate methods of action by the International Labour Organisation on those matters, and on the methods for securing, within the framework of the I.L.O., consideration of the special problems of plantation workers employed in the different branches. The Committee met successively in 1950 (Bandung), 1953 (Havana), 1955 and 1961 (Geneva), adopting a number of resolutions.
regions between the beginning of September 1962 and the end of May 1964. It opened in Asia, the last countries to be visited being those of Latin America. In each region a certain number of countries were chosen, having regard to the importance of plantations in their economy and to the physical possibility of carrying out the survey there:

in Africa: Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Mauritius, Tanganyika ¹;  
in Latin America: Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru;  
in Asia: Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Malaya.²

As regards Latin America, it had been intended to carry out the inquiry also in Brazil, one of the most important plantation countries in the world; but in the event this part of the original project could not be carried through.

The main object of the survey was to provide information on the situation as observed in the countries visited. The experts, while taking into account the legislation of these countries, were primarily instructed to collect a range of information on various facets of working and living conditions in the plantations. Only in Latin America was it possible to carry out family inquiries, so as to obtain information on the conditions and standards of living of unskilled workers in a certain number of plantations. These inquiries were effected by means of questionnaires asking for details about the composition of the family, housing, family budgeting, food, the possession of certain objects, and social life.

On the basis of the information collected the International Labour Office has prepared the present report, which by no means claims to exhaust the subject, but whose object is to describe in broad outline the situation of plantation workers in a dozen countries and in a given number of plantations. The study is therefore limited in scope, and could be followed by other and more elaborate studies on the same question.

This report is made up of an introduction, four parts, and several appendices. The introduction attempts briefly to analyse the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), adopted by the I.L.O. in 1958, to define the word "plantation", and to explain what was the actual scope of the survey.

Before dealing with the central problem of this study (i.e. the working conditions and standards of living of plantation workers, which form the

¹ At the time of the survey the Federation of Tanzania was not yet in existence. As the inquiry took place exclusively in Tanganyika and not in Zanzibar, this report is concerned only with Tanganyika.  
² At the time of the survey the Federation of Malaya had not yet been set up; in this report, therefore, Malaya must be understood in the restricted sense.
subjects of the second and third parts) it seemed useful to provide some material on the importance of plantations from the point of view of production and of labour. These two subjects are dealt with in the first part of the study.

In each group of countries the survey required that the expert responsible should stay there for a total of from six to eight months. Its carrying out was greatly facilitated by the assistance given to the experts by governmental authorities and by the principal employers' and workers' organisations. The fact that certain plantations could be visited was due purely to the goodwill of the employers who, as a whole, showed themselves favourable to such visits.

The I.L.O. wishes to express its gratitude to the governments, the employers' and workers' organisations, the employers of the plantations visited, the United Nations resident representatives, its own correspondents, and the personnel of its branch offices and field offices, thanks to whom this study was made possible, and not omitting the numerous persons who, directly or indirectly, have helped in carrying out the various tasks required by the survey.
CONTENTS

Foreword .................................................. iii
Introduction ............................................... 1
  Definition of “Plantation” .......................... 2
  Field of Inquiry ................................... 3

PART ONE

PLANTATIONS AND THEIR LABOUR FORCE

Chapter I: Plantations in the World Economy ........ 9
  Areas Cultivated, Production, Exports .............. 9
    Areas Cultivated .................................. 9
    Production and Exports ......................... 10
      Bananas ....................................... 10
      Cane Sugar .................................... 11
      Cocoa .......................................... 11
      Coffee ......................................... 11
      Cotton ......................................... 11
      Rubber ......................................... 12
      Sisal ........................................... 12
      Tea ............................................. 12
  Importance of Plantation Products in National Economies . . 12

Plantations: Types and Trends ........................ 13
  Large, Medium and Small Holdings ................. 14
  Position of Each Product ......................... 15
    Bananas ....................................... 15
    Cocoa .......................................... 15
    Coffee ......................................... 15
    Rubber ......................................... 16
    Copra .......................................... 17
    Cotton ......................................... 17
    Sisal ........................................... 17
    Cane Sugar ..................................... 17
    Tobacco ........................................ 18
    Tea ............................................. 18
  Relative Production according to the Size of Plantations 19

Fragmentation of Plantations ........................ 20
  Government Attitudes to Fragmentation .......... 21
  Consequences of Fragmentation on Living Conditions 22

Special Types of Organisation ...................... 22
  Foreign Companies ................................ 23
  Plantation Co-operatives .......................... 24
  Plantations Run by Institutes for Scientific Research . 26
## Problems of Processing and Marketing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marketing of Products</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane Sugar</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisal in Tanganyika</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price Stabilisation Funds</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Plantation Yields

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plantation</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yields in Different Types of Plantations</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Rise or Fall in Yield

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Productivity of Labour in Plantations</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Contribution of Research Institutes to Improving Yields

## Factors Affecting Plantation Economy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Factors</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A State of Insecurity</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrarian Reform and Social and Economic Development Plans</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Chapter II: The Labour Force and the Work

### The Active Population in Plantation Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch of Economic Activity</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active Population</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Manpower Resources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resource</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overpopulation and Underpopulation</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal and International Migration</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Recruitment and Direct Engagement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment by Public Bodies</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment by Private Organisations or Individuals</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## The Importance of Plantations as Employers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Importance of Plantation Labour</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Categories of Labour Employed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wage Earners and Self-employed Workers</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent, Temporary, Seasonal and Casual Workers</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women and Young Workers</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers’ Racial Origins</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Nature of Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil Palm</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisal</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Vocational Training of Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter III: Determination of Conditions of Employment</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laws and Regulations</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective Agreements and Other Arrangements</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CONTENTS

### CHAPTER IV: Individual Contracts of Employment
- Form of Contracts (Written and Verbal) .................................................. 81
- Principal Clauses ......................................................................................... 83
- Maximum Period of Validity of Contracts ................................................. 83
- Termination of Employment ........................................................................ 84
  - Notice, Dismissal and "Reserve Clause" ................................................ 84
  - Compensation .......................................................................................... 86

### CHAPTER V: Wages
- Legislation on the Protection of Wages .................................................... 88
  - Payment of Wages .................................................................................. 88
    - Frequency ............................................................................................ 89
    - Place of Payment ................................................................................ 89
    - Payment in Legal Tender .................................................................. 90
    - Wage Registers and Other Means of Inspection ............................... 90
  - Deductions and Stoppages from Wages ................................................... 91
  - Other Wage Protection Measures ........................................................... 92
- Principle of Equal Remuneration ............................................................... 93
- Methods of Fixing Minimum Wages .......................................................... 93
  - Wage Fixing by Legislation ................................................................. 95
  - Wage Fixing by Wage Boards ............................................................... 95
  - The Special System in Force in India ....................................................... 96
  - Participation of Employers' and Workers' Associations in Fixing Minimum Wages ................................................................. 97
  - Wages in Kind ...................................................................................... 98
  - Wage Structures and Rates ................................................................... 100
  - Bonuses and Special Allowances ............................................................. 108
  - Plantation Workers' Wages Compared with Those of Other Employees ................................................................. 110

### CHAPTER VI: Hours of Work
- Hours of Work .......................................................................................... 113
  - Daily Maximum ...................................................................................... 114
  - Weekly Maximum .................................................................................. 114
  - Yearly Maximum ................................................................................... 115
  - Rest Periods in the Working Day ............................................................. 115
  - Practical Application of Provisions concerning Hours of Work .......... 115
  - Overtime and Its Remuneration ............................................................... 117
  - Weekly Rest ........................................................................................... 119
  - Public Holidays ..................................................................................... 120
  - Annual Holidays with Pay ...................................................................... 121
  - Accumulation of Holidays .................................................................... 126
  - Remuneration for Holidays ................................................................. 126

### CHAPTER VII: Conditions of Employment of Women and Young Workers
- Employment of Women ........................................................................... 128
  - National Laws and Regulations ............................................................. 128
  - Difficult and Dangerous Work ................................................................. 128
  - Maternity Leave .................................................................................... 129
  - Breaks for Nursing ............................................................................... 132
  - The Position in Practice ....................................................................... 133
- Employment of Young Workers .............................................................. 133
  - National Laws and Regulations ............................................................. 133
  - The Position in Practice ....................................................................... 134
# PLANTATION WORKERS

## CHAPTER VIII: Workmen's Compensation
- Measures for the Prevention of Accidents
- Compensation for Accidents

## CHAPTER IX: Social Security
- African Countries
- Asian Countries
- Latin American Countries

## CHAPTER X: Labour Inspection

## CHAPTER XI: Freedom of Association and Labour-Management Relations
- Trade Union Development and Workers' Organisations
- Employers' Organisations
- Relations between Employers and Workers
- Settlement of Industrial Disputes
- Some Examples of Strikes
- Action Taken by Workers' and Employers' Organisations to Improve Workers' Living and Working Conditions

## PART THREE
### STANDARDS OF LIVING

## CHAPTER XII: Housing
- The Employer's Obligation to Provide Housing for His Workers
- Conditions of Occupancy of Housing Provided by the Employer
- Payment of Rent
- Notice
- Minimum Housing Standards
- Building Programmes
- Types of Housing, Number of Persons per Room, and Building Materials
  - Huts and Cabins
  - Compounds
  - Family Dwellings
  - Furniture
- Water Supply and Sanitary Facilities

## CHAPTER XIII: Food
- Frequency of Meals
- Composition and Nutritional Value of Meals
- Distribution of and Trading in Foodstuffs
  - Distribution of Food or Meals by the Employer
  - Shops or Company's Stores
  - Consumer Co-operatives
- Miscellaneous Facilities Granted to Workers

## CHAPTER XIV: Clothing
- Type and Nature of Clothing
- The Supply of Working Clothes

## CHAPTER XV: Education
- Illiteracy
- Schools: Legal Requirements and Fact
CONTENTS

School Attendance ..................................................... 215
Teaching Staff ......................................................... 218
The Kind of Instruction Given ........................................ 219
School Equipment ..................................................... 219
Education Grants ..................................................... 220
Adult Education ....................................................... 221

CHAPTER XVI: Hygiene and Health .................................... 224
Mortality ................................................................. 224
Principal Diseases ................................................... 225
Medical Services ..................................................... 227

CHAPTER XVII: Welfare Facilities ................................... 232
Day Nurseries ......................................................... 232
Recreational and Cultural Facilities ............................... 233
Encouragement of Saving ........................................... 236

CHAPTER XVIII: Family Budgets and Purchasing Power ............ 238
Cameroon ............................................................... 238
Ivory Coast ............................................................ 240
Mauritius ............................................................... 242
Indian Agricultural Labourers ....................................... 243
Artisans and Skilled Workers of Indian Origin .................. 244
Artisans and Skilled Workers of African Origin ................. 244
Expenditure of Plantation Workers ............................... 244
Tanganyika ............................................................. 246
The Latin American Countries ....................................... 246
The Asian Countries ................................................. 249
Purchasing Power in the African Plantations ..................... 250

PART FOUR

CONCLUSIONS .......................................................... 255
Manpower .............................................................. 257
Working Conditions .................................................. 258
Wages ................................................................. 259
Social Security ....................................................... 261
Labour Inspection .................................................... 262
Living Conditions .................................................... 262
Housing ............................................................... 262
Food ................................................................. 263
Education ............................................................ 264
Hygiene and Health .................................................. 264
Welfare Services ..................................................... 264
Family Budgets and Purchasing Power ............................. 265

APPENDICES

I. Conventions Directly or Indirectly Affecting Plantation Workers That Have Been Ratified by the Countries Covered by the Inquiry ........ 268
II. Principal Legislation Applying to Plantation Workers in the 12 Countries Covered by the Survey ............................. 272
III. Occupation of Active Agricultural Population in Six Countries, by Principal Types of Plantation .......................... 283
IV. The Value of the United States Dollar in the Various National Currencies ......................................................... 284
TABLES

I. Percentage of Plantation Products Exported as against World Production ........................................... 12
II. India and Ceylon: Percentage Distribution of Tea Plantations by Size, 1961 ........................................ 19
III. Banana Yields in Eight Countries .......................................................... 33
IV. Average Coffee Yields in about 1960 .......................................................... 34
V. Average Sugarcane Yields in the Main Producer Countries, 1954-55 to 1958-59 ................................. 35
VI. Colombia and Costa Rica: Agricultural Labour Productivity ........................................... 37
VII. Total Population Density and Active Agricultural Population Density in Relation to Arable Land or Permanent Crop Areas .................................................. 49
VIII. West Cameroon: Distribution of the Cameroons Development Corporation’s Labour Force, by Activity, 1963 .......................................................... 57
IX. Percentage of Temporary to Permanent Labour, by Type of Plantation and Country ........................ 61
X. Indonesia: Permanent and Temporary Workers on Main Types of Plantation, 1960 .......................... 61
XV. Plantation Workers’ Wages (Minimum or Actually Paid), Excluding Bonuses .................................... 102
XVI. Wages Paid in Agriculture and Other Branches of Economic Activity ........................................... 111
XVII. Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru: Percentage of Persons Habitually Wearing Shoes, by Country and Type of Plantation ........................................... 207
XVIII. Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru: Percentage of Illiterates among the Population Aged 12 and Over in Selected Plantations ........................................... 210
XIX. Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru: School Attendance between the Ages of 6 and 20 in Selected Plantations, 1963-64 ........................................... 216
XX. Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru: Average Number of Effective School Attendance Years between the Ages of 6 and 20, 1963-64 ........................................... 217
XXI. Ivory Coast: How the Workers on Two Plantations Spent Their Income, 1963 ................................. 241
XXII. Mauritius: How the Workers on Six Sugarcane Plantations Spent Their Income, 1963 ....................... 245
XXIII. Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru: Percentage Family Expenditures of Plantation Workers, 1963-64 .......................................................... 248
XXIV. India: Distribution by Income of Tea Pluckers in Six Plantations, 1960 ........................................... 250
XXV. East Cameroon: Prices of Certain Foods and the Percentage of the Workers’ Wages They Represented, 1963 .......................................................... 251
XXVI. Mauritius: Prices of Certain Foods and the Percentage of the Workers’ Wages They Represented, 1963 251
Weighing the tea picked by each worker before loading (Asia)
Gathering bunches of bananas (Latin America)
Cutting sugar cane
(Africa)
Above
Picking cotton
(Latin America)

Below
Drying sisal
(Africa)
INTRODUCTION

The International Labour Organisation, recognising the need for international protection to be extended to plantation workers, has taken a special interest in them and, at the 42nd Session of its General Conference in 1958, adopted a Convention and a Recommendation concerning conditions of employment of plantation workers (No. 110).

The Convention has so far been ratified by six countries. Two are in Africa—Ivory Coast (1961) and Liberia (1959); four in Latin America—Brazil (1965), Cuba (1958), Guatemala (1961), and Mexico (1960).

Of the countries which were the subject of the present inquiry, Ivory Coast is thus the only one to have ratified Convention No. 110. This Convention, however, is made up of fourteen Parts which largely contain provisions already laid down in other instruments; in some cases these latter have been ratified by the countries examined in the present study. These countries, therefore, are bound (to a greater or lesser degree according to the number of instruments ratified) by provisions analogous to those in Convention No. 110. Similarly, the majority of those instruments have been made applicable to Mauritius.

The various provisions of Convention No. 110 deal with the following matters: definition of the term "plantation", principle of non-discrimination, engagement, recruitment, migrant workers, contracts of employment and abolition of penal sanctions, fixing of minimum wages and protection of wages, annual holidays with pay, weekly rest, maternity protection, workmen's compensation, right to organise and collective bargaining, freedom of association, labour inspection, housing, and medical care.

The Plantations Recommendation, 1958 (No. 110), covers such important subjects as vocational training, wages, equal remuneration, hours of work and overtime, welfare facilities, prevention of accidents, workmen's compensation for injury and occupational diseases, social security, and labour inspection.

---

1 The date in brackets gives the year of ratification.

2 Brazil has not ratified Part II (Engagement and recruitment and migrant workers) and Part III (Contracts of employment and abolition of penal sanctions) of the Convention.

3 See Appendix I.
DEFINITION OF “PLANTATION” 1

Article 1 of Convention No. 110 is drafted as follows:

For the purpose of this Convention, the term “plantation” includes any agricultural undertaking regularly employing hired workers which is situated in the tropical or sub-tropical regions and which is mainly concerned with the cultivation or production for commercial purposes of coffee, tea, sugarcane, rubber, bananas, cocoa, coconuts, groundnuts, cotton, tobacco, fibres (sisal, jute and hemp), citrus, palm oil, cinchona or pineapple; it does not include family or small-scale holdings producing for local consumption and not regularly employing hired workers.

The same Article provides for the possibility of extending the application of the Convention by adding to the above list one or more of the following crops: rice, chicory, cardamom, geranium and pyrethrum, or any other crop.

The definition of a plantation given in Convention No. 110 has hitherto been the principal obstacle which has prevented the Asian countries from ratifying that Convention. In fact the laws of those countries sometimes contain a definition of the term which covers only undertakings having a certain land area, whereas Convention No. 110 applies to all undertakings which regularly employ hired workers.

In India, indeed, there is added to the concept of the size in area of the undertaking that of a minimum number of workers employed. Thus the Plantations Labour Act, 1951, as amended in 1960, defines a plantation as meaning any land used or intended to be used for growing cinchona, coffee, rubber or tea and which admeasures 10.117 hectares 2 or more and in which not less than 30 workers are employed or have been employed on any day of the preceding 12 months.

In Ceylon and Malaya there is no generally applied definition of the term, but certain laws with a specific application do define it. Thus in Ceylon the Estate Labour (Indian) Ordinance of 1889 takes estates as meaning undertakings of not less than 10 acres (about 4 hectares). The same idea is contained in the Medical Wants Ordinance of 17 July 1912 and in the Rubber Control Act, No. 11 of 1956.

In Malaya the Rump Labour Code, which includes provisions concerning the health of plantation workers, specifies in Part IX that “estates” (plantations) are to be taken as meaning undertakings of not less than 25 acres (10 hectares).

In the other countries visited, both in Africa and Latin America, no definition of a plantation is laid down by law.

---

1 The Committee on Work on Plantations, at its First Session in 1950, adopted a proposal regarding the need to adopt a definition of the term “plantation”.
2 1 hectare = approximately 2.47 acres and 1 acre = approximately 0.4 hectare.
INTRODUCTION

FIELD OF INQUIRY

Since the inquiry took place in 12 countries, it had to be limited to a small number of plantations.

Thus in Africa the plantations visited were mainly those growing the following commodities: in Cameroon, bananas, cocoa, coffee, palm oil and rubber; in Ivory Coast, cocoa, coffee, palm oil, pineapples and rubber; in Mauritius, sugarcane; and in Tanganyika, sisal.

In Cameroon the inquiry was mainly concentrated on a large industrial rubber plantation (6,700 hectares and about 4,000 workers) in East Cameroon¹, and on the Cameroons Development Corporation concessions in West Cameroon, which grow bananas, oil palm and rubber (60,000 hectares and about 17,000 workers). To this must be added, in East Cameroon, smaller rubber plantations round Sangmelima, cocoa and coffee plantations in the Abong Mbang, Batouri and Foumbot area, tobacco plantations at Batouri and banana plantations in the Penja district; and in West Cameroon, the banana plantations of Elders and Fyffes, affiliated to the United Fruit Company in Africa (800 hectares and 500 workers).

In Ivory Coast the inquiry covered primarily the large industrial plantations: pineapples grown by the Société alsacienne pour la Côte-d'Ivoire (420 hectares and 520 workers²), rubber from the Société africaine de plantations d'hévéas (6,000 hectares and 1,000 workers), and oil-palm plantations of the Institut de recherches pour les huiles et oléagineux (2,700 hectares and 700 workers). Some smaller banana, cocoa and coffee plantations of the coastal district were also included.

Six sugarcane plantations in Mauritius were visited (one of them employing more than 4,000 workers; two, more than 2,000; and two, more than 1,000) and one tea plantation.

In Tanganyika the expert went to some ten sisal plantations, mainly in the Tanga, Moshi-Arusha and Morogoro districts. In the Tanga region one of the plantations covered an area of 20,114 hectares and employed 4,000 workers; another, with an area of 17,061 hectares, employed 5,700 workers; and a third, with an area of 2,378 hectares employed 2,030 workers. In addition, tea plantations were visited in the Usambara area and in the Southern Highlands, together with coffee and sugarcane plantations.

¹ East Cameroon forms the greater part of the Republic of Cameroon, and represents the territory which was under French administration before independence. West Cameroon is the territory formerly under British administration.

² A modern factory on the plantation of this company tins pineapple grown on the holdings of neighbouring indigenous peasants, under the technical supervision of the company.
In Latin America the principal plantations visited by the expert were those producing banana, cocoa, coffee, cotton and sugarcane. In Colombia the inquiry covered mainly the large sugarcane plantations—one of which, for instance, extends over more than 3,000 hectares and employs about 1,200 workers—round Cali in the Valle del Cauca department, and numerous small coffee plantations in the departments of Antioquia and Caldas, cotton plantations in the Magdalena department (in the north), and the plantations formerly owned by the Compañía Frutera de Sevilla, affiliated to the United Fruit Company. Finally, in the north-west of Colombia, in the Bolívar department, various small tobacco plantations were visited.

The inquiry in Costa Rica covered mainly the coffee and sugarcane plantations in the central part of the country, and the large banana plantations of the south, which belong to the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica, a subsidiary of the United Fruit Company, and extend over more than 10,000 hectares, with nearly 7,000 workers. In the province of Limón, in the north-east, it was mainly the banana plantations of the Standard Fruit Company, covering almost 2,000 hectares and employing about 1,200 workers, that were dealt with in the inquiry, together with various small cocoa plantations.

In Ecuador banana, cocoa and sugarcane plantations were the principal subjects of study. The first-named are mostly situated between Quevedo (province of Los Ríos) and Santo Domingo de los Colorados (province of Pichincha), and extend over a distance of about 60 miles. The cocoa plantations visited are situated in the south, near Guayaquil (province of Guayas) and in the province of Cañar. As regards sugarcane a large industrial plantation in the province of Guayas was studied.

Finally, in Peru, the expert went to several large industrial sugarcane plantations, mainly belonging to foreign companies (including Grace and Co.), north-west of Lima, along the Pacific coast at Paramonga and further north outside Trujillo, in the department of La Libertad (where one plantation extends over more than 8,000 hectares and employs more than 2,500 permanent workers). He also visited the south of the country, near Arequipa (where one plantation covers 460 hectares and employs about 280 permanent workers). Large cotton plantations were also visited, more than 60 miles south of the capital, near Cañete: one of them covers 180 hectares and employs 30 permanent and 20 temporary workers; another covers 750 hectares and has about 150 permanent workers and 100 or so temporaries. The coffee plantations visited are near San Ramón in the department of Junín, about 185 miles to the north-east of Lima, beyond the Great Cordillera. They range in area between 80 and 400 hectares and employ from 20 to 80 permanent workers.
In Asia the inquiry was carried out primarily in the tea plantations of Ceylon and India and the rubber plantations of Indonesia and Malaya.

The expert visiting Ceylon was able to go to several tea plantations, of which one covered 1,932 acres (782 hectares) and employed 1,356 workers, and another, covering 1,161 acres (470 hectares), employed 1,310 workers, to a mixed plantation growing rubber and tea, and to a rubber plantation.

In India the inquiry dealt with half a dozen tea plantations, certain of which, however, gave over some dozens of acres to coffee. In the largest of these mixed plantations, 2,025 workers were employed.

The plantations visited in Indonesia were mainly those growing rubber (of which one covered 40,065 acres or 16,200 hectares and employed 6,139 workers, and another, with an area of 16,897 acres or about 6,850 hectares employed 2,793 workers) and tea (of which one covered 10,026 acres or 4,000 hectares and employed 1,578 workers). To these must be added a few plantations growing sugarcane, palm oil, sisal and tobacco.

In Malaya the inquiry was concentrated on about 30 plantations of which some 20 were producing rubber. Coconut, palm-oil and pineapple plantations were also visited.

To sum up, the inquiry dealt in the main with banana, cocoa, coffee, palm oil, rubber, sisal, sugarcane, and tea plantations.
PART ONE

PLANTATIONS AND THEIR LABOUR FORCE
CHAPTER I

PLANTATIONS IN THE WORLD ECONOMY

Areas Cultivated, Production, Exports

Areas Cultivated

The extent of the area occupied by the various plantations is one of the principal factors in evaluating the importance of the product yield in the economy of different countries.

Taking into account only 13 countries (the 12 covered by the inquiry and Brazil) that are fairly representative of each continent, it is clear that plantations cover much greater areas in Asia than in Latin America or in Africa: nearly 24 million hectares in the four Asian countries as against about 14 million in the five Latin American countries and 2 million in the four African countries.

The plantations of India and Brazil together represent about three-quarters of the total area of plantations in the 13 countries under consideration (46 per cent. in India and 28 per cent. in Brazil).

On the world scale the areas occupied by cotton and coffee plantations come first, and oil palm, sisal and coconut plantations last.

A comparison between the total area of land, that of arable land and permanent crops and that of plantations enables certain characteristics peculiar to each continent, and in some cases to each country, to be distinguished. Thus, in the four Asian countries under consideration, cultivated land accounts for between 10 and 50 per cent. of the national territory, whereas in the five Latin American countries the figure is never more than 10 per cent. For the African countries visited by the experts the proportion varies quite a lot from country to country; in Ivory Coast it is hardly more than 5 per cent., in Cameroon and Tanganyika it is between 10 and 20 per cent., but in Mauritius it represents more than 50 per cent. of the total land area.

The land surface occupied by plantations in comparison with that of cultivated land is proportionately very high (more than half) in certain countries such as Mauritius, Malaya, Ceylon, Ivory Coast and Brazil, which partly explains the importance of plantations in the first three of
these countries, given the fact that their cultivated area in itself represents a high proportion of their whole territory.

The four Latin American countries covered by the inquiry fall into a category in which the cultivated area is very small in ratio to the national territory (less than one-tenth), and in which plantations represent between 25 per cent. and a little over 40 per cent. of that area, i.e. a medium proportion. In two of the African countries (Cameroon and Tanganyika) plantations cover only 5 per cent. of the cultivated area in each, whereas in two of the Asian countries they account for between 10 and 20 per cent.

**Production and Exports**

Although the principal plantations are in the main concentrated in three large areas of the world—Africa, Asia and Latin America—it must not be forgotten that certain countries outside these areas, such as the United States and the U.S.S.R., are the first and second largest world cotton producers, or that some of the South Sea areas such as Australia, Hawaii and the Fiji Islands produce a fairly considerable volume of cane sugar in relation to world production of that commodity (about 10 per cent., taking these countries together).

It should be noted that world production of each of the eight main products (bananas, cane sugar, cocoa, coffee, cotton, rubber, sisal, and tea) is often concentrated in only one of the three great plantation areas of the world. In other words, one or two of these three areas often produce only a comparatively low or even a negligible proportion of the world production of certain crops.

On the other hand, within these same areas, one or two countries alone supply a high proportion of the world output of one product or another.

Certain commodities such as cane sugar, cocoa, coffee, rubber and sisal are primarily grown for export. Others, such as bananas and cotton, are often largely consumed within the producer countries.

A description of the situation in 1962 or 1963 for each of the main products of the plantations in question is given below.

**Bananas.**

More than two-thirds of the bananas are produced by the Latin American countries: Brazil alone supplies more than one-quarter of the world production, a quantity equal to the whole output of the continent of Asia. Within the latter area, India supplies a little over one-tenth of world production.

All over the world the banana is primarily produced for domestic consumption, only 18 per cent. of world production being exported. Exceptions to this rule are found in Cameroon, Costa Rica, Ecuador, and (to a lesser degree) Colombia, in which countries the percentage of exports is higher.
Cane Sugar.

Half of the world production of cane sugar comes from Latin American countries, notably Cuba, which is the largest world producer.

Brazil comes second, but with only about one-tenth of world production. The Asian countries supply almost a quarter of the world total, and all the African countries no more than about 12 per cent.

Since sugar is obtained both from cane and from beet the export ratio of this commodity can be calculated only at national level, and not for the world or large areas. The volume of national cane-sugar exports varies considerably among producer countries. Thus in Africa, Mauritius exports four-fifths of its production but Tanganyika less than one-tenth.

In Latin America, Cuba exports practically the whole of its production, and Peru, where not much sugar is grown, exports nearly three-fifths; conversely, the other Latin American countries export less than half or in some cases than a fifth of their national output. This is so in Brazil, although it is the second largest sugar producer in the world, and in Colombia, where the consumption of sugar per head is probably the highest in the world.\(^1\)

In Asia, India (which is the world's third largest sugar producer) exports only one-fifth of its cane sugar, while Indonesia exports one-quarter.

Cocoa.

Africa is the largest producer of cocoa in the world, with almost three-quarters of the total, the remaining quarter being supplied almost exclusively by the Latin American countries. Ghana alone produces more than the whole of Latin America: 37 per cent. of the world production. Most cocoa is exported: 89 per cent. of world production goes overseas.

Coffee.

The position of the continents in the world production of coffee is more or less the reverse of that of cocoa. Latin America produces more than 70 per cent., whereas less than 25 per cent. comes from Africa and the total production of Asia represents only about 5 per cent.

The largest producing country is certainly Brazil, with more than two-thirds of the world production, followed by Colombia, with a production representing only a little over one-tenth. Coffee is an export commodity rather than for domestic consumption, just over two-thirds of world production being exported. Amongst the countries visited, Tanganyika, Costa Rica and Colombia each export about nine-tenths of their production.

Cotton.

Unlike other plantation products, a considerable proportion—more than two-fifths—of world cotton production does not come from any of the three main plantation areas, but from the United States (31 per cent. of the total) and from the U.S.S.R. (14 per cent.). The remainder comes mainly from Asia (30 per cent.), Latin America (15 per cent.) and Africa (9 per cent.).

Cotton is mainly produced for domestic consumption, only one-third being exported. This is so, however, only because the two main producers (the United States and the U.S.S.R.) both export less than a quarter of their production. In the African and Latin American countries, on the other hand, exports represent respectively three-quarters and almost two-thirds of produc-

---
tion. Amongst these countries Colombia exports the lowest percentage of its production (28 per cent.), a percentage nevertheless higher than that of the United States or the U.S.S.R.

**Rubber.**

More than nine-tenths of the world’s rubber output come from Asia, where Malaya and Indonesia alone produce 65 per cent. of the world total (40 per cent. and 25 per cent. respectively).

Malaya is also the main exporting country, followed by Indonesia. Rubber is essentially a commodity for foreign trade, 98 per cent. of world production being exported.

**Sisal.**

Sisal is essentially an African product, with two-thirds of the world total being produced by Africa and in particular by Tanganyika (more than one-third of the world total). It too is an export product, 89 per cent. of the sisal produced in the world being exported.

**Tea.**

As in the case of rubber, nine-tenths of the world’s tea crop comes from Asia. The two main producers, India and Ceylon, supply respectively 33 and 21 per cent. of the world total, to which only 5 per cent. is contributed by African countries.

Slightly less tea is consumed locally than exported, about 55 per cent. of the world total being exported. But here too, for certain countries and particularly in Asia, the proportion of tea exported as against the national output is sometimes very high, especially in Malaya (which, however, produces only a small part of the world’s tea), in Ceylon and in Indonesia.

Table I shows, in ascending order of importance, the percentages of exports as against world production.

**TABLE I. PERCENTAGE OF PLANTATION PRODUCTS EXPORTED AS AGAINST WORLD PRODUCTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Percentage of world production exported</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>88.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisal</td>
<td>89.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>97.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IMPORTANCE OF PLANTATION PRODUCTS IN NATIONAL ECONOMIES**

Most plantation countries are what are known as developing countries, with an economy based on agriculture, and which have in effect no means of obtaining the currency necessary for their economic and social development except through their commodity exports. Hence the importance to
them of exporting plantation commodities—an importance which can be gauged by comparing such exports with their total export figures.

Save in Peru and India the value of exports of plantation products equals more than half the total value of national exports. In five countries (three of them Latin American) this proportion actually exceeds 80 per cent.; these are Mauritius, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ceylon and Colombia. In four others (three of them African) it is between 60 and 75 per cent.; these are Brazil, Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Tanganyika. In Malaya and Indonesia the proportion is still just over half, but drops to about one-third in Peru and to a quarter in India.

In all the countries in question except Peru and India not more than two commodities provide this high proportion of total exports. In three countries of Latin America and three of Asia one single commodity plays a major part in exports. In Latin America this commodity is coffee in Colombia and Brazil and bananas in Ecuador. In Asia the same pattern emerges: in Ceylon (tea) and in Malaya and Indonesia (rubber). Lastly, there is the extreme case of Mauritius, where cane-sugar exports account for 98 per cent. of the total value of exports.

In three countries, national exports are primarily represented by two plantation products. These are Costa Rica (coffee and bananas), Ivory Coast and Cameroon (coffee and cocoa).

Lastly, in Tanganyika three products (sisal, cotton and coffee) account for three-fifths of the value of the country’s exports.

In Peru and India plantation products are not the main commodities exported. In Peru the value of cotton and of cane-sugar exports reaches respectively only one-fifth and one-tenth of the total value of the country’s exports, that of mineral products being far greater. Similarly, India exports mainly textiles, and exports of tea are not even a fifth of the total value of exports.

**Plantations: Types and Trends**

To get a reasonably clear idea of the importance of plantations in the world today, an analysis must be made of the different categories in which they can be classed.

It is well known that in recent years the economic structure of plantations has changed considerably. The large plantation of the early years of this century has become much rarer since the Second World War. Crops are increasingly produced on holdings by small farmers, who are not always entirely independent, since in general they are tied to selling their product to large undertakings which look after marketing and, in some cases, processing.
However, as will be seen later, certain forms of processing require the crops to be produced in big industrial-type undertakings which, being well suited to such methods of production, are economically more stable and thus can provide their workers with better working conditions. Sometimes too, crops are still grown in plantations organised in some special manner, such as co-operatives.

**LARGE, MEDIUM AND SMALL HOLDINGS**

It is impossible to give precise definitions of what is a large, a medium or a small holding. In addition to the surface area, numerous other factors ought really to be taken into consideration, such as the type of crop and the degree of modernisation. A report by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations notes, moreover, in respect of "small holdings", that—

The concept does not, of course, depend only on area, but will vary greatly with the soil, climate, intensity of cultivation, and the stage of social and economic development of the locality; it is thus more meaningful and readily defined in a concrete situation than in general terms.¹

The introduction to this present report pointed out that, in general, no minimum limit in respect of surface area has been fixed for the definition of a plantation. This is not true, however, of some Asian countries. In India, for example, plantations are considered to be undertakings with a surface area of not less than 10.117 hectares (the Plantations Labour Act, 1951, as amended); and in Malaya, by the Rump Labour Code, Part IX, of not less than 25 acres.

Similarly in Ceylon there is an official legal definition of the term plantation, based on the surface area. Thus, the Estate Labour (Indian) Ordinance of 1889, the Medical Wants Ordinance of 17 July 1912 and the Rubber Control Act, No. 11 of 1956, take an estate to mean an undertaking of not less than 10 acres.

In the world as a whole, small holdings seem at present to be in the majority, although this is not the case in some countries for certain crops; for example, bananas in Costa Rica, sugarcane in Mauritius and Peru, sisal in Tanganyika and tea in India mainly come from large undertakings.

Comparisons between the optimum and the actual sizes of the various types of plantation make clear the relative number of small and even too small holdings. In general, moreover, the optimum sizes which we shall mention are in fact minimum sizes below which a holding is no longer really economically viable.

Position of Each Product

Bananas.

Up to the last few years bananas were grown mainly in large plantations. The United Fruit Company, for example, monopolised practically all production and trade in bananas in Central America and Colombia. For various reasons this company has ceased work on enormous stretches of land. Some of this land has been abandoned, being no longer usable because of diseases which attacked the banana trees (e.g. the Limón area in Costa Rica); others have been given to governments for distribution to the peasants (for instance in Guatemala); others again have been sold to companies belonging to the country itself (for instance in Colombia). In the last-named country, though, new land has been bought at Turbo. In Costa Rica, however, the United Fruit Company, represented by the Compañía Bananera, was still growing bananas over an area of about 10,125 hectares in 1955; and in addition 1,863 hectares were being cultivated by independent producers who had signed a contract with the company for the sale of the crops. In that country there is still one other foreign company, the Standard Fruit Company, which in 1964 possessed holdings covering in all 2,835 hectares, of which 1,823 were banana plantations and 324 held in reserve for the extension of banana cultivation.

Although banana plantations are in general large undertakings, there is, however, an exception to this rule in one of the main producer countries, Ecuador, where banana cultivation is carried out largely in smallholdings seldom larger than 25 hectares. In 1960-61 these holdings formed 48 per cent. of the banana-growing area, while medium-sized holdings (between 26 and 100 hectares) accounted for 41 per cent. and large holdings (101 to 500 hectares) for 11 per cent. There are very few banana plantations of the industrial or semi-industrial type in Ecuador.

It is interesting to note that in Colombia it has been thought that banana plantations must cover not less than 80 hectares if they are to be really profitable.

Cocoa.

Cocoa is in the main grown by small farmers. This is particularly true in Africa (e.g. Cameroon, Ghana and Ivory Coast) and in Latin America (e.g. Costa Rica, where the average size of holdings is 6.2 hectares).

However, in Brazil, for instance, cocoa is grown mainly in large plantations, which in many cases have evolved at the expense of the smallholdings, whose land they have gradually absorbed.

In the countries where smallholdings are in the majority (Cameroon, Ivory Coast) the existing large industrial plantations achieve a much higher productivity than the small-scale holdings.

Coffee.

As it is impossible with current techniques to mechanise the cultivation of coffee, the optimum surface area for a coffee plantation is estimated at 5 hectares, i.e. a family-type holding.

---

1 Stacy May and Galo Plaza: La United Fruit Company en América Latina (Mexico, National Planning Association, 1959).
2 Ibid., pp. 152-153.
3 Junta Nacional de Planificación y Coordinación Económica, Ecuador: Plan general de desarrollo económico y social: Programa del banano (Quito), p. 47.
In almost all coffee-producing countries the plantations are small, even tiny. For instance, in Colombia, which is the second largest producer in the world, more than two-fifths of the plantations in 1960 were of less than 1 hectare, well below that optimum. In Costa Rica, according to the 1955 census, 87 per cent. of the coffee plantations are less than 3.5 hectares (5 manzanas) in size.

In Brazil small and medium-sized undertakings coexist. Thus, 70 per cent. of the crop in the state of Paraná is provided by plantations of not more than 146 hectares, i.e. an area that can accommodate about 50,000 coffee plants. Some estimates suggest that in the state of São Paulo smallholdings produce about one-third of the coffee grown, medium-sized holdings (between 20,000 and 100,000 coffee plants) about 40 per cent., and large holdings also about one-third. The larger part of the holdings in the south of the state of Minas Gerais are of medium size, coffee growing being there combined with stock breeding and dairy farming.

In Tanganyika, to provide against the disadvantages inherent in undertakings which are too small, the Government has organised a number of co-operatives, mainly to encourage the indigenous coffee and cotton growers.

Rubber.

It is hard to say whether at present more rubber comes from large or from small plantations. However, statistics and other available information show that in the largest rubber-producing country in the world, Malaya, most of the 1953-63 output still came from “estates”. Conversely in Indonesia, which is the second largest producer country, the majority of the output over the same period came from smallholders: their share in the national output reached 60 per cent. in 1962, and 64 per cent. in 1963.

In other Asian countries the smallholding appears to be predominant. In Thailand 90 per cent. of production is supplied by smallholdings. In India, in 1959, 60 per cent. of the area occupied by rubber plants was made up of holdings of less than 50 acres or 20 hectares. In Ceylon, also in 1959, 136,241 smallholdings were recorded covering 191,068 acres, as against 6,837 large undertakings covering 477,110 acres. The latter figures show that the average area of the large undertakings was about 70 acres.

In the continent of Africa, on the other hand, where about 7 per cent. of the world’s rubber is produced, this commodity still comes mainly from large undertakings. This is particularly so in Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Liberia.

In East Cameroon rubber is derived principally from the industrial plantations of the Société africaine forestière et agricole (S.A.F.A.), whereas in West Cameroon the main producer is the Cameroons Development Corporation, which owns enormous stretches of plantation land. In Ivory Coast there is the same predominance of large plantations, particularly those belonging to the Société africaine de plantations d’hévéas (S.A.P.H.). All these firms, together with the Firestone Company, from which comes most of Liberia’s output, are organised in big industrial ensembles; the plantations themselves form real villages, with their own public services, hospitals, boats for transporting the rubber, airports and markets.

1 La industria cafetera en la agricultura colombiana, op. cit., p. 141.
3 In Malaya the term “estate” does not exactly correspond to what can be understood by a large undertaking, since it includes all undertakings of more than 10 hectares. Available statistics do not show what percentage of the crop comes from the various categories of plantations of more than 10 hectares. The term “estate” in fact covers both medium and large undertakings.
In view of Malaya's position amongst the producer countries it may be helpful to give a few details of the relative importance of small and large holdings in the cultivation of rubber plants. It is estimated that the country at present contains about 2,300 large and 282,300 small rubber plantations. In 1960 the former occupied 1,934,500 acres or 783,470 hectares and produced 413,200 tons of rubber (i.e. 58.5 per cent. of the total yield). The total area of small undertakings is estimated at 1,832,700 acres or 742,240 hectares. They produce some 292,800 tons of rubber (i.e. 41.5 per cent.)

One-third of the area planted with rubber is made up of large plantations of not less than 1,000 acres (405 hectares) each, half of this area being owned by families with plots of between 3 and 5 acres (between 1.2 and 2.0 hectares). The rest is divided into small or medium holdings (mainly owned by Malays of Chinese origin and by Indians) of 1,000 acres (405 hectares) or less.

Copra.

Copra comes mainly from small coconut plantations, as for instance in Indonesia and the Federation of Malaya, where its cultivation is often combined with that of other crops.

In Malaya, for example, out of an area of about 58,000 acres or 23,490 hectares of coconut plantations, only about 16 per cent. are owned by estates. The trees in smallholdings, moreover, are often somewhat mediocre in quality.

Cotton.

According to a study carried out in Colombia the optimum economic area for a cotton plantation should be not less than 50 hectares; but only 11 per cent. of all the cotton plantations in that country in 1961 were larger than that. More than half (51 per cent.) of the plantations, on the other hand, were of less than 5 hectares, and over one-quarter (26 per cent.) came into the range of between 5 and 20 hectares.

In Peru and Costa Rica plantations are generally larger than in Colombia. Thus, out of 22 Costa Rican undertakings, 11 (that is to say, half) are over 100 manzanas (69 hectares); and these as a whole form more than 82 per cent. of all the land on which cotton is grown.

Sisal.

Sisal, which is grown mainly in Tanganyika, comes mostly from large plantations. In 1961 in that country 37 plantations belonging to eight different companies cultivated an area of 299,200 hectares, i.e. about 46 per cent. of the total sisal-growing area.

Cane Sugar.

Statistics are lacking as to whether sugarcane is at present grown mainly in large or small plantations. It is however known that large undertakings

---

4 La industria cafetera en la agricultura colombiana, op. cit., p. 141.
have grown up in Latin America, which alone supplies 51 per cent. of the world production. Large plantations are to be found particularly in Brazil, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Peru. Conversely, in Costa Rica and India, for instance, sugarcane is largely grown on small plantations. It is interesting to note that in Cuba, for example, the National Agrarian Reform Institute set up by the Agrarian Reform Law of 1959 has not split up the large plantations which used to belong to foreign companies and which were expropriated, but has organised them as co-operatives, each of which farms an average area of 3,300 acres or 1,336 hectares.¹

In the state of Pernambuco in Brazil a few sugarcane plantations of over 10,000 hectares are still to be found.² In this state, however, the big plantations, which cover half of the sugarcane area, frequently let out land to tenant farmers, whose crop is processed in the plantation factory.³

In Mauritius in 1961 about half of the land occupied by sugarcane was still in the hands of 23 large industrial plantations.⁴ The reduction in number of such plantations can be seen from the fact that in 1858 they had numbered 259. During the same period, sugar production has increased and there has been a slight increase in the cane-growing area. In addition to these 23 industrial plantations, whose owners are of French descent, there are still in the island about 75 big planters with holdings of not less than 100 arpents⁵, and some hundreds of small planters. About 40 of the big planters are of Indian descent and nearly all of the small planters are Indians.

The report on Colombia already mentioned suggests about 100 hectares as being the optimum area for sugarcane plantations in that country ⁶, provided that the undertaking possesses its own refinery. Medium-size plantations are also a tenable proposition if they have a nearby refinery where they can dispose of their crop.

Tobacco.

This same report estimates the optimum size for tobacco plantations in Colombia at 20 hectares.⁷ The situation in this matter is highly unsatisfactory, for in 1962 no less than 78 per cent. of the plantations were smaller than 1 hectare, and not 1 per cent. were over 3 hectares.⁸

Tea.

The Tea Board of India considers as uneconomic all privately-owned plantations of less than 37 hectares, and all company-owned plantations of less than 75 hectares. The Cachar Plantation Inquiry Commission, for its part, considers the optimum area for a tea plantation as being between 200

⁴ Colony of Mauritius: Annual Report of the Labour Department (Port Louis), for the years 1956-61. See in particular the 1961 report, p. 5.
⁵ The arpent equals 1.043 acres.
⁶ La industria cafetera en la agricultura colombiana, op. cit., p. 141.
and 250 hectares. Tea plantations in the majority of the tea-producing countries are in fact large undertakings. In Assam, the average area for plantations is 100 hectares, and in West Bengal it is 150 hectares. Most of the tea grown in India, furthermore, comes from plantations of over 10 hectares. In Ceylon 51 per cent. of the tea-growing area is made up of plantations of over 125 hectares, while 13 per cent. is cultivated by smallholders.\(^1\) In Indonesia, out of a total of 343,000 acres or 138,915 hectares of tea, smallholdings account for 152,000 acres or 61,360 hectares. Tea grown in smallholdings in Ceylon, southern India or Indonesia is not generally of good quality.\(^2\) In Tanganyika tea is cultivated mainly in large plantations. Table II shows the relative areas occupied by small, medium and large tea plantations in India (for the north and the south respectively) and in Ceylon. It appears that large plantations are in a clear majority in India, whereas in Ceylon medium plantations are of some importance.

### TABLE II. INDIA AND CEYLON: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TEA PLANTATIONS BY SIZE, 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plantation size</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Ceylon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North</td>
<td>South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small (less than 10 acres or 4 hectares)</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium (10 to 500 acres or 4 to 202 hectares)</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large (500 acres or 202 hectares and over)</td>
<td>77.6</td>
<td>63.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Relative Production according to the Size of Plantations

It is impossible to determine the relative importance of crops yielded either by large plantations as a whole or by small plantations as a whole except for certain Asian countries which have defined “small” and “large” plantations; and even this is possible only as regards certain crops, among which are rubber and tea. In 1963 for instance, large estates produced 58 per cent. of Malaya’s rubber, whereas in Indonesia more rubber was produced by small than by large holdings. In the latter country the output from large holdings is falling, while that from small holdings is on the increase. Thus, between 1954 and 1963, the proportion of the crop obtained from large holdings fell from 39 to 36 per cent.\(^3\)

---


More tea is grown in Indonesia by large than by small plantations. In 1961 for example, large estates produced 63 per cent. of the total tea crop.

**Fragmentation of Plantations**

The splitting up of plantations, the division of large units into smaller holdings, results in an increased number of smallholdings growing for the export market. There is nothing new in the trend towards splitting up; it was already perceptible well before the Second World War and has since been visibly on the increase. This trend in the economic structure had been noted in one of the reports to the Fourth Session of the I.L.O. Committee on Work on Plantations, in 1961.¹

The factors involved in splitting up and in the multiplication of small plantations vary not only from one country to the next but frequently also from one crop to another. Among the more important are the various economic crises which have affected a given plantation crop; certain effects of the Second World War or of local instability; political factors, such as certain countries' accession to independence; the sale of land belonging to foreign companies; and population pressure in various areas. Some concrete examples found in the course of field studies are given below.

The dividing-up of plantations has occurred above all in Asia. In Ceylon a large number of tea and rubber plantations were split up before the end of the war. A number of European owners, who had ceased to live in the island when the war came, decided at the time of national independence that this was in fact the moment to sell their property to nationals, the more so as there had always been a high demand in Ceylon for small tea plantations. Tea and rubber plantations were taken over by Ceylonese companies or private individuals, others being fragmented into numerous individual smallholdings. Out of 570,000 acres or 230,850 hectares planted with tea, 257,000 (104,085 hectares)—45 per cent.—were still being farmed in 1961 by foreign companies or individuals. The proportion as regards rubber plantations is much lower, only 107,000 acres or 43,335 hectares out of a total area of 661,000 acres (267,705 hectares)—16 per cent. of the whole—being owned by foreigners.²

In Malaya, various economic crises, primarily caused by the occupation in the Second World War and by the terrorist campaigns, have

² Ibid., p. 101.
severely affected the cultivation of rubber plantations. The trees had become too old and gave an increasingly poor yield, so that in about 1954 the planters were faced with the alternative of replanting or of going out of business. Many growers, who did not have enough capital to replant, therefore sold a part or the whole of their holdings; a transaction not difficult to achieve since the rising middle class, largely Chinese, were seeking to invest in rubber plantations at just that time. The initial purchasers often resold the land they had bought, dividing it up into small segments.

In Africa fragmentation is less marked than in Asia; plantations may sometimes be divided, but this is due either to systems of inheritance or to sales of land very frequently made without written contract and consequently without any guarantees.

In Latin America fragmentation of plantations occurs mainly in two ways, either by the sale of foreign companies’ land to national companies, which divide it up into lots for sub-letting, or by the multiplication of smallholdings caused by the heavy population pressure on workable land. In Colombia, for example, both these factors occur side by side: the Compañía Frutera de Sevilla, a subsidiary of the United Fruit Company, recently sold almost all its land in the Magdalena department to Colombian companies or private individuals; and the proportion of small coffee holdings of less than 1 hectare rose from 36 per cent. in 1955 to 42 per cent. in 1960, a fact which can be attributed largely to the population increase in coffee-growing areas.¹

**Government Attitudes to Fragmentation**

In general, public authorities have tried to discourage the splitting-up of plantations. Ceylon, faced with the increase in numbers of tea and rubber plantations, promulgated the Tea and Rubber Estates (Control of Fragmentation) Act, No. 2 of 1958, under which no sale or transference of estates of over 100 acres (40 hectares), nor of any part of such estates, is valid without the approval of the fragmentation control office set up by the Act. No similar legislation exists in Malaya, but the Government of that country, having become aware of the damaging results of uncontrolled fragmentation of agricultural undertakings, recently decided to go into the problem, while trying at the same time to satisfy the legitimate demand for smallholdings. Furthermore, the Department of Economics at Kuala Lumpur University has undertaken a detailed study of fragmentation in a series of large estates.

In Africa too the public authorities are attempting as a general rule to arrest the fragmentation of plantations. This is particularly so in Mauritius, where measures to that effect are required in the interest of the growers themselves. The island's Ministry of Agriculture considers, in fact, that if fragmentation of estates were prevented, sugar production could be increased by about 100,000 tons per annum.

In Ivory Coast the Development Plan of May 1961 leaves no doubt as to the need to speed up the establishment of large plantations.

Consequences of Fragmentation on Living Conditions

The usual result of fragmentation is to increase the precariousness of plantations workers' living conditions, particularly as regards housing, hygiene and health. Frequently, indeed, workers who were housed free on big plantations are forced to pay rent once the estate is split up, simply because (as had happened notably in Malaya) the dwellings and the farm land have been bought by different people. Furthermore, many of the new employers, owning only small pieces of land after fragmentation, are no longer bound to fulfil the legal obligations in respect of housing and hygiene which sometimes are imposed on large undertakings only. In addition, public utility installations, particularly the supply of drinking water, deteriorate in the end, their upkeep frequently having been entrusted solely to the holder of the largest holding. Another result of fragmentation is that many plantation workers are deprived of the free medical services which they enjoyed previously. Even in the state of Kedah, in Malaya, where there is a state health scheme which also covers workers in smallholdings, it has been difficult to apply the legislation, largely because the plots created by fragmentation are quite often resold once or twice, if not more often, so that at any given moment it is hard to tell who is the actual owner, i.e. the person required to provide the medical services laid down by law.

Special Types of Organisation

The social, political and economic changes of the past few years have greatly influenced the structure of plantation economy. The great plantation of the past has lost much of its importance, and today usually takes the form of large industrial or commercial enterprises, big production co-operatives, or undertakings in which agronomic research is carried out concurrently with growing for the market.

To take Brazil as an example, the big sugarcane plantations of São Paulo, Bahia and Pernambuco and the big coffee plantations of São
Paulo and Paraná, together with a few cocoa plantations in the south of Bahia, are no longer today the great paternalist undertakings of former times. Many of them have taken on the characteristics of commercial companies administered by managers. Some co-operatives, also, have recently and for various reasons become interested in installing sugar refineries in various states over the country. In some cases, coffee producers' co-operatives (for instance in São Paulo and Minas Gerais) are even tending to replace their old coffee trees with sugarcane.

A brief description is given below of several types of special organisation of plantations which were observed in the course of the inquiry, beginning with plantations under the management of foreign companies, which are still of some importance in certain countries.

**Foreign Companies**

Although it is true that various large companies that are foreign to the country in which they operate still farm big plantations, there is a tendency for foreign ownership to be transferred to internal ownership.

In Tanganyika, for example, only two big sugarcane plantations exist and one of these, near Moshi in the north, belongs to a Danish company, which is more active every year, continually improving its productivity per acre.

In Latin America the North American companies are still widely represented. The largest of these, in spite of having sold some of its land, is still without doubt the United Fruit Company, which farms mainly banana plantations. In Costa Rica especially, this company, represented by the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica, still farms an enormous area in the south of the country. On the other hand, in the north of Colombia (department of Magdalena) the Compañía Frutera de Sevilla (another subsidiary of the United Fruit Company) sold almost all its land to Colombians in 1961. The Federación de Productores de Banano, set up especially for the purpose, bought the 5,000 hectares or so belonging to the Compañía Frutera for 14 million pesos, of which 4.6 million were payable in cash and the remainder could be paid for by exports of bananas. As a result the 18,000 hectares of banana plantations in the district of Sevilla are now divided up as follows:

---

3. MAY and PLAZA, op. cit.
(a) Federación de Productores de Banano: 5,000 hectares;
(b) Consorcio Bananero: 3,500 hectares;
(c) Private growers who have contracted with the Compañía Frutera de Sevilla to sell their crop exclusively to that company: 9,500 hectares.

According to statements made by workers' representatives, some of the main reasons for which the Compañía Frutera sold its land were:

(1) so as no longer to have to pay various particularly heavy benefits;
(2) to prove to the Government of the United States that the United Fruit Company is not a trust within the meaning of the relevant legislation;
(3) from fear of expropriation by the Government of Colombia.

The United Fruit Company also owns a subsidiary in West Cameroon, in a country visited for the inquiry; this is the Elders and Fyffes Company, which is also engaged in the cultivation of bananas.

In Peru most of the big sugarcane plantations belong to foreign companies, notably to the Grace Company of North America.

Plantation Co-operatives

The growing and marketing of some plantation crops is sometimes organised by co-operatives, especially in certain of the African and Latin American countries.

In Cameroon, for instance, co-operatives exist mainly for the banana crops but also for coffee, cocoa and tobacco. Supported by the Government, and receiving considerable assistance from the Cameroons Development Corporation and the Elders and Fyffes Company, these co-operatives underwent continuous development between 1952 and 1958; in some cases they actually became overdeveloped, to the point of no longer being able entirely to fulfil the role for which they had been set up. The number of members rose from 2,000 in 1952-53 to approximately 11,000 in 1957-58. The main products exported by these co-operatives remain, now as formerly, cocoa, coffee and bananas, but their order of importance in the export scale has become reversed over the period from 1952 to 1958. In 1952 the percentages of the total exports of these three crops were 52 for cocoa, 45 for coffee, and only 3 for bananas, whereas in 1958 the figures were 18 per cent. for cocoa, 21 per cent. for coffee and 61 per cent. for bananas. Furthermore in 1954 co-operative exports of bananas were only 2 per cent. of the total exports of that commodity, whereas in 1958 the figure had already risen to 29 per cent. of the same total. These figures clearly show the importance achieved by the co-operative movement in Cameroon. After 1958, moreover, and in spite of
certain difficulties due largely to the fall in prices for coffee and cocoa, and to soil deterioration in banana-growing undertakings caused by inadequate general care and manuring, the movement has steadily increased in scope. It is nevertheless to be feared that the Cameroon co-operative movement may undergo a crisis, due in particular to the lack of qualified officers. Co-operatives have, in fact, multiplied with such rapidity that it has been impossible to keep up the same speed in training the officers required for them to operate smoothly.

Another problem which has to be faced by the Cameroon co-operative movement is the instability of its membership. It is estimated that in one working season between 15 and 20 per cent. of the members change their domicile and even their name.

A banana planters' co-operative was set up in Ivory Coast in 1953, called the Coopérative bananière et fruitière de la Côte-d'Ivoire (COBAFRUIT). The purpose of this body is to enable members to solve the many technical problems entailed in the cultivation and marketing of bananas. The initial capital of 623,000 francs C.F.A.¹ has risen continuously and currently stands at about 300 million francs. COBAFRUIT has taken a whole series of measures to improve the planters' income designed in particular to set up common financial services, and common services for marketing, technical research and transport of bananas and of personnel (workers and employees). Balancing these "horizontal" services, "vertical" sales services have been set up for the quality inspection of bananas and to take charge of their transport to consumer countries. (It is interesting to note that in 1964 almost the whole of the exports were to France.) All these efforts have resulted in a continuing increase in the volume of exports: this stood at 122,958 tons of bananas in 1962, thus exceeding the target of the 1960-65 five-year plan, which provided for only 106,000 tons of bananas for that year. Ivory Coast hopes, in the near future, to extend its banana export market to Algeria and even to Italy.

Planters' co-operatives in Latin America have not made such advances as in Africa. In Costa Rica a co-operative development department has been set up by the National Bank, whose activities to encourage the country's social and economic development go far beyond the limits of banking activities in the strict sense. In June 1963, 19 of the 67 companies in existence were agricultural and industrial co-operatives, with a total of over 5,000 members. The loans granted by the National Bank to agricultural and industrial co-operatives stood, at the end of 1962, at more than 90 per cent. of the total loans granted to co-operatives.

¹ C.F.A. stands for Communauté financière africaine.
The agricultural and industrial co-operative of Aragón, in the province of Cartago, was visited in the course of field studies: founded on 2 May 1960, by November 1963 it had 366 members, of whom 216 were sugarcane planters cultivating about 700 hectares between them, and 150 were coffee planters cultivating a total of some 770 hectares. With a few exceptions these are small growers who sell their crops to the co-operative, which has industrial plant (the property of all its members) for processing the commodities for a payment of 5 colons\(^1\) per ton of cane or 10 colons per \textit{fanega}\(^2\) of coffee.

\section*{Plantations Run by Institutes for Scientific Research}

The plantations run by institutes for scientific research include both large groups producing for the export market and directly attached to a major research institute, and groups of small estates operating as a co-operative and depending indirectly on some scientific body. They exist primarily in African countries which were formerly members of the French Community. Ivory Coast is a typical example, being a country in which various scientific bodies operate major plantations. At the top of the list comes the Institut de recherches pour les huiles et oléagineux (Institute for research into oils and oil-seeds) (I.R.H.O.); then the Institut de recherches sur le caoutchouc en Afrique (African institute for research into rubber), which works in collaboration with the Société africaine des plantations d’hévéas; the Institut français de recherches fruitières outre-mer (French overseas institute for fruit research) (I.F.A.C.), which works in co-operation with S.A.L.C.I.; and, lastly, the Institut de recherches du coton et des textiles exotiques (Research institute for cotton and overseas textiles).

Two examples may be given to show the nature and importance of this type of plantation.

The Institut de recherches pour les huiles et oléagineux was set up in 1942 on the initiative of the planters and with the support of the public authorities. In November 1942 communications from Africa were interrupted by the Second World War, and only in 1946 did I.R.H.O. begin really to play its main role as a research station.\(^3\) Two years later, the Union tropicale des plantations in Ivory Coast gave the I.R.H.O. two plantations, one at Drewin with 2,300 hectares of palm groves and a factory, and one at Dabou with 2,000 hectares of selected palms and a factory. It appears that one of the

---

\(^{1}\) The value of the United States dollar in terms of the currency of the countries visited is given in Appendix IV.

\(^{2}\) A somewhat indefinite measure of volume, varying in different areas between 22 and 55 litres.

reasons for such a grant was the inadequate productivity of these plantations, despite the use of one of the best selected varieties of Sumatra oil-palm trees.

With such a gift the I.R.H.O. was in a position to test at industrial level the results of its researches and, while in no degree abandoning its scientific objectives, also to assume the role of a commercial plantation. From 1955 a replanting programme was undertaken; and the combination of scientific research, practical experience and proper administration enabled the I.R.H.O. to produce about 2,000 tons of palm oil per annum from the 2,000 hectares of its plantation at Dabou, as against an output of approximately 300 tons by the same plantation in 1948. The plantation staff includes, in addition to the management, an administrative staff of about 50, and some 400 workers under the direction of 40 foremen. The staff is divided between five villages located in the main centres of operation. The whole of the administrative buildings, laboratories, plant, machine workshops and stables occupy about 11,200 square metres.

The Société alsacienne pour la Côte-d'Ivoire (S.A.L.C.I.), set up in 1919, undertook numerous market research studies after the Second World War to determine sale probabilities for the various African commodities in France and Europe. In view of the considerable price fluctuations for most of the Ivory Coast plantation products (bananas, coffee, cocoa) it decided to combine the cultivation of some tropical commodity with its canning, so as to produce an article with a greater stability of selling price. Despite the absence of large-scale pineapple plantations in Ivory Coast S.A.L.C.I. decided on that commodity. To solve the numerous technical problems created by the introduction of this new crop it established close co-operation with the Institut français de recherches fruitières outre-mer (I.F.A.C.). It therefore offered the latter its plantations for use as an experimental area and shared in the financing of various experiments. Organising the producers also entailed problems which were hard to solve. S.A.L.C.I., in its endeavours to get the active co-operation of local growers in its project for pineapple plantations, had to direct its efforts in two different directions. On the one hand it had to try to make the local peasants see that it would be better for them to grow pineapple than traditional crops yielding only a low income; on the other hand it decided that it would itself have to organise its own pineapple plantations, to serve as a model for the owners in the surrounding district. This joint collaboration and the use of scientific methods meant that these two objectives could be achieved within a few years, at which point S.A.L.C.I. set up two technical assistance centres for local owners: one at Bonona and the other at Adiaké. Each centre is under the direction of an agricultural engineer from S.A.L.C.I., who co-ordinates the work of three advisers. The latter get into contact with all the owners in the sectors for which they are responsible, and explain to them the characteristics of pineapple cultivation, the methods to be employed, and what would be the conditions of co-operation with S.A.L.C.I., which in return undertakes to buy the whole output of each grower at a price fixed in advance under a contract of co-operation. In this way the desire of local growers to have a price fixed in advance for future production can be satisfied—a desire which is understandable in view of the many disappointments they have had in the past and the losses they have suffered from the collapse of the market rates for bananas, coffee and cocoa. This system ensures that all growers have the security of a stable minimum income. A grower who thus binds himself by contract also undertakes strictly to observe any instructions given to him by the technical assistance centre to which he is attached, and to harvest his crop at the time prescribed. Between the beginning of this programme in 1954 and the end of 1960 S.A.L.C.I. spent about 5 million francs C.F.A., and has considerably increased its annual expenditure since then. The unremitting efforts of the technicians in the two centres have enabled Ivory Coast growers
appreciably to increase their output of pineapples; whereas in 1956 local growers produced only 100 tons of pineapples against the 4,850 tons coming from S.A.L.C.I., in 1960 they produced 3,400 tons as against 6,000. These rapid advances are due to new groups of peasants having fully grasped the advantages of the system, and having joined the scheme—it is estimated that such a pineapple grower can earn some 130,000 francs C.F.A. per hectare. Because of its importance to the economy, S.A.L.C.I. has recently persuaded the Government of Ivory Coast to build a bridge across a large river and a road to join the Ono district to the capital of Abidjan, thus making the inhabitants less isolated.

Problems of Processing and Marketing

In most plantations, even the larger ones, the output is only partially processed on the spot, and is sold crude or semi-crude to specialised undertakings either in the country itself or abroad. This is true of cocoa, which is sold before or after fermentation, and of coffee, which is dispatched before or after drying and husking. Sugar is a case on its own, since the cane is useless unless it is processed immediately after cutting.

Marketing of Products

We shall now examine some of the problems entailed in the marketing and processing of three products, bananas, cane sugar and sisal, and the steps taken at national level to obtain stabilisation of plantation commodity prices. ¹

Bananas.

The marketing of bananas is carried out differently by large and by small plantations. In the large estates cultivated by the United Fruit Company in Costa Rica the company itself packs the fruit and transports it by rail and boat to its final destination; the United Fruit Company possesses its own ships; the small well-known "White Fleet." Even where the company is no longer the owner of the plantations it usually undertakes the transport of the fruit, under contracts concluded with the incoming smallholders. In other cases the fruit is purchased by large export companies.

In Ecuador, where bananas account for three-fifths of the country's export, the planters sell their crop either directly to exporters or to intermediaries. In the former case the exporters inform the planters what quantities they are to deliver each week, and the planters are normally responsible for transport, delivery of the fruit, and payment of taxes and insurance.

The price of the crop is fixed for each season, and varies according to the country of destination; consequently bananas exported to the United States fetch a higher price than those dispatched to Europe, Japan or Chile. If the figure paid by the United States is taken to be 100 those paid by Europe and Japan would be 83, and by Chile somewhere between 39 and 61. When the

¹ The I.L.O. Committee on Work on Plantations adopted a resolution (No. 29) in 1953 concerning the need for international action in the field of commodity regulation, and another (No. 45) in 1961 concerning stabilisation of commodity prices.
supply of first-quality fruit is inadequate the index in the southern area which is considered to produce the best fruit may reach 115 or 130 in relation to the norm.

Smallholders are forced to deal with intermediaries who themselves fix the price at a level which often, unfortunately, is not half of the figure paid by the export companies. The “banana programme” in Ecuador, which is part of the general plan for social and economic development, has brought out various defects in the fruit marketing system. The authors of the plan recognise that the cultivation of bananas has expanded to a point where there is a surplus in Ecuador, and find that the surplus supply has created serious problems as regards marketing. The exporters in fact limit their orders to those districts which they consider as having the best quality fruit, so that producers in other districts have difficulty in disposing of their crop.

The plan, which was put into operation in 1964, aims at solving these problems, mainly by reducing the area occupied by banana plantations and by improving the output per acre: soil irrigation and fertilisation programmes are expected to achieve the latter objective. Furthermore, the reduction of the area devoted to banana cultivation is to be accompanied by diversification of crops, banana being replaced by other crops in districts where growers currently encounter considerable difficulty in marketing bananas. The substitute crops must be such as can be grown on family smallholdings, which are indeed those affected by the current depression because of the conditions in which the marketing of bananas is carried out. The plan provides moreover for a whole programme or road construction to ease transport conditions.

In Ivory Coast the marketing of bananas from production to exportation is organised by the fruit and banana co-operative COBAFRUIT, set up in 1953.

Cane Sugar.

The important fact about sugarcane is that the sugar must be extracted as soon as possible after cutting. For this reason sugar-refining plants are installed in plantation districts, generally in the form of modern industrial undertakings which must be continually supplied if they are to be profitable. Although it is best that they should be installed actually within a very large plantation there are, all the same, numerous small plantations which are relatively close to a refinery and which sell it the cut cane for processing. Usually the big refineries exercise some measure of supervision over the crops of these small growers, and themselves undertake the transport and exporting of the finished product. Amongst the countries visited by the I.L.O. experts in the course of their inquiry Colombia, Peru and Mauritius provided the best examples of large plantations of this type, equipped with modern refineries and served by a greater or lesser number of small growers. In Mauritius, where it should not be forgotten that exports of sugar form more than 97 per cent. of the total export figure, planters who do not possess a refinery sell their crop to the industrial plantations. Before the Second World War the amount paid to smallholders was calculated by the quantity of sugar extracted from the cane they supplied—a system which is hard to control and which is open to abuse. Since the war, in order to reduce transport costs to a minimum, the various refineries have agreed to set precise limits to their sectors of production. Since 1941 a stricter control over the weight of sugarcane consignments has been imposed, and in 1948 the use of automatic scales which totted up a total

---

was made compulsory. Quality inspections have been carried out on the plantations themselves since 1945. The molasses is allocated as between the refinery and the planters normally in the ratio of one-third for the former and two-thirds for the latter.

**Sisal in Tanganyika.**

Some of the big Tanganyikan sisal plantations, such as those at Amboni, Lugongo and Tungi, have their own sales organisations and thus can place their product abroad directly. Seventy per cent. of the Tanganyika planters, producing more than half of the national output, dispose of their produce through a marketing association, TASMA. This association was set up by the producers themselves to facilitate financing of production, to harmonise the methods of quality grading for sisal, and to obtain improved selling prices.

Tanganyikan sisal is graded in eight qualities, six for fine-grade fibre and two for tow. The price disparity between the better and the inferior grades varies considerably from one year to another, according to fluctuations in world production and according to the requirements—and hence, the demand—of the various buyers.

From the producers' point of view, TASMA has the great advantage that the product is paid for before it can strictly be said to have been disposed of. It regularly draws up statistics of its members' monthly production and, according to the tonnage and average quality produced, each farmer can obtain advances—which are generally paid monthly—to enable him to meet his running costs. This system of financing producers is of special advantage to small and medium holdings, since the advances thus granted make administration easier, and make it possible to wait until the right moment for selling. Furthermore, the system enables TASMA to find the most suitable buyers for each category of sisal.

**Price Stabilisation Funds**

In the majority of plantation countries planters and the public authorities have tried to ensure a certain financial stability for their undertakings, in spite of major price fluctuations. Thus a law passed in 1955 set up in East Cameroon a price stabilisation fund for cocoa, the sale of which provides nearly half the national income. This body laid down methods for determining the various qualities of cocoa, and took measures to grant advances to producers before the crop was even picked, so that they would be able to meet their expenses. This form of assistance unfortunately produced results which were not all good; although on the one hand it made possible an increase in production, on the other hand some producers (between 20 and 30 per cent.), having received money in advance, took insufficient care of their crops and consequently were unable to supply a product of acceptable quality.

The experience gained during the first years, and more particularly the setting up of stricter product supervision, made it possible to discover the main causes of the inadequacies in cocoa marketing. Thus producers could be given technical assistance, in particular to enable them to improve their methods of growing and fermentation, and above all so
that they would ensure that consignments of cocoa did not deteriorate as a result of bad storage or transport conditions.

A national bureau for the marketing of agricultural products for export was set up in 1962, under Law No. 62-8. In the same year a decree appointed 11 bodies as being solely authorised to take part in cocoa marketing, dealing directly with producers and acting either as individuals or in groups as co-operatives. In practice, however, these bodies in their turn appointed hundreds of itinerant dealers to be responsible for the collection of the cocoa crops.

In spite of various inadequacies the measures as a whole taken by the cocoa price stabilisation fund did succeed in causing reasonably high and consistent standards of quality to be observed in production for export.

In Cameroon, coffee takes second place among the products for export. Unfortunately the majority of African smallholders gather their crop in a haphazard manner, and harvest green coffee and ripe coffee indiscriminately. In addition, at the time when the mission visited the country (1963), there was a degree of insecurity in the coffee-growing area which was highly damaging to efficient farming.

The public authorities have set up a price stabilisation fund to facilitate the marketing of this product also, but unfortunately it operates much less satisfactorily than does the earlier body set up for cocoa.

To sum up: the processing and marketing of plantation products create particular problems which the various countries have attempted to solve. The disposal of tropical products on the international market being sometimes the sole means by which the producer countries can obtain the foreign currency they need for their economic development and to improve their people's standard of living, those countries have attempted to facilitate the marketing of their main export products by organising systems for selling them and for stabilising their price.

The acuteness of the problems shows how much it would be to the point to achieve international regulation of the main commodities, particularly if it was similar to the international agreements already existing on coffee and sugar.¹

Plantation Yields

In the absence of exact data on labour productivity in plantations, i.e. on production per worker, we can only offer some particulars of yields in plantations per unit of cultivated area.

Yields in plantations depend on a great variety of factors, such as altitude, climate, nature of the terrain, methods of cultivation employed, the struggle against various plant diseases, degree of mechanisation, demographic and sociological characteristics of labour and of the surrounding population.

Although all these factors have an influence on yield per hectare, it is difficult if not impossible to determine the respective importance of each. As regards coffee plantations a study published by the Food and Agriculture Organisation points out that “to an increasing extent, the differences in yield between the better-managed farms and the rest are the result of differences in the amount of labour input, the use of fertilisers, and the adoption of measures to control disease and pests”.¹

Again with regard to coffee plantations a very obvious correlation has been observed between the amount of labour input and the yield; the study just mentioned points out, however, on the basis of an inquiry carried out in Colombia and El Salvador, that “there is a limit beyond which a more intensive utilisation of labour becomes uneconomic”.² These considerations, although valid for coffee, are not necessarily true of other types of plantations.

The use of organic and mineral fertilisers can contribute, as we shall see, to an increase in yield. The activities of research institutes, specialised services and other bodies have enabled some countries perceptibly to improve the yield of certain plantations. As regards mechanisation, it should be made clear that in certain types of plantation it is extremely hard to develop. In some cases it has even proved harmful: machines used for harvesting tea, for example, are unable to select leaves for their quality, and in certain countries quality is what mainly counts for export. The big sugarcane plantations, however, are beginning to employ machines for cutting the cane.³ Such mechanisation in areas where labour is plentiful can create underemployment and even unemployment.

**YIELDS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF PLANTATIONS**

For its study of output in different types of plantations this report examines only the following main products: bananas, coffee, rubber, sugarcane and tea.

¹ *The World Coffee Economy*, op. cit., p. 10.
² Loc. cit.
Bananas.

The *Production Yearbook, 1963*, published by the F.A.O., gives the yield per hectare of banana plantations for eight of the countries visited by the experts for the purposes of the inquiry. These figures, however, refer to years which are sometimes fairly widely separated, so that the comparisons given below should not be accepted unreservedly.

These statistics suggest that yields seem generally higher in Latin America than in the Asian and African countries. In Brazil and Costa Rica they stand at about 30 tons per hectare, in Ecuador at about 20 tons, and in Colombia at only about 8.1 tons.

Two Asian countries (India and the former Federation of Malaya) and two African countries (East Cameroon and Ivory Coast) have a yield of less than 15 tons per hectare; in East Cameroon the figure is only 4.5, and in the former Federation of Malaya only 7.6. All the figures available on banana yields in the countries visited during the inquiry are given in table III (with the year or the period to which they apply).

---

**TABLE III. BANANA YIELDS IN EIGHT COUNTRIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Tons/hectare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Africa:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Cameroon</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Latin America:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asia:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation of Malaya</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Coffee.

The general study by the F.A.O. on the world coffee economy already mentioned gives the average coffee yields for numerous Latin American and African countries, without however specifying for what years these figures apply (see table IV).

This F.A.O. report emphasises the differences in yield from one country to another, and from one plantation to another within the same country.

In the most efficiently operated holdings a yield of 1,500 to 2,000 kg. per hectare can be obtained, and a yield of 1,000 to 1,500 kg. per hectare is not unusual. The average yields are, however, well below 500 kg./hectare in most producer countries, largely by reason of the haphazard methods of production employed.1

1 *The World Coffee Economy*, op. cit.
TABLE IV. AVERAGE COFFEE YIELDS IN ABOUT 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Output (kg./hectare)</th>
<th>Latin America ¹</th>
<th>Africa ¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 600</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 500 to 600</td>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 400 to 500</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Tanganyika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 300 to 400</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Angola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 200 to 300</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>Madagascar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 200</td>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


¹ Countries in which the I.L.O. field studies took place are given in italics.

Brazil is a good example of a country in which yields differ widely according to district. It is estimated that in recent years the average yield per hectare in this country has been in the order of 400 kg. In the state of Paraná, where yields are the highest in the region, the average is 800 to 1,000 kg. per hectare. In São Paulo a yield of 1,500 kg. per hectare is not unusual on well-managed plantations. In exceptional cases the figure of 3,000 kg. per hectare has been achieved, but the average for the state is not very high; and in the old coffee plantations at Pernambuco, Santa Catarina and Rio de Janeiro the average yield per hectare is below 300 kg.¹

These figures obviously apply only to the years before 1961, when the report from which they are drawn was published. And towards the end of 1963 the coffee-producing areas in Brazil suffered serious damage from frost, floods and fires. The 1962-63 crop was about 4 million bags down on that of previous year.

Differences in yield are also observed according to the size of plantations, as in Ivory Coast, where in 1959 the yield per hectare of small coffee plantations belonging to local growers was 213 kg., while that in industrial plantations was about 700 kg., more than three times as high.

Sugarcane.

The yield per hectare in sugarcane plantations varies considerably from one place to another. The International Sugar Council, on the basis of the averages for 1955-56 and 1959-60, calculated an average yield for the whole

¹ *The World Coffee Economy*, op. cit.
TABLE V. AVERAGE SUGARCANE YIELDS IN THE MAIN PRODUCER COUNTRIES, 1954-55 TO 1958-59

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Tons/hectare/annum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>World Average</strong></td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Africa:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>60.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of South Africa</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>America:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>105.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>60.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asia:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China (Taiwan)</td>
<td>70.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>91.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oceania:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>103.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


World equal to 48.8 tons of cane per hectare per annum.

Table V gives some figures of the output of sugar plantations in the main producer countries.

Of 16 major sugar-producing countries 11 have a yield above the world average. This figure can exceed 100 tons per hectare, as it does in Peru and the Hawaiian Islands. Out of six of the countries in which the inquiry took place and for which output figures are available, four have a yield higher than the world average, namely Peru (105.5 tons/hectare), Indonesia (91.3 tons/hectare), Colombia (81.8 tons/hectare) and Mauritius (60.8 tons/hectare). The figures for Brazil and India, conversely, are below the world average: 40.5 tons/hectare and 33.6 tons/hectare respectively.

Rubber.

The yields in kilos per hectare from rubber plantations in the four Asian countries visited were as follows in 1961: Malaya, 471; Indonesia, 377; Ceylon, 334; India (in 1960), 194. These figures were specially calculated for this report by dividing the total figure for rubber production in each country by the total figure for the area given over to the cultivation of rubber plants.

---

For Malaya and Indonesia the yields by size of plantation could be calculated. In the big plantations the figures are 557 kg./hectare in Malaya and 432 kg./hectare in Indonesia, while the small planters achieve a yield of no more than 388 kg./hectare in the former country and 356 kg./hectare in the latter. This difference is explained mainly by the fact that the big plantations are better organised, and that it is much easier for them to solve the various problems of finance, labour, etc.

Taken as a whole Malaya achieves the highest yields: in that country even the small plantations produce more to the hectare (namely, 388 kg.) than any of the plantations in the three other Asian countries under consideration. This must be seen as the result of the immense programmes organised in Malaya to rejuvenate existing plantations and to create new ones. At the end of 1961, 45 per cent. of rubber-growing land was planted with high-yielding trees, capable of producing three or four times as much rubber as non-selected trees.¹

Tea.

In the tea plantations in the Asian countries visited by the I.L.O. experts the yield per hectare varied in 1960 between 970 kg./hectare in India and 654 kg./hectare in Indonesia. In Ceylon, for the same year, it stood at 837 kg./hectare, and in Malaya, in 1961, at 654 kg./hectare.

But here too the situation can vary within a country according to district. In India, in the state of Madras, the yield is as high as 1,153 kg./hectare, while in the state of Bihar it barely reaches 75 kg./hectare. In the states of Assam, West Bengal, Mysore and Kerala, yields approximate more or less to the national mean; while in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab (Kangra), Himachal Pradesh (Mandi) and Tripura they fall below it.

RISE OR FALL IN YIELD

A number of factors can affect the yield, either to raise or to lower it. For instance in the case of coffee there is a close connection between the quantity of fertiliser employed and the yield.²

In El Salvador the figures have risen from an average of 133 kg./hectare (using about 2 kg. of fertiliser and manure) to 1,620 kg./hectare (using 2,700 kg. of fertiliser). It is estimated in a survey carried out by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the F.A.O. that in the department of Caldas in Colombia the yields obtained as a result of fertiliser were in the order of 325 to 700 kg. per hectare in 1955-56, whereas the average yield for the same year in undertakings covered by the above-mentioned survey was only 240 kg.²

In Costa Rica in 1963 farmers on about four-fifths of the coffee-growing area regularly manured their land. The average output on land so treated was 25.4 fanegas per manzana³, while that in plantations

² The World Coffee Economy, loc. cit.
³ In Costa Rica a fanega equals between 22 and 50 litres and a manzana equals 6,960.5 square metres.
where the land was not manured was hardly 7.1. This example goes to show that the use of fertiliser can in some circumstances triple the output in Costa Rican coffee plantations.

Ivory Coast provides an example of the fall in yield in small plantations: between 1954 and 1959 this dropped from 270 to 213 kg./hectare for coffee, from 350 to 225 kg./hectare for cocoa, and from 19,900 to 9,800 kg./hectare for bananas. The main reason for such falls in yields appears to lie in the method of cultivation employed by the Africans, for they continually break up new ground rather than work at the upkeep of existing plantations, which they abandon too easily as soon as the price they get for their crop begins to fall.

**PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR IN PLANTATIONS**

There are unfortunately hardly any statistics on the productivity of labour in plantations. However, a few figures are available on the number of man-hours per 100 kilograms as regards some plantation commodities such as bananas, cocoa, coffee, rice and tobacco in two countries: Colombia and Costa Rica. These are given in table VI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Colombia (1953)</th>
<th>Costa Rica (1956)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UNIVERSIDAD DE COSTA RICA: El desarrollo económico de Costa Rica, Estudio núm. 3; Sector agropecuario de la economía costarricense (San José, Ciudad Universitaria, 1959), table 11-13, p. 20.

These figures are obviously not comparable with each other except for each separate product, since it is evident that there is no logical connection between the number of man-hours required per 100 kg. in respect of differing products. It should be noted that the figures are for two different years.

---

1 UNIVERSIDAD DE COSTA RICA: El desarrollo económico de Costa Rica, Estudio núm. 1; Estudio del sector externo de la economía costarricense (San José, Ciudad Universitaria, 1958), table III-13, p. 32.
In spite of all this it would seem, however, that the productivity of labour can be said to be higher in Colombia than in Costa Rica as regards coffee and rice plantations, and higher in Costa Rica than in Colombia as regards banana, cocoa and tobacco plantations.

**CONTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH INSTITUTES TO IMPROVING YIELDS**

The research institutes already mentioned have played and still play a considerable part in improving yields, especially in Africa and Asia. (In Latin America institutes of this sort are less common.)

In addition to those mentioned earlier, which have their headquarters in Ivory Coast, there is one in Mauritius which concerns itself in particular with selecting high-yield sugarcane of good quality, with improving growing methods, and with increasing productivity.

In Tanganyika a similar institute fulfils the same function as regards sisal.

Another interesting example is found in Cameroon, where the Organisation de recherches scientifiques pour les territoires d’outre-mer, in collaboration with the Cameroon research institute, has established “modernisation sectors” for various crops. These sectors, which initially specialised each in one particular crop, have gradually been transformed into multivalent geographical sectors, under the services of the Agricultural Inspectorate. The modernisation sectors currently operating in the country are as follows: SEMCENTRE (cocoa), SEMCA (*robusta* and *arabica* coffee), SEMEST (*robusta* coffee; cocoa; groundnuts), SEMMARITIME (bananas; *robusta* coffee; coconuts; oil palm) and SEMNORD (cotton; groundnuts; sorghum).

These sectors have to face various difficulties, of which the biggest are caused by political instability and tribal rivalries, by the lack of Cameroonian technicians and supervisors, and sometimes also by the lack of financial resources.

Nevertheless, the authorities behind the Cameroon Development Plan hope to be able to extend the organisation of the modernisation sectors to a point where their 2,000 or so farmers (mainly planters) can always seek advice from an agricultural adviser reasonably close to their farm.

In Asia the four countries of the inquiry have research institutes specialising in the production of tea in Ceylon and India, of rubber in Malaya and Indonesia, and of palm oil also in Indonesia. In Malaya it is interesting to note that the activities of the research institutes—especially those of the Rubber Research Institute—have succeeded in pushing up yields by 20 to 50 per cent.
FACTORS AFFECTING PLANTATION ECONOMY

In making a list of factors which may affect the prosperity of plantations, the forces of nature are obviously those which spring first to mind. Plantations are liable to be even more subject to the whims of nature than other types of agriculture, being situated as they quite often are in volcanic areas or in latitudes where cyclones are frequent. Thus in Costa Rica the volcano Irazu, which erupted in March 1963, has since covered the whole area with a fine ash which is highly damaging to agriculture and particularly to the coffee plantations.¹ In Mauritius, too, the economy of the island was severely affected in 1960 by two cyclones of abnormal violence.²

But aside from inherent natural phenomena, political, economic and social events or factors influence plantation economy: for example, the accession to independence of some of the African and Asian countries, a certain insecurity arising from internal disturbances, agrarian reform projects and economic development plans adopted by some of the plantation countries' governments.

Political Factors

In all the countries the farmers' confidence or lack of confidence in the stability of the political régime has good or ill effects on economic trends in the plantations. In particular, a country which is on the point of achieving, or has just achieved, independence is liable to be profoundly affected; examples of this have been given in describing the fragmentation of plantations, particularly as regards the sale of plantations by Europeans to nationals.

Of the four African countries visited by the experts Ivory Coast gained independence in 1960 and Cameroon in 1961; Tanganyika also gained independence in 1961 and in 1964 united with Zanzibar in a republic later known as Tanzania; and Mauritius is still a British possession. In all these countries specific political factors have had a direct or indirect influence on trends in plantation development.

In Tanganyika, at the time of the I.L.O. mission of inquiry, foreign owners (particularly owners of sisal plantations and of the larger indus-

¹ The extent of the damage caused the Inter-American Development Bank, in February 1964, to grant the Government a gift of $25,000 to finance a study of the ill-effects of this phenomenon and the means of remedy.
² The year's sugar production consequently fell from about 580,000 tons (the 1959 figure) to 233,000 tons, but fortunately re-established itself almost at its previous level in the following year. Another consequence of cyclones is to accelerate the drift to the towns in the island, thus causing serious population imbalance.
trial coffee plantations) were on tenterhooks, not knowing what direction government policy would take. Uncertainty ruled in the governing bodies of companies as to whether they should continue with or interrupt programmes for crop expansion, for the breaking up of millions of hectares of forest land granted to their companies, and for the importing of machines and modern equipment. This cautious attitude to the future was made necessary by the lack of information as to the attitude which would be adopted by the Governments of Tanganyika and its next door neighbour, Kenya, with regard to foreign nationals: whether an extreme chauvinism, or an attitude of moderation calculated to prevent the withdrawal of foreign capital.

In Mauritius a certain degree of social and racial tension, largely caused by overpopulation, has led to the withdrawal of foreign capital from several sugar-manufacturing companies.

East Cameroon offers a particularly striking example of the potential influence of political instability on modernisation of plantations and on investments for their improvement. Rivalries between politico-tribal factions, civil war, and guerilla activities are some of the factors which have slowed down foreign investments of capital and equipment, have prevented several large undertakings from going into operation and have caused the departure from the country of hundreds of foreign planters. These latter, before leaving the country, sold their holdings, usually to Africans who unfortunately had little or no experience of the technical and administrative management of a sizeable plantation; so that some of these holdings were doomed to failure and bankruptcy, with damaging consequences to the social and economic development of the whole of East Cameroon. The foreign companies and planters who remained where they were, either because they could not sell their properties or because they refused to off-load them at ridiculous prices, invested only the strict minimum required for current maintenance, and several of them attempted to realise at least a part of their capital so as to transfer it to another country.

In West Cameroon, conversely, both the Cameroons Development Corporation (C.D.C.) and foreign companies like Pamol or Elders and Fyffes have tried to obtain the best possible taxation rates. The large plantations have already for some years formed a sort of consortium, offering a united front to the federal government authorities at Yaoundé in the search for satisfactory politico-economic answers.

Ivory Coast has demonstrated that governmental action, if it is properly conceived and designed in particular to give effective guarantees to foreign capital, can do a great deal to encourage production and productivity in plantations. Such a policy, combined with the relative
social calm of the country, have encouraged the inflow of foreign capital for investment in plantation farming.

Independence has already ceased to be a recent fact for the Asian countries visited by the I.L.O. mission, since India gained hers in 1947, Ceylon in 1948, Indonesia in 1949 and Malaya in 1956. The most noteworthy fact in the present context is certainly the promulgation by Ceylon in 1948 of legislation on citizenship which set India against Ceylon and affected the position of Indian workers on Ceylonese plantations.

The 1948 law required candidates for Ceylonese nationality to prove that at least two of their paternal ancestors in the last three generations had been born in Ceylon. This meant that it was impossible for almost the whole of the Indian population living in the island’s plantations —estimated at nearly a million people—to acquire Ceylonese nationality. The Indian Government protested against this law, and an exchange of letters between the Prime Ministers of the two countries followed. Ceylon’s argument was that the great majority of the Indians had landed in the island, not with the intention of finally establishing themselves there but merely to work in the plantations and subsequently to return to their country of origin. India, however, argued that it was contrary to historical fact to state that the Indian labour in Ceylon had gone there only for temporary work in the plantations: the Indian Government had always attached the greatest importance to emigrant farm workers finding every facility in their country of adoption for establishing themselves on the same footing as the indigenous population.

In 1949 the Government of Ceylon amended some of the provisions of the law on citizenship, but scarcely 13,000 people were thus enabled to acquire citizenship by registration. This was evidently no more than a very partial solution to the problem. Indian workers who had failed to acquire Ceylonese nationality, and who were often forced by the population increase in plantations to seek work outside, found themselves very much at a disadvantage, especially as they did not speak the language of the area. Moreover, such workers, who were not recognised as nationals by Ceylon, were equally unable to return to India, where they were no longer considered to be Indian nationals.

In 1962, however, negotiations between the two countries were reopened in order to try and find at least a partial solution to this embarrassing problem. The two Governments agreed to determine the extent to which Indian workers then residing in Ceylon were really forced to return to India, and how many of them found themselves in such a case. These negotiations led to the agreement of 30 October 1963, under which it was decided that out of 975,000 persons of Indian origin 300,000
should be given Ceylonese nationality and 525,000 should be repatriated to India. The implementation is to cover a period of 15 years: the fate of 150,000 other people of Indian origin was to be discussed later, by representatives of both Governments.

A State of Insecurity

In some plantation countries conditions are generally unstable as a result of political and economic disturbances and of the fear that these have created over vast areas. As for the countries covered by the inquiry, situations of this sort were observed particularly in Cameroon and in Colombia and especially in coffee-growing areas.

In Cameroon political and tribal rivalries have led to banditry, guerillas and other forms of violence over vast areas. The disturbances have affected the coffee-growing zones, and have spread to numerous plantations covering several thousands of hectares. The exact area of plantation that was abandoned as a result of these disturbances cannot, however, be exactly defined.

The Government of Cameroon devotes a large part of its national budget to keeping up an army, whose duty is to protect activities of major economic importance and to try to clear rebel groups out of the forests. The funds spent on the military are thus unfortunately not available for the country's economic development.

Be things as they may, the general state of insecurity has caused hundreds of European coffee growers to leave the country, and thousands of African growers have abandoned their land to live in the towns, while numerous planters have joined the rebels and have therefore abandoned their crops. The authorities are in no doubt as to the fact that improvement of crop production and marketing in the areas which are politically unstable will depend on whether the country can be effectively pacified.

In Colombia the feeling of general insecurity is due to a wave of violence which broke out in 1948 and has reached high peaks between 1949 and 1953 and between 1954 and 1958.1

The causes of this violence, which were initially purely political (the struggle between conservative and liberal elements), appear subsequently to have been reinforced by economic and speculative factors: by creating areas of insecurity in rural areas, and more specifically in the coffee-growing areas, the brigands, often with the help of clandestine support,

1 Germán Guzmán Campos, Orlando Pals Borda and Eduardo Umana Luna: La violencia en Colombia, Estudio de un proceso social (Bogotá, Universidad Nacional, Facultad de Sociología, 1963), p. 37.
are said to have created a fall in the value of land which they then bought cheaply from the owners, whose only desire was to get away to areas of safety. Whatever the true reasons for these disturbances in Colombia—it is almost impossible to make them out clearly—they have produced results, if only by the length of time they have lasted, so important as to have been described as the most profound social and cultural change in the rural areas of the country since the Spanish conquest.\(^1\)

It should, however, be added that the position has been greatly improved since 1964 by the energetic measures taken by the Government.

**Agrarian Reform and Social and Economic Development Plans**

In almost all plantation countries, as has been pointed out earlier in this report, the national economy generally depends on one or two plantation products; this makes it extremely vulnerable, and liable to be violently affected by any weakening in the international market rates for these commodities. So as to avoid this disadvantage, and above all so as to rationalise the national economy and to improve the living conditions of their people, many of these countries have drawn up extensive plans for economic development, in which plantations often play a major role. Thus in Malaya\(^2\) in 1962, out of the 48 rural development zones specified in the plan, 47 were mainly given over to the cultivation of rubber plants. The decision was then taken to give priority to the cultivation of oil palms wherever the soil was suitable. As a result, 20,250 hectares out of 81,000 in the new cultivation zone in Pahang have been set aside for this purpose.

A plan for oil-palm development and another for coconut-palm development have been in existence in Ivory Coast since 1961, their purpose being to rationalise and develop these crops, and at the same time to organise the holdings belonging to African peasants by establishing them alongside big industrial plantations. Such peasants are provided with technical assistance, to help them to increase their family income.

In Colombia the 1961 general social and economic development plan provides for increased crop diversification in coffee-growing areas, which is to make possible the gradual reduction of coffee held in stock. The retraction in coffee cultivation is to be compensated for by an increase in banana plantations (bananas are the country’s second most important export product) and sugarcane plantations.

\(^1\) Camilo Torres Restrepo: “La violencia y los cambios socio-culturales en las áreas rurales colombianas”, in Memoria del Primer Congreso Nacional de Sociología (Bogotá, Asociación Colombiana de Sociología, 1963), pp. 95-152.

\(^2\) Gullick, op. cit., p. 187.
It is interesting to note that during recent years, in a number of countries where monoculture goes hand in hand with the existence of an outdated agrarian structure, measures of agrarian reform have been taken mainly in order to improve the living conditions of the rural populations. Agrarian reform laws have been adopted in this way by several plantation countries, mainly located in Latin America (in particular Colombia, Ecuador and Peru).

The effect of such laws on the plantation economy varies with the countries in question. In general they make it possible to expropriate large and inadequately worked estates by laying down a maximum permissible surface area; large estates which are worked efficiently are, however, frequently excluded from the expropriation measures stipulated by the reform. In Peru, for instance, the big sugarcane plantations have been exempted in this way from agrarian reform measures.

The agrarian reform law of 1964 in Ecuador laid down very high maximum area limits (2,500 hectares in the coastal districts and 800 in mountain districts) and the large plantations of bananas or other tropical products will remain practically untouched, for section 34 of the law exempts from expropriation estates which are well operated from the technical standpoint (whatever their surface area) and which supply their own industry with raw material.

Since agrarian reform is often designed to combat not only the latifundium but also the minifundium, the methods of operation may become altered in some countries, as in Colombia, where coffee and tobacco are mainly grown in very small holdings.

---

1 In 1960-61, out of 111,198 hectares on which bananas were grown, 93,310 were located in the coastal districts. Out of a total of 1,820 banana plantations, only five were of more than 1,000 hectares, and 11 had between 501 and 1,000 hectares.
CHAPTER II

THE LABOUR FORCE AND THE WORK

The Active Population in Plantation Countries

For a full understanding of the particular nature of the manpower problems facing plantation countries it is necessary to be in possession of fairly accurate population statistics, especially as regards the active population engaged in each branch of economic activity. It is also useful to know the extent to which the active agricultural population is employed on plantations. Unfortunately, the necessary data are lacking for most countries and it is virtually impossible to draw international comparisons from the partial information available on the active population employed on various types of plantation.\(^1\) (Certain figures will nevertheless be given in the section of this chapter dealing with the importance of plantations as employers.) It is a matter for regret that the majority of governmental and private bodies producing economic and social statistics have so far concentrated on product data (volume and value of production, exports and imports) rather than manpower information.

The data available for the world’s major plantation countries show Ivory Coast to have the lowest proportion of active population (21.4 per cent) and Cameroon the highest (48.5 per cent). The latter figure applies to the African population only, which however represents over 99 per cent of the total Cameroon population.

In Mauritius the active population represents 27.5 per cent. of the total, a fairly low proportion by comparison with the various Latin American and Asian countries also studied in this report. In the five Latin American countries in question (Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru, plus Brazil), the proportion of active to total population lies within the fairly narrow range of 29.6 to 33.4 per cent., namely Brazil 32.3 (1960), Colombia 33.4 (1951), Costa Rica 29.6 (1963), Ecuador 32.9 (1960) and Peru 31.5 (1961).

The percentage of active population in the Asian countries visited by the experts is generally higher than in Latin America, varying from

---

\(^1\) See Appendix III.
34 per cent. in Indonesia to 43 per cent. in India. In Malaya it is 34.5 per cent. and in Ceylon 37 per cent. The proportion of active to total population thus seems to be higher in the Asian countries than in those of Latin America.

The above figures may help to give a general idea of these countries' social and economic position. It seems fairly likely that the countries with the highest percentages of active population will have the largest number of young people at work, especially since all the countries under review can be classed as developing nations, where, in contrast to developed countries, the younger age groups are relatively far larger than the older.

**Active Population by Branch of Economic Activity**

The breakdown of the active population by branch of economic activity also reveals significant differences from one country to another.\(^1\)

The most interesting activity for the purpose of the present study is obviously agriculture. All the countries in question are still predominantly agricultural; indeed, apart from Mauritius (38.1 per cent.) and Costa Rica (49.8 per cent.), agriculture engages more than half the active population and sometimes even higher proportions, as in India and Indonesia, where nearly three-quarters of the active population (73.5 and 73.3 per cent. respectively) are agriculturally employed. In the four Asian countries studied, the active agricultural population is relatively higher than in the five Latin American countries. As regards Africa the active agricultural population in Tanganyika (53.4 per cent.) represents slightly over half the total active population: this country is therefore in a half-way position between the other countries studied. In Mauritius, on the other hand, the figure is the lowest recorded in the countries visited.

Another feature of interest in this connection is that the highest percentages of active agricultural population are usually found in the countries with relatively bigger active populations.

In all the countries under examination except two, the active population engaged in industry is less than one-fifth of the total active population: these countries are far from having attained an economically developed industrial level. The two most highly industrialised countries are Mauritius and Tanganyika, with 26.6 and 21.1 per cent. respectively of their active populations employed in industry. Although no precise

---

\(^1\) The statistics given are mainly taken from I.L.O. documents such as the *Year Book of Labour Statistics* for 1964 and 1965. The relevant figures for Cameroon and Ivory Coast are lacking. All data relate to the most recent year for which statistics have been published.
figures can be given, it seems reasonable to attribute the relatively high proportion of active population in industry in Mauritius to the great development of the sugar refineries, which produce more than nine-tenths of the island's total exports.

**Manpower Resources**

One of the biggest problems facing plantations is knowing where they can find the necessary manpower. Nowadays, unlike the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, plantations almost always find their permanent labour on the spot. Seasonal or temporary workers still often come from fairly distant areas. In the past, foreign immigrants provided a sizeable source of manpower, especially in the Asian countries, Brazil and Mauritius. Many groups of Chinese immigrants went to work on Indonesian and Malayan plantations, for instance, but most of them subsequently returned home. Plantations in Ceylon and Malaya also took in a heavy flow of Indian migrants, but the stream virtually dried up in Ceylon in 1939 and in Malaya from 1938 onwards. It is a well-known fact that the sugar plantations in Mauritius absorbed vast numbers of immigrants, mostly Indian, in the nineteenth century, which explains why some 67 per cent. of the island's population is still of Indian origin.¹

In Brazil large numbers of foreign immigrants have gone to work on coffee, cotton and sugarcane plantations.

Often new arrivals have raised serious problems in their country of reception after settling in. This is particularly true of Indian immigrants to Ceylon, whose citizenship has, as we have seen, proved a difficult problem to solve.

Nowadays, although foreign immigration has lost much of its importance, it still remains a major source of manpower in countries such as Ivory Coast, where most plantation workers come from Upper Volta, and Tanganyika, which traditionally draws workers from Rwanda-Urundi² and Mozambique.

Lastly, the internal migration of plantation workers from one area to another still takes place in some countries, especially Brazil, Colombia, India, Indonesia and Peru.


² From 1919 this was a territory successively under Belgian mandate and trusteeship, and now consists of two independent States, the Republic of Rwanda and the Kingdom of Burundi.
OVERPOPULATION AND UNDERPOPULATION

The concepts of overpopulation, underpopulation and optimum population are particularly difficult to define and are certainly susceptible of widely varying definitions according to the point of view adopted. To give just one example, a country is said to be over- or underpopulated according to whether its output and purchases of consumer goods, and especially foodstuffs, are inadequate or amply adequate to supply its population. It is equally possible, however, to rely solely on population densities, for instance, in deciding whether a country is over- or underpopulated, as is done in the present report. This simplified method of approach enables direct comparisons to be drawn between different countries. From the outset it is worth noting that considerable differences exist in this respect.

To take the higher densities first, Mauritius easily leads with 385 inhabitants per square kilometre, a figure well above that for recognisedly overpopulated Asian countries such as India and Ceylon, in which the figures are respectively 135 and 125. The population density in the other two Asian countries visited by the I.L.O. experts is also fairly high (Indonesia 65 and Malaya 48 inhabitants per square kilometre).

All the other countries studied, whether African (Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Tanganyika) or Latin American (Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru) have relatively low densities, i.e. less than 17 inhabitants per square kilometre in each case.

Table VII shows the total population density and the active agricultural population density per square kilometre of arable land or permanent crops.¹

The main point of interest is that the active agricultural population density per area of arable land and permanent crops is fairly high everywhere and exceptionally so in three of the four Asian countries studied (Ceylon, India and Indonesia), as well as in Peru and Mauritius. This suggests a general scarcity of arable land and confirms the existence of serious problems of overpopulation, unemployment ² and underemployment in these countries.

Problems of this kind are aggravated by a continually increasing population in all these countries, mainly as a result of the lower death

¹ The figures given in the table, especially in the last column, are purely indicative. Although the main crops have been taken into account, it has been impossible to include some (such as cinchona, citrus and pineapple) owing to lack of data. In addition, area statistics are sometimes lacking even for the main crops. Lastly, the data do not always refer to the same year, period or even geographical unit.

² In 1961, at its Fourth Session, the Committee on Work on Plantations adopted a resolution (No. 46) concerning special measures to be taken against seasonal unemployment of plantation workers.
TABLE VII. TOTAL POPULATION DENSITY AND ACTIVE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION DENSITY IN RELATION TO ARABLE LAND OR PERMANENT CROP AREAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population density</th>
<th>Active population density per square kilometre of arable land or permanent crops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Africa:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon (1962)</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast (1962)</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius (1962)</td>
<td>385.1</td>
<td>76.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika (1962)</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Latin America:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil (1960)</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>61.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia (1951)</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica (1963)</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>69.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador (1960)</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>40.3 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru (1961)</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asia:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon (1953)</td>
<td>125.1</td>
<td>104.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India (1961)</td>
<td>134.6</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia (1961)</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>133.0 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya (1957)</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Figures taken from international sources (UNITED NATIONS: Demographic Yearbook; F.A.O.: Production Yearbook, 1963, table I, pp. 3-8), national data and information collected during the survey.

* According to the 1954 agricultural census (which covered nearly 6 million hectares). ** Per total area of agricultural land.

The population of the Asian countries included in the survey, for instance, has doubled in 15 to 30 years. In countries such as India and Ceylon the question of overpopulation is particularly disturbing in that many adults often live on the plantations but cannot find work there, and have to be maintained by those members of the family who can.

In Ceylon, for example, a study undertaken in 1961 of 634 plantations belonging to the Estates Employers’ Federation showed them to be employing 460,050 workers, 394,400 of whom lived on the plantations themselves. In addition to this total of genuinely active persons, however, the plantations housed 176,000 totally inactive inhabitants (138,000 children aged 8 to 14, 23,200 young people of 14 to 16 and 14,800 over 16) maintained by the workers.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that India and Ceylon lack land which can be made available to these people. This is why scientific family-planning methods are looked to in both countries as a possible solution, even if only partial. Pilot schemes of this kind were tried out on about 20 tea plantations in the state of Assam in 1962 and in Ceylon in 1961. Similar programmes have been in force in Mauritius since 1958.

The overpopulation problem in Malaya and Indonesia is less acute than in India and Ceylon owing to the existence of large areas of undeveloped land.
In Malaya the rural development authorities have had land settlement schemes in operation since 1956 as a contribution to solving problems caused by the increase in population.\textsuperscript{1} In some cases the growth in population is much more evident among the non-active than the active, as in the north-east of Brazil, a major plantation area in which 43 per cent. of the population were under 14 years of age in 1950.\textsuperscript{2} Since the economic situation in this region provides no opportunities for increased employment, the active population is condemned to unemployment and underemployment, which partly explains the migration from the area.

The extent of unemployment and underemployment problems in Mauritius is amply demonstrated by the fact that whilst the labour force in the sugar industry remained stationary from 1946 to 1958, the active population increased by 20 per cent. between 1947 and 1957.\textsuperscript{3} Some unemployment, however, is due to imbalance between manpower supply and demand, for private employers rarely make use of the island's few labour exchanges. Sugarcane is a seasonal crop in Mauritius and unemployment is particularly high in the slack period. The gap between the number of jobs offered by the sugar industry in the peak and in the slack periods has continually widened since the Second World War. In 1946 and 1947 the difference was an average of 6,000, in 1957 and 1958 an average of 11,000 and in 1959 the figure was 14,000. This is clear proof that seasonal unemployment has increased.\textsuperscript{4}

Unemployment mainly arises in the north of the island as soon as the dry season starts, when the small planters can no longer work their own land and seek temporary jobs in the large neighbouring sugarcane plantations. Although the latter can usually guarantee work for their permanent employees during the slack season, they cannot absorb any excess labour at this time. To overcome this state of affairs, the Labour Department has organised free transport for a number of unemployed from the north to sugarcane and tea plantations in the south. Public works projects have also been started to combat unemployment. Heads of families who cannot find work receive unemployment assistance if registered as unemployed.\textsuperscript{5}

Furthermore, in 1963 the Mauritius Government issued an ordinance relating to security of employment in the sugar industry and requiring sugar plantation employers to offer work during the slack season, on certain conditions, to persons who have worked for them during the sugarcane harvest.\textsuperscript{6}

These problems of underemployment and unemployment cannot all be solved by "occupational migration" to other economic activities because, generally speaking, industry is still extremely underdeveloped in plantation countries and because any economically viable secondary or tertiary activity requires a minimum of general or technical knowledge, which plantation workers do not possess.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Gullick, op. cit., p. 190.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Stefan H. Robock: Brazil's Developing Northeast (Washington, 1963), p. 61.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Titmus and Smith, op. cit., p. 10.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Ibid., p. 13.
\item \textsuperscript{5} Colony of Mauritius: Annual Report of the Labour Department for 1961 (Port Louis, 1962), pp. 5 and 21.
\item \textsuperscript{6} See the following resolutions adopted by the Committee on Work on Plantations: No. 19 concerning methods of stabilising employment and earnings of plantation workers (1953); and No. 31 concerning possible measures within the countries and industries concerned for stabilising employment and earnings of plantation workers (1955).
\end{itemize}
In order to enable the frequently underemployed inhabitants of plantations to find additional sources of income and thus lighten their burdens, some employers, particularly in Asia and Latin America, give their permanent workers plots of land on which to cultivate food crops. They are often allowed to keep a few head of cattle or poultry as well, but certain employers forbid cattle-raising because they say it may harm the plantations.

The above remarks apply solely to over- and underpopulation on a national scale. It is clear, however, that pockets of overpopulated and underpopulated areas can coexist within a given country. No attention will be paid in this study to the urban areas, often, especially in developing countries, characterised by large towns which are heavily overpopulated by comparison with the virtually empty areas surrounding them and with the lack of medium-sized urban centres farther out. The discussion will therefore be confined to rural areas, and especially the plantation belts, where—unlike several decades ago—areas of underpopulation are becoming increasingly rare. This is because plantations have been operating in the locality for many years, and what may be called the colonisation stage is more or less complete everywhere. The result, as we shall see later, is that the recruitment of workers whose homes are remote from the plantations is gradually dwindling. The system still operates in specific cases, however, for instance if a new plantation is opened up in a fairly isolated area or if a plantation is forced to employ large-scale temporary labour, usually unavailable in the neighbouring districts, at certain times of the year.

INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Migration from one area to another still takes place in some plantation countries. It may be permanent, temporary or seasonal, but is normally the latter. In Brazil, for example, at the beginning of the dry season between two cotton harvests, seasonal workers leave the semi-arid cotton-growing areas in the north-east and move to the sugarcane districts on the coast. A similar movement takes place to the cocoa plantations in the south of Bahia.¹

An example of permanent migration is the abandonment of the north-east of Brazil in exceptionally dry years by workers who settle in the Amazon Valley. More recently they have been moving to São Paulo, where they provide labour for the coffee and cotton plantations.²

¹ Lynn Smith, op. cit., pp. 162 ff.
² Ibid., p. 172.
Mainly temporary movements also take place in Peru from the mountain areas to the coast, especially to the cotton plantations.

The degree of migration often seems to depend on the existence of certain types of plantation. Taking the distribution of the active agricultural population by indigenous inhabitants and immigrants in each of the 17 departments of Colombia as an example, we find that the six with the highest percentages of immigrants (between 10.4 and 55.4) are those containing most of the coffee, sugarcane, banana, tobacco, cotton and rice plantations.

Of the countries visited by the experts it is mainly in those in Africa that the migration of plantation workers takes place across frontiers. This is particularly true of Ivory Coast and Tanganyika. In the latter, especially up to 1958, immigrants came from Rwanda-Urundi and Mozambique to work on the sisal plantations. Ivory Coast has a large influx of seasonal or semi-permanent migrants from Upper Volta, where workers are specially recruited for the plantations, particularly amongst the Mossi.

The influx is largely due to the fact that in Ivory Coast, where tribal traditions cause tilling the soil to be regarded as beneath man's dignity, many rural inhabitants are loath to take agricultural work. At the time of the survey 200,000 Upper Volta workers were agriculturally employed out of a total population of 3.5 million.

RECRUITMENT AND DIRECT ENGAGEMENT

None of the legislation of the countries included in the survey contains a precise definition of recruiting. In some countries, provisions referring to recruitment or contractors (e.g. section 20 et sq. of the Ecuador Labour Code of 1938 and sections 72 to 74 of the Colombian Labour Code) may occasionally be found, but they are of little interest for the purposes of this study.

In terms of the definition given in Convention No. 110, recruiting in plantation countries (at least in those covered by the survey) seems to have lost much of the importance it had at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present one. Plantation labour is increasingly...
obtained by the direct engagement system. Only in Africa, and then
only to a small extent, are recruiting systems proper still found. In Asia,
on the other hand, recruiting is virtually non-existent, although it was
a normal method of procuring labour (particularly from southern India)
until 1938. The system had operated since 1844 on the Ceylon planta­
tions and from the beginning of the century on those in Malaya. Today,
Asian plantations are generally well supplied with labour, and if they need
workers, whether permanent, temporary or seasonal, they usually engage
them on the spot from amongst persons spontaneously offering their ser­
vices. An exception is Indonesia, where the employment service recruits
workers in Java for the outer provinces in pursuance of the government
scheme for the transmigration of surplus population from that island.

In Latin America recruiting is virtually non-existent for permanent
workers but is still resorted to in various forms to obtain the seasonal
labour required on some plantations at harvest time.

The recruitment methods at present in force on plantations can be
divided into two main categories according to whether the labour is
recruited by public bodies or by private organisations or individuals.

Recruitment by Public Bodies

Recruitment by public bodies is fairly rare, but something like it is
found in the recruiting of Upper Volta workers for Ivory Coast under
the bilateral convention signed on 9 March 1960 between the Govern­
ments of Ivory Coast and Upper Volta, pursuant to which employers
seeking labour must apply in writing to the Ivory Coast labour office,
which transmits the application to the Upper Volta labour office.

The recruits are medically examined. Their transport through Upper
Volta is paid for by the latter's labour office, and from the point of
embarkation to destination by the employer, who also bears the costs
of their repatriation and of looking after them on the journey.

Employers are required to pay a fee covering these charges to the
Ivory Coast labour office, but coffee and cocoa planters and banana
producers are exempt from this under section 3 of Decree No. 60-244
of 29 July 1960.

Recruitment by Private Organisations or Individuals

Recruiting can also be organised by private bodies, normally run
by the employers, or by individuals.

An interesting example of an employers' organisation, created spe­
cially for recruiting purposes, is the Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) set up
in 1944 by the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association.
Between 1944 and 1958 Silabu brought 410,000 workers and 180,000 family members into Tanganyika and repatriated 340,000 persons. The majority were African workers from Rwanda-Urundi.

Silabu maintains transit and reception centres in seven districts to accommodate workers until they are moved to the country’s various sisal plantations. Workers are recruited at the times of the year stipulated by Silabu so as to avoid their having to spend too long in the transit centres. Weather conditions sometimes hamper transport not only from secondary to main centres but also from the latter to the final destination.

Silabu, whose activities are subject to Ministry of Labour supervision, provides recruits with board and lodging on the journey. Although sanitary, housing and feeding conditions in three-quarters of the centres are good enough to ensure workers a reasonable standard of comfort, considerable room for improvement seems to exist in the remainder. Protection against damp, insects and hazards such as snakes is apparently inadequate.

These recruiting activities have diminished in importance since 1958. Not only has labour become more stable on the sisal plantations but planters have succeeded in reducing their labour forces as a result of improved production methods and correspondingly higher productivity. By the time the survey took place (1962-63), Silabu had closed down some of its recruiting centres, although in 1962 it co-operated with industry in moving nearly 8,000 workers and their families and in providing transport for workers to tea and coffee plantations.

Hiring by job contractors (contratistas in Latin America) still occurs, mainly in Latin America, on sugarcane plantations in Mauritius, and on rubber plantations in Malaya.

The contractors are usually former sugar overseers (in Mauritius) or plantation employees responsible for a given area of crop, e.g. 10 hectares on Peruvian coffee or cotton plantations. In the latter country the contratistas are sent up into the mountains just before the harvest to recruit temporary workers, for which service they receive payment from the employer.

In Mauritius recruitment, far from being a disappearing system, has recently begun to assume renewed importance. In 1963 the number of contractors was estimated at approximately 1,300 and their activities extended to villages some distance from the plantations.

The Importance of Plantations as Employers

An examination of the three major geographical regions in which the survey was carried out shows that statistical information on plantation labour is particularly scarce for the African countries and to a lesser extent for Latin America, but less so and far more accurate for the Asian countries. It is important to realise that the piecemeal character of all the statistical data on the subject makes any systematic international comparisons a rash undertaking.
THE IMPORTANCE OF PLANTATION LABOUR

The few complete or partial figures available on plantation labour forces give a very general idea of the continuing importance of plantations as a magnet for labour. Only six of the 12 countries covered by the survey can show reasonably complete details on the amount of manpower employed on plantations by comparison with that in other branches of economic activity. These countries are the four in Asia, Colombia and Mauritius. As we shall see, in two out of these six (Malaya and Mauritius) plantations account for nearly all the agricultural labour. In two others (Ceylon and Colombia) plantations are among the country's leading agricultural employers. In Tanganyika, for which only partial details are available, sisal plantations alone still employ more than half the country's active agricultural population.

To take the analysis a stage further, the relatively full data available for the six of the 12 countries examined show that in two of them (Malaya and Mauritius) the ratio of the active population employed on plantations to the total active agricultural population is very high: 92 per cent. in Malaya and nearly 100 per cent. in Mauritius. These percentages obviously represent widely differing absolute figures in each case: Malaya has over 1 million workers on its plantations, mainly of rubber and rice, whereas in Mauritius a mere 60,000 persons are gainfully employed on plantations, largely in the sugar industry. According to calculations by the island's statistical services Mauritius had more than 100,000 paid workers in the early months of 1962, some 60,000 of whom were employed in the sugar industry. This shows the latter's vital importance to the national economy. Other types of plantation include tea, tobacco and aloe, but on these the paid workers account for less than 5 per cent. of agricultural wage earners as a whole.

A further two of these six countries are characterised by a fairly balanced proportion of plantation workers to the total number of persons employed in agriculture; these are Ceylon and Colombia, in each of which approximately one-third, i.e. some 700,000, of the active agricultural population works on plantations.

India and Indonesia, the last of the six, exhibit special characteristics. Despite the fact that a substantial quantity of labour is employed on

1 The data for Mauritius relate to paid workers only, but are none the less valid, since paid agricultural workers in Mauritius represent nine-tenths of the active population employed in agriculture (63,703 salaried employees and wage earners by comparison with 70,866 persons engaged in agriculture in 1962, according to I.L.O.: Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1964, pp. 16-17).

plantations (over 1 million workers in India and over 600,000 in Indonesia) the proportion of plantation workers to active agricultural population is extremely low—less than 1 per cent. in India and less than 3 per cent. in Indonesia.

The table in Appendix III shows the numbers of active agricultural workers employed on the main types of plantation in the six countries covered by the survey for which information is available.

To supplement the above remarks it may be of interest to give some details on certain categories of plantation workers in three African countries—Cameroon (especially West Cameroon), Ivory Coast and Tanganyika—and in three Latin American countries—Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru.

In West Cameroon the country's leading employer is the Cameroons Development Corporation (C.D.C.), set up in 1947; it has more than 16,000 workers (including nearly 14,000 in agriculture) in some 20 banana, rubber, oil-palm, cocoa, pepper and tea plantations covering a total area of 23,000 hectares.

The fact that the C.D.C. has three oil mills, four rubber factories and one tea factory gives some idea of its importance to the national economy. In the labour field it is estimated that the C.D.C. employs seven-tenths of all plantation workers in West Cameroon. This high proportion can thus be considered as fairly representative of plantation labour forces generally. Table VIII shows how the C.D.C.'s labour force is distributed amongst its various activities.

In Ivory Coast no full census of agricultural manpower has been made, and it is therefore impossible to quote valid figures for plantation labour forces. Nevertheless, if "plantations" are taken to include all land on which either Africans or foreigners grow coffee, cocoa, bananas, oil palms or any other of the products listed in Article 1 of the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), the number of plantation workers can be estimated at approximately 100,000. In addition, there are probably some 5,000 workers on the principal industrial plantations belonging to foreigners (companies or private owners). These mainly produce rubber, palm oil, pineapples, coffee and bananas. The fact that no definite figure is available for the total agricultural population prevents us from calculating the ratio of plantation workers to total agricultural population.

For Tanganyika only a few figures are available regarding the sisal plantations. These are nevertheless of importance to the country, since, in terms of value, sisal exports represent half of all exports of plantation products and nearly one-third of the country's total exports.

1 "La Cameroons Development Corporation", in Europe-France-Outre-mer, 40th year, No. 398, Mar. 1963, p. 53.
TABLE VIII. WEST CAMEROON: DISTRIBUTION OF THE CAMEROONS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION'S LABOUR FORCE, BY ACTIVITY, 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Number of workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rubber plantation worker</td>
<td>5,693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>3,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil-palm</td>
<td>3,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total agricultural activities</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,578</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>1,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipping and port workers</td>
<td>775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative services</td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total non-agricultural activities</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,882</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16,460</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics supplied by the C.D.C.'s Personnel Division.

According to the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association their plantations employed 114,774 persons in September 1962, representing approximately 58 per cent. of the country's active agricultural population. According to the same source, the labour force fluctuated between 100,000 and 150,000 paid workers from 1948 to 1962.

In Latin America, only incomplete information is available for Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru. In 1955 the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica, for example, employed some 150,000 workers, a figure which no doubt includes both clerical and industrial staff. In 1963, according to verbal information obtained on the spot, the labour force of the Standard Fruit Company, which also operates banana plantations in Costa Rica, was approximately 1,000. Another verbal source reported that the province of Limón, Costa Rica's main cocoa-producing area, has approximately 5,000 independent cocoa producers employing a total of some 3,000 paid workers; but it must be remembered that the families of these producers usually form part of the plantation labour force. No details are available as regards the manpower devoted to coffee, which represents Costa Rica's leading export product.

In Ecuador, where bananas play a major role in the country's economy, some 42,000 workers, either self-employed or wage earners, were employed on the banana plantations at the time of the survey, and approximately 8,000 were engaged in packing, transport, shipment...

---

1 May and Plaza, op. cit., p. 160.
and other activities. In 1959 the labour force on the country's sugar plantations and in its sugar factories was estimated at 11,079 paid workers.\footnote{The Sugar Industry of Ecuador (Guayaquil, Compañía Azucarera Valdez S.A., Public Relations Dept., 1960), p. 9 (pamphlet).}

Only approximate figures are available for Peru, and then only for the sugar industry. It is estimated that, in 1964, 3,000 clerical employees and 40,000 workers (plus 200,000 family members) lived on the big Peruvian sugarcane plantations.\footnote{Enrique BASOMBIO ECHENIQUE: “La reforma agraria y la industria azucarera”, in Industria Peruana, No. 380, Apr. 1964, p. 11.} No details are available for the other types of plantation, for instance cotton, which is more important than sugarcane, or coffee, which is considerably less so.

Categories of Labour Employed

Difficult as it is to obtain either absolute or relative figures for the labour forces employed on various types of plantation, the task is even harder with the various categories of labour. We shall therefore have to confine our remarks to specific aspects.

Wage Earners and Self-employed Workers

We have already referred to paid workers employed on plantations. The national statistics for Mauritius, for example, relate solely to wage earners in agriculture; the latter, however, constitute the vast bulk of the country's active agricultural population in that they represent nine-tenths of the total number of workers employed in this branch of economic activity.

As regards the other countries, reasonably accurate figures are available only for Colombia, and then only as regards wage earners on cotton, sugarcane and tobacco plantations. In 1960-61 the cotton plantations employed some 57,000 persons, including approximately 7,000 owners or tenants.\footnote{Instituto de Fomento Algodonero (I.F.A.): Colombia: Algodón y oleaginosas: Economía y estadísticas (Bogotá, Departamento de Investigaciones del I.F.A., 1961), p. 31, table 10.} This means a total of roughly 50,000 wage earners on these plantations.

In Colombia again the number of paid workers on the major sugarcane plantations and sugar factories in the Valle del Cauca in 1959 was 13,439, comprising 12,479 wage earners and 960 salaried administrative or technical staff.\footnote{Miguel FADUL and Enrique PEÑALOSA: La industria azucarera en la economía colombiana (Cali, ASOCAÑA, 1962), p. 24, table 12.} An estimate by the department of economic research
of the National Association of Sugarcane Producers (ASOCAÑA) gives
the number of wage earners in the sugar industry in that area as approxi­
mately 20,000 in 1964.

The Colombian tobacco plantations, on the other hand, are so small
that with rare exceptions they employ no wage earners at all. In the
department of Santander, for example, permanent wage earners repre­
sent only 2 per cent. of all tobacco producers. It is thus mainly small
owners or share-croppers who grow tobacco. In 1962 these numbered
about 38,000, the majority being share-croppers, who accounted for
nearly three-quarters of all tobacco producers.

No statistics are available for wage earners on plantations in the
other countries covered by the survey.

Permanent, Temporary, Seasonal and Casual Workers

Generally speaking, permanent workers are those employed for at
least one year by the same plantation or undertaking. Seasonal workers
are normally engaged for the duration of a crop cycle, or sometimes for
only part of it. Temporary or casual workers are those employed by a
plantation or undertaking for a short period only, perhaps longer in the
case of the former than the latter, but usually not more than a year. In
Colombia the 1950 Labour Code (section 6) defines casual or temporary
employment as “any employment of short duration not exceeding one
month, performed in connection with tasks other than the activity
normally carried on by the employer”.

Since information concerning these categories is scarce the only
distinction we can draw is between permanent and temporary workers,
the latter including all non-permanent workers. It has also mainly been
gathered on the spot, and should therefore be treated with reserve. The
experts found that numerous special circumstances affecting specific
areas and even individual undertakings could alter the ratio between
temporary and permanent workers.

From the workers’ point of view it is obviously desirable for the ratio
of temporary to permanent labour to be as low as possible. Temporary
workers, whether engaged by the day or for a fixed period, do not enjoy
the same legal protection as permanent workers and receive fewer social
benefits, as Parts Two and Three of this study will show.

---

2 Instituto Nacional de Fomento Tabacalero, Colombia: Censo tabacalero de Colombia, 1962 (Bogotá, 1963), pp. 11-12.
National figures are available only for Indonesia, where in 1960 the plantation labour force up to overseer level comprised 391,000 permanent and 227,000 temporary workers; in 1956 the gap had been wider, 419,000 to 97,000.

We can deal here only with four Latin American countries and Indonesia, and for the former the figures for permanent and temporary workers can be given only on the basis of information gathered during the survey (i.e. incomplete data) and not on a national or even a regional scale.

An analysis confined solely to the available data shows wide differences in the ratio of temporary to permanent workers. Sugarcane plantations in Colombia and Peru, for example, use scarcely any temporary labour, whereas in Indonesia they have ten times more temporary than permanent workers. The situation is reversed on the coffee plantations: in the Latin American countries temporary labour far outweighs permanent, whilst in Indonesia the former accounts for less than 10 per cent. The Latin American banana plantations employ a large amount of temporary labour in Ecuador but none in Colombia or Costa Rica. This is mainly because different methods are used in these countries: the big foreign companies in Costa Rica (and up to 1961 in Colombia) employ scarcely any temporary workers, whereas national growers, who predominate in Ecuador, make abundant use of them.

As regards other types of plantation, speaking solely in terms of information recorded by the experts, cotton plantations, especially in Colombia and to a lesser degree Peru, employ considerable temporary labour. In Indonesia the many temporary workers taken on by the oil-palm plantations number approximately half the permanent labour force. Indonesian tea, rubber and tobacco plantations, on the other hand, employ relatively few temporary workers.

In table IX the index figure of 100 is taken for permanent workers so that the figures representing the number of temporary workers give some idea of the numerical relationship between the two categories.

As stated above, national statistics are available only for Indonesia. The absolute figures for 1960 are given in table X, which shows that the majority of temporary labour is on the sugarcane plantations. Sugarcane is normally regarded as a seasonal crop, except in two of the Latin American countries covered by the survey, namely Colombia and Peru. Few parts of the world—only four areas in fact—enjoy such favourable weather conditions that the cane can be cut at any time of year. These are the Valle del Cauca in Colombia, the coastal valleys of Peru, British Guiana and Hawaii.

The other tropical and sub-tropical areas of the world have a very short sugarcane season. A Cuban sugar factory, for example, operates
TABLE IX. PERCENTAGE OF TEMPORARY TO PERMANENT LABOUR, BY TYPE OF PLANTATION AND COUNTRY

(*Permanent labour = 100*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of plantation</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Temporary workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Few or none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>Few or none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>100-300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>300-700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>300-700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Few or none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>20-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Large cotton plantation of about 300 hectares. 2 For Colombia the index of 100 refers to tenants and share-croppers, not wage earners.

TABLE X. INDONESIA: PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY WORKERS ON MAIN TYPES OF PLANTATION, 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of plantation</th>
<th>Workers (in thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Information supplied to the I.L.O. by the Indonesian Government.
only for about 100 days per year. Thus a given output of sugar from the same quality cane (and even allowing for a month's stoppage of work for repairs) requires a far smaller investment in the Valle del Cauca (in Colombia) than in Cuba.¹

The economic benefits are clearly accompanied by major social advantages for the plantation workers who, being permanent, escape all the drawbacks arising from temporary employment: migration from one area to another, separation from wife and children, insecurity, the difficulty in joining a trade union, and instability of employment.² When the survey was carried out in 1964 the Valle del Cauca, the principal sugar-growing area, employed some 20,000 permanent wage earners and approximately 1,000 salaried staff, also permanent, in the administrative and technical departments of the large cane plantations and sugar factories. The corresponding figures for 1959 had been 12,479 workers and 960 administrative and technical staff.³ According to the study from which these figures are taken, a large proportion of the workers in the sugar industry are engaged on sowing, tending and cutting.⁴ Information obtained on the spot shows that this large proportion certainly amounts to more than three-quarters of all the wage earners in Colombia's sugar industry. The remaining one-quarter is largely accounted for by skilled refinery workers.

The importance of the sugar industry in the Valle del Cauca department is demonstrated by the ratio of paid labour in this industry to that in the department's entire manufacturing industry. Between 1953 and 1959 the proportion varied between 34 and 41 per cent.

In both Peru and Ecuador the large sugarcane plantations, and especially the refineries, take on only a small amount of temporary labour at cane-cutting time. In Peru the figure is approximately 10 per cent. of the total number of permanent workers and in Ecuador possibly 20 per cent. In contrast the proportion of industrial workers—who are always permanent—in the sugar factories represents between 40 and 70 per cent. of the permanent workers employed on the plantations. This gap may seem surprising, but is due to the fact that some sugar factories process not only cane from their own plantations but also purchases from independent producers.

¹ FADUL and PeñALOSA, op. cit., p. 12.
² The question of instability of employment will be considered in greater detail as regards Colombia when we examine the "reserve clauses" (section 49 of the Colombian Labour Code) in connection with the contract of employment in Chapter IV.
⁴ Ibid., p. 23.
Women and Young Workers

In Africa and Latin America the proportion of women and young persons working on plantations is relatively low, although there are more women on small plantations than large ones.

In Asia, on the other hand, a fairly large number of women and young workers are employed on plantations. The proportion of women is particularly high on the tea plantations, especially in Ceylon and Malaya. This may partly be due to the fact that tea harvesting is a task requiring considerable skill and a nimble touch, qualities which many employers regard as more prevalent amongst women than men. Women are regarded as more skilful at selecting different types of leaf, for instance.

In Ceylon, out of a total of 501,476 workers on the tea plantations in 1960, 45 per cent. were men, 46 per cent. women and 9 per cent. children and adolescents. The Ceylonese rubber plantations, giving employment to a total of 80,399 persons, still employ a large number of women, although fewer females than males (56 per cent. men, 40 per cent. women and 4 per cent. young workers). In Malaya, also in 1960, fairly similar figures are found for the various types of plantation (table XI).

TABLE XI. MALAYA: PLANTATION LABOUR FORCE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of plantation</th>
<th>Labour force</th>
<th>Percentage distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber 1</td>
<td>285 300</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm 2</td>
<td>15 560</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut 1</td>
<td>7 490</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea 2</td>
<td>4 260</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pineapple 1</td>
<td>1 830</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1 Plantations of 100 acres and over (40.5 hectares and above). 2 All plantations.

As the table shows, the percentage of women working on plantations is fairly high: between 33 (coconut plantations) and 44 (tea plantations). Young workers are comparatively numerous on the tea and coconut plantations, where they represent respectively 10 and 11 per cent. of the total labour force.

African plantations, generally speaking, employ less female labour than those in Asia. Young workers are sometimes proportionately more
TABLE XII. TANGANYIKA: AFRICAN LABOUR FORCE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, 1960 AND 1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main types of plantation</th>
<th>Total number of African workers</th>
<th>Percentage distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sisal</td>
<td>121,619</td>
<td>117,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>19,750</td>
<td>16,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>19,277</td>
<td>19,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>6,633</td>
<td>4,020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


numerous in Africa, however. This is shown by the figures for sisal, coffee, tea and sugarcane plantations in Tanganyika (table XII).

It will be seen that in 1960 the proportion of women working on plantations varied between 4 and 11 per cent. (the lowest percentage being found on sugarcane plantations and the highest on coffee plantations), whereas in 1962 the respective figures were 0.1 and 15 per cent. As regards children and young workers, they are fairly numerous on tea plantations (22 per cent. in 1960 and 17.8 per cent. in 1962) and coffee plantations (14 per cent. in 1960 and 12.8 per cent. in 1962).

In 1963 and 1964 the number of women employed on sisal, tea, coffee and sugarcane plantations dropped noticeably by comparison with 1962. The number of young workers also fell on all except coffee plantations.

Coffee and tea plantations, however, always employ a large number of women and young people as casual labour at harvest time.

The statistical data available for Mauritius enable percentages to be calculated for male, female and young labour employed on the sugar cane plantations. The proportion of women is fairly high (29.1 per cent. of all cane plantation workers). It is noticeably higher on small plantations (40 per cent.) than on large ones (25 per cent.).

Young workers represent only a small proportion (5.1 per cent.) of the total labour force in the sugar industry, although the figure is higher on estates with sugar factories and on large plantations (6.2 per cent. and 5.5 per cent. respectively) than on small plantations (1.4 per cent.). Table XIII shows the over-all position.

In Latin America women and children are seldom employed as permanent workers, but on coffee and tobacco plantations, for instance,
TABLE XIII. MAURITIUS: SUGARCANE PLANTATION LABOUR FORCE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY PLANTATION SIZE, SEPTEMBER 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of plantation</th>
<th>Total number of workers</th>
<th>Percentage distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estates with sugar factories ¹</td>
<td>42,283</td>
<td>68.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large plantations ²</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small plantations ³</td>
<td>14,200</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total or average ⁴</td>
<td>67,483</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


¹ Including factory workers. ² Plantations of 100 arpents and above (about 100 acres or 42.21 hectares and above). ³ Plantations of between 10 and 100 arpents (between about 10 and 100 acres or between 4.2 and 42.2 hectares).

both work at harvest time. A joint United Nations and F.A.O. study shows that in Colombia 55.7 per cent. of all workers employed on the country’s coffee plantations in 1955-56 were women and children (in absolute terms, 646,000 out of a total of 1,160,000).¹ The proportion of women and children working on coffee plantations is lower in those departments of Colombia with a high coffee output than in the remainder.

In Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru a large number of women, adolescents and children work on coffee plantations at harvest time. As often as not they belong to the families of the permanent workers or of the growers themselves.

In Costa Rica coffee-picking labour was so scarce in 1963 that the Ministry of Education was forced to bring the school holidays forward in order to release children for work. Coffee mills often employ women and young girls on jobs such as sorting beans, at least in certain parts of Costa Rica. In Peru, the number of women employed on coffee plantations—always as temporary labour—can be considerable. One group of three plantations employs some 155 temporary female workers as against 138 permanent male workers, but apparently only six children work on a more or less permanent basis.

In Colombia both women and children work during harvest time on the tobacco plantations visited by the I.L.O. expert. They are also

employed on making small cigars. Most of the labour in the leaf factories is female. At Ovejas, in the department of Bolívar, between 500 and 1,000 women are employed on this kind of work.

The use of female and young persons’ labour on Latin American banana plantations is rare. In Colombia, out of a total of 1,401 workers employed on 40 banana plantations, only nine women were to be found among the permanent workers, representing less than 1 per cent. of the total force.

In Costa Rica the Compañía Bananera employs boys on handling jobs, especially packing, but they are not allowed to work without the company obtaining permission from a children’s protection board. No women or children seem to be employed on the Standard Fruit Company’s banana plantations in Costa Rica. In Ecuador, on the other hand, where the banana plantations do not belong to foreign companies, children usually help adults to load fruit on to the lorries. On Ecuador’s cocoa plantations women and children work only at harvest time or when new bushes are being planted.

As regards large sugarcane plantations, in Colombia only 5 per cent. of the labour is female. In Peru, the figure drops to 2 per cent. of the total number of permanent workers, the proportion of women temporarily employed being less than 0.5 per cent. of that total. Children permanently employed on these plantations represent slightly over 1 per cent. of the permanent labour force.

Colombian cotton plantations have a large number of women who prepare the workers’ meals, for which they receive no wage but are entitled to collect 6 pesos per worker per day. In Peru the cotton plantations employ more permanent female labour than the country’s other kinds of plantation. The proportion of women to total permanent workers in the Cañete cotton-growing area is estimated at approximately 15 per cent.

Workers’ Racial Origins

Statistics on plantation workers’ racial origins are even scantier than those discussed above, and it will be possible to give only general information, confined to four of the countries studied—Cameroon, Mauritius, Ceylon and Malaya.

In Cameroon there are at least 134 tribes with different dialects. On a large rubber plantation belonging to SAFACAM the 4,000 workers belonged to 12 different tribes. The majority (2,002) were Bassa: of the remainder, 753 were Yambassa and 575 Ewondo. For other tribes the totals ranged from 467 Baya to 4 Bafia. Such a diversity of racial origins inevitably raises all kinds of problems, especially in the field of industrial and human relations.
In Mauritius not only the sugarcane plantation workers but also the 18,000 small planters, who own about 16 per cent. of the land devoted to sugarcane-growing, are mainly of Indian origin.\(^1\)

The workers on the tea plantations in Ceylon are largely of Indian origin. In 1960 their number was 391,641, i.e. 79 per cent. of all plantation workers. In the same year, however, there were only 40,000 such workers on the rubber plantations, which equalled 49 per cent. of their total labour force.

In Malaya the classification of plantation workers into Malays, Chinese or Indians shows the latter to be most numerous, especially in the coconut

\[\text{TABLE XIV. MALAYA: PLANTATION LABOUR FORCE AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY RACIAL ORIGIN, 1960}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plantation</th>
<th>Number of workers</th>
<th>Percentage distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber (^1)</td>
<td>285 300</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm (^2)</td>
<td>15 560</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut (^1)</td>
<td>7 490</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pineapple (^1)</td>
<td>1 850</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Plantations of 100 acres and over (40.5 hectares and over). \(^2\) All plantations.

(89 per cent.), oil palm (53.1 per cent.) and rubber plantations (48.4 per cent.). On pineapple plantations, on the other hand, which provide occupation for only 1,830 workers, the majority (82.5 per cent.) are Chinese.

The proportion of Malay workers on these four types of plantation is relatively low—in all cases less than a quarter—as is shown in table XIV.

It will be noted that the rubber plantations employ by far the largest amount of labour in Malaya. Even if the labour forces on the other plantations (oil palm, coconut and pineapple) are added together, the total in 1960 was still less than one-tenth the number of rubber plantation workers.

As regards the other countries the general position is that, although plantation workers’ racial origins cause problems in some African and Asian countries, this is rarely true, or only so to a small extent, in Latin America. Even here, however, certain races are worse off as regards working and living conditions on some plantations. This was noted in Costa Rica, in the province of Limón, where black workers on cocoa plantations sometimes received a negligible reward for their services and were very badly housed. The workers concerned came from Jamaica, where they had been recruited by the fruit companies when the latter established themselves in Costa Rica. Although the foreign companies left, these workers remained, and are now employed on cocoa and other types of plantations.

Despite the incompleteness of the available manpower statistics it is an obvious fact that the plantations are the largest employers of labour

\(^1\) Titmus and Smith, op. cit., p. 3.
in certain countries. This is particularly true of Ceylon, Colombia, Malaya, Mauritius and Tanganyika. The labour on the plantations normally consists of unskilled wage earners.

The proportion of permanent to temporary workers varies according to the country and the type of plantation. The use of women in plantation work is particularly extensive in Asia, especially on tea plantations. In other regions women and children help to swell the labour force at harvest time.

Nature of Work

Plantation workers may be employed on various tasks: in the field, in processing factories or on ancillary work. In many cases the same workers move from the fields to the factory and back again according to the undertaking’s requirements, since only a small minority of the workers in plantation-located factories are skilled. Most of the factory work is fairly simple, and a very brief grounding is sufficient to enable the routine to be grasped. Although the ancillary tasks occupy only a small number of staff they cover very diverse categories such as medical and health auxiliaries, social welfare workers, mechanics, electricians, drivers, watchmen and teachers (if the latter are employed by the plantation and not by the State, as happens in Ceylon and India).

Agricultural work proper is either regular, seasonal or casual. On nearly all plantations the bulk of the work consists of the various tasks involved in a given crop cycle (weeding, pruning, trimming, fungicide and fertiliser treatment, harvesting, etc.) and also of jobs such as maintenance work on drainage and irrigation systems. The main seasonal work is harvesting. Casual tasks are extremely varied, ranging from the building of new drainage and irrigation systems to soil conservation, road-making and house-building.

In order to give a clearer picture of the type of work performed by plantation workers a short description follows of the various operations involved in preparing the commodity for the market of five types of plantation, namely sugarcane, rubber, oil palm, sisal and tea.

Sugarcane.

On most sugarcane plantations the soil is sufficiently rich and the climate fairly wet, so that agricultural work is reduced to a minimum. The main operation apart from harvesting is weeding. Harvesting itself requires a large number of seasonal workers¹, who have not only to cut the canes but also to

¹ Sugarcane is nevertheless a permanent crop in the Valle del Cauca (Colombia) and Peru, as a result of which the labour employed there is largely permanent. See above, p. 60, and table IX, p. 61.
clean them. The canes must then be transported to the factory as quickly as possible, where the workers are employed on the various operations required to convert them into sugar (crushing, juice extraction, filtration, purification, crystallisation, etc.). Some factories have a distilling plant to produce alcohol from by-products (molasses).

Rubber.

The most important agricultural tasks on rubber plantations are tapping and grafting. The use of sodium arsenite, a highly poisonous substance, means that workers must not only wear protective clothing but also be sufficiently alert and intelligent to avoid the toxic dangers.

Rubber plants can be grafted either in the nursery or on the plantation, but in both cases the operation requires meticulous care. Some plantation managers therefore put young workers on this job on the grounds that their fingers are more supple and that they learn quicker and do the work better than older persons.

Tapping is not a daily operation and normally takes place only 15 times per month. The standard system is to tap the trees every other day. If the trees are very old and earmarked for felling within three years, tapping is intensive: two cuts are made on the same tree at different levels. If the cut is high up, ladders have to be used and only men are employed.

Tapping must be done very early in the morning to enable the latex to be collected by about 10 a.m. and taken to the factory. If rain persists up to that time the tapping is postponed.

Each tapper is responsible for 200-600 trees per day, depending on circumstances. The first thing he does on reaching the tree is to empty the cup used to receive the latex. The cup is then re-attached to the trunk. The drops which have fallen into the cup since the previous collection, together with the latex which has coagulated on the last cut, are collected in a pail. After this preparatory work, the tapper makes his cut, which takes from 30 seconds to one minute on each tree. After tapping all the trees in his care he makes a second round to collect the latex in a pail. This is taken to a collecting station where it is weighed and the weight booked against the tapper’s name. The latex is then taken from the collecting station to the factory. Latex processing is a simple business requiring no special skills. The latex is filtered and coagulated in trays which are partitioned so as to give a long sheet, which is then washed and pressed. After drying and smoking, the sheets are carefully inspected and graded in a special room. They are then packed in bales of a standard size and weight.

A number of big companies, instead of processing the latex into sheets, stabilise it and concentrate it for transport in that form to America and Europe.

Work on rubber plantations is normally light. The heavier tasks such as felling old trees and digging holes for new plants are becoming increasingly mechanised nowadays. Apart from this, the only arduous work is carrying pails full of latex.

Owing to the method of processing the latex in the factories the workers cannot avoid getting wet, since their working clothes afford only partial protection. Only men are employed in the factories, except on grading.

1 This “tree scrap”, which is coagulated in the open air, cannot be processed into sheet rubber and is used to produce blanket crépe, which on many Malayan plantations comes not from the plantations themselves but from special factories.
Oil palm.

The main task on oil-palm plantations is harvesting the fruit, a job which is usually accompanied by pruning. The bunches of fruit are picked by hand. This is a somewhat risky job in that it entails using a knife. Often this is fixed to a long pole, but when it is not, ladders or straps have to be used to enable the worker to reach the bunches. Falling leaves or bunches also can injure the worker unless he takes the necessary precautions.

Only men are employed on cutting down the bunches, although women may assist. Often husband and wife work as a pair, the women collecting the loose fruit which falls from the bunches. The latter and any separate fruit are carried to the edge of the road and then taken by lorry to the processing factories, where they are sterilised to avoid fermentation. After the fruits have been removed from the bunches they are boiled and squeezed. The palm oil is then extracted from the pericarp, purified and stored under airtight conditions until exported.

The kernels, from which palm kernel oil is obtained, are either processed on the spot or merely cleaned to await export for the oil to be extracted elsewhere.

Sisal.

Planting, weeding, hoeing and harvesting are the principal agricultural tasks on sisal plantations.

Harvesting entails certain risks, the leaves being cut with a long and very sharp knife.

The leaves, which must be processed while still fresh, are placed in a machine with wooden paddles attached to a fast-moving water wheel. This crushes the stems, after which the fleshy portion is removed so as to leave only the fibres, which are placed in the sun to dry and then combed.

Tea.

The main agricultural tasks on tea plantations are weeding, pruning and plucking. Weeding is generally neglected in Indonesia owing to the shortage of labour. Some plantation managers, especially in Ceylon, make arrangements with their permanent workers for the necessary weeding to be done for a fixed sum outside their normal working hours, i.e. in their spare time. Many workers welcome the system, which enables them to earn a little extra at the end of the month, and in order to speed up the work, they get their children to help them. Other plantation managers regard the practice as undesirable and uneconomic.

Tea bushes are pruned at regular intervals. The most difficult pruning operation is the five-yearly one, which is fairly hard work and is done only by men: “clean pruning”, which is accompanied by various cleaning jobs and by fertiliser, insecticide and fungicide treatments.

Plucking is largely done by women, although many men are employed on it as well. The method of picking the leaves from the bush differs according to whether or not a high quality tea is required. The quantity of leaves which a worker can pluck in a day depends on several factors, including the season, the density of the bushes and the height of plucking.

After plucking, the leaves are sent to factories to undergo various processes depending on their quality and the country concerned, such as wilting, rolling, fermentation or smoking, and drying. All these tasks are normally mechanised and performed by men. After drying, the tea is cleaned, usually by automatic machines, graded for size and packed. Both men and women are employed on this work.

Workers are specially detailed to look after seedlings in nurseries.
Vocational Training of Workers

The vocational training of plantation workers does not yet seem to have received the full attention it deserves, whether in Africa, Asia or Latin America. Workers who are new to a plantation and have no experience of their duties receive rudimentary practical instruction from overseers and seasoned workers.

Sometimes plantation workers take their children with them, so that they learn alongside their parents how to perform the various operations involved in the work. It is interesting to note, however, that once children have received some measure of education they became reluctant to work on plantations as mere agricultural labourers. Plantation employers who have counted on them to take their parents’ place in due course have often come up against this problem.

Of the countries covered by the survey only Tanganyika and Cameroon were found by the experts to have adopted vocational training schemes on plantations. In the former a Danish firm working sugarcane in the north of the country has set up a special department to give its employees vocational training. The workers are first of all given aptitude tests and then sent to courses in agricultural or technical work.

In the second country the Cameroons Development Corporation (C.D.C.), one of the leading plantation undertakings, runs training courses for its staff. Its activities here were originally confined to awarding scholarships totalling £5,000 per annum to enable management personnel to receive technical and scientific training in Europe. Not only engineers but also agronomists and doctors were trained in this way. In 1950 the C.D.C. decided to devote a further £5,000 per annum to training additional engineers as well as specialists in tropical agriculture, agricultural research, pharmacy and medicine.

From 1961 onwards its training programme was stepped up, mainly in an attempt to find Africans to replace the British and Nigerian staff who left when the two Cameroons became united.

The scope of the C.D.C.’s training activities extends beyond the plantations themselves, where the programme covers courses for future management personnel, office staff and female employees, agricultural and technical instruction for workers, and elementary educational courses for adults. Although not constituting vocational training proper these literacy courses aim at giving workers sufficient basic education to enable them to improve their occupational qualifications later on. When the courses started in 1953 they were attended by more than 1,000 pupils, but the number is now fewer.

The C.D.C. is also continuing to grant scholarships to employees for studies in Cameroon or abroad.

The various training courses run by the Corporation involve only limited numbers of workers. The results obtained depend on the interest aroused and the way in which the courses are organised.

1 The Plantations Recommendation, 1958 (No. 110), enunciates certain principles connected with vocational training, and in 1950 the Committee on Work on Plantations adopted a resolution (No. 7) concerning the education and training of plantation workers. In addition, the Vocational Training (Agriculture) Recommendation, 1956 (No. 101), contains principles applicable to the agricultural population as a whole.
The workers' agricultural training courses, begun in 1961, aim at improving the knowledge and productivity of agricultural workers. They last nine months, entail two lessons per week and are voluntary. The syllabus covers the theoretical and practical knowledge the worker needs for adequately performing the tasks involved in banana-, rubber-, cocoa-, oil palm- and tea-growing. The training programme for female workers proceeded in fits and starts until 1963, when it became organised on a more rational basis. Training is given for secretarial, nursing and laboratory posts.

As yet, therefore, vocational training for plantation labour is not very advanced. Plantation workers are normally unskilled and can be employed on any kind of job. Generally speaking, they are trained in a matter of days or even hours, depending on the type of work involved. Only in African countries such as Cameroon and Tanganyika have proper vocational training systems been set up on plantations.
PART TWO

CONDITIONS OF WORK AND
LABOUR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS
CHAPTER III

DETERMINATION OF CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

Only rarely have the countries concerned passed legislation specially to regulate conditions of employment for plantation workers. Of the countries investigated India alone has a special law on plantations (the Act of 2 November 1951, amended on 13 September 1960) designed to increase workers' welfare and to regulate conditions of employment in tea, coffee, rubber and cinchona plantations with a surface area of not less than 10.117 hectares (about 25 acres), which employ or have employed on any day in the previous 12 months not less than 30 workers. This Act may be made applicable in whole or in part, as decided by the various Indian states, to other plantations and even to holdings of less than the 10 hectares laid down by the Act or which employ less than 30 workers. A similar ordinance was passed by Pakistan (not one of the countries in the survey) on 1 June 1962, to apply, however, only to workers in tea plantations. The Indian Plantations Labour Act, 1951, has been made the subject of implementing regulations in various states, notably Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. In some of these states the regulations do not cover all the items included in the Act.

Brazil has various special laws to protect workers on sugarcane plantations (e.g. Legislative Decree No. 3855 of 21 November 1941 and Legislative Decree No. 9827 of 10 November 1946). This special legislation is at present in the process of revision. In Brazil, both plantation workers and other rural workers are protected by the Rural Workers' Status Act of 2 March 1963.

In the majority of countries included in the survey the conditions of employment of plantation workers are governed by the general legislation applicable to all workers. Such legislation can take the form either

---

1 The working conditions of employees in processing plant located in plantations are governed by the 1948 Factories Act.
of labour codes (e.g. Cameroon, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Ivory Coast) or of general labour Acts (e.g. Indonesia), which in a few countries such as Malaya and Tanganyika do also represent some attempt at consolidation. Both labour codes and labour acts are usually supplemented by implementing decrees to regulate particular aspects of conditions of employment, of which only the basic principles have been laid down by the said codes and Acts.

In some countries several laws of a general nature on contracts of employment, wages, annual holidays with pay, or other conditions of employment apply to plantation workers as well as to workers in other categories. Such is the case especially in Ceylon, Mauritius and Peru.

In addition to the Acts and implementing decrees the conditions of employment in plantations may also be determined, in cases where there are workers' and employers' organisations, by means of collective agreements. In some countries there are unusual methods of determining conditions in individual plantations; these will be examined at a later stage.

**LAWS AND REGULATIONS**

Consolidated labour legislation in plantation countries usually includes provisions on individual contracts of employment, collective agreements, wages, hours of work and periods of rest, female and child labour, industrial accidents, occupational associations and inspection of labour. The extent to which such provisions are applicable to plantation workers will be indicated below and in the following chapters.

Some labour codes, as in Colombia and Ecuador, may contain special provisions on agricultural workers or agricultural undertakings which also apply to plantation workers. These provisions may be of some importance, as for instance in Ecuador, where they define in particular the various types of agricultural workers, lay down rules on given aspects of their conditions of employment, set out the obligations of workers and employers, and even govern a completely individual form of agricultural activity which is generally excluded from labour laws, namely share-farming or share-cropping. In Colombia specific provisions on agricultural undertakings cover subjects which are more usually included in the context of living conditions than of working conditions, such as housing, medical care, measures against tropical diseases, and schools. It is interesting to see that the Labour Code of that country contains a special provision to grant workers in the banana-growing sector unusual protection in the matter of medical assistance.

The only law specially conceived for plantation workers, in India, contains, in addition to provisions on conditions of employment (hours
of work, weekly rest, female and child labour, holidays with pay, sickness and maternity benefits), various provisions on living conditions (e.g. supply of drinking water, medical welfare, canteens, crèches, recreational facilities, schools, and housing).

This concern to introduce into labour legislation provisions in respect of workers' welfare and certain facets of their living conditions reflects a practical necessity, since, in order to give effective scope to the improvement of plantation workers' conditions of employment, a parallel attempt must also be made to improve their living conditions, especially when workers are obliged actually to live on the plantations where they carry out their occupation.

**COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS AND OTHER ARRANGEMENTS**

The conclusion of collective agreements in the plantations sector of the economy is still fairly unusual in the countries investigated. As will be seen later this is because the trade union movement is not as yet sufficiently developed in this sector. One exception is to be noted, however: Malaya, where the development of trade unionism has been primarily in the plantations sector, and where the National Union of Plantation Workers, established in 1954, has since that date made collective agreements at national level with the Planting Industries Employers' Association. These agreements cover workers in rubber plantations, and regulate in particular matters of wages and holidays with pay. At the time of the I.L.O. survey these matters came under the collective agreements of 28 February 1962, which have been replaced by the agreements of 27 July 1964, granting increases in salary and altering the system for holidays with pay.

Provision is made for collective agreements (which are not yet, however, very widespread) in the laws of the Latin American and African countries, and Ceylon. In Latin America a number of collective agreements or contracts have been concluded at the level of the undertaking, between it and its workers' union. This is particularly the case in the coffee, sugarcane and banana plantations in Colombia, in some of the big banana and sugarcane plantations in Ecuador, and in some of the big sugarcane and cotton plantations in Peru.

In Africa, in West Cameroon, it was standard practice in the big plantations of the Cameroons Development Corporation and Pamol to decide labour problems by means of collective bargaining agreements. Similarly in East Cameroon, in the banana plantation sector, collective agreements had been established, but after the beginning of the internal troubles in the country the authorities advised trade union leaders to
give up demanding such agreements, so as to avoid giving rise to further tensions. In Mauritius collective bargaining in respect of wages and other conditions of employment has been standard practice between plantation workers' and employers' associations up to the date of the survey, at which time the authorities were considering making the Ministry of Labour responsible for the regulation of such matters. In Tanganyika several collective agreements have been negotiated over the last few years, especially in sisal, tea and sugarcane plantations.

In Ceylon, the Industrial Disputes Act, 1950, defines the meaning of "collective agreements", and includes provisions concerning their effects. In practice, however, the only collective agreements in the plantations sector are those which have been concluded between the Ceylon Estates Employers' Federation and the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union. These agreements cover only white-collar workers and supervisory and technical staff in rubber and tea plantations, and do not apply to agricultural workers, skilled or unskilled, in such plantations.

In addition to collective agreements or contracts there is also in one country of Latin America, Costa Rica, a special method of fixing conditions of employment, namely the *arreglo directo* or direct agreement. This is an arrangement made use of primarily in the plantations of the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica, and consists of a sort of special contract, drawn up by the company itself, which includes a series of sections in which are set out such matters as wages, housing, holidays, food, medical welfare, transport, removal and dismissal of workers who are trade union officials, and the letting of plots of land. These arrangements remain valid for three years, and signature by the workers is in some sort made obligatory by the management. The direct arrangement of 1963 makes the granting of the various welfare benefits conditional on there having been no strike of any sort during the year immediately preceding the date laid down for them to be granted. It was signed by 95 per cent. of the workers, most of whom however had no means of understanding the terms of the document they were signing.

In India also there exists a special method of determining conditions of employment which is laid down in the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946. This consists of standing orders which can be considered as really the internal regulations of the undertaking, used instead of written contracts of employment, which are practically non-existent in that country. The standing orders are generally printed on large posters and fastened up in the places of work, so as to be easily accessible to workers. Employers and workers consider themselves mutually bound by these provisions, which particularly concern the classification of workers (permanent, temporary, substitute, apprentice,
etc.), hours of work, holidays, wage rates, pay-days, termination of employment, notice, etc. This document is drawn up by the employers and has to be submitted for approval to the competent labour authorities. Where an employer is a member of an employers' association, however, he uses a standard form which has already been approved for the entire industry or occupation in question.

In India also conditions of employment of plantation workers, especially in the matter of wages, are sometimes fixed by means of memoranda of settlement after the solution of industrial disputes, in accordance with the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947. Such agreements, which can be likened to collective agreements, have been established particularly in the states of Kerala, Madras and Mysore.

In certain countries some aspects of labour conditions may be determined by wage boards or committees (e.g. Ceylon and Costa Rica) or by arbitration boards (e.g. Indonesia).

In Ivory Coast recruitment and conditions of employment of workers from Upper Volta who come to work in Ivory Coast plantations are governed by a bilateral Convention concluded between the two countries on 9 March 1960. This Convention makes recruitment activities the province of the labour office, in each country, and stipulates that written contracts shall be signed by Upper Volta workers in the presence of an official of the Upper Volta labour office. These contracts are renewable on being registered by the labour offices, as they are when drawn up. The bilateral Convention also includes provisions on medical examination and transport of workers, length of contract, wages, savings funds, food and housing, allocation to workers of cultivable land, soap and blankets, hours of work and overtime, industrial accidents and medical welfare.

It would appear that in practice many workers from Upper Volta are still recruited and employed outside the terms of the 1960 Convention; and many others change jobs without asking their new employer for a properly drawn up contract. The incessant re-registering that should be done at the labour office is somewhat difficult to achieve in practice.

Lastly, implementation of this Convention has also been made more difficult by the fact that the labour office does not have enough administrative staff to ensure that all the measures laid down in it are carried out.

To sum up: the countries observed almost always have a general system of labour laws which can be applied to plantation workers. In some countries, the conditions of employment of such workers may also be fixed, at least in specific contexts, by other methods such as the conclusion of collective agreements, direct agreements, or decisions of wage boards, committees or arbitration boards.
CHAPTER IV

INDIVIDUAL CONTRACTS OF EMPLOYMENT

The question of individual contracts of employment is of the greatest importance for workers in whatever field, since all conditions of employment are largely dependent on such a contract.¹

In most of the countries investigated, workers engaged by plantations conclude an individual contract of employment with the employers or their representatives.

Some countries however, such as Malaya, Mauritius and Peru, have a special system for engaging workers for plantations, who are not in effect bound by a contract with the plantation owners but with the person by whom they were recruited, who is generally also employed by the plantation in a supervisory capacity. These recruiters, known as "contractors" or "job-contractors" in the rubber and oil-palm plantations of Malaya and the sugarcane plantations of Mauritius, and as contratistas in the coffee and cotton plantations of Peru, are normally paid by the employers; but it is they and not the employers who pay the workers their wages, after deducting a given premium. This system sometimes enables employers to escape the obligations laid down by labour laws, since they are not contractually liable for the workers, who are entirely and exclusively subject to the recruiters. To avoid this situation Malayan law makes plantation owners jointly liable with the contractors for payment of workers' wages. In Peru the employers pay the recruiters a bonus in ratio with the production output of the workers recruited, the latter being paid directly by the owner of the plantation.

¹ Part III of the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), covers contracts of employment and lays down in Article 20 that "the maximum period of service which may be stipulated or implied in any contract for employment not involving a long and expensive journey shall in no case exceed 12 months if the workers are not accompanied by their families or two years if the workers are accompanied by their families". The maximum period of service "for employment involving a long and expensive journey shall in no case exceed two years if the workers are not accompanied by their families or three years if the workers are accompanied by their families". The Convention also provides for the abolition of all penal sanctions in the event of breaches of contract by plantation workers.

The Committee on Work on Plantations had before this, in 1950, adopted a resolution (No. 2) concerning the regulation of employment on plantations, which lays down some principles that should govern contracts of employment.
In Malaya tappers attached to a contractor are paid by the employers on a piece-rate basis, and the contractors receive a commission calculated on production output. Although the workers are considered as employees of the contractors they nevertheless receive free housing in the plantation and are entitled to medical welfare services and maternity benefits. They are, however, at a disadvantage when they are prevented by bad weather from working, since in these circumstances they do not get paid, while those who have a direct contract with the employers can claim at least their basic wage.

In Tanganyika, until 1 January 1963, there was a special system for contracts of employment, known as the *kipandi*, which amounted to a contract for 30 non-consecutive days, the worker being entitled to fulfil his obligations within a period of 36 days if resident or of 42 days if non-resident. This system was abolished in 1962, and was replaced by the normal system, i.e. a contract of employment to be fulfilled during 26 working days in one month.

An interesting practice was found in Ceylon and Indonesia by which employers conclude contracts with workers for certain tasks to be carried out in the latters' free time. Both sides agree on a fixed contract price for the performance of these tasks; the worker is usually assisted by his wife and children, which enables him more easily to fulfil the obligations of his contract and thus to increase his normal earnings without undue effort. Some employers however (and also some workers, in spite of the financial support provided by such contracts) object to this practice on the ground that it may give rise to abuse in the uncontrolled employment of children.

Apart from these fairly special cases the individual contract of employment in plantations is governed, in the countries included in the survey, by general provisions of the labour laws on contracts of employment. These cover the nature and form of contracts, contractual clauses (in particular as regards maximum duration), clauses in respect of suspension and termination of contract, notice and compensation in case of dismissal, etc.

**FORM OF CONTRACTS (WRITTEN AND VERBAL)**

The legislation of the countries included in the survey explicitly or implicitly permits the conclusion of both written and verbal contracts of employment. In some countries, however, there are cases in which written contracts are obligatory. These include—

(a) Ceylon and Malaya, when contracts are concluded for a period of more than one month;
(b) Ivory Coast, if the contracts are for a period of more than three months or which make it necessary for workers to live away from their normal place of residence; and if the contracts are for workers from Upper Volta recruited under the terms of the 1960 Convention;  

(c) Tanganyika, in the case of contracts concluded for a period of not less than six months; contracts which stipulate conditions of employment differing materially from those normally laid down in the area for analogous employment; contracts for hire of services abroad; or contracts concluded between a recruiter, acting on his own behalf or on behalf of a third party, and a worker recruited;  

(d) Ecuador, for all contracts for work requiring technical knowledge or to a value of more than 1,000 sucres; contracts for a period of not less than one year; and contracts to be carried out in another country;  

(e) Peru, if the contracts are between the owners of an agricultural undertaking (fundo) and their employees.

Plantation workers are in practice normally bound by verbal rather than by written contracts. In India it would appear that verbal contracts are actually the only form of contract in use, the standing orders referred to in the preceding chapter being used in place of written contracts.

In Ivory Coast almost all the workers from Upper Volta who succeed in crossing the frontier and finding employment with an Ivory Coast employer without the intervention of the labour office have verbal contracts for a specific period, generally of not more than a few months (seldom as much as a year).

Without a written contract it is difficult to ensure the observance of legal obligations. In one Latin American country therefore, Colombia, to prevent abuses the law requires employers making use of a verbal contract to draw up a document which can serve in some degree as a substitute for the written contract. Thus the country’s Labour Code lays down that persons who employ less than five workers and who have not made a written contract must, at the employee’s request, issue a certificate of contract which states at least the names of the parties, the date from which the contract runs, its nature and duration. Furthermore, an employer of more than five employees who is not a party to a written contract or has not issued the workers with a work book must keep a register of the engagement of employees signed by both

---

1 See above, Chapter II, p. 53.
parties, indicating the nature and place of work, the amount and form of remuneration, and the duration of the contract.

For a few African countries there exist partial data on the proportion of workers who hold written contracts. Thus in Cameroon, in a big rubber and coffee plantation employing some 370 workers, only 30 per cent. held a written contract. In the sugar industry in Mauritius this proportion is as low as 12 per cent. of all labour employed. In Tanganyika it was found that between 25 and 50 per cent. of workers engaged in sisal plantations in fact had a written contract.

Verbal contracts are the rule in almost all the small and medium plantations in Latin America, although in the big plantations (and especially plantations under foreign ownership) written contracts are frequent. In Peru, however, contracts of employment are usually verbal even in the big Peruvian-owned sugarcane plantations. This widespread use of verbal contracts in plantations is due to a number of reasons, chief among which are illiteracy, not only as regards the majority of the workers but also, especially in the smaller plantations, the employers; the lack of internal organisation in most plantations; the extreme mobility of workers; and the weakness of trade unionism, typical of countries not very developed economically and always more pronounced in rural areas.

**Principal Clauses**

The main particulars included in the contract are all details for the identification of the holder, and a number of points relating in particular to the nature and length of the contract, the classification of the worker in the occupational hierarchy, wages and any bonuses. If the worker’s food and housing are supplied by the employer this fact must also be recorded in the contract.

Some contracts explicitly stipulate a trial period. In Cameroon the length of such a period has to be specified; it may not exceed six months for workers originally from an area other than that in which the plantation is located, and may vary from one to three months for other workers, according to the type of occupation.

**Maximum Period of Validity of Contracts**

Written contracts may—and in some cases must—stipulate a maximum period of validity. In Tanganyika, for instance, the Employment Ordinance, 1955, specifies in section 49 that the maximum period of service that may be stipulated in any contract of employment not involving a long and expensive journey to the place of work shall be one year.
if the worker is not accompanied by his family, or two years if he is accompanied by his family. The maximum period laid down for workers who have had to undertake a long journey to the place of work is three or two years, according to whether the worker is or is not accompanied by his family. In practice, Tanganyika workers are usually engaged on a daily-contract basis, because they frequently change their employer and because the latter prefers a daily system for the supervision of unskilled workers as simplifying the tasks of administration and accountancy and reducing the amount of compensation which may become payable.

In Ceylon the maximum period for a verbal contract with Indian workers is one month, and for a written contract, both for Indian and Ceylonese workers, three years.

In the countries of Latin America contracts are usually made for an unspecified period. If not (e.g. Colombia), they must be in writing and for a period of not more than two years.

**Termination of Employment**

Contracts may come to an end on the normal date of expiry (save where common practice or a specific clause provides for their extension 1), by mutual consent of the parties, or by a unilateral decision.

*Notice, Dismissal and "Reserve Clause"*

Where a contract is terminated by unilateral decision, most legal systems stipulate that the party terminating the contract shall give the other party notice.

Such notice may vary greatly and depends mainly on the duration of employment under the same employer and on the nature of the contract. Hence it can vary between 24 hours where the contract is for less than one week (Tanganyika) and two months where the contract is for not less than one year and the remuneration payable monthly (Cameroon). Where remuneration is paid on an hourly, daily or taskwork basis (and also, in Ivory Coast, on a weekly or fortnightly basis), the notice is of eight working days for a period of service of less than one year, 15 working days for a period of one to two years, and for a period of over two years, one month in Cameroon and eight days in Ivory Coast.

---

1 In Tanganyika, for instance, in the sisal industry and also in the tea, tobacco and sugarcane plantations, it is customary for any verbal contract, unless expressly denounced, to be tacitly renewed for the same period of time and for the same task as was laid down in the original contract.
In Costa Rica the notice is one week, one fortnight or one month, again according to the length of employment: one week where it is from three to six months, a month where it exceeds one year. During the period of notice the employer must give the employee one day a week in which to seek other employment. This rule also applies in Cameroon and Ivory Coast. In Ecuador the notice is one fortnight if given by the employee and one month if given by the employer.

In Africa it is common practice for a worker who has decided to leave his employer not in fact to give notice; if he does do so, he usually ignores the legal obligation to stay in his job during the period of notice.

In Colombia the system for notice is somewhat unusual. Section 48 (formerly section 49) of the Labour Code, as amended in 1954, concerning "reserve clauses", lays down that—

In contracts for any indefinite or unspecified period the parties may reserve the right to terminate the contract at any time by giving notice in writing to the other party of not less than 45 days, after payment of any debts, benefits and indemnities. The employer need not give notice if he pays the wages corresponding to 45 days. Such reservations shall not be valid unless stated in writing in the contract of employment.

This question of a reserve clause has been differently treated in a number of collective agreements applicable to plantation workers. For example the agreement made on 1 October 1962 between the National Coffee Growers' Federation and that Federation's employees' union (SINTRAFEC) stipulates that, if the Federation makes use of the reserve clause, it must pay compensation in lieu of notice amounting to 80 days' wages to every employee who has been in the employer's service for not less than a year. This compensation increases with each year of service but may not exceed 7,500 Colombian pesos.

In the big sugarcane holdings, workers' representatives considered at the time of the survey that one of the main problems encountered by workers was the instability of their employment due to application of the reserve clause. Employers would make use of this clause, for instance, to dismiss workers engaged in union activities. Application of the reserve clause would thus be an excellent means of discouraging the workers' freedom of association.

On the other hand employers' representatives in these same sugarcane holdings stated that many workers are anxious to leave the undertaking in which they are employed so as to enjoy the benefits of the reserve clause (particularly as regards the claim for a specified lump sum), and also because they are aware that they can easily find work in another sugarcane undertaking where, for the same reason, jobs will be vacant.
According to a survey carried out by the National Association of Sugarcane Growers (ASOCAÑA), 86 out of a total of 10,753 workers had left their employment in 1959 following the application of the reserve clause.\(^1\) This figure may appear small in relation to the total number of employees, but its importance becomes very clear on consideration of the fact that most of these 86 were active union workers. Since 1960, when collective agreements were concluded, the reserve clause has ceased to be applicable in most of the big sugar undertakings.

In Malaya contracts may be terminated at any time simply by notification, and provided that certain periods of notice are observed. Should the employer terminate a contract without giving notice he is bound to pay the employee an indemnity equal to the amount of wages which he would have paid during the normal period of notice. Section 17 of the Employment Ordinance, 1955, specifies, moreover, that where a contract of service between an employer and a labourer terminates, any contract of service between the employer and the husband or wife of the labourer shall also terminate unless the husband or wife within 48 hours of the termination of the labourer’s contract notifies the employer that he or she desires that such contract of service shall continue in force.

**Compensation**

The termination of contractual ties between an employer and a worker sometimes involves payment of compensation. Thus in Cameroon, in the plantations of the Cameroons Development Corporation, supervisors may, in justifiable cases, lay-off workers who are paid on a daily basis who have less than five years’ service. In complicated cases which cannot immediately be disentangled the employee who is guilty of misconduct is paid his wages for six days during which period the management tries to discover whether or not there are grounds for dismissal.

In Ivory Coast a worker who has been laid-off normally receives from the employer, in addition to the eight days’ compensation in lieu of notice, an indemnity for lay-off, based on a specific proportion (20 per cent. for up to five years’ continuous service with the undertaking, 25 per cent. for six to ten years’ service, and 30 per cent. for over ten years’ service) of the average aggregate monthly wage payable during the 12 months immediately preceding the date of lay-off.

In Tanganyika, Acts Nos. 57 and 81 of 1962 stipulate that certain categories of employees whose employment is terminated on the initia-

---

\(^1\) FADUL and PEÑALOSA, op. cit., p. 26.
tive of the employer shall receive compensation for termination of service, to enable them to support themselves during the period of seeking new employment. Such compensation is equal to a fortnight's wages in respect of each year of continuous service, and is calculated on the basis of the remuneration received by the employee immediately before leaving the plantation.

In Latin America the legislations of Costa Rica and of Ecuador, for example, specify that the employer must pay compensation to the employee in the event of groundless or wrongful dismissal, or in the event of the employee leaving his employment for legitimate cause. In Costa Rica such compensation is added to the compensation payable where the period of notice has not been observed, and is assessed according to length of service. It corresponds at least to ten days' wages after a period of continuous employment of from three to six months, and at most to eight months' wages.

In Ecuador compensation is equal to one month of salary or of the wages payable to a worker at the date of dismissal. If the employer denounces the contract of employment he must pay compensation to the worker equal to 25 per cent. of salary or wages for the outstanding period of the contract.

In Indonesia, according to the terms of a decision taken on 20 June 1956 by the Central Arbitration Board for Labour Disputes, workers dismissed for other than good and sufficient reasons are entitled to a severance allowance equal to not less than one month's wages in respect of periods of service of less than a year, and not more than four months' wages in respect of periods of service of three years or over. Also, if the worker has been for not less than five consecutive years with the same employer, he is further entitled to a service indemnity equal to not less than one month's wages where the period of service is between five and ten years, with increases amounting to one month's wages for each further five-year period of service, up to an amount of five months' wages.

The survey made it clear that the verbal contract is widely employed in plantations, where many workers are still illiterate. Although laws and regulations do often require written contracts to be made, these are nevertheless in general still less common than verbal contracts. In some cases contracts must include a maximum period of validity.

Where a contract is terminated by unilateral decision by one of the parties, a period of notice which varies in different countries is generally laid down. The dismissal of an employee may involve payment by the employer of various kinds of compensation.
CHAPTER V

WAGES

Plantation workers can be remunerated by various wage systems, the principal methods being by task, unit or piece (i.e. according to output) or hourly, daily, weekly or monthly (i.e. according to time). Although it was unfortunately impossible during the survey to determine the respective percentages of workers in each country paid by the various methods, some plantations were found to fix their wages on an output basis.

LEGISLATION ON THE PROTECTION OF WAGES

The legislations of nearly all the countries covered by the survey contain provisions on protection of wages, in particular the Labour Codes of three Latin American countries (Colombia, Costa Rica and Ecuador), Cameroon and Ivory Coast.

Principles governing wages protection are also laid down in the relevant legislation of the other countries visited: in Ceylon, in section 2 of the Wages Boards Ordinance, No. 27 of 1941; in India, in the Payment of Wages Act, No. 4 of 1936; in Indonesia, in the Regulation of Employment in Industrial Undertakings Ordinance of 1941; in Malaya, in Part III of the Employment Ordinance, No. 38 of 1955; and in Tanganyika, in Part VI of the Employment Ordinance, No. 47 of 1955, as amended by Ordinance No. 10 of 1960.

Payment of Wages

The provisions relating to protection of wages primarily concern conditions of payment (frequency, place of payment, maintenance of a register, etc.) and deductions from wages.

1 Part IV of the Plantations Convention, 1958, lays down the basic principles applicable to methods of fixing minimum wages and the protection of wages. The detailed provisions of the Convention will be reproduced below. The Plantations Recommendation, 1958 (paras. 9-26), and various resolutions of the Committee on Work on Plantations (Nos. 4 and 21 concerning the regulation of wages, No. 20 concerning additional payments, and No. 44 concerning fixing of minimum wages) also set forth certain principles.
Frequency. 1

In most African and Asian countries wages are paid monthly, but in Tanganyika, despite the legislation stipulating monthly payment, most employers pay their workers every Saturday. Legislation in the Asian countries allows employers to decide how often wages shall be paid, provided that the interval between two payments does not exceed one month.

In Latin America wages are generally paid weekly (normally on Saturdays) but in some cases fortnightly. This is particularly true of Costa Rica, in the banana plantations of the Compañía Bananera and the Standard Fruit Company, and of Peru, in a number of coffee plantations in the San Ramón area.

On the cotton plantations in the north of Colombia (Magdalena department), instead of being paid their full wages, temporary workers receive a small advance every Saturday to cover their current expenditure on items such as food. The balance is paid at the end of the harvest, the aim of this system being to encourage saving. When the workers finish at the plantation the employers provide buses to take them straight back to their homes, thus depriving them of the temptation to go off to the nearest village and spend all their earnings. The system is optional, however.

In Ivory Coast wages are always paid between the 1st and the 8th of each month. In Mauritius the wages for a given month must be paid at the latest by the second working day of the succeeding month. In Indonesia the prescribed time limit for paying monthly wages is the 10th of the succeeding month and in Malaya the 7th.

Place of Payment.

On all the plantations visited wages are paid on the plantation itself, usually in the offices. In Colombia however, especially in the coffee-growing areas, employers often find it safer to pay their workers in a neighbouring village rather than on their own property because of the disturbances alluded to in Chapter I.

1 Article 33 of the Plantations Convention, 1958, reads as follows:

1. Wages shall be paid regularly. Except where other appropriate arrangements exist which ensure the payment of wages at regular intervals, the intervals for the payment of wages shall be prescribed by national laws or regulations or fixed by collective agreement or arbitration award.

2. Upon the termination of a contract of employment, a final settlement of all wages due shall be effected in accordance with national laws or regulations, collective agreement or arbitration award or, in the absence of any applicable law, regulation, agreement or award, within a reasonable period of time having regard to the terms of the contract.
Payment in Legal Tender.¹

Most legislations stipulate that wages shall be paid in legal tender to the exclusion of any other form of payment, but two special cases need to be mentioned in this connection. Firstly, in Costa Rica, section 165 of the Labour Code imposes an absolute prohibition that wages due in money should be paid in merchandise, promissory notes, vouchers, coupons or any other token alleged to represent legal currency; but the prohibition does not apply to coffee estates, where at harvest time it is customary to pay workers not in actual money but in tokens, provided the tokens are cashed during the succeeding week.² It is interesting to note that, instead of taking advantage of this dispensation, the coffee plantations visited pay their workers in legal tender.

Secondly, in Indonesia, the rapid fall in the value of the rupiah has forced plantation employers to adopt a wages structure in which the cash element is far less prominent than the portion paid in kind.³

Wage Registers and Other Means of Inspection.⁴

All plantations above a certain size record their wages payments in a register or on loose-leaf sheets.

In Cameroon and Ivory Coast many workers are illiterate and have to fingerprint the payments sheet as evidence of their agreement to the sum received. This usually takes place in the presence of a trade union observer and a supervisor or an employer's representative in order to guard against the ever-present possibility of abuse.

In Tanganyika payment registers must be retained by the employer for at least two years. The employer is also bound under penalty of a fine to display full details of wages regulations. The fact that these provisions are complied with on nearly all plantations helps employers to maintain a stable labour force.

In Colombia wages payments to permanent workers must be recorded on lists and those to temporary workers in books, but in practice it was

¹ Article 26 of the Plantations Convention, 1958, provides that wages payable in money shall be paid only in legal tender and that payment in the form of promissory notes, vouchers or coupons, or in any other form alleged to represent legal tender, shall be prohibited.
² This exemption was added to the Labour Code by Act No. 31 of 24 November 1943.
³ For details on this point see below, p. 99.
⁴ By Article 35 of the Plantations Convention, 1958, the laws or regulations giving effect to the provisions of the Convention's Articles on the protection of wages shall "(a) be made available for the information of persons concerned; (b) define the persons responsible for compliance therewith; (c) prescribe adequate penalties or other appropriate remedies for any violation thereof; (d) provide for the maintenance, in all appropriate cases, of adequate records in an approved form and manner."
found that many small growers, especially on coffee plantations, were not complying with this rule.

Lastly, employers in Ceylon have to furnish the Commissioner of Labour with a monthly declaration certifying that their employees' wages have been paid pursuant to law.

**Deductions and Stoppages from Wages**

The legislations of all the countries studied allow various deductions or stoppages to be made from wages. Their practical scope will be illustrated in the following examples.

In Cameroon, if a worker does not get through the amount of work he is supposed to do in a given day, or absents himself without permission, the employer can stop one-quarter, one-half or three-quarters of his wages according to the proportion of unfinished work or the number of hours for which the worker is absent.

In Ivory Coast, in addition to an identical system of stoppages, there is a whole series of fines and bonus reductions for faults at work. Foremen must report faults in writing to the management, who verify the accuracy of the report and then authorise a wage reduction. In serious cases a worker may be temporarily suspended.

In Colombia the Labour Code authorises deductions from wages for trade union, co-operative society and savings bank subscriptions, compulsory social insurance contributions and fines imposed under internal rules. No other deduction or stoppage may be made except on an order signed by the worker. A court order is necessary if the deduction or stoppage would bring the wage below the minimum wage or affect that part of the wage declared to be unattachable, or if it relates to payment of a debt amounting to more than the worker's wages for three months.

Deductions from wages are in fact common practice on the plantations visited, especially in Latin America. In Colombia, for example, they are generally made to obtain repayment of a debt from the worker to his

---

1 The following Articles of the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), contain provisions concerning deductions from wages:

**Article 31**

1. Deductions from wages shall be permitted only under conditions and to the extent prescribed by national laws or regulations or fixed by collective agreement or arbitration award.

2. Workers shall be informed, in the manner deemed most appropriate by the competent authority, of the conditions under which and the extent to which such deductions may be made.

**Article 32**

Any deduction from wages with a view to ensuring a direct or indirect payment for the purpose of obtaining or retaining employment, made by a worker to an employer or his representative or to any intermediary (such as a labour contractor or recruiter), shall be prohibited.
employer, but the mission found it impossible to establish the ratio between such deductions and total wages. On large sugarcane plantations deductions are sometimes made for contributions to consumers' co-operatives. Furthermore, workers on these plantations who are not trade union members have to pay 50 per cent. of the union subscription, usually 4 pesos a month, to benefit from collective agreement conditions.

In Costa Rica 4 per cent. is normally deducted from wages for family allowance contributions. On the plantations of the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica the trade union contribution is also deducted from the wages, but only for workers belonging to unions other than the Sindicato de los Trabajadores de la Compañía Bananera.

In Peru employers sometimes stop up to 30 per cent. from wages for workers' liabilities under court orders, for instance in respect of alimony to a separated wife. Again in Peru, one sugarcane plantation also deducts trade union contributions from wages, and the managers of a number of coffee plantations said they deducted 2 per cent. from wages for a workers' old-age pension fund.

In the Asian countries the legislations lay down a whole range of circumstances in which deductions are authorised, but they often prohibit stoppages in excess of a given percentage of the wage, for instance 50 per cent. in Ceylon (or in some cases 75 per cent.) and Malaya and 25 per cent. in Indonesia.

Employers are forbidden by nearly all the legislations concerned to make any profit whatsoever from deductions.

*Other Wage Protection Measures*¹

In some countries, such as Colombia, Costa Rica and Ecuador, the legislation expressly provides that wages must be paid direct to the

---

¹ Three other Articles of the Plantations Convention, 1958, also deal with protection of wages:

*Article 28*

Wages shall be paid directly to the worker concerned except as may be otherwise provided by national laws or regulations, collective agreement or arbitration award or where the worker concerned has agreed to the contrary.

*Article 29*

Employers shall be prohibited from limiting in any manner the freedom of the worker to dispose of his wages.

*Article 34*

Where necessary, effective measures shall be taken to ensure that workers are informed, in an appropriate and easily understandable manner—

(a) before they enter employment and when any changes take place, of the conditions in respect of wages under which they are employed; and

(b) at the time of each payment of wages, of the particulars of their wages for the pay period concerned, in so far as such particulars may be subject to change.
worker or his nominee. In others, for instance Ivory Coast and Tanganyika, the law guarantees workers freedom to dispose of their wages.

**Principle of Equal Remuneration**

The principle of equal remuneration for men and women has not yet found a place in the legislations of many plantation countries, and is expressly set forth in the Labour Code of four countries only, two in Africa (Cameroon and Ivory Coast) and two in Latin America (Colombia and Costa Rica). Even in these cases, as we shall see, women do not always receive the same wages as men; however, both men and women are generally employed on different jobs.

**Methods of Fixing Minimum Wages**

The legislations of the various plantation countries generally contain provisions on methods of fixing minimum wages, but in some countries, in the absence of pertinent legislation, wage rates are fixed by col-

---

1. The principle of equal remuneration is embodied in the Plantations Recommendation, 1958 (No. 110).

2. Methods of fixing minimum wages are dealt with by the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), as follows:

**Article 24**

1. The fixing of minimum wages by collective agreements freely negotiated between trade unions which are representative of the workers concerned and employers or employers’ organisations shall be encouraged.

2. Where no adequate arrangements exist for the fixing of minimum wages by collective agreement, the necessary arrangements shall be made whereby minimum rates of wages can be fixed, where appropriate by means of national laws or regulations, in consultation with representatives of the employers and workers, including representatives of their respective organisations, where such exist, such consultation to be on a basis of complete equality.

3. Minimum rates of wages which have been fixed in accordance with arrangements made in pursuance of the preceding paragraph shall be binding on the employers and workers concerned so as not to be subject to abatement.

**Article 25**

1. Each Member for which this Convention is in force shall take the necessary measures to ensure that the employers and workers concerned are informed of the minimum rates of wages in force and that wages are not paid at less than these rates in cases where they are applicable; these measures shall include such provision for supervision, inspection, and sanctions as may be necessary and appropriate to the conditions obtaining on plantations in the country concerned.

2. A worker to whom the minimum rates are applicable and who has been paid wages at less than these rates shall be entitled to recover, by judicial or other appropriate proceedings, the amount by which he has been underpaid, subject to such limitations of time as may be determined by national laws or regulations.
lective agreement (as in Malaya) or by judicial order promulgated by a central arbitration board set up to resolve labour disputes (as in Indonesia).

Sometimes, as for instance in East Cameroon, Colombia, Ivory Coast and Mauritius, minimum wages are mainly fixed by enactment. In others (Ceylon, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru) they are determined by wages boards or councils, whose decisions are approved by government order in the Latin American countries and by the competent minister in Ceylon. In most cases, wages boards operate at national level; special boards for plantations are fairly rare, although they exist in Ceylon, for example for tea, rubber and coconut plantations. Sometimes, however, national minimum wages boards may take separate decisions on minimum wages in the agricultural sector, for example in Peru. In India minimum wages are laid down by state governments pursuant to the Minimum Wages Act, 1948; the "fair wage" is determined by tripartite wages boards. The factors allowed for in fixing minimum wages must include not only the special conditions in each zone and branch of activity but also the fact that the resulting wage must be adequate to meet the needs of the worker and his family.

Tanganyika constitutes a special case, because it has been found necessary since the Second World War to standardise jobs and their wage rates in the sisal industry. In 1947 the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association drew up specimen wage scales and asked its members to adopt them wherever possible. It proved exceedingly difficult to implement this policy, however, because the workers were not particularly interested in cash increases owing to the numerous free benefits such as housing, food, health services, schools and welfare facilities which they were already enjoying. The wage increases neither reduced absenteeism nor raised productivity.

The situation remained substantially unchanged until 1958, when for the first time wages were fixed with the active co-operation of the workers by the Joint Central Council for the Sisal Industry. In 1960 wage rates were laid down by the Council following agreement between the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association and the Plantation Workers' Union. In 1962 wages were fixed by arbitration, but the resulting arrangements were altered as from 1 January 1963 by the abolition (by an ordinance of 21 December 1962 on wages regulation) of the traditional system known as kipandi, referred to in the previous chapter. In abolishing the kipandi system, the Government laid down minimum wages which represented substantial increases in monthly rates. There have

---

1 This system is described below on p. 96.
been other increases in minimum wages since the date of the survey under collective agreements covering sisal and sugarcane plantations (1964) and tea plantations (1965).

Wage Fixing by Legislation

In East Cameroon Decree No. 61-20 of 28 February 1961 divided the territory into four areas. The guaranteed national minimum wage varies, depending on the area, from 18 to 33 C.F.A. francs for workers normally working a 40-hour week and from 15 to 25 for those employed under the 2,400-hours-per-year system, most of whom are farm workers.

By section 148 of the Labour Code of Colombia the minimum wage can be fixed by covenant, collective agreement or arbitration award. The Government is nevertheless empowered, after consulting joint committees of employers and employees, to fix by decree the minimum wage to be applied either in general or in a particular region or branch of occupational, industrial, or commercial activity, stockbreeding or agricultural or forestry activity in a particular region. In practice the Government fixes minimum wages direct by decree or approves decisions taken by the National Wages Council (for example, Decree No. 1828 of 13 July 1962 approving Agreement No. 11 of 11 July 1962 of the National Wages Council on minimum wages in Colombia, and Decree No. 240 of 6 February 1963 raising the minimum wage in the agricultural sector).

In Ivory Coast, Orders No. 654 of 30 October 1958 and No. 771 of 12 January 1959 laid down minimum wages for two categories of employees—agricultural and related workers, who are required to work a 2,400-hour year, and workers employed on a 40-hour week. The minimum wage in Ivory Coast is higher in urban and suburban areas, where the cost of living is greater than in the purely rural areas. The difference between the two rates is 33 per cent., the minimum daily wage on plantations being 208 C.F.A. francs in urban and suburban areas and 156 in rural areas.

Wage Fixing by Wage Boards

In Costa Rica, minimum wages have been fixed by the National Wages Board and approved by Decree No. 12 of 26 September 1962.\(^1\) The part of the decree dealing with agriculture lays down separate

---

\(^1\) Since the survey took place new minimum wages have been promulgated in Decree No. 11 of 28 September 1964.
 minimum wages for agricultural work on plantations (coffee, banana, cocoa, sugarcane, etc.). These do not apply to the plantations worked by the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica or the Chiriqui Land Co., which are subject to the provisions of contrato ley No. 1842 of 24 December 1954 (a legally approved agreement), under which these companies pay their banana and cocoa plantation workers a sum exceeding the minimum wage laid down for workers employed on non-specialised coffee-growing jobs on the central plateau by at least 5 colons or 50 per cent., whichever is the higher.

The wages boards set up in Ceylon for the rubber and tea plantations fix the wages not only of agricultural workers but also of employees engaged on processing primary products. For coconut plantation workers there are two wages boards, one for agricultural workers and the other for factory employees. The wages of unskilled workers are fixed on a daily basis, although paid by the month. There are different rates for men, women and young persons. The minimum wages are usually higher for agricultural workers on rubber plantations than on coconut or tea plantations, the main reason being that rates on the former were laid down when the rubber industry was undergoing a period of relative prosperity owing to the war in Korea.

*The Special System in Force in India*

As mentioned earlier, the “fair wage” in India is determined by a statutory tripartite wages board. The term “fair” has not been defined, but in determining the rate for each industry the board must pay special regard to the following:

(a) the minimum wage rate payable to workers in the industry;

(b) the workers’ productivity;

(c) the prevailing wage rates for similar work in other establishments in the area;

(d) the competitive position in the international market of the class of establishment to which the proceedings relate;

(e) the level of wages such classes of establishment are able to pay.

There is nevertheless a proviso that the fair wage shall not be less than the minimum wage.
Participation of Employers' and Workers' Associations in Fixing Minimum Wages

In most plantation countries with a minimum wages legislation both employers and workers take part in fixing the minima.

In Tanganyika, however, the Government tried to take over wage fixing for all jobs throughout the country, and met with stiff resistance. The move was opposed by the Federation of Tanganyika Employers, representing the growers' associations, and the Tanganyika Plantation Workers' Union. The latter pointed out that the Government's decision represented a threat not only to trade union freedom but also to the workers' welfare, in that it deprived the unions of one of their fundamental rights, namely that of collective bargaining with employers' representatives.

In Latin American plantation countries the national and regional wages boards are tripartite. In Costa Rica, for example, section 179 of the Labour Code stipulates that "a joint minimum wage board shall be set up in each province under the chairmanship of the governor of the province; the board shall be composed of four employers and the same number of employees who are members of trade unions; the secretary of the board shall be a member of the General Labour Inspectorate". In Ecuador, pursuant to section 57 of the Labour Code, wages boards shall be composed of a representative of the Office of the Director-General of Labour, a medical practitioner appointed by the employees' insurance fund and a representative of the municipality concerned, plus two further members, one representing the employers and the other the employees, appointed in each case in accordance with the regulations.

In Ceylon minimum wages are laid down by tripartite wages boards. The two main boards, which lay down minimum wages for tea and rubber plantation workers, were set up pursuant to the Wages Boards Ordinance of 1941. With the approval of the Minister of Labour they can establish tripartite district wages committees in the areas or districts within their jurisdiction.

In India three statutory tripartite wages boards have been set up to fix the "fair" wage on tea, coffee and rubber plantations respectively. So far the boards have taken no decisions on wages, but various preliminary studies have been carried out in connection with tea plantations.
WAGES IN KIND

The practice of remunerating workers either wholly or partly in kind, which is still widespread in agriculture even today, is increasingly tending to disappear on plantations.¹

The labour laws of certain plantation countries (for example Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Malaya and Tanganyika) allow payment of wages in kind, especially to agricultural workers. In principle, the Ivory Coast Labour Code, promulgated in 1964, prohibits payment of wages in kind (section 85), but makes an exception for regular workers whose place of origin or normal place of residence is elsewhere than their place of employment and who cannot obtain accommodation or food by their own efforts (section 81).

By law, wages in kind must consist either of housing and food (Brazil and Ivory Coast), food only (Ecuador), housing and food plus clothing (Colombia), other benefits (Malaya and Tanganyika) or land made over by the employer to agricultural workers (Costa Rica).

In some countries the law restricts payment of wages in kind by stipulating the maximum percentage of the cash wage the former can represent: in Brazil, 20 per cent. of the minimum wage in housing and 25 per cent. in food, and in Costa Rica and Ecuador 50 and 25 per cent. respectively in food. Payment of wages in kind is not very widespread on plantations although allowed by law, and it is interesting to note that in countries in which the trade union movement is acquiring some importance the unions, owing to the numerous abuses the practice has given rise to in the past, are now opposing it and pressing for payment of the entire wage in cash. This is particularly so in Tanganyika, where until 1960 sisal plantation workers received food rations representing, for example in 1958, 15 shillings per month out of a total monthly wage varying between 40 and 60 shillings. In each case the total wage included

¹ The Plantations Convention, 1958, lays down the procedure for paying wages in kind:

Article 27

1. National laws or regulations, collective agreements or arbitration awards may authorise the partial payment of wages in the form of allowances in kind where payment in the form of such allowances is customary or desirable; the payment of wages in the form of liquor of high alcoholic content or of noxious drugs shall not be permitted in any circumstances.

2. In cases in which partial payment of wages in the form of allowances in kind is authorised, appropriate measures shall be taken to ensure that such allowances are appropriate for the personal use and benefit of the worker and his family.

3. Where food, housing, clothing and other essential supplies and services form part of remuneration, all practicable steps shall be taken to ensure that they are adequate and their cash value properly assessed.
the basic wage, a bonus for workers who had worked 30 days out of a
period of 42, and the monetary value of the food rations. From 1960
onwards, under an agreement secured from the employers by the Tan-
ganyika Plantation Workers’ Union, the rations were abolished and
replaced by an increase equal to 30 per cent. of the total wages.

In other African countries there are very few employers who actually
give their workers food rations as they are entitled to do, for example
in Ivory Coast under Order No. 654 of 30 October 1958 and the Labour
Code. The main reason is that workers’ likes and dislikes are so varied
that it is virtually impossible to please everybody, so the employers prefer
to pay the entire wage in cash.

In some very remote areas, however, growers buy food items such as
cassava, rice, groundnuts, palm oil, dried fish and meat for their staff
at the latter’s request. In such cases the employer may not deduct more
than the monetary value of two-and-a-half hours’ work from the wages
for this daily ration.

Stopping the ration distribution on most Ivory Coast plantations
has in nearly all cases meant a substantial drop in the level of food
consumption of workers and their families. In order to overcome this,
most plantations have opened company stores to enable workers to buy
food and basic necessities.

In Latin America, although part-payment of wages in kind is fairly
unusual, it must be remembered that most plantation workers receive free
housing from their employers and sometimes public supplies such as water
and electricity, although neither is regarded as remuneration in kind.

In Asia it is current practice to give workers not only cash wages
but free housing and food allowances, although it is only in Indonesia
that the latter are important. In Ceylon employers are bound by law
to give all male Indian workers over 16 and Indian widows resident on
the estate with at least one child under 10 a given quantity of rice per
month. In practice, employers give a daily ration of rice at controlled
prices to all workers with children, irrespective of their nationality.
Schoolchildren also receive free milk. In southern India and Malaya
free milk is given to children in nurseries, and schoolchildren in the
former receive a free meal every day.

In Indonesia the rapid devaluation of the currency has forced plan-
tation employers to adopt a system of remuneration in which cash
represents a minor element compared with payment in kind. The latter
consists mainly of foodstuffs such as rice, sugar, salt, oil, tea, milk (for
children) and certain basic necessities such as paraffin, soap and textiles.

1 This question will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter XIII.
WAGE STRUCTURES AND RATES

The wage structures for plantation workers vary according to the geographical region concerned. Wage rates also vary according to the occupational category of the worker and, within a given country, the region.

In the African and Latin American countries the wages received by plantation workers generally consist of a single item, namely the minimum wage, to which various bonuses are sometimes added. The minimum wage is generally paid entirely in cash, apart from the few exceptions noted above. In Latin America it is supplemented by various benefits such as free housing or a plot of land, but these are rarely regarded as part of the wage.

In Asia the wage may consist of various items (as in north-east India and Malaya for specific categories of workers and in Ceylon for all workers) or of one item only (as in southern India).

In Ceylon the wages consist of a basic rate plus a special allowance which is based on cost-of-living scales laid down by the wages boards.

In north-east India the wage rates of unskilled workers (excluding tea pluckers) consist of three items: (a) a basic minimum wage; (b) a dearness allowance, which varies in accordance with a cost-of-living index; (c) an individual output factor which consists of bonuses for output over and above a given quantity. The basic wages and dearness allowances vary according to area and sex. Special rates are in force for adolescents of between 12 and 17.

In southern India the basic wage of unskilled workers (excluding tea pluckers) consists of one item only, there being no distinction between a basic minimum wage and a dearness allowance. Except for Mysore and certain parts of Kerala there are in this part of India only two salary rates for adults. Although in principle no distinction is made between the sexes, the majority of the women are paid at the lowest rates. The rates for children and adolescents are less than for adults. The basic daily wages of adult unskilled workers (excluding tea pluckers) vary according to category of worker, size of plantation, area and sometimes sex.

As regards India, table XV below shows the wages of unskilled workers (tea pluckers excluded) in Assam only. In the other parts of northern India (Cachar, Dooars, Terai and Darjeeling) the wages for this category of worker are generally lower. In the Surma valley (Cachar), for example, the daily wages are 1.53 rupees for men, 1.47 for women and 0.83 for children. In the Darjeeling area they are even lower: 1.45 for men (1.50 for workers employed in plantation-located processing factories), 1.40 for women and adolescents (1.45 in factories) and 0.80
WAGES

for children (0.85 in factories). In Dooars and Terai the daily wages are nearer those paid in Assam, namely 1.84 or 1.81 rupees for men, 1.72 or 1.69 rupees for women and adolescents and 1 rupee for children.

In north-east India the tea pluckers, who account for about two-thirds of the total field workers, are paid piece rates. In Assam, for example, both adults and minors are paid 0.08 rupee per kilo of leaf plucked, plus a daily allowance which varies according to the zone and is less for minors than for adults. For the latter it may be 0.30, 0.35 or 0.50 rupee and for the former 0.15, 0.18 or 0.25 rupee. In Cachar, Dooars, Terai and the Darjeeling area the minimum wage for tea pluckers is based on picking a minimum weight. If they exceed this they receive, for example, an extra 0.02-0.03 rupee per kilo in Cachar and an extra 0.05 rupee per kilo in Dooars and Terai.

In southern India tea pluckers are paid by various systems (piece or time rates) according to the area concerned. In Travancore-Cochin (Kerala) they are paid piece rates. In the states of Madras and Mysore they are paid by time on the basis of the wages paid to other workers, plus an incentive bonus for each pound plucked in excess of a fixed task. The rates and tasks vary according to the district.

In Malaya the wages of rubber tappers on plantations belonging to the Malayan Planting Industries Employers' Association consist of two main items, a guaranteed portion and an output portion. In 1962 the guaranteed portion was fixed at 2.25 Malay dollars per day and in 1964 at 2.55, subject to the average monthly price for rubber in Singapore remaining at between 60 and 70 cents per lb. Provision is made for variations as indicated in table XV. The output portion depends on the average daily poundage of latex collected by the tappers over a period of one month. The average daily collection is fixed at 14 lb. for fields in category A, 8 lb. for those in B and 4 lb. for those in C. Under the 1964 agreement the output portion for latex collected over and above the average is fixed at 8, 10 and 12 cents per lb. for categories A, B and C respectively. The corresponding rates in 1962 (when the average collections were 14, 9 and 5 lb. respectively) were 6, 8 and 10 cents.

If tappers are ordered to make cuts after 10 a.m., the above rates are raised to 10, 13 and 16 cents per lb. respectively.

1 The Association has concluded various collective agreements with the National Union of Plantation Workers, the most recent being that of 27 July 1964.

2 The classification of fields (sections of plantations) into the three categories A, B or C depends on various factors, including the age of the trees and the relative height at which cuts are made.
The wages of the other field workers who are covered by the 1964 agreement consist of a daily rate varying with sex and age, and conditional upon the average monthly rubber price in Singapore remaining at between 60 and 70 cents per lb., with the same provision for variation as in the case of the guaranteed portion of the tappers' wages.

Again in Malaya, on the pineapple plantations (where the use of hormones enables at least two crops to be produced annually, which means that plantation workers are assured of continuous work throughout the year), each family of workers is granted a parcel of land for which it is solely responsible. Workers receive daily wages for all agricultural work except harvesting, for which they are paid piece rates.

Table XV shows the minimum wages (when known) and the wages actually paid in the 12 countries covered by the survey. As far as possible separate details are given for men, women and young workers.

The information given in the table relates to the year in which the survey took place in each of the countries concerned, except when otherwise stated.

Except for three African countries and Malaya, the information covers only the wages of unskilled or unspecialised agricultural plantation workers.

### TABLE XV. PLANTATION WORKERS' WAGES
(MINIMUM OR ACTUALLY PAID), EXCLUDING BONUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Minimum wages (East Cameroon)</th>
<th>15-25 per hour, depending on which of four areas involved.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Cameroon (1963)  | Daily rates in force at the time of the survey in West Cameroon (Cameroons Development Corporation):  
Labourers         | 126 per day, rising to 138 by two-yearly increments of 3. |
| Skilled workers  | 127, 162 or 205 according to grade, rising, by two-yearly increments, to 139 in the bottom grade, 168, 170 or 182 in the middle grade and 217, 225 and 237 in the top grade. |
| Craftsmen        | 292 or 413 according to grade, rising to 392 or 453 by annual increments of 20. |
| Assistant supervisors | 185, rising to 194 or 202 by two-yearly increments. |

1 For dollar equivalents see Appendix IV.  
2 In April 1963, out of 15,746 workers, there were 12,011 labourers, 837 skilled workers, 615 overseers and 402 women workers.
Cameroon (1963) (concl.)

Overseers

Women workers

Women’s charge hands

Machine drivers

C.F.A. francs

142, rising to 148 or 153 by two-yearly increments.

110, rising to a maximum of 122 by two-yearly increments of 3.

122, rising to a maximum of 134 by increments of 3.

205, 292 or 413, rising to a maximum of 217, 225 or 237 in the bottom grade by two-yearly increments, and to maxima of 392 and 453 for the other two grades respectively by annual increments of 20.

Ivory Coast (1963)

Minimum wages (actually paid):

Temporary unskilled workers

Permanent unskilled or partly skilled workers (including rubber plantation tappers)

Skilled agricultural workers

Agricultural technicians and mechanics

Vehicle drivers

C.F.A. francs per day

156 or 208, depending on area.

210 or 280, depending on area.

344, 384 or 403.20, or 258, 288 or 302.40, depending on area and grade.

464, 496, 600 or 680, or 348, 372, 450 or 510, depending on area and grade.

464, 492 or 544, or 348, 369 and 408, depending on area and grade.

One-quarter of the women receive the minimum wage.

Mauritius (1963)

Wages paid on sugarcane plantations:

Agricultural workers:

(a) Workers paid by the month:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Light</td>
<td>68.52-90.78</td>
<td>53.69 or 60.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children under 15 employed on light work</td>
<td>41.89 per month.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Workers paid by the hour:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Light</td>
<td>2.72-5.15 per day</td>
<td>2.08 or 2.58 per day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>1.41 per day.</td>
<td>1.41 per day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mauritius (1963) (concl.)

Completely unskilled workers:

(a) Paid by the month:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>68.52 per month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>41.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>41.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Paid by the day:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>2.72 per day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>1.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sugar factory workers:

(a) Paid on a monthly basis:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>81.09 or 90.78 depending on grade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>60.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youths (male)</td>
<td>60.20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>111.96, 106.19 or 88.35, depending on grade.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Paid on a daily basis:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>3.68 or 4.19, depending on grade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youths</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>5.15, 5.66 or 5.99, depending on grade.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tanganyika (1963)

Minimum wage

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wages paid:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisal plantations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Field workers</td>
<td>114.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Cutters</td>
<td>147.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LATIN AMERICA

Colombia (1964)

Minimum wages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pesos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>9 per day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana plantations</td>
<td>10 &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young workers (under 16)</td>
<td>0.70 per hour.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wages paid:

(a) Coffee plantations

(b) Sugarcane plantations:

Temporary workers paid by task or on a lump-sum basis

21-30 per day.

(c) Banana plantations

13 per day.

(d) Cotton plantations:

Temporary workers paid by task or on a lump-sum basis

10-12 per day.

(e) Tobacco plantations

6 per day.

1 For additional information on Tanganyika see p. 107. 2 Sisal production is more of an industrial than an agricultural activity, only one-quarter of the sisal plantation labour force being employed in the fields throughout the year.
**Costa Rica (1963)**

- Coffee plantations: labourer 9.00 \(^1\)  
- Banana plantations: labourer 14.00 \(^2\)  
- Cocoa plantations: labourer 13.50  
- Sugarcane plantations: labourer 8.20 \(^3\)

Wages paid:
- Central plateau coffee plantations 8.50, 9, sometimes a little over 9.  
- Cocoa plantations (Limón)  
- Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica plantations (not subject to decree fixing minimum wage) 16 \(^4\) after the 1963 direct agreement came into force (one year after this the wage is to be 16.40 and two years afterwards 16.80).

Standard Fruit Company banana plantations 19.00.

**Ecuador (1964)**

Minimum wage  
No minimum wage for agricultural plantation workers.

Wages paid:
- Banana plantations 10-25.  
- Cocoa plantations 20.

**Peru (1964)**

Minimum wage \(^5\) 18.

Wages paid:
- Sugarcane plantations 22-40.  
- Coffee plantations 18-20.  
- Cotton plantations 20-24.

**ASIA**

**Ceylon**

The minimum daily wages consist of the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) Basic wage:</th>
<th>Dec. 1958</th>
<th>Dec. 1962 (^*)</th>
<th>July 1964 (^*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tea plantations:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber plantations:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Labourers now earn 10.20 colons per day pursuant to Decree No. 11 of 28 September 1964 on minimum wages. \(^2\) Now 16.00. \(^3\) Now 9.80. \(^4\) Workers were earning 15.60 colons before the 1963 direct agreement came into force. \(^5\) At the beginning of 1965 the Ministry of Labour fixed the minimum salary for agricultural and related activities in the Piura department at 30, 28 or 26 sols according to the district or province concerned. The Piura department cotton plantations represent approximately 26 per cent. of the country's total cotton-growing area. \(^*\) Ceylon Labour Gazette, Vol. XIII, No. 12, Dec. 1962, pp. 655, 665, and Vol. XV, No. 7, July 1964, pp. 384-395.
Ceylon (concl.)

Coconut plantations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rupees per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Special allowance based on cost-of-living index:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rupees per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total wages (July 1964):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tea</th>
<th>Rubber</th>
<th>Coconuts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

India (1962)

Basic wages in Assam for unskilled workers (excluding tea pluckers):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rupees per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1.45 or 1.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1.39 or 1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>0.72 or 0.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wages paid (basic wage plus dearness allowance, plus output factor) according to zone:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rupees per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1.84, 1.90 or 1.97.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1.77, 1.77 or 1.83.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>0.92, 0.92 or 0.95.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indonesia (1963)

Minimum wages:

- Adults (17 and over): 15.
- Young persons (up to 17): 9.10

Wages paid:

The minimum wage plus remuneration in kind as described above.

Malaya (1964)

Wages paid (rubber plantations):

Tappers:

(a) Guaranteed portion

2.55 per day when the average monthly rubber price in Singapore is between 60 and 70 cents per lb. When the retail price index published by the Department of Statistics rises above 125 points, the above rate increases by 10 cents for every increase of 10 points or fraction thereof in the index and drops by the same amount when the index falls below 90.
Malaya (1964) (concl.)

(b) Output portion

Per lb. collected in excess of the daily average according to category of field: ¹

- 8 cents for category A.
- 10 cents for category B.
- 12 cents for category C.

(c) Rubber price bonus

2 cents per day if price exceeds 70 cents per lb.

Other field workers:

If the average monthly price in Singapore is between 60 and 70 cents per lb., per 8-hour working day:

- Men (55 and over): 2.90.
- Women (under 50): 2.50.
- Women (50 and over): 2.30.
- Young people (under 16): 2.30.

(Increases or reductions of 10 cents on the same conditions as specified under (a) for tappers; same rubber price bonus as for the latter.)

¹ See p. 101.

On 20 October 1964, after the Tanganyikan portion of the survey had been concluded, a collective agreement on wages and productivity was signed between the Tanganyika Sisal Growers’ Association and the National Union of Tanganyika Workers. This gives the non-incremental categories of sisal plantation workers a regular annual increase starting at 125 shillings per month for 1964-65 and rising to 165 shillings per month for 1968-69. Cutters are classified into four categories according to the number of bundles of sisal leaves cut per day. In 1964-65 the minimum wages ranged from 155 shillings for 90 bundles to 217 shillings for 120 bundles. In 1968-69 they will range from 215 shillings for 111 bundles to 297 for 146 bundles.

Since the wage rates given in table XV are expressed in national currencies no international comparison can be undertaken. It must also be remembered that the rates relate solely to cash wages, which, as pointed out earlier, sometimes represent only part of the remuneration on plantations.

The data available show that in most cases the wages received by men are at least up to the minimum rates. In some cases they are higher, for example on most Colombian sugarcane, banana and cotton plantations, on the Standard Fruit Company’s banana plantations in Costa Rica and on most sugarcane and cotton plantations in Peru.
In a number of cases, on the other hand, the wages paid are below the minimum level, as on many Colombian and Costa Rican coffee plantations and most Colombian tobacco plantations.

Temporary workers and workers paid by task nearly always earn more, and sometimes much more, than the minimum rates, although it must be remembered that they can be certain of work only during the harvest season and not throughout the year. In Colombia, for instance, temporary workers paid by task or on a lump-sum basis on the cotton plantations can earn about 19 pesos per day, i.e. more than double the minimum wage, which for agricultural workers is 9 pesos per day.

On some plantations wages are based on output. Notable examples are in Cameroon, where banana cutters on the Cameroons Development Corporation’s plantations are paid on the basis of 125 bunches per day, and in Tanganyika, where cutters’ wages on the sisal plantations are based on the volume of leaves cut.

The wages of workers in industrial or administrative jobs requiring even a slight degree of specialisation are always considerably higher than the minimum rates. There is a whole scale of remunerations ranging from the minimum wage to the salary of a plantation general manager.

In some countries women and young workers receive lower wages than adult males, i.e. in most cases less than the minimum rates. The survey revealed that women nearly always receive lower wages than men, particularly on the Costa Rican coffee plantations and the Ecuador cocoa plantations. In the Asian countries different minimum rates often exist for men, women and young workers, as table XV shows, at least in the cases where both the minimum rates and the wages actually paid are given.

In Africa, women working for the Cameroons Development Corporation earn 110 francs per day whereas men earn 126 francs. In Ivory Coast approximately one-quarter of the women appear to receive the minimum wage. Young workers in this country earn only 50-80 per cent., depending on their age (14-18 years), of an adult worker’s wage.

When work is paid by task or on an output basis the wage rates paid are identical, irrespective of sex or age.

**Bonuses and Special Allowances**

Numerous bonuses and allowances are paid to workers in nearly all the countries studied, but often in widely differing forms. The amount of these extras represents highly varying proportions in relation to the basic wage.
As regards the main types of bonus, the following paragraphs will deal with those aimed at rewarding individual output (incentive bonuses), attendance and seniority and those based on plantation profits.

Incentive bonuses are paid on the Cameroons Development Corporation’s banana plantations, on various Ivory Coast plantations (at widely varying rates) and in Ceylon. In Cameroon workers employed on banana harvesting must cut at least 125 bunches per day; for each additional bunch they receive 2 francs over and above the normal wage (approximately 126 C.F.A. francs per day). The Ivory Coast rubber plantations have a very detailed scale of bonuses for the way in which trees are cut (depth, angle, width, neatness, etc.). In Ceylon wage rates for tea pluckers and rubber tappers are supplemented by incentive bonuses varying in amount from plantation to plantation. The normal figure for tea pluckers is 6 cents per lb. of leaf plucked in excess of the minimum quantity (which varies according to season and other factors); for rubber tappers it varies from 5 to 15 cents per lb. of latex collected over and above the stipulated minimum.

Countries where attendance and seniority bonuses are paid include Ivory Coast, Mauritius and Colombia. In Ivory Coast the seniority bonus is 5 per cent. of the minimum wage after five years’ service with the same employer, 10 per cent. after 10 years and 15 per cent. after 15 years. Again in Ivory Coast the Société africaine des plantations de caoutchouc pays an attendance bonus of 10 francs per day’s tapping at the end of the week (60 francs for six days), but a single day’s absence in the week disqualifies a worker from receiving this entire week’s bonus.

The Colombian Labour Code provides that in addition to their wages, workers shall be paid a service bonus every six months amounting to one month’s wages in the case of undertakings with a capital of 200,000 pesos or more and 15 days’ wages in other cases. The survey showed that half-yearly bonuses amounting to 15 days’ wages were in fact paid to permanent workers, particularly on the sugarcane and coffee plantations.

In Mauritius workers on some sugarcane plantations receive a weekly attendance bonus. This amounts to 6.7 per cent. of the weekly wage, but is given only to monthly-paid workers who have not absented themselves from work without good reason for the entire six days of the week (five days in the case of women and children).

Lastly, bonuses are sometimes paid to plantation workers on the basis of the undertaking’s profits. This is so, for example, in Ecuador, India, Ivory Coast, Mauritius and Peru. In each case it naturally varies according to the profit. In Mauritius, for example, sugarcane plantation workers employed on a monthly basis receive an end-of-year bonus if they have worked for at least 250 days in the service of the same employer.
This can vary between 2.8 and 22.2 per cent. of the worker's annual wage, depending on the level of sugar production. Daily workers receive one-quarter of the bonus, but again only if they have been in the service of the same employer for at least 250 days.

In Ecuador, on the larger plantations where there are trade unions, union members usually receive 7 per cent. of the undertaking's profits.

In India tea plantation workers also receive an annual bonus based on profits if the plantation concerned is a member of the Indian Tea Association. In 1958 the bonus amounted to between 1.12 and 11.49 per cent. of the annual wage, depending on the district, i.e. an over-all average of 8.76 per cent. It is interesting to note that the relative value of this bonus dropped considerably between 1954 and 1958, namely from 27.9 per cent. of the total annual wages for all districts of India in 1954 to 10.4 per cent. in 1955 and, after a rise to 13.6 per cent. in 1956, to 7.8 per cent. in 1957, followed by an increase to 8.8 per cent. in 1958.

Various other bonuses are paid from time to time in addition to those described above. In Cameroon, for instance, in addition to their basic wage of 126 C.F.A. francs, fruit pickers on the Cameroons Development Corporation's oil-palm plantations receive a daily skill bonus or allowance of 6 francs, 9 francs danger money (for scaling trees) and a work completion bonus amounting to a further 9 francs, bringing their total earnings up to 150 francs per day. In Tanganyika growers are often forced to pay bonuses if they want their employees to do the number of hours' work stipulated by law. This is because the kipandi system was abolished virtually overnight without any intervening transitional period.

**PLANTATION WORKERS' WAGES COMPARED WITH THOSE OF OTHER EMPLOYEES**

It is difficult to make valid comparisons between plantation workers' wages and those of employees in other branches of activity. Not only do some figures relate to minimum hourly wages and others to daily or monthly earnings but also the information on a particular branch of activity is often confined to highly specialised categories of that branch. Despite these difficulties, and subject to obvious reservations, it has been thought worth while to tabulate certain data on nine countries covering agriculture, manufacturing, mining and quarrying, construction and transport, storage and communication.¹ This information is given in table XVI purely for guidance.

¹ For a more detailed picture of the situation see I.L.O. *Year Book of Labour Statistics.*
### TABLE XVI. WAGES PAID IN AGRICULTURE AND OTHER BRANCHES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C.F.A. francs</td>
<td>Rupees</td>
<td>Shillings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>Men 5.60</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women 2.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3.50 - 4.00</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>105.00 ¹</td>
<td>4.00-16.25</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, storage and</td>
<td>101.00 ¹</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pesos</td>
<td>Colons</td>
<td>Sucres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Men 9.60</td>
<td>1.06 ⁶</td>
<td>Between 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women 7.05</td>
<td>0.91 ⁷</td>
<td>and 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>2.89 ⁴</td>
<td>342.3</td>
<td>158.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>4.79 ⁵</td>
<td>408.5</td>
<td>331.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>320.3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, storage and</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>462.8</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch of economic activity</th>
<th>Peru 1963 Daily earnings</th>
<th>Ceylon 1963 Hourly earnings</th>
<th>Indonesia 1960 Daily earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sols</td>
<td>Rupees</td>
<td>Rupiahs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>31.00</td>
<td>Men 2.79</td>
<td>12.85 ¹¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women 2.44 ¹⁰</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>57.17</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>48.37 ⁸</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>49.64 ⁹</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>50.00 ¹²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, storage and</td>
<td>69.30</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>80.00 ¹³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


¹ Skilled workers. ² Sugar plantation earnings. ³ Salt extracting. ⁴ Hourly earnings. ⁵ Hourly earnings, petroleum extraction. ⁶ Minimum hourly wages, coffee plantations. ⁷ Minimum hourly wages, agriculture and livestock production. ⁸ 1961. ⁹ 1962. ¹⁰ Daily earnings, tea plantations. ¹¹ Rubber plantations. ¹² Bricklayers. ¹³ Drivers.
Very generally, and subject to the necessary reservations, a comparison between plantation (see above, table XV) and agricultural wages shows them to be identical in nearly all cases. In addition, in virtually all the countries concerned, plantation workers' wages are lower than the wages or earnings of workers in other branches of economic activity. The converse (as in Mauritius) is exceptional.

The survey has therefore shown that plantation countries generally possess wages protection legislation, which largely seems to be enforced. Wages are normally paid in legal tender for instance, except where part-payment is made in kind. In some areas payment in kind is tending to disappear, especially in Africa, but where it exists it is mainly in the form of housing or food. Wages are paid at regular intervals and direct to the workers at their place of employment. Some countries have a system for supervising wage payments, often involving registers.

Deductions from wages are permitted nearly everywhere, but only within certain limits and for specific purposes.

Various systems are in force for fixing minimum wages (legislation, collective agreements, wage councils or boards and arbitration awards). These systems are usually applicable to plantation workers, and to a certain extent both the latter and the employers participate in fixing minimum wages.

Wage structures for plantation workers vary considerably. The components may be a minimum wage (sometimes partly paid in kind), or a basic wages plus a cost-of-living allowance or a guaranteed factor plus a variable factor. Wages are supplemented by numerous bonuses of various kinds in nearly all the countries studied.

Minimum wages are usually fixed on a time basis, but this does not preclude the use of output systems on some types of plantation.

The principle of equal remuneration for men and women doing work of equal value is already recognised in some national legislations, but in practice women are nearly always paid less than men.

Plantation workers generally receive at least the minimum wage, except occasionally on small plantations in certain Latin American countries. The large plantations in this region sometimes pay more than the minimum rates.

Plantation wages often equal, and not infrequently exceed, those of agricultural workers, but they are generally lower than those of employees in other economic activities, except where the plantations concerned represent a particularly important activity, as in the case of the Mauritius sugar industry.
CHAPTER VI

HOURS OF WORK

The determination of hours of work is of particular importance in matters related to conditions of work on plantations, for the wages of some categories of workers are in many cases calculated on the basis of a working day of a given length. Those who are paid on a task or output basis, on the other hand, are not directly affected, although the remuneration of piece-workers is fixed with regard to a working day of average length.

Regulation of hours of work in a sector closely linked with agriculture cannot hope to escape the difficulties inherent in that sector, which arise mainly out of natural conditions and the organisation of the plantations; in countries where these are organised in the form of large industrial-type groups, however, it has been easier to regulate hours of work. Practically all the countries with which we are here concerned have such regulations, the need for the extension of which to plantations has become apparent largely since the Second World War, and increasingly so as workers have become aware of their rights and as the trade union movement has developed among them.

Hours of work will be examined here not in the restricted sense of maximum working hours but in the wider sense as covering workers’ periods of rest, i.e. weekly rest, official holidays and holidays with pay.

HOURS OF WORK

Hours of work \(^1\) are generally governed by the labour laws and regulations in each country. In some cases they are laid down by wage boards (as in Ceylon) or, in big plantations where some of the employees belong to a union, by means of collective agreements.

Legislative provisions generally lay down maximum hours of work, whether per day (Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Indonesia, Peru), per

\[^1\] Although the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), does not deal with hours of work, the Plantations Recommendation does include provisions on hours of work and overtime. Furthermore, the Committee on Work on Plantations adopted a resolution (No. 3) in 1950 concerning hours of work, the weekly rest and holidays for plantation workers, which sets out the relevant principles to be applied.
week (India, Malaya) or per year (Cameroon, Ivory Coast). Where hours of work are laid down by the day, a weekly maximum is sometimes also specified; where they are based on a yearly maximum (2,400 hours) the law specifies that the allocation of working hours over the year must be laid down by decree.

Daily Maximum

The maximum daily hours of work for adult workers vary between seven and nine hours, usually eight hours. This is so, for instance, in Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mauritius and Peru. At the same time there is a weekly limit of 48 hours in Costa Rica, 45 hours in Mauritius\(^1\), and 44 hours in Ecuador.

In one Asian country, Indonesia, maximum hours of work are fixed at seven hours per day and 40 hours per week, but work at night that is dangerous or unhealthy may not exceed six hours per day and 35 hours per week.

Working hours in Ceylon and Colombia, on the other hand, are laid down at nine hours\(^2\) per day, the weekly limit being 48 hours in Ceylon and 54 in Colombia. In the latter country these limits apply only to agricultural workers, the legal limit for workers in other occupations being normally eight hours per day and 48 per week.

In some countries the maximum hours of work are shorter for children and young persons than for adults. Thus in Colombia children under 16 must not work for more than six hours per day; in Ecuador hours of work for young persons are limited to six hours per day and 33 per week below 15 years of age, and seven hours per day and 38 per week between 15 and 18 years of age; in Malaya children may start work from their twelfth birthday, provided that they do not exceed six hours per day, or seven hours if they are from 14 to 16 years old.

Weekly Maximum

The Plantations Labour Act of 1951 in India and the Employment Ordinance, No. 38 of 1955, in Malaya lay down the maximum working week in those countries at respectively 54 and 48 hours per week. The 54-hour limit in India is reduced to 48 (nine per day) in factories for primary processing of plantation commodities, and to 40 in the case of children or adolescents.


\(^2\) In Ceylon the nine hours per day include one hour for a meal.
The collective agreements in force in the plantations of Tanganyika, particularly sisal, generally specify a working week of 45 hours spread over five-and-a-half days.

**Yearly Maximum**

In Cameroon\(^1\) and Ivory Coast a yearly maximum of 2,400 hours of work is laid down by law for work in agricultural undertakings. Order No. 125 of 5 January 1956 in Cameroon and Order No. 4765 of 20 July 1953\(^2\) in Ivory Coast, on the basis of this working year fixed the average working day at eight hours. In Ivory Coast the method of organisation of labour adopted must in no case lead to a working day or attendance of more than 11 working hours (12 hours when the evening meal is taken on the plantation). Hours of work lost because of the off-season may be recovered up to the rate of 200 per year in Cameroon and 100 in Ivory Coast, provided always that the working day is not increased by more than one hour.

**Rest Periods in the Working Day**

In a number of countries it is laid down by law that the working day is to be separated by rest periods which are not to be included in the hours of work. Such pauses may last, for instance, for a period of half-an-hour after four hours' work (Indonesia) or five hours' (India), or of two hours after four hours' work (Ecuador). The Colombian Labour Code does not specify the duration of the rest period, but merely provides that the daily hours of work must be divided into at least two portions separated by a rest period suited to the nature of the work and the requirements of the employees.

**Practical Application of Provisions concerning Hours of Work**

The principles laid down by law as to hours of work vary in their practical application not only in different countries but also in different types of plantations. Generally speaking, actual hours of work are less than the maximum periods specified by law, save perhaps in Asia, where the actual hours correspond more nearly to the maximum period laid down by law.

In Cameroon, in the plantations of the Cameroons Development Corporation, employees are frequently required to work for only 30 or

---

\(^1\) In West Cameroon the working week was laid down at 45 hours a week.

\(^2\) Section 199 of the 1964 Labour Code rescinded the Overseas Labour Code of 15 December 1952, but continued in force those regulations of the 1952 Act which were not contrary to the new Labour Code. The 1953 Order is to be taken as being in force, since section 98 of the 1964 Code retains the rule of 2,400 hours per year.
36 hours instead of 45 hours per week. In most of the Ivory Coast plantations the working day is often as short as five, six or seven hours, although workers are required to attend for eight hours per day in the plantations of the Institut de recherches pour les huiles et oléagineux.

In the sugar plantations of Mauritius much of the work is accomplished by temporary workers paid on a task-rate basis. In practice they work on average for six-and-a-half hours during the crop season, and six during the intercrop season; sometimes the time is even less, where such task workers are assisted by one or more members of their family. Hours of work for any employee attached to a job-contractor may vary considerably, since they depend on the latter's good will.

In Tanganyika the weekly maximum of 45 working hours is hardly ever reached; indeed, the problem of absenteeism is rife in plantations of this country, and up to now has proved insoluble despite both the new social legislation which came into effect on 1 January 1963 and the granting of bonuses. The average working day in the sisal plantations is usually about five hours; and in the case of task workers the day's work is usually accomplished in six or seven hours, with a working week of seldom more than 42 hours.

In Latin America the actual length of the working day can vary in the same country and in the same type of plantation, being sometimes less and sometimes more than the normal hours of work laid down by law; it is often dictated by local custom. Thus in Colombia it was not infrequent for temporary workers (usually paid on a task basis) to work for only six or seven hours a day—without a rest period, however—instead of the nine hours of work specified by the law. In another part of Colombia on the other hand, in the coffee plantations in the department of Antioquia, employees sometimes worked for ten hours a day instead of the nine-hour maximum laid down for agricultural occupations. In some sugarcane plantations, employees agree to work for nine-and-a-half hours a day so as to be able to leave work earlier on Saturdays and thus make a longer week-end. In Costa Rica the maximum working day is eight hours, but in practice it is eight-and-a-half in some coffee plantations, and in others only six or seven.

In some banana and cocoa plantations in Ecuador, and in some coffee plantations in Peru, the working day is six or seven hours; in the sugarcane plantations in Peru it is usually seven hours per day.

In India and Ceylon hours of work in the tea plantations vary considerably according to the season.

---

Again in India hours of work in plantations are appreciably different in different states; so that in 1963, while plantation workers in Madras\(^1\) had the 54-hour working week laid down by law, those in Punjab\(^2\) had a working week of between 45 and 48 hours, those in Tripura\(^3\) 36 hours, and those in Mysore, a working day of eight hours.

It should be added that in almost all the countries the length of the working day is longer than normal in the harvesting season.

**Overtime and Its Remuneration**

In the majority of plantations it is standard practice during the harvest period to work overtime and on days of rest and public holidays. Such additional work is almost always more highly paid than work during normal hours. In the case of work performed on a rest day another compensatory rest day is often granted during the following week.

In almost all the countries overtime hours on a working day are paid for at one-and-a-half times the normal rate, and at double the normal rate for work performed during a day of rest (usually a Sunday) or an official public holiday, and for night work. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule, as in Ivory Coast, where increases are only 25 per cent. of the normal wage for overtime performed on a working day, and 50 per cent. for work at night or on a day of rest or a public holiday; in other words, overtime in Ivory Coast is paid at only half the standard rate applied in most other plantation countries. The same is true in the case of Ceylon: if an employee works on a Sunday the wage increase amounts to only 50 per cent. of the normal wage, i.e. the usual rate of payment for overtime worked during the week. In a big banana plantation in Costa Rica, in the province of Limón, workers who have a written contract with the undertaking are paid for overtime at the same as the normal rate, while employees who have no written contract are paid one-and-a-half times the normal daily rate.

In some of the banana plantations in Ecuador overtime is paid at double the rate for normal time. In the same plantations, by virtue of

---

\(^1\) There were 289 plantations in Madras in 1963, employing an average of 74,738 workers per day.

\(^2\) There were only 18 plantations on Punjab in 1963, which employed an average of 1,532 workers per day.

\(^3\) The number of plantations in Tripura in 1963 was 57, employing 2,808 workers per day.

It was not possible to obtain data as regards the number of hours worked daily or weekly in Assam (665 plantations, 492,793 workers per day), Kerala (450 plantations, 200,000 workers per day), or West Bengal (281 plantations, 164,454 workers per day). *(Indian Labour Journal, Vol. VI, No. 4, Apr. 1965, pp. 305-306.)*
a practice which is not in accordance with the relevant legislation, employees go home after six hours’ work outside (generally from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m.) and consider that they have finished their working day. Should the employer wish, for any reason, to extend the working day beyond six hours, he finds himself obliged to pay for each additional hour of work at double the normal rate.

In Peru the laws and regulations in force stipulate that overtime must be paid at 25 per cent. above the normal rate.\(^1\) In some sugarcane and cotton plantations, however, it is paid at one-and-a-half times the normal daily rate; while in certain coffee plantations in the San Ramón district, conversely, employers give only a 20 per cent. increase for overtime. It is traditional practice for Sunday work to be paid for at double the rate, provided only that the employee is not given a compensatory day of rest during the week. In practice, double rates for Sunday work are normally granted to plantation workers, anyway in some San Ramón coffee plantations.

Some legal systems provide for a maximum number of overtime hours, as in Ivory Coast, where 20 hours per week is the maximum. Normally employers must obtain authorisation from labour inspectors if they want their employees to do overtime, but in fact, at least in the big Ivory Coast plantations, they avoid overtime so far as possible.

In Mauritius a total of six hours’ overtime per week is allowed by law. In Tanganyika, in specific cases (need to avoid losses by speeding up harvesting or transport of goods to ensure punctual shipment, measures against fire or acts of God, etc.), employees may be requested to work overtime, payment for which varies considerably.\(^2\) Workers’ acceptance of overtime is dependent on several factors, such as the number of workers in the plantation or in the neighbourhood, current weather conditions, the extent to which the workers have confidence in the plantation management, and the management’s ability to cope with the long “palavers” necessary in Africa. When these factors are successfully combined, workers respond well to the effort required of them: those who are permanent are usually granted a compensatory period of rest after the extra work is finished, while those who have come from neighbouring villages on purpose to carry out the work needed are given monetary compensation only. Sometimes there is even a feast organised by the management when the work is over, the prospect of which can be enough in itself to make the workers decide to do overtime.

---

\(^1\) CORPORACIÓN NACIONAL DE COMERCIANTES: Legislación Laboral del Perú (Lima, 1963), 3rd edition, p. 11.

\(^2\) Under the collective agreements the rate is one-and-a-half times the normal rate.
WEEKLY REST\(^1\)

All the legal systems specify one day's rest each week, usually Sundays. In some countries permanent workers are paid for Sundays, but temporary workers—and especially piece-workers—are not always so paid. In Colombia, for instance, temporary workers cannot take advantage of the weekly rest day, with pay, since they are normally paid on a piece-work basis. In the Costa Rican and Ivory Coast plantations, however, as in a number of banana and cocoa plantations in Ecuador and in some coffee plantations in Peru, no pay is given for the weekly rest day.

In India section 20 of the Plantations Labour Act 1951, lays down that the state government may provide for one day of rest every seven days. Workers may, however, work on that day if they wish to, provided that they never work for more than ten consecutive days without a day of rest.

The weekly day of rest is observed in the majority of plantations in Asia except sometimes in the tea plantations, and especially at harvest time.

In Cameroon existing legislation requires employers to notify the labour inspector if they desire their employees to work on a Sunday or an official holiday, but this provision is not respected by the majority of small plantation owners. Similarly, the legal provision prohibiting

---

\(^1\) Articles 43 to 45 of the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), make provision in the following terms for the weekly rest:

**Article 43**

1. Plantation workers shall, except as otherwise provided for by the following Articles, enjoy in every period of seven days a period of rest comprising at least 24 consecutive hours.

2. This period of rest shall, wherever possible, be granted simultaneously to all the workers of each plantation.

3. It shall, wherever possible, be fixed so as to coincide with the days already established by the traditions or customs of the country or district.

**Article 44**

1. Each Member may authorise total or partial exceptions (including suspensions or diminutions) from the provisions of Article 43, special regard being had to all proper humanitarian and economic considerations and after consultation with responsible associations of employers and workers, wherever such exist.

2. Such consultation shall not be necessary in the case of exceptions which have already been made under existing legislation.

**Article 45**

Each Member shall make, as far as possible, provision for compensatory periods of rest for the suspensions or diminutions made in virtue of Article 44, except in cases where agreements or customs already provide for such periods.
work on more than six Sundays in a year is more or less ignored by reason of the harvest seasons.

Ivory Coast has passed a decree enabling the weekly rest day to be granted by rota, both in industry and in agriculture; and by the same token, the weekly rest may be foregone at times of temporary pressure of work in agricultural undertakings, provided that a compensatory period of rest is granted in the following month. In most of the Ivory Coast banana, coffee, cocoa, rubber and oil-palm plantations, however, Sunday is the day normally granted for rest.

In Tanganyika no employee may work for more than six consecutive days, but the day of rest may be taken on any day of the week. In practice, when there is urgent work to be done, or at harvest time, the workers prefer to work for several weeks consecutively without taking any rest days.

**PUBLIC HOLIDAYS**

All the countries have legal public holidays, for which pay is usually granted in plantations to permanent workers, and in a lesser degree to temporaries.

The number of legal public holidays with pay in plantations varies considerably in different countries: for example, Ceylon has two, particularly in the rubber plantations, Ecuador and Malaya have seven, Mauritius has 13, Costa Rica 15 (agricultural workers only) and Colombia 17.

In India the number of public holidays in coffee, rubber and tea plantations varies in different states. Thus Assam has six, West Bengal and Kerala have seven, and Madras and Mysore have eight.

In Mauritius should the public holiday fall on a Sunday it is treated as falling on the Monday. Employment regulations specify that no worker shall be obliged to work on Sundays or public holidays. Work performed on a public holiday must be paid for at double the normal rate. In the plantations investigated in the survey these provisions are generally applied as regards permanent workers, but temporary workers attached to a job-contractor, who are paid on a task basis, get the same wage whether their task is performed on a working day or a public holiday. If the job-contractor is pressed for time the team will work on Sunday as well, with no increase in wages. The plentiful supply of unemployed labour makes it impossible for workers even to try to

---

1 Since the 1964 collective agreement was concluded. At the time of the I.L.O. survey in Malaya the number of legal public holidays with pay was still six.
defend their rights, since they fear dismissal if they protest against any abuse.

In Latin America the situation as regards public holidays can be summed up in respect of the following three countries:

(a) in Costa Rica legislation provides for 15 paid public holidays in agriculture, including plantations (only six in commerce and industry). This provision is observed in the coffee and banana plantations of the Standard Fruit Company, while the Compañía Bananera and the Agricultural and Industrial Co-operative (coffee and sugarcane) grant 14 days with pay;

(b) in Ecuador seven days with pay are laid down by law; a few banana plantations are alone in granting eight, but without pay;

(c) in Peru some coffee plantations grant eight days with pay, various sugar plantations grant six, nine or even 32 days (of which only a few can be taken with pay), and the cotton plantations grant six days with pay.

Employees in Costa Rica seem clearly better off in this respect than workers in the other countries, the reason being that agricultural workers there do not get annual holidays with pay but are paid for public holidays instead.

**Annual Holidays with Pay**

All plantations countries have legislative or other provisions as regards annual holidays with pay, which are generally applicable to plantation workers. The duration of such holidays varies in different countries between five and 30 days. Costa Rica is a special case: sec-

---

1 The Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), contains the following provisions on annual holidays with pay:

**Article 36**

Workers employed on plantations shall be granted an annual holiday with pay after a period of continuous service with the same employer.

**Article 37**

1. Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force shall be free to decide the manner in which provision shall be made for holidays with pay on plantations.

2. Such provision may be made, where appropriate, by means of collective agreement or by entrusting the regulation of holidays with pay on plantations to special bodies.

3. Wherever the manner in which provision is made for holidays with pay on plantations permits—

   (a) there shall be full preliminary consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers concerned, where such exist, and with any other persons, specially qualified by their trade or functions, whom the competent authority deems it useful to consult;

(continued overleaf)
tion 153 of its Labour Code, amended by Act No. 1948 of 4 October 1955, does in fact stipulate that “every employee shall be entitled to annual leave with pay amounting to at least two weeks for every 50 weeks of continuous work in the service of the same employer”, but a further subparagraph in the same section adds that in the case of agricultural or stock-raising work the employer is not bound to grant two weeks’ annual leave with pay but must in every case, pay wages in lieu to his

(b) the employers and workers concerned shall participate in the regulation of holidays with pay, or be consulted or have the right to be heard, in such manner and to such extent as may be determined by national laws or regulations, but in any case on a basis of complete equality.

Article 38

The required minimum period of continuous service and the minimum duration of the annual holiday with pay shall be determined by national laws or regulations, collective agreement or arbitration award, or by special bodies entrusted with the regulation of holidays with pay on plantations, or in any other manner approved by the competent authority.

Article 39

Where appropriate, provision shall be made, in accordance with the established procedure for the regulation of holidays with pay on plantations, for—

(a) more favourable treatment for young workers, in cases in which the annual holiday with pay granted to adult workers is not considered adequate for young workers;

(b) an increase in the duration of the annual paid holiday with the length of service;

(c) proportionate holidays or payment in lieu thereof, in cases where the period of continuous service of a worker is not of sufficient duration to qualify him for an annual holiday with pay but exceeds such minimum period as may be determined in accordance with the established procedure;

(d) the exclusion from the annual holiday with pay of public and customary holidays and weekly rest periods, and, to such extent as may be determined in accordance with the established procedure, temporary interruptions of attendance at work due to such causes as sickness or accident.

Article 40

1. Every person taking a holiday in virtue of this Part of this Convention shall receive, in respect of the full period of the holiday, not less than his usual remuneration, or such remuneration as may be prescribed in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of this Article.

2. The remuneration payable in respect of the holiday shall be calculated as prescribed by national laws or regulations, collective agreement or arbitration award, or by special bodies entrusted with the regulation of holidays with pay on plantations, or in any other manner approved by the competent authority.

3. Where the remuneration of the person taking a holiday includes payments in kind, provision may be made for the payment in respect of holidays of the cash equivalent of such payments in kind.

Article 41

Any agreement to relinquish the right to an annual holiday with pay, or to forgo such a holiday, shall be void.

Article 42

A person who is dismissed or who has relinquished his employment before he has taken the whole or any part of the holiday due to him shall receive in respect of every day of holiday due to him in virtue of this Part of this Convention the remuneration provided for in Article 40.
employees for the public holidays (other than Sundays) mentioned in section 147, which add up to a total of 15 days. It was found that, in spite of such legislative provisions, an agricultural and industrial co-operative growing coffee and sugarcane was granting its employees two weeks of holidays with pay. Also the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica, by virtue of the direct agreement of 1963, grants six days of holiday with pay to workers who have been employed for less than eight years, and 12 days for a longer period. In other plantations, including the banana plantations of the Standard Fruit Company, the workers are not given annual holidays with pay (these being replaced, as has been explained, by the 15 days of public holidays with pay).

Entitlement to holidays with pay is acquired in almost all countries after a period of continuous service with the same employer: this varies in length between two weeks and a year. In some countries the length of the holiday period increases in ratio to the years of service with the same employer.

Because of the wide disparities between different countries as to length of holidays and conditions of entitlement, each of the countries included in the survey will be examined separately.

In Cameroon, more specifically in the plantations of the C.D.C., unskilled employees are given eight days' annual holiday—of which they are paid for seven—after a year of uninterrupted service, while industrial employees are entitled to 12 days—of which they are paid for 11—after the same period of service. In East Cameroon, as in Ivory Coast, the scale laid down by law for holidays with pay is as follows: one-and-a-half working days in respect of each month of service up to 19 years of employment on the same plantation, twenty days a year after 20 years, twenty-two days after 25 years, and twenty-four days after 30 years on the same plantation. The basic holiday plus increases may in no case exceed twenty-four working days.

Since four-fifths of the plantations in Cameroon do not keep a proper register of employees, it is hard to say exactly how many years a worker has been employed for assessment of his holidays.

In Ivory Coast it is estimated that in the big industrial-type plantations only 20 per cent. of employees can in fact take advantage of the annual holiday, since they seldom remain in the service of one employer for as long as a year. Young persons of less than 18 years of age are entitled to 24 days of holiday with pay, and those from 18 to 21 years of age, to the normal holidays of 18 days.

In Mauritius the collective agreement made in 1962 between the Mauritius Sugar Producers Association and the Plantation Workers Union lays down that workers who have been employed in the same
plantation for the whole of one year and have not been absent for more than ten days shall be entitled, before 30 June in the following year, to nine days of holiday with pay if they are employed by the month, and to five days if they are employed by the day. Government Notice No. 59 of 1963, concerning the regulation of wages of agricultural workers employed in the sugar industry, specifies that any employee who works for not less than 80 per cent. of the days in the harvest period shall be entitled, before 30 June of the following year, to ten days' holiday with pay.

In the majority of the sisal plantations in Tanganyika some categories of employees, such as overseers and assistant supervisors, craftsmen, technicians and other skilled workers (except for day-labourers and assistant craftsmen), machine or vehicle drivers, staff of medical and hygiene services (except for the lowest grade) and administrative staff in general, are entitled to 14 days' annual holiday with pay for each year comprising not less than 288 working days. Other categories of employees, including agricultural workers, are entitled to only one day for each two months of service, i.e. six days per year; such employees must however also have worked for at least 288 days in the same year with the same employer.

The Colombian Labour Code grants all workers two weeks' annual holiday with pay after one year of service. This provision of the law is generally respected in the case of permanent workers, especially in the big plantations such as those of sugarcane.

In Ecuador annual holidays with pay are granted in some plantations only where they are specified by collective agreement. An example is one large sugarcane plantation where holidays are granted to all staff and must be taken after the harvest. The length of this holiday depends on the time worked during the year immediately preceding the end of the harvest; 15 days after a year of continuous work, 11 days after nine months to a year, 7 days after six to nine months.

Employees in most sugarcane and some banana plantations are in fact given two weeks' annual holiday with pay. In the great majority of cocoa plantations, on the other hand, workers get no annual holiday at all.

In Peru Acts Nos. 9049 of 13 February 1940 and 13683 of 25 August 1961, and Presidential Decree No. 017 of 24 October 1961 (to regulate Act No. 13683) prescribe that all workers and employees shall be entitled to 30 days' annual holiday with pay. This applies both to agricultural and to industrial workers, entitlement being acquired after a year of service if, during that year, the wage earner has completed at least

---

1 Tercer contrato colectivo celebrado entre la Compañía Azucarera Váldez S.A. y el Comité de empresa de los trabajadores del Ingenio Váldez (Guayaquil, Editorial Cervantes, 1961), sections 16 and 17, pp. 10 and 12.
260 days’ actual work. Legislation makes no distinction between adult workers and minors and no provision for increases in holidays for length of service. Seasonal workers’ holidays are calculated in relation to the number of months worked during the year. In some cases, however, additional holidays are laid down by collective agreement, to be granted according to length of service. Thus a collective agreement in one big Peruvian sugarcane plantation contains a clause granting additional holidays according to length of service, and which run from a half-day after three years of service, to three days after 25 years of service or over. This was requested by the trade union because many workers have to take their holidays away from the plantation. In fact, workers in all Peruvian plantations, except for a few growing coffee, do get their 30 days’ annual holiday with pay.

Adult workers in India get one day’s annual holiday with pay for every 20 days worked, while young persons of less than 18 years of age are entitled to one day in respect of every 15 days of work.

In Indonesia the length of the annual holiday with pay is two weeks; in Ceylon, 17 and 15 days in rubber and tea plantations respectively, provided that the employee has worked more than 228 days in the year (204 in the case of women and young persons). In the latter country holidays are calculated at the rate of one day for every four days worked over and above the 228 (or the 204) days in the year, up to a limit of 288 (or 264) days. In the rubber plantations holidays are worked out on the same basis (one day’s holiday for four days’ work) also from 228 (or 204) days but up to 264 (or 240) days worked, after which the basis is one day’s holiday for every three days over 264 (or 240) up to a limit of 288 (or 264) days.2

In Malaya remuneration for holidays was provided for by a collective agreement made on 28 February 1962 between the Malayan Planting Industries Employers’ Association and the National Union of Plantation Workers. This agreement, which was in force at the time of the I.L.O. survey, was replaced by another in 1964: under the 1962 agreement employees were entitled to one day’s holiday with pay for every two consecutive months of work, whereas the 1964 agreement entitles them to three days in respect of every quarter year, provided that they have worked at least 74 days during it.

---

1 Contrato colectivo de trabajo entre la hacienda Cartavio y el sindicato de los trabajadores de la hacienda Cartavio y anexos, 1961.

Accumulation of Holidays

Under the Labour Code of Colombia any employee who is obliged to interrupt his holiday for any just cause does not thereby lose the right to any holiday period remaining over. Furthermore, the parties may agree that the holidays be accumulate for a period not exceeding two years, but it is forbidden under the Code to pay cash in lieu of holidays. However, in particular cases where the absence of workers would prejudice the national economy, the Ministry of Labour is empowered to authorise payment of cash in lieu of holidays for a period not exceeding one-half of the full holiday period.

In Tanganyika, should an employee be prevented for any reason from taking his 14 days at the end of the period of twelve months' work, he may choose between a cash payment equal to the amount of remuneration corresponding to the period of his holiday and the deferment of his 14 days until the following year, when they are added to the holiday to which he will be entitled for that year.

In India it is forbidden to accumulate more than 30 days' holiday. In Malaya collective agreements prohibit in principle the accumulation of holidays, but provide that any employee who for reasons outside his control has been unable to take his holiday in a given year may postpone the period of holiday which he has foregone and add it to the following year's holiday, unless he prefers to receive compensation in cash.

Remuneration for Holidays

Remuneration for annual holidays is assessed in most countries on the basis of the average wages due to the employee during the immediately preceding working period. Generally speaking, wages due in the form of bonuses of any sort or for overtime are not taken into consideration for working out remuneration for the holiday period. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule, as in Ivory Coast, where incentive bonuses are not taken into account, but where the value of foodstuffs (when these form an integral part of the normal wage) and profit-sharing bonuses are sometimes taken into account.

In India wages due for periods of leave are calculated taking into account the dearness allowance and the cash equivalent of any supply by the employer of food or any other payment in kind over and above the employee's daily wage, except of course where such benefits are still provided during the period of leave.

To sum up, therefore, it may be said that plantation workers as a whole enjoy the rights granted by the legislative or other provisions in
force in the various countries as regards limitation of hours of work, weekly rest and annual holidays with pay.

Broadly speaking, agricultural workers in plantations generally work shorter hours than laid down by law, except in all countries at harvest time, and in Latin America on a few types of plantations. The right to weekly rest is generally recognised, and work accomplished outside the limit laid down by law for normal working hours is paid for at higher rates. The usual increase is 50 per cent. and that for work carried out on Sundays or public holidays is generally 100 per cent.

Plantation workers who are employed on a permanent basis are almost everywhere entitled to annual holidays, the length of which varies widely between different countries; temporary workers—who often form the majority of a plantation’s labour force—are not in principle entitled, because they do not stay long enough under one employer. Some countries, however, are beginning to grant holidays to temporary and seasonal workers in proportion to the number of months worked.
CHAPTER VII

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN AND YOUNG WORKERS

The contribution still made by women and young persons (children and adolescents) to work in plantations, especially in Asia, has already been spoken of in Chapter II. The situation is in the process of change, however, as the part played by this section of the labour force becomes increasingly smaller both because of the laws adopted in one country or another to restrict the employment of women and young workers and also simply because there are, broadly speaking, enough men to do the job, as can be seen from the underemployment and even unemployment rife in many areas.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

National Laws and Regulations

Almost all legal systems include special provisions governing the employment of women, framed for the protection of female employees and especially of those who are pregnant or have young children. Some provisions prohibit their being employed in difficult, unhealthy or dangerous work or on night work; others provide maternity benefits in the shape of holidays with pay before and after confinement, together with special rest breaks during the day for nursing mothers.

Difficult and Dangerous Work.

A number of legal systems prohibit the employment of female workers for arduous work, as in Cameroon and Ivory Coast, where women must not be required to carry a load of over 25 kilograms. Furthermore it is forbidden to cause a woman who is pregnant, or who has been back at work after confinement for less than three weeks, to carry, push or drag any load whatsoever. In Ceylon women are not permitted to work with machines which are regarded as dangerous. In Colombia it is forbidden to employ pregnant women in work that is dangerous or unhealthy or that requires great effort. In Costa Rica a similar provision is laid down to apply to all female employees.
Maternity Leave. ¹

Varying periods of compulsory leave are allowed in different countries for pregnancy and confinement.

In Cameroon it is forbidden to employ women in such circumstances during a total period of eight weeks (including six after the confinement); this legal provision, however, is without prejudice to the right granted to pregnant women under section 116 of the 1952 Labour Code to take leave from work for 14 consecutive weeks (including six after the confinement). Similar provisions exist in Ivory Coast. In both countries women taking maternity leave are entitled to the maternity benefits provided for in social insurance schemes financed by employers. For instance, in Cameroon, section 25 of Act No. 59/27 of 11 April 1959 instituting a family allowance code specifies that female employees are entitled, during the period of maternity leave and in addition to the prenatal allowances (assessed on the basis of the family allowances) and the maternity allowances, to a daily indemnity equal in principle to one-half of the wage actually paid at the time of the suspension of the contract of employment, or to two-thirds of such wage if they have previously given birth to two children giving entitlement to family allowances. The equalisation fund dealing with payment of allowances may also assume responsibility for part of the medical expenses arising out of pregnancy and confinement.

¹ Part VII of the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), deals with maternity protection. After defining the terms "woman" and "child" in Article 46, it sets out the rules to be applied in particular as regards maternity leave.

Article 47

1. A woman to whom this Part of this Convention applies shall, on the production of appropriate evidence of the presumed date of her confinement, be entitled to a period of maternity leave.

2. The competent authority may, after consultation with the most representative organisations of employers and workers, where such exist, prescribe a qualifying period for maternity leave which shall not exceed a total of 150 days of employment with the same employer during the 12 months preceding the confinement.

3. The period of maternity leave shall be at least 12 weeks, and shall include a period of compulsory leave after confinement.

4. The period of compulsory leave after confinement shall be prescribed by national laws or regulations, but shall in no case be less than six weeks; the remainder of the total period of maternity leave may be provided before the presumed date of confinement or following expiration of the compulsory leave period or partly before the presumed date of confinement and partly following the expiration of the compulsory leave period as may be prescribed by national laws or regulations.

5. The leave before the presumed date of confinement shall be extended by any period elapsing between the presumed date of confinement and the actual date of confinement, and the period of compulsory leave to be taken after confinement shall not be reduced on that account.

6. In case of illness suitably certified as arising out of pregnancy national laws or regulations shall provide for additional leave before confinement, the maximum duration of which may be fixed by the competent authority.

(continued overleaf)
In Mauritius female labourers who work and live on a sugar plantation are entitled to one month's leave before and one month's leave after confinement, and are given an allowance of 10 rupees. In plantations owned by members of the Mauritius Sugar Producers Association, they are also entitled under a collective agreement to an extra allowance of 10 rupees if they have worked and resided on the plantation during the six months immediately preceding their confinement.\(^1\)

In Colombia female employees are entitled to eight weeks' maternity leave, starting at least two weeks before the confinement. Women covered by the social insurance scheme may receive allowances equal to the whole of their wages for four weeks before and four weeks after their confinement. In other cases the wages due for maternity leave are paid by the employer.

Female employees in Costa Rica are entitled to maternity leave of 30 days before and 30 days after their confinement. During this period they are entitled to two-thirds of their wages, payable by the employer or, in the case of women covered by insurance schemes, by the employer and the social insurance fund jointly.

In Ecuador maternity leave is three weeks before and three weeks after confinement, during the whole of which period women receive 75 per cent.

7. In case of illness suitably certified as arising out of confinement, the woman shall be entitled to an extension of the leave after confinement, the maximum duration of which may be fixed by the competent authority.

8. No pregnant woman shall be required to undertake any type of work harmful to her in the period prior to her maternity leave.

**Article 48**

1. While absent from work on maternity leave in accordance with the provisions of Article 47, the woman shall be entitled to receive cash and medical benefits.

2. The rates of cash benefit shall be fixed by national laws or regulations so as to ensure benefits sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of herself and her child in accordance with a suitable standard of living.

3. Medical benefits shall include prenatal, confinement and postnatal care by qualified midwives or medical practitioners as well as hospitalisation care where necessary; freedom of choice of doctor and freedom of choice between a public and private hospital shall be respected as far as practicable.

4. Any contribution due under a compulsory social insurance scheme providing maternity benefits and any tax based upon payrolls which is raised for the purpose of providing such benefits shall, whether paid both by the employer and the employees or by the employer, be paid in respect of the total number of men and women employed by the undertakings concerned, without distinction of sex.

**Article 50**

1. While a woman is absent from work on maternity leave in accordance with the provisions or Article 47, it shall not be lawful for her employer to give her notice of dismissal during such absence, or to give her notice of dismissal at such a time that the notice would expire during such absence.

2. The dismissal of a woman solely because she is pregnant or a nursing mother shall be prohibited.

WOMEN AND YOUNG WORKERS

cent. of their wage, payable by the employer. In Peru such leave lasts for 20 days before and 40 days after confinement, but throughout this period employees are paid only 60 per cent. of their wages unless they belong to social insurance schemes, in which case they receive 70 per cent. for the 36 days prior and the 36 days subsequent to confinement (i.e. 72 days in all).

In Ceylon the Maternity Benefits Ordinance of 1939, as amended in particular in 1958 and 1962, grants six weeks' maternity leave, including four after the confinement, to women who have worked on the plantation for at least 150 days during the year immediately preceding the date of confinement. All women employees are entitled during their maternity leave to a cash benefit equivalent to six-sevenths of their daily wage if paid on a time-basis, and six-sevenths of the average daily wage earned over the six months immediately preceding the confinement if paid on a piece-work basis.¹ This may be replaced by alternative maternity benefits if the employer is so authorised by the competent authority; and the employee concerned ² is then entitled, at the time of her confinement, to use for at least ten days a maternity ward or lying-in room, to be assisted at her delivery by a midwife, to have meals provided during her time in the maternity ward, and to be given benefit in cash equivalent to four-sevenths of the ordinary maternity benefits to which she would otherwise have been entitled.

In India the Maternity Benefit Act of 12 December 1961, which applies to plantations as defined in the Plantations Labour Act, 1951, specifies that women may not be employed during the six weeks immediately following their confinement. Provided that a woman has been employed on one plantation, consecutively or non-consecutively, for a period of at least 160 days in the 12 months immediately preceding the date of her delivery, she is entitled to 12 weeks (including six weeks after her confinement) of maternity benefit, payable by the employer at the rate of the average daily wage for the period of her actual absence. Such allowance may not, however, be less than 1 rupee per day.

Additional leave for not more than one month, with payment at the same rate as maternity benefit, is also granted to women suffering from illness arising out or pregnancy, delivery, premature birth or miscarriage. It is forbidden to dismiss a woman from her employment during or because of her absence on maternity leave. Any employer who does not ensure that a woman entitled to the maternity allowance receives free

² This measure covers women who work and live on the plantation and those who do not live there, who have notified the employer, prior to confinement, of their desire to receive those benefits, in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Act.
medical attention during her pregnancy, confinement and delivery has to pay her a sum of 25 rupees.

In Indonesia women enjoy paid maternity leave amounting to one-and-a-half months before and one-and-a-half months after their confinement, payable by the employer. The period of leave immediately preceding delivery may be increased to three months on presentation of a medical certificate.

In Malaya maternity leave amounts to 30 days before and 30 days after confinement; a maternity allowance is paid by the employer in particular cases.

**Breaks for Nursing.**

Laws and regulations frequently make provision for breaks to enable mothers to nurse their babies, but here, too, legislation varies between different countries. In Cameroon and Mauritius two breaks of half-an-hour each are granted each day to nursing mothers. In Ivory Coast, for a period of 15 months from the baby's birth, the mother is entitled to nursing breaks which may not exceed a total of one hour in any working day. In Colombia, until the child attains the age of six months, the mother is entitled to two breaks of 20 minutes each day; but the Labour Code lays down that she may obtain longer and more frequent pauses if she produces a medical certificate. In Ecuador, during the first nine months after the child's birth, the mother is entitled to a break of 15 minutes every three hours. Breaks for nursing in Peru may not exceed one hour each day.

In Asia the Maternity Benefit Act, 1961, of India, and the Conditions of Employment Act, 1951, of Indonesia also entitle women to stop work twice a day until their child reaches the age of 15 months (India), or to take time off as necessary (Indonesia) for nursing; these Acts set no limit on the duration of such breaks. In Ceylon two periods of at least 30 minutes a day are granted to mothers nursing children of less than 1 year.

---

1 Article 49 of the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110) is worded as follows:

**Article 49**

1. If a woman is nursing her child she shall be entitled to interrupt her work for this purpose, under conditions to be prescribed by national laws or regulations.

2. Interruptions of work for the purpose of nursing are to be counted as working hours and remunerated accordingly in cases in which the matter is governed by or in accordance with laws and regulations; in cases in which the matter is governed by collective agreement, the position shall be as determined by the relevant agreement.
The Position in Practice

In practice employers often engage female employees only as temporaries, and particularly for work paid on a task, hourly or daily basis. In this way they are not bound by all the obligations laid down by law. Practices of this sort were observed in all the areas investigated, but especially in the African and Latin American countries. In the plantations of East Cameroon, for instance, the few women employed are engaged on a temporary basis and are almost all paid by the day; this enables their employers to evade any payment by way of maternity leave or benefit.

A similar situation was observed in Tanganyika, where women are sometimes temporarily engaged to carry out specific work in the sisal plantations, such as weeding, cleaning, carrying water, etc.

In Latin America women are seldom employed in plantations on a permanent basis, but it is not unusual for them to take part in harvesting, especially in coffee and cotton plantations. In such cases they are normally paid by results, and cannot therefore be entitled to benefits laid down by law such as maternity leave or nursing breaks.

During 1963, in India, 41,425 women submitted claims for maternity benefits in Assam, and 6,870 in Madras. In the same year, 5,839 women received such benefits in Kerala, 1,352 in Mysore, 161 in Uttar Pradesh, and 16,144 in West Bengal.

Employment of Young Workers

National Laws and Regulations

Most legal systems prohibit the paid employment of children below a minimum age. This age is different in different countries, but is generally between 12 (Costa Rica, India and Tanganyika) and 14 years (Cameroon, Ecuador, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Malaya and Peru). In some cases, indeed, where the minimum age is specified as 14 years, children of between 12 and 14 years of age may be authorised to work under special conditions, especially in agriculture.

Where the law does not specify a minimum age below which work is prohibited, children and adolescents are sometimes authorised to work provided that certain restrictions and conditions are observed. In

---

2 The minimum qualifying age for employment in processing plants is 14 years.
Colombia, for instance, the Labour Code does not specify a minimum age below which employment is prohibited, but section 30 stipulates that every person of 18 years or more shall have the capacity to make an individual contract of employment. Minors under 18 years of age may, however, make contracts of employment if they have obtained the written authorisation of their legal representatives or the competent authority. This authorisation must be granted whenever the competent official—generally the labour inspector—considers that no physical or moral prejudice would be suffered by the minor in the exercise of the activity in question. Furthermore, it is forbidden to assign minors of less than 16 years to work that is dangerous or unhealthy, or requires great effort or is done at night. The Code further stipulates that minors of less than 16 years must not work more than six hours a day.

**The Position in Practice**

In practice it is often difficult to ascertain the exact age of children who are at work, especially in African countries. In some of the plantations in these countries the survey showed that children who appeared to be less than 10 years old were at work in plantations, and that adolescents of 14 or 15 years of age—sometimes younger—were carrying out arduous work which ought normally to be done by adults. The reason in many cases was that their parents could not work because of illness, or that the family was really unable to manage without the help of the children’s wages. In other cases, even though child labour is not allowed by the plantation management, the parents take their children to help them so that they can finish work more quickly.

In Latin America in general, plantations which employ female labour (such as coffee and cotton plantations) also employ young workers at harvest time, on the basis of payment-by-results. Even the little children are sometimes employed on light jobs, especially in small plantations.

In the banana plantations of Costa Rica and Ecuador children are sometimes employed for particular jobs such as packing or loading bananas, and are paid on a task-work basis.

In Asia employment of children in plantations is steadily growing less. The most likely reason for this is that with the increase in the numbers of people living on the plantations employers can find all the labour they need amongst the adult workers available. Another factor in the diminishing employment of children and young workers is that, in fact, their employment is not always much of an economic proposition, since it requires a greater degree of supervision and inspection both in the technical sphere and in the observance of obligations laid down by law.
In conclusion, it can be said that female and child labour is employed primarily at harvest time. Working mothers benefit in principle from legal protection, although as regards maternity leave only those who are engaged on a permanent basis or who have worked at least for a given number of days in any year (usually amounting to not less than five months) are entitled to maternity allowances, the methods of payment differing in different countries. Laws and regulations generally prohibit the employment of women, especially pregnant women, on arduous or dangerous work. In some countries mothers are granted special periods of rest each day to nurse their babies.

 Practically all the countries prohibit the employment of children under a minimum age (usually 14 years, but in some cases 12 years in plantations and agricultural undertakings in general). Almost universally employers try to limit child labour, but often the workers themselves make their children go to work with them, and give them light jobs for the sake of the extra wages. It is sometimes difficult to be sure of the ages of children who are at work; and in plantations in Africa especially it is not unusual to find children who appear younger than the minimum age laid down by laws and regulations, or adolescents between 14 and 15 years old carrying out work which is too heavy for their age.
CHAPTER VIII

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Laws and regulations in most plantation countries make the employer liable for personal injury to employees by accident arising in the course of their employment, and oblige him to provide his employees with free medical care as necessary and, under certain conditions, to pay them compensation for any loss of wages. Generally speaking all such provisions in law apply to plantations, although in Peru, Act No. 1378 of 20 January 1911 on industrial accidents applies only, as regards agriculture, to agricultural undertakings in which machines are employed,

1 The Plantations Convention, 1958, and the Recommendation of the same year contain provisions on workmen's compensation; the Convention in particular covers the subject in its Articles 51 to 53.

Article 51

Each Member of the International Labour Organisation for which this Part of this Convention is in force undertakes to extend to all plantation workers its laws and regulations which provide for the compensation of workers for personal injury by accident arising out of or in the course of their employment.

Article 52

1. Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force undertakes to grant to the nationals of any other Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force, who suffer personal injury due to industrial accidents happening in its territory, or to their dependants, the same treatment in respect of workmen's compensation as it grants to its own nationals.

2. This equality of treatment shall be guaranteed to foreign workers and their dependants without any condition as to residence. With regard to the payments which a Member or its nationals would have to make outside that Member's territory in the application of this principle, the measures to be adopted shall be regulated, if necessary, by special arrangements between the Members concerned.

Article 53

Special agreements may be made between the Members concerned to provide that compensation for industrial accidents happening to workers whilst temporarily or intermittently employed in the territory of one Member on behalf of an undertaking situated in the territory of another Member shall be governed by the laws and regulations of the latter Member.

2 The experts in charge of the survey were not really able thoroughly to pursue their investigations in a field no less significant than of accidents, i.e. the question of occupational disease and injury to which are exposed, in particular, those workers who are much involved in the use of toxic products such as insecticides and fungicides. To extend the scope of the survey in this way would have required the services of a medical staff with specialised knowledge.
and even then only to employees who are exposed to danger (section 2). In Costa Rica also, agricultural workers are not covered by provisions in respect of workmen’s compensation unless they make use of machinery.

In general and in the majority of countries workmen’s compensation is still based on the personal liability of the employer, who can sometimes transfer this responsibility to an insurance company or some other body.

However, in two of the countries covered by the survey—Cameroon and Ivory Coast—plantation workers are covered by the general scheme of social insurance against industrial accidents, applicable to all wage earners.

MEASURES FOR THE PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS

Of the measures taken by plantation employers to protect their workers the most usual are the installing of first-aid boxes at various points, the issue of protective clothing, instruction on how to use implements or machines (which sometimes goes to the extent of instruction in the rudiments of industrial safety), distribution of leaflets and posting of notices (often illustrated) exhorting employees to caution.

A collective agreement in a big sugar plantation in Ecuador stipulates that the employer must provide all teams in the field with a box containing suitable first-aid equipment, and that a first-aid helper must be appointed in each team and must be taught by the plantation doctor how to give first aid.

In most plantations of any size employers provide workers with suitable protective clothing—mainly boots, gloves, waterproofs, goggles, masks, etc.—and in some cases are obliged by law to do so; thus, section 145 of the Ecuador Labour Code stipulates that employers must provide their employees with suitable protective clothing. The collective agreement in one big Peruvian sugarcane plantation includes a similar provision.\(^1\) It was observed, however, that in practice employees made very little use of such means of protection, either because of the inconvenience or because they were unaware or careless of the danger.

In many cases overseers instruct workers actually in the fields on the best way of using various dangerous implements, such as the machete, but here too workers are less than meticulous in following such suggestions.

As a measure against fire some plantations possessing industrial plant have placed extinguishers at various points.

\(^1\) Contrato colectivo de trabajo entre la hacienda Cartavio, etc., op. cit.
In Costa Rica the Compañía Bananera arranges cinema shows designed to give employees some degree of training in safety measures, and the company has also set up a safety committee. The Standard Fruit Company, which also farms banana plantations in Costa Rica, arranges short lectures giving general information on industrial safety, and has put up a number of placards reminding workers of their responsibility.

Industrial accidents are relatively rare in the majority of plantations, and are generally a question of more or less minor injuries such as cuts, contusions, sprains, insect and snake bites, etc. Almost all employers give free first aid in such cases, and make themselves responsible, if necessary, for having the victim taken to the doctor, either in the plantation’s own dispensary or in the nearest village. Generally speaking the employer pays for the cost of any visits to the doctor or purchase of medical necessities. In Mauritius employers are obliged by law to pay any expenses arising out of accidents, up to 600 rupees in serious cases. Sometimes the insurance repays the employer for the whole of the costs incurred (e.g. the agricultural friendly society in Ivory Coast).

The position as regards accidents is very different in small as opposed to large plantations. Small planters are frequently in no position to fulfil their legal obligations in the matter, and their holdings in many cases do not have the organisation to deal effectively with accidents.

In some countries however, such as Ivory Coast, a collective effort is made so that employees in small plantations shall also be protected against accident risks. Close cooperation has been established in Ivory Coast between the agricultural friendly society, the federation for forestry and agriculture, the chamber of agriculture and the African planters’ union, which has enabled the friendly society to pay the costs incurred by several hundreds of small plantations as a result of industrial accidents.

**Compensation for Accidents**

In all the countries the regulations affecting plantation workers in the matter of industrial accidents provide for periodical payments in the event of temporary disability. Some of the systems in force specify the granting of pensions in the event of the death or permanent disability of the head of the family; others, the payment of lump sums or of pensions for a specific period. Medical care is provided in all cases.

In Ivory Coast any victim of an accident who is paid by the hour or day is entitled to half his normal wages for the first 28 days and two-thirds as from the twenty-ninth day of the period during which his work is interrupted. Workers who are paid by the month are entitled
to receive the whole of their wage during a period equivalent to the period of notice in case of dismissal—usually a month—and two-thirds of their wages thereafter. In the event of death the widow and orphans are entitled to survivors' benefits.

In Mauritius employers have to pay 80 per cent. of normal wages in cases of temporary total disability. The maximum payment for permanent total disability is equivalent to the sum of eight years' wages. In the event of the employee's death the maximum compensation payable to dependants of the deceased may not exceed six years' wages.¹

In Colombia, if incapacity for work arises out of a serious accident, employers in the big sugar undertakings pay the full wages for six months.

In Peru, under a collective agreement in a big sugarcane plantation, workers who are victims of an accident are entitled as from the second day following the accident to 75 per cent. of their wage and the normal allocation of food, and may continue to enjoy the advantages of the undertaking's shops.

In Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Malaya the law provides that employers must pay compensation to victims of accidents occurring "in the course of employment".² Interpretation of this expression has given rise to much controversy, but in general the workers' viewpoint has prevailed. Not much explanation is given as to how the term "accident" should be defined, save in Malayan law, which lists various sorts of accidents, including those which may occur to a workman while travelling in any vehicle in connection with his employment, always provided that this was being done with the permission of the employer.

No great difficulty has been encountered, in practice, in applying the provisions laid down by law as to workmen's compensation.

Thus the principle of workmen's compensation is recognised in plantation countries; employers are in general bound to make first aid available, to provide suitable medical care, and to compensate employees and their dependants in the event of disablement or death arising out of accidents occurring in the course of employment; and, in fact, the accidents to which plantation workers are exposed are not, by and large, of a serious nature.

² In Indonesia, accidents occurring "in connection with employment".
CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL SECURITY

The protection given to plantation workers in the context of social security\(^1\) may be provided under general or particular social insurance schemes, or by membership of provident societies or funds, or by direct obligation imposed on the employer by labour legislation or collective agreements, or on the private initiative of employers.

The main eventualities covered by the various systems in the countries concerned are the need for medical care, sickness, maternity, industrial accidents, old age, invalidity and death, and dependent children.

It is impossible in this chapter to give a complete survey of the various social security systems existing in plantation countries; and the plan of the present report being as it is the question of medical care\(^2\) provided by the employer in the shape of medical assistance is to be covered in Chapter XVI (together with the risk of sickness), maternity benefits have

---

\(^1\) As regards international standards of social security, the Plantations Convention, 1958, does not contain a special Part on this subject. Some of its provisions, however, relate directly or otherwise to specific eventualities covered by social security, in particular as regards the provisions on maternity protection and benefits connected with confinement (Article 48), workmen's compensation (Articles 51-53), and medical care (Articles 89-91).

The Plantations Recommendation, 1958, for its part, calls on each Member State to "extend its laws and regulations establishing systems of insurance or other appropriate systems providing security in case of sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age and similar social risks to plantation workers on conditions equivalent to those prevailing in the case of workers in industrial and commercial occupations".

It should be remembered that the International Labour Conference, 1952, adopted the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention 1952 (No. 102), which lays down basic principles on the subject and which can apply to all categories of workers, including plantation workers.

As regards agriculture the International Labour Conference has adopted the Workmen's Compensation (Agriculture) Convention, 1921 (No. 12), the Sickness Insurance (Agriculture) Convention, 1927 (No. 25), the Old-Age Insurance (Agriculture) Convention, 1933 (No. 36), the Invalidity Insurance (Agriculture) Convention, 1933 (No. 38), and the Survivors' Insurance (Agriculture) Convention, 1933 (No. 40). It also adopted the Social Insurance (Agriculture) Recommendation, 1921 (No. 17).

In addition, the Committee on Work on Plantations has adopted the following resolutions on the subject of social security: No. 8, on the health and social security of plantation workers (1950); No. 16, concerning sickness benefits (1953); and No. 40, on the extension of social security to plantation workers and their families (1961).

\(^2\) As regards sickness and maternity the benefits provided by the employer or by social insurance may be in cash (payment of a given sum) or in kind (medical care).
been described in Chapter VII, and workmen's compensation in Chap­
ter VIII. We shall therefore be dealing in the following pages with the rest of the major aspects of social security.

The laws and regulations of the countries included in the survey make provision in general for various systems of social insurance, which cover only some risks and do not always apply to agricultural workers. (For instance in Ecuador plantation workers are not covered by the social insurance system in force.)

AFRICAN COUNTRIES

In Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Mauritius the existing family allow­ance systems grant cash benefits to workers (including those on planta­tions) with a given number of children. In Mauritius, for example, Ordinance No. 62 of 1961 introduced a family allowance scheme which came into force on 1 January 1962, granting 15 rupees per month to all families with at least three children of less than 14 years of age. In cases of illness lasting for more than two consecutive days agricultural workers in the sugar industry who are paid by the month receive 50 per cent. of their wages, pursuant to Government Notice No. 59 of 1963, but are not, however, entitled to such compensation for more than 45 days in one year.

Workers who are paid by the month, craftsmen and other staff in the sugar industry in Mauritius receive benefits under a scheme for old-age pensions. Ordinance No. 42 of 1955, on a pension fund for the sugar industry, set up a benefit fund which has been in operation since 1 January 1956. Employees contribute to the fund by paying in 5 per cent. of their wages, and employers pay a little over 5 per cent., varying in relation to the wage category and to the age of the employee. About 7,000 workers participate in this social insurance scheme, and in 1963 about 1,200 persons were in fact receiving pensions from this special fund. The ordinance provides that, in the event of the death of a worker who is paid on a monthly or daily basis and who is living on a sugarcane plantation, his widow shall receive 100 rupees from the undertaking, provided that the deceased had been working for at least 12 consecutive months immediately prior to his death. Should the deceased person have been a widower, the undertaking nominates a member of his family as beneficiary; if he was already in receipt of a pension at the time of his death the widow is entitled to only 50 and not 100 rupees.

In Tanganyika a national provident fund for all wage earners was introduced in 1964 (i.e. after the I.L.O. survey).
Asian Countries

Of the Asian countries, Ceylon, India and Malaya have provident funds which in general were initially set up for industrial workers but which now admit plantation workers. These funds were established by law: in Ceylon, the Employees' Provident Fund Act, 1958 (applied to plantation workers as from 1959); in India, the Employees' Provident Funds Act, 1952, for industrial workers only, and the extension of it in 1957 to cover plantation workers; in Malaya, the Employees' Provident Fund Ordinance, 1951. In the state of Assam, in India, a special provident fund scheme was set up in 1955 for workers in tea plantations.

The institution of provident funds is made subject to various conditions. Thus in Ceylon the scheme applies only to undertakings of not less than 1,000 acres (405 hectares), and on occasion to undertakings of from 10 to 1,000 acres (4.05 to 405 hectares), if they employ not less than five workers; in India it applies only to undertakings which continuously employ at least 20 workers over a period of not less than 240 days; in Malaya, to workers who earn less than 400 Malayan dollars per month, after they have worked one month for the same employer.

In these three countries workers may withdraw from the fund the amount standing to their credit, usually when they reach the age of 55 (in Ceylon, 50 years in the case of women) and cease paid employment. In some cases they may also withdraw this sum in the event of permanent incapacity for work or in other specific circumstances.

In Indonesia plantation workers are entitled to a retirement pension. For some years before the provident funds were set up employers in Asian plantations used to grant workers who had remained a great length of time in their service a retirement gratuity, which was in no way obligatory; it equalled not more than six months' wages. Such bounties are still granted in a few special cases, such as in Malaya, where it is given to Indian workers when they leave to return to their own country. It also happened—and this practice is still current in some places—that a small pension took the place of the retirement gratuity, especially in the case of very old employees who were without anyone to assist in their support. Such pensions, amounting to 25 rupees in India and 25 Malayan dollars in Malaya, were usually paid until the death of the beneficiary, but since the introduction of provident funds the practice is gradually disappearing.

Contributions to provident funds are made on a joint basis. In Ceylon, for instance, the employee pays in 4 per cent. of his total wages and the employer adds 6 per cent.; while in tea and rubber plantations
in India the employer and employee each contribute 8 per cent. of the basic wage plus the dearness allowance, and in coffee plantations 6.25 per cent. of the same sum. In Malaya the amount of contributions varies according to circumstances, but a worker who earns 70 Malayan dollars generally pays 4 dollars and his employer pays the same amount.

It may be added that in 1958, the Malayan Government liquidated the funds which had been set up for the recruitment of Indian labour and used the resources from it to set up the South Indian Labour Fund. This fund’s governing board finances the return to India of specified categories of Indian workers who have reached the age of superannuation, and is responsible for two centres—one at Penang and the other at Port Swettenham—which operate primarily as transit centres for Indian workers returning to their own country. The board also runs a home in Kuala Lumpur for workers from southern India who are too old or incapacitated for work. Such workers are given free board and lodging at the home, and also 5 Malayan dollars per month as pocket money. Financial assistance is granted, too, to orphanages housing the orphaned children of workers from southern India.

LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

In Colombia a compulsory social insurance scheme was introduced by Act No. 90 of 1946. It applies to all wage earners, and was to be progressively extended to the entire country. As regards agricultural workers, in 1949 Legislative Decree No. 320 instructed the Colombian Social Insurance Institution to take preparatory measures to extend social insurance to the rural population. In 1963 there were five district funds operating in the following areas: Quindio, Valle del Cauca, Santa Marta, Antioquia, and Cundinamarca. At the beginning of 1963 the Institution had 455,959 members (8.25 per cent. of the economically active population) and 173,062 beneficiaries, amounting to a total of 629,021 persons protected or 6.3 per cent. of the whole of the country’s population. Furthermore, in July 1963 the number of workers in the agricultural sector who were members of the Institution stood at 40,388, including those belonging to the district fund of Santa Marta, in the north, which is of comparatively recent date and within the competence of which come the banana plantations. With 15,821 beneficiaries the total number of persons in rural districts protected by the social insurance scheme stood at 56,209—a very low proportion. The limited number of

people in rural districts who are covered by the social insurance scheme emerges clearly if the total is apportioned by localities; and it is precisely in the localities where this scheme operates that are to be found most of the large plantations of Colombia, growing coffee, sugarcane and bananas. Furthermore, although the Colombian Social Insurance Institution is not a new foundation, at present social security covers only sickness and maternity insurance, which is very little in relation to the risks set out in Act No. 90 of 1946. Moreover, the substance of the Act itself puts rural workers at a disadvantage since it applies only to workers employed on a permanent basis; and in Colombian agricultural undertakings (particularly in certain types of plantations) this is unusual, except in the rural industrial sector as represented for instance by the sugar refineries.

The survey thus showed that social insurance is more or less nonexistent in the cotton, coffee and tobacco plantations. In the big sugar undertakings visited by the expert, on the other hand, there is insurance against non-occupational diseases and maternity insurance and in the few undertakings with a capital of over 800,000 pesos retirement pensions are granted to employees who have worked during a given number of years for one undertaking.

In Costa Rica the social insurance scheme introduced by Act No. 17 of 22 October 1943 covers the risks of sickness, maternity, old age, invalidity and death. The scheme is compulsory and is in the process of being gradually extended, and applies not only to all workers but also, in some districts and at least as regards medical welfare, to members of workers' families—spouse, children and even parents. Temporary workers taken on for the coffee harvest are not, however, included within the scope of sickness and maternity insurance, and temporary employees in general are not entitled to old-age, invalidity or life insurance benefits. It is interesting that although it is considerably easier to start by introducing social insurance schemes in urban areas, urban workers being better able to pay their contributions and administration being less difficult, the Costa Rican insurance scheme was initiated simultaneously in urban and rural areas. Sickness insurance covers about 60 per cent. of the plantation workers and comprises, in the event of an employee being incapacitated for work, benefit at the rate of 50 per cent. of his wage, payable for not more than 25 weeks, with a waiting period of four days.\(^1\) Medical care is also provided under the scheme.

\(^1\) It would seem from case-law precedent that the employer is liable to pay the employee's indemnity for these first four days. The employer must also pay any uninsured worker 50 per cent. of his wage if he falls ill, during a period which varies according to the number of months of service.
In cases where the employee’s family is covered by medical welfare insurance, contributions are paid in to the insurance fund at the rate of 11 per cent. of the employee’s wage—4 per cent. paid by the employee, 5 per cent. by the employer and 2 per cent. by the State.

The Compañía Bananera does not belong to the national social insurance scheme of Costa Rica, but has its own scheme—at least in the Golfito division 1—the essential feature of which is that it provides assistance in cases of illness (50 per cent. of wages for a period which varies according to the number of months of service) for temporary workers on the Golfito wharves, subject to certain conditions, and also free medical and hospital treatment for all workers and members of their family if the worker’s monthly wage is less than 600 colons. The company’s arreglo directo takes “members of the family” of a worker to include: his wife or companion (concubine), children who are minors, and his mother, provided that they live with the worker and are dependent on him. Company employees who are paid over 600 colons, on the other hand, have to contribute at the rate of 2 per cent. of their wages in order to receive hospital treatment.

According to the workers’ representatives the Compañía Bananera’s scheme is not all roses, in that it necessarily entails some degree of dependence by the workers on the company. Workers who earn less than 600 colons per month and who would thus normally be entitled to free medical and hospital treatment are obliged, if they feel unwell, to get a certificate from their foreman or supervisor (capataz) in order to go to the dispensary or the hospital. It is not infrequent for supervisors to refuse such a certificate, simply telling the workers that they are not sick, in which case workers who are unwell have to go to the doctor at their own expense and with the time thus lost deducted from their wages. Furthermore, workers who earn over 600 colons a month are not given free medical and hospital treatment for members of their family.

In Peru Act No. 8433 of 12 August 1936 instituted a compulsory social insurance scheme, which covers the risks of sickness, maternity, old age, invalidity and death. The Act is being progressively extended to apply to all localities and makes the social insurance scheme compulsory for all persons of either sex who are under 60 years of age and who habitually work for an employer (whether an individual or a body corporate under public or private law) and whose annual remuneration does not exceed a specified sum.

For sickness and maternity coverage the insured person pays 3 per cent. of his wages, the employer 6 per cent. and the State 2 per cent.; but contributions to the workers' retirement pensions fund, set up under Act No. 13640 of 21 April 1961, are made solely by employers and workers, each contributing a sum equal to 2 per cent. of the employee's wages. In a few coffee plantations in the San Ramón district, the undertaking pays the whole contribution, amounting to 4 per cent. of the wage. Sometimes additional contributions are made by workers and employers in certain sugarcane and cotton plantations, by way of insurance against the risks of sickness and occupational accidents. Such contributions vary from plantation to plantation; in one case 3 per cent. of wages is payable by the employee and 6 per cent. by the employer, in another 1 per cent. each is paid by both, or in yet another the employee pays 2 per cent. and the employer 4 per cent. In the two former cases, although not in the latter, members of the employee's family also benefit from the insurance as regards medical care.
CHAPTER X

LABOUR INSPECTION

Most national legislations provide for a system of supervising compliance with labour laws and regulations, but labour inspection systems specially designed for plantations are rare.¹ Generally speaking inspectors are required to visit not only plantations but also any other agricultural,

¹ The question of labour inspection was included in the agenda of the Fifth Session (1966) of the Committee on Work on Plantations, which had already adopted a resolution on it in 1950 (No. 10). The Plantations Recommendation, 1958, contains a provision on labour inspection and the Plantations Convention, 1958, has no less than 14 Articles on the subject: These are as follows:

Article 71

Each Member for which this Convention is in force shall maintain a system of labour inspection.

Article 72

Labour inspection services shall consist of suitably trained inspectors.

Article 73

Workers and their representatives shall be afforded every facility for communicating freely with the inspectors.

Article 74

1. The functions of the system of labour inspection shall be—

(a) to secure the enforcement of the legal provisions relating to conditions of work and the protection of workers while engaged in their work, such as provisions relating to hours, wages, safety, health and welfare, the employment of children and young persons, and other connected matters, in so far as such provisions are enforceable by labour inspectors;

(b) to supply technical information and advice to employers and workers concerning the most effective means of complying with the legal provisions;

(c) to bring to the notice of the competent authority defects or abuses not specifically covered by existing legal provisions.

2. Any further duties which may be entrusted to labour inspectors shall not be such as to interfere with the effective discharge of their primary duties or to prejudice in any way the authority and impartiality which are necessary to inspectors in their relations with employers and workers.

Article 75

The competent authority shall make appropriate arrangements to promote—

(a) effective co-operation between the inspection services and other government services and public or private institutions engaged in similar activities; and

(b) collaboration between officials of the labour inspectorate and employers and workers or their organisations.

(continued overleaf)
industrial and commercial undertakings in their area. India is the only country which has inspectors specially responsible for agricultural matters on plantations; they are appointed by state governments under section 4 of the Plantations Labour Act, 1951 (No. LXIX).

Amongst the powers conferred on inspectors by the various national legislations are those of entering undertakings, including plantations; carrying out any examination or inquiry they consider advisable; interrogating employees, and examining undertakings’ registers or other documents. The Indian Act just mentioned adds that inspectors can examine the crops grown in any plantation.

**Article 76**

The inspection staff shall be composed of public officials whose status and conditions of service are such that they are assured of stability of employment and are independent of changes of government and of improper external influences.

**Article 77**

1. The competent authority shall make the necessary arrangements to furnish labour inspectors with—

(a) local offices, suitably equipped in accordance with the requirements of the service, and accessible to all persons concerned;

(b) the transport facilities necessary for the performance of their duties in cases where suitable public facilities do not exist.

2. The competent authority shall make the necessary arrangements to reimburse to labour inspectors any travelling and incidental expenses which may be necessary for the performance of their duties.

**Article 78**

1. Labour inspectors provided with proper credentials shall be empowered—

(a) to enter freely and without previous notice at any hour of the day or night any place of employment liable to inspection;

(b) to enter by day any premises which they may have reasonable cause to believe to be liable to inspection; and

(c) to carry out any examination, test or inquiry which they may consider necessary in order to satisfy themselves that the legal provisions are being strictly observed and, in particular—

(i) to interrogate, alone or in the presence of witnesses, the employer or the staff of the undertaking on any matters concerning the application of the legal provisions;

(ii) to require the production of any books, registers or other documents the keeping of which is prescribed by national laws or regulations relating to conditions of work, in order to see that they are in conformity with the legal provisions and to copy such documents or make extracts from them;

(iii) to enforce the posting of notices required by the legal provisions;

(iv) to take or remove for purposes of analysis samples of materials and substances used or handled, subject to the employer or his representative being notified of any samples or substances taken or removed for such purpose.

2. On the occasion of an inspection visit inspectors shall notify the employer or his representative of their presence, unless they consider that such a notification may be prejudicial to the performance of their duties.

**Article 79**

Subject to such exceptions as may be made by law or regulation, labour inspectors—
Inspectors are usually public officials. In countries such as Ceylon and India the labour inspectorate includes not only a chief inspector and subordinate inspectors but also doctors. The latter, especially in India, are responsible for examining workers, issuing certificates and exercising such medical supervision as may be prescribed where adolescents or children are (or are to be) employed in any work on any plantation which is likely to cause injury to their health. In other countries, for instance Ivory Coast, the inspectors of labour and social legislation are assisted by labour supervisory officers.

The survey showed that in Asia inspections are in fact regularly carried out. If inspectors find that labour legislation is being infringed

(a) shall be prohibited from having any direct or indirect interest in the undertaking under their supervision;
(b) shall be bound on pain of appropriate penalties or disciplinary measures not to reveal, even after leaving the service, any manufacturing or commercial secrets or working processes which may come to their knowledge in the course of their duties; and
(c) shall treat as absolutely confidential the source of any complaint bringing to their notice a defect or breach of legal provisions and shall give no intimation to the employer or his representative that a visit of inspection was made in consequence of the receipt of such a complaint.

Article 80

The labour inspectorate shall be notified of industrial accidents and cases of occupational disease in such cases and in such manner as may be prescribed by national laws or regulations.

Article 81

Places of employment shall be inspected as often and as thoroughly as is necessary to ensure the effective application of the relevant legal provisions.

Article 82

1. Persons who violate or neglect to observe legal provisions enforceable by labour inspectors shall be liable to prompt legal proceedings without previous warning; Provided that exceptions may be made by national laws or regulations in respect of cases in which previous notice to carry out remedial or preventive measures is to be given.

2. It shall be left to the discretion of labour inspectors to give warning and advice instead of instituting or recommending proceedings.

Article 83

Adequate penalties for violations of the legal provisions enforceable by labour inspectors and for obstructing labour inspectors in the performance of their duties shall be provided for by national laws or regulations and effectively enforced.

Article 84

1. Labour inspectors or local inspection offices, as the case may be, shall be required to submit to the central inspection authority periodical reports on the results of their inspection activities.

2. These reports shall be drawn up in such manner and deal with such subjects as may from time to time be prescribed by the central authority; they shall be submitted at least as frequently as may be prescribed by that authority and in any case not less frequently than once a year.
they report the fact and take the necessary steps to remedy the situation. In India, for example, 250 plantations in Assam out of a total of 665 were inspected in 1963. In Madras, inspectors visited 153 plantations more than three times, 54 three times and 79 twice. Proceedings were taken against two planters, one of whom was sentenced and the other reprimanded. In Kerala 2,897 plantation inspections took place in 1963, resulting in five prosecutions. In West Bengal there were 379 inspections, and plantation managers were directed by inspectors to put to rights such irregularities as were detected.\(^1\)

In the African and Latin American countries inspection services do not seem to operate as regularly as in Asia. There are many reasons for this, including a shortage of inspectors and to a certain extent a lack of suitable transport facilities (for visiting plantations in remote areas) and of financial resources. In Africa inspectors and supervisors are sometimes badly paid and poorly educated, although legislation normally stipulates that entrants to labour inspection services shall be university graduates or have had a high level of secondary education. Tanganyika, for example, insists on the Cambridge overseas school certificate and at the time of the survey the factory inspectors at Tanga, Moshi and Arusha, who are responsible for supervising a large number of sisal, tea and coffee factories on plantations, were properly trained engineers. In addition to their main task of supervising compliance with labour laws they were enabled by their technical knowledge to advise plantation managers and help them to solve various production problems.

In Cameroon, as a result of the rebellion, conditions were still unsafe at the time of the survey. This made it difficult for inspections to take place.

In Ivory Coast, Decree No. 244 of 1946 directs that labour inspectors are to visit plantations employing more than 20 workers at least once a year and those employing more than 50 workers at least once every six months, but it is sometimes difficult for them to put these instructions into practice owing to lack of sufficient vehicles to enable them to cover remote areas properly. In other cases, even when the vehicles are available, it is not always possible to obtain petrol owing to lack of financial resources. Transport difficulties of this kind often prevent inspectors from seeing for themselves what working and living conditions are like in a number of economically important areas, either because they have never been able to visit them or because their visits have been too short. Claims by workers, especially by Mossi from Upper Volta, often pile up in inspectors’ offices. Most of them are directed against Ivory Coast planters who say they are unable to pay foreign workers the agreed

wages and allowances. The impossibility of dealing with such claims and of discharging various inspection tasks is partly due to a shortage of staff. At the time of the survey, Ivory Coast had only three university-trained inspectors and seven labour supervisory officers, but three more inspectors and eight supervisory officers had almost completed their training.

A shortage of qualified inspection staff was also found in various places in the Latin American countries. In Colombia, for example, there are only 13 inspectors for the whole Antioquia department, which contains particularly important coffee and sugarcane plantations, and only three of these inspectors are responsible for supervising compliance with labour legislation in rural areas. In the Valle del Cauca department, where there are large sugarcane plantations, only four inspectors are responsible for rural matters. The situation seems even more precarious in Ecuador, because according to information obtained during the survey there is no labour inspector responsible for agricultural undertakings, despite the fact that the Labour Code lays down duties for a subinspector of agricultural labour (sections 256 and 258). Apparently the country has only three labour inspectors in Quito for the capital and the province of Pichincha, three in Guayaquil for the town of Guayaquil and the province of Guayas, and a single inspector in each of the other provinces.

In Costa Rica labour inspectors carry out an average of two visits per year to the larger coffee plantations. Inspections are less frequent on most of the cocoa plantations in the province of Limón. As regards the foreign banana companies the position depends on where the plantations are situated. At Golfito, in the south, where the main plantations of the Compañía Bananera are to be found, there is a permanent labour inspection office, whereas in the province of Limón in the north-east the Standard Fruit Company is inspected only about once every year.

Peru has permanent labour inspection offices in urban centres fairly close to the large sugarcane plantations, including one at Trujillo in the north and another at Arequipa in the south, and also one in the vicinity of the Cañete cotton plantations in the south of the department of Lima. The interval between inspections varies considerably according to the type of plantation: there were eight, six and two per year on various sugarcane plantations, for instance, but fewer on the cotton plantations. As a general rule inspections of Peruvian plantations follow complaints by workers' representatives. At the time of the survey the coffee plantations in the San Ramón area had scarcely ever seen an inspector, and it was not until January 1964 that a labour inspection office was opened up for the area. One employer in Peru had to travel nearly 40 miles to an inspection office in order to answer to a complaint lodged by a group of workers.
The situation is similar in Colombia, where inspectors make visits only at the request of workers’ or employers’ representatives. If the workers want to see the labour inspector they must usually give up one or two days’ holiday to it, because often, especially in the coffee plantation areas, the inspector does not travel round. He admits the public to his office, which may not be near the plantation, only between certain hours.

Generally speaking, therefore, labour inspection systems can be said to exist in plantation countries, but with rare exceptions there are no inspectors specially responsible for plantations. Some countries lack the necessary inspection staff to carry out statutory visits regularly, and in certain areas there is a shortage of transport. Lastly, inspections may be infrequent and take place only as a result of claims or complaints by workers or trade unions.
CHAPTER XI

FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION
AND LABOUR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

This chapter is intended to give an idea of the present situation on plantations as regards freedom of association and labour-management relations, but it can obviously make no attempt to exhaust the subject.¹

¹ The Plantations Committee dealt with labour-management relations in its resolution No. 9 (1950) and with trade unions on plantations in its resolutions Nos. 25 (1953) and 34 (1955).

Part IX of the Plantations Convention, 1958 (Articles 54-61) refers to the right to organise and collective bargaining, and Part X (Articles 62-70) to freedom of association. These two Parts read as follows:

PART IX. RIGHT TO ORGANISE AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Article 54

The right of employers and employed alike to associate for all lawful purposes shall be guaranteed by appropriate measures.

Article 55

All procedures for the investigation of disputes between employers and workers shall be as simple and expeditious as possible.

Article 56

1. Employers and workers shall be encouraged to avoid disputes and, if they arise, to reach fair settlements by means of conciliation.

2. For this purpose all practicable measures shall be taken to consult and associate the representatives of organisations of employers and workers in the establishment and working of conciliation machinery.

3. Subject to the operation of such machinery, public officers shall be responsible for the investigation of disputes and shall endeavour to promote conciliation and to assist the parties in arriving at a fair settlement.

4. Where practicable, these officers shall be officers specially assigned to such duties.

Article 57

1. Machinery shall be created as rapidly as possible for the settlement of disputes between employers and workers.

2. Representatives of the employers and workers concerned, including representatives of their respective organisations, where such exist, shall be associated where practicable in the operation of the machinery, in such manner and to such extent, but in any case in equal numbers and on equal terms, as may be determined by the competent authority.

Article 58

1. Workers shall enjoy adequate protection against acts of anti-union discrimination in respect of their employment.

2. Such protection shall apply more particularly in respect of acts calculated to—

(continued overleaf)
The general picture presented here will none the less enable the reader to assess the extent to which the development of the trade union movement has played a part in improving the working and living conditions of plantation workers.

**Trade Union Development and Workers’ Organisations**

In all countries where there are plantations the law recognises the right of workers to form and join associations, subject to certain conditions. As a general rule workers are permitted to associate to defend their interests (for instance in Colombia, Costa Rica and Ivory Coast). It is interesting to note, for example, that while the legislation of other countries expressly recognises the right of association of both workers and employers, the Labour Code of Ecuador seems to accord it only to workers. This Code further specifies that associations of workers must

(a) make the employment of a worker subject to the condition that he shall not join a union or shall relinquish trade union membership;

(b) cause the dismissal of or otherwise prejudice a worker by reason of union membership or because of participation in union activities outside working hours or, with the consent of the employer, within working hours.

**Article 59**

1. Workers’ and employers’ organisations shall enjoy adequate protection against any acts of interference by each other or each other’s agents or members in their establishment, functioning or administration.

2. In particular, acts which are designed to promote the establishment of workers’ organisations under the domination of employers or employers’ organisations, or to support workers’ organisations by financial or other means, with the object of placing such organisations under the control of employers or employers’ organisations, shall be deemed to constitute acts of interference within the meaning of this Article.

**Article 60**

Machinery appropriate to national conditions shall be established, where necessary, for the purpose of ensuring respect for the right to organise as defined in the preceding Articles.

**Article 61**

Measures appropriate to national conditions shall be taken, where necessary, to encourage and promote the full development and utilisation of machinery for voluntary negotiation between employers or employers’ organisations and workers’ organisations, with a view to the regulation of terms and conditions of employment by means of collective agreements.

**Part X. Freedom of Association**

**Article 62**

Workers and employers, without distinction whatsoever, shall have the right to establish and, subject only to the rules of the organisation concerned, to join organisations of their own choosing without previous authorisation.

**Article 63**

1. Workers’ and employers’ organisations shall have the right to draw up their constitutions and rules, to elect their representatives in full freedom, to organise their administration and activities and to formulate their programmes.
pursue one of the following aims: vocational training, culture and education of a general character or applied to the particular branch of employment, mutual aid through the formation of co-operatives or savings banks, or any other objects which promote the economic or social betterment of the workers and the defence of their interests.

The exercise of the right of association by plantation workers is governed by the same laws as the exercise of the right of association in general. Thus in some countries associations of plantation workers (like those of workers in other branches of activity) are required to have a minimum number of members: seven in Malaya, 20 in Costa Rica, Peru and Tanganyika, and 25 in Colombia. In Peru, however, under the terms of section 7 of Presidential Decree No. 9 of 3 May 1961, employees in workplaces where from five to 20 workers are employed may elect by secret ballot and by a majority vote a shop steward to represent them in dealings with their employer and with the authorities.

2. The public authorities shall refrain from any interference which would restrict this right or impede the lawful exercise thereof.

Article 64

Workers' and employers' organisations shall not be liable to be dissolved or suspended by administrative authority.

Article 65

Workers' and employers' organisations shall have the right to establish and join federations and confederations and any such organisation, federation or confederation shall have the right to affiliate with international organisations of workers and employers.

Article 66

The provisions of Articles 62, 63 and 64 apply to federations and confederations of workers' and employers' organisations.

Article 67

The acquisition of legal personality by workers' and employers' organisations, federations and confederations shall not be made subject to conditions of such a character as to restrict the application of the provisions of Articles 62, 63 and 64.

Article 68

1. In exercising the rights provided for in this Part of this Convention workers and employers and their respective organisations, like other persons or organised collectivities, shall respect the law of the land.

2. The law of the land shall not be such as to impair, nor shall it be so applied as to impair, the guarantees provided for in this Part of this Convention.

Article 69

In this Part of this Convention the term “organisation” means any organisation of workers or of employers for furthering and defending the interests of workers or of employers.

Article 70

Each Member for which this Part of this Convention is in force undertakes to take all necessary and appropriate measures to ensure that workers and employers may exercise freely the right to organise.
In some countries trade unions, before they can be deemed to be legally in existence, must be entered in the register kept for the purpose by the competent authority. This is the case in Costa Rica, Malaya, Peru and Tanganyika. In Ivory Coast the Labour Code of 1964 does not require the registration of trade unions but does lay down that the founders of any trade union must deposit a copy of its by-laws at the town hall or principal office of the administrative area in which the trade union is formed.

The legislation of most countries protects and even encourages the development of the labour movement. Section 291 of the Costa Rican Labour Code, for example, lays down that the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare is to encourage the development of trade unionism in an orderly and harmonious manner by all lawful means which it considers advisable.

Trade unions may be formed at the national or at the undertaking level. Plantation workers belong either to existing agricultural workers’ unions or to special unions (as in Malaya).

Despite legislative protection and even encouragement the trade union movement is generally speaking relatively weak on the majority of plantations, though there are exceptions, as we shall see later. It is easy to understand why the movement should have developed more slowly on plantations than in the urban and industrial sectors if one recalls that great distances often separate one plantation from another and that plantation workers—like agricultural workers in general, it may be said—come from sections of the population which have had little or no education and where it is still rare to find men or women who know exactly what a trade union is and what the advantages of unionisation are. It has been observed that as a general rule the trade union movement is stronger on the large plantations (where the number of employees is sufficiently high to enable a trade union spirit to be fostered amongst them) than in other types of agriculture.

A whole series of factors which hold good in the majority of plantations, whether in Africa, Latin America or Asia, thus explain the little headway made by trade unionism in this type of undertaking. To these general factors may be added others, peculiar to a particular country, region or type of plantation. Among the main general obstacles to trade unionism, illiteracy among the workers, the temporary or seasonal character of the work performed and the extreme mobility of the workers (who change their employer often in the hope of improving their situation) are of major importance.

Where an embryonic trade union movement does exist its leaders are not always equipped for their task. In the majority of cases they
do not possess the minimum of trade union experience which is indispensable, with the result that they often fail to register new members, keep a check on income and expenditure or run the organisation properly. Sometimes they are more concerned with their own personal interests than with those of the rank-and-file members; they agree to form or hold office in a trade union with their sights on a possible career in politics in their country (which has often only recently achieved independence) or they look upon trade union activities as a means of improving their own situation. Often, too, rivalry breaks out between trade union leaders, which is harmful to the development of workers' organisations on plantations.

Nevertheless certain trade union leaders have done a remarkable job of organisation in the face of difficult conditions, and conscientiously defend the interests of those who have put their trust in them.

In Costa Rica, to take just one example, certain factors have influenced the form taken by the trade union movement, among which mention may be made of the following:

(a) the leading spirits of the Costa Rican labour movement were not workers but middle-class intellectuals and students;

(b) in this small country social issues have always been flavoured with politics, and hence there has always been a certain amount of confusion between politics and trade unionism: the principal social laws are the work of politicians and not the outcome of trade union demands;

(c) the Costa Rican trade unions have nearly always concerned themselves with the defence of individual cases rather than of the collective interests of the workers, with the result that their main role has been as grievance agencies to which workers turned for a solution to their personal problems.

In some countries and on certain types of plantations, workers' associations are extremely well organised. Take Malaya, for instance. In this country it is precisely on the plantations that the strongest trade union organisation exists. In 1954 five organisations combined to form the National Union of Plantation Workers. Strongly centralised, this national union had in 1960 and 1961 a membership of over 150,000; it employs some 150 full-time paid officials and has eight branches in different parts of the country, which is a clear indication of its importance. Being affiliated to no political party the union has deliberately steered clear of all political activity, though individual members are free to
join any political party they like. This union seems to enjoy the respect and confidence of the Government.¹

In Ceylon, India and Indonesia the trade union situation is quite different. In these countries there exists a multitude of small unions whose influence on the masses is very limited, as the rivalries which rend them apart, mainly political in origin, are greatly damaging to their prestige. In some countries, however, one large organisation stands out above the others: in India it is the Indian National Plantation Workers' Federation, to which are affiliated 29 tea plantation workers' unions, and in Indonesia the Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia, usually known by its initials, S.O.B.S.I. In Ceylon the most important trade union would appear to be the Ceylon Workers' Congress, which in 1961 had a membership of 323,000, followed by the Lanka Estate Workers' Union, which had about 81,000 members in 1961, and the Ceylon Plantation Workers' Union, whose membership in 1961 was around 31,000.

In Latin America most plantation workers' organisations operate at the undertaking level and are generally affiliated to trade union federations for a particular industry or area. This partly explains why trade unionism has made progress only on certain types of plantations, such as those for sugar and bananas. On the sugar plantations in Colombia, Costa Rica and Ecuador, for instance, the unions are sufficiently powerful to have been able in most cases to negotiate collective agreements with the employers.

In Peru there has existed since 1962 a Federation of Sugar Industry Workers which is particularly active. Generally speaking, however, the agricultural employees on the plantations along the coast, especially those on the sugar plantations, who have managed to form a union, would appear to be really privileged as compared with other rural workers.

The situation on banana plantations in Latin America varies, depending mainly on whether the plantation is owned by the State (as in Colombia and Ecuador) or by foreign interests (as in Costa Rica). In Ecuador the trade union movement is very weak on all plantations. There may be a dozen or so unions, however, on the larger banana plantations. In Colombia, out of approximately 5,000 workers employed on banana plantations owned today by nationals of the country, some 2,000 are union members. Their unions, grouped together in the Union of Workers of Magdalena (UTRAMAG) (a trade union federation to which

the majority of the workers' organisations in the department of Magdalena are affiliated), are fairly powerful, having likewise managed to conclude collective agreements with the employers. However, the trade union movement on the banana plantations is still comparatively weak, mainly because there are too many organisations. To remedy this state of affairs a national union of workers in industrialised agriculture has recently been formed in the department of Magdalena with a view to bringing all the unions on these plantations under one banner.

In Costa Rica, in the banana-growing area belonging to the United Fruit Company, where labour-management relations are often difficult (as will be seen later), four unions are active. Three of them have a total membership of around 250. These are the union of workers of Golfito, the union of workers of Puerto González Viquez and the union of banana workers of Puerto Cortés. The fourth, the union of workers of the Compañía Bananera (SITRACOBA), affiliated to the Inter-American Regional Organisation of Workers (O.R.I.T.) and to the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers, has about 280 members.

On other types of plantations the trade union movement is almost totally undeveloped in all the countries (except on the cotton plantations in Peru).

In the African countries the trade union movement on the plantations seems to be even weaker than it is in Latin America or Asia. On the larger plantations, however, which are mainly foreign-owned, trade unionism is fairly highly developed. In West Cameroon, for instance, the Cameroons Development Corporation Workers' Union is considered to be the most important agricultural workers' union in what were formerly British territories in Africa. The main problem of this union—as of many others, incidentally—is its financial administration, for which task it has great difficulty in finding competent staff among the workers.

In Mauritius, where the sugar industry is of such importance, the main union is the Plantation Workers' Union whose membership in 1961 totalled more than 12,000, or about 20 per cent of all the workers in that industry.

In Tanganyika, especially on the sisal plantations, the fact that the majority of workers are Africans belonging to a variety of tribes, the lack of workers with sufficient training to enable them to place the nascent trade union movement on a sound footing and the resistance occasionally

met with from some of the employers are all factors which have impeded the further development of trade unionism. In 1957 various international trade union federations attempted to found agricultural workers’ unions, but without success. Further attempts were made by the Tanganyika Sisal Growers’ Association and by other bodies, primarily with a view to giving the sisal plantation workers a voice on the central advisory board for this industry. So it was that on 26 June 1958 this body finally recognised the Tanganyika Plantation Workers’ Union, which represents all the agricultural workers in the country. Its membership is estimated at approximately 108,000, comprising the majority of workers employed on the major sisal, tea, coffee, sugar and mixed-farming industries. Unfortunately its existence has not been trouble-free. In fact at the time of this survey, among the Union’s 31 officers, 19 were under 20 years of age, 18 had had less than six years’ schooling, 20 had never engaged in gainful employment, ten had been dismissed from their jobs for embezzlement, eight had been in prison for theft, 25 had had no trade union training, and 26 were almost totally ignorant of labour legislation.

**Employers’ Organisations**

Generally speaking, employers’ organisations are more highly developed than workers’ organisations. In principle, associations of both employers and workers are governed by the same legislative provisions. However, while the main preoccupation of the trade unions is the defence of the workers’ interests, chiefly by striving to obtain better working conditions either by submitting demands directly to the employers or by negotiating collectively with them with a view to concluding collective agreements, the tasks of employers’ associations are as a rule more varied. Certainly they all have the common aim of furthering the development of the plantation industry and safeguarding employers’ interests, but at times they engage in somewhat specialised activities. Some, for instance, concern themselves more closely with all matters pertaining to the recruitment of plantation workers, others concentrate their activities on scientific research, while others again investigate the problems of marketing the produce of certain plantations, and so on.

In Mauritius the Mauritius Cane Growers’ Association had 44 members in 1961, and the Mauritius Sugar Producers’ Association 21 members in the same year.¹ It is generally the latter body which represents the employers in the sugar industry at joint or tripartite meetings.

In Tanganyika the most important employers' organisation is the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association, founded in May 1931. Since 1936 it has been establishing branches all over the country. The activities of this association are numerous and often highly successful. For instance, it has organised a transport service for the workers (for their use upon recruitment, when going on leave or when being repatriated) which is a model of its kind. It has also opened a scientific experiment station for sisal cultivation with the aim of ensuring that the quality of the product is uniform on the international market.

In Colombia there are large employers' organisations for the three major plantation products, which are coffee, sugar and cotton. The National Coffee Producers' Federation is a private association, but the multiplicity of its functions has given it the status of a semi-official body. In fact, of the ten members of its national executive, five are ministers. One drawback to this is that the interests of small coffee growers are now hardly represented at all. Proof of its importance is shown by the size of its budget for 1962, which amounted to 127 million pesos, or as much as the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture. Its financial resources enable it to pursue its numerous objectives with success; some of these are—

(a) to develop the best methods of growing coffee within the country in order to improve production and quality;
(b) to establish and operate warehouses, savings or credit funds and co-operative societies, or to encourage their establishment;
(c) to organise or manage experimental fields or schools, agricultural education courses (specialising in coffee growing), etc.;
(d) to handle the marketing of coffee;
(e) to protect the health of workers on coffee plantations by carrying out health campaigns and providing hospitals and other medical facilities;
(f) to seek conciliation in the event of labour disputes, to participate in the fixing of minimum wages, costs, prices and exchange rates and in all matters pertaining to the coffee industry.

The sugar industry has a large employers' organisation, the National Sugarcane Growers' Association (ASOCAÑA), which has its headquarters at Cali, near the main sugarcane growing region. The

---

National Cotton Planters’ Federation, on which legal personality was conferred by Ministry of Justice Order No. 2 of 7 January 1953, defends the interests of cotton and oil-seed producers through the establishment of research, experimental and administrative centres. It collaborates with the government on research into technical and economic problems affecting agriculture in general and cotton growing in particular. It further endeavours to publicise the best growing methods, to promote the good regulation of labour-management relations, to improve methods of selecting and training workers and to develop transport facilities.

In Costa Rica the Chamber of Agriculture strives to plan and develop the country’s agriculture and improve the financial and cultural status of its members as a contribution to the development and well-being of the country (section 2 of the by-laws of this body).

In Ecuador there are two chambers of agriculture, one of which, at Guayaquil, covers the whole of the coastal area, i.e. where the plantations are. They consist of representatives elected by the agricultural centres in the various provinces. Membership is open to all landowners, tenant farmers, estate managers or administrators and holders of diplomas in the field of agriculture (subject to certain conditions) as well as co-operatives, associations, trade unions and other bodies for agricultural purposes. Among their objectives mention may be made of the organisation of rural communities and the defence of their interests, particularly those of peasants and Indians; the forming of agricultural undertakings and the establishment of agricultural societies, co-operatives, etc.; the award of agricultural study grants; the import of seeds, agricultural machinery and other equipment, and collaboration in agricultural development in general.

In Peru the National Agrarian Society looks after the interests of farmers, most of whom are landowners and employers. This society has its own arbitration board and has set up 14 specialised committees, some of which are especially concerned with plantation crops such as cotton, sugarcane and coffee.

In Ceylon the Ceylon Planters’ Association, founded in 1854, is one of the oldest employers’ associations in Asia. It has always striven for the general development of the plantation industry, and with this end in view it has concerned itself particularly with the recruitment of workers from India. As labour problems grew more and more complex it became necessary to specialise. In 1904 it set up the Ceylon Labour Commission to regulate recruitment. The Ceylonese Government bore 25 per cent. of the expenses of this commission, whose activities went beyond the mere organisation of recruitment to cover the improvement of the social conditions of migrant workers. Recognised by the Govern-
ments of both India and Ceylon, this body was granted official status. When recruiting ceased in 1938 its activities came to an end, but the Coastal Labour Agency, through which it operated, has none the less continued to aid Indian workers on their return home.

As the trade union movement grew the Ceylon Planters' Association began to devote more attention to labour-management relations. For some years negotiations with the trade unions remained somewhat informal but since 1944, the year of the founding of the Ceylon Estates Employers' Federation, the latter body has represented the employers in all matters pertaining to labour-management relations.

The most important employers' organisation in India is the Indian Tea Association, whose members own approximately 80 per cent. of the tea plantations in north-east India (60 per cent. of the area under tea in the country as a whole). This association represents the employers in negotiations with the unions and operates a scientific research station in the state of Assam.

In Indonesia there are two major organisations of plantation employers, one in Java and the other in Sumatra. Both of them give advice and aid to their members in all matters pertaining to labour-management relations. In addition the Sumatra association, in close relation with the government, helps workers moving from Java to the outer provinces to find jobs and to settle in these provinces. The same organisation runs a research institute whose experimental plots cover about 500 hectares.

In Malaya the most important employers' organisation is the Malayan Planting Industries Employers' Association, some of whose members, incidentally, are not growers but are indirectly interested in plantation crops. To be eligible for membership planters have to cultivate more than 50 acres or 20 hectares. The majority of plantations smaller than this belong to Chinese and differ considerably from the large plantations, especially as regards the way in which they are managed.

Relations between employers and workers differ considerably according to whether the latter are unionised or not. Relations may be harmonious and normal or they may be marred by strife.

On small and medium-sized plantations, where unions are rare, contact is maintained either directly between worker and employer or through the intermediary of overseers or foremen.

In Africa, particularly in Ivory Coast, contact between workers and their bosses takes the form of long conversations or palavers, which may
seem pointless but which in fact are extremely helpful in reducing tension where it exists. Hence the adage oft repeated by far-sighted employers: "Much palaver, few strikes".

On plantations where a union does exist, contacts between the workers and the employers are generally maintained through union representatives. Often the employers help to smooth out difficulties the union may run into—with financing, for example. Thus on many plantations where there is a union it is common practice for union dues to be withheld from wages. This system of check-off is followed on the majority of sugar plantations in Mauritius, on nearly all plantations in Tanganyika, and by the Compañía Bananera in Costa Rica (but only, in the latter case, in respect of workers belonging to one of the three unions mentioned above\(^1\), whose members represent slightly less than half the trade unionists employed by the company). The practice is still rare in Asian countries, but its adoption is planned on a number of plantations.

Worker-employer relations are generally more difficult on plantations belonging to foreign companies than on others. As an example mention may be made of the plantations belonging to the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica, a subsidiary of the United Fruit Company. This company pursues a policy which can hardly be said to encourage the development of a trade union movement: it refuses almost systematically to have any dealings with the unions and opposes the forming of workers' committees to discuss labour-management relations problems with the management. The unions may not hold meetings anywhere on company property without previous authorisation. It has been quite frequent for such meetings to be broken up because they were being held at the home of an employee. An I.L.O. expert who made a study of freedom of association in Latin America has cited a number of such occurrences.\(^2\)

According to an official of the United States Embassy in Costa Rica the Company recently dismissed three employees who had joined the union of workers of the Compañía Bananera (SITRACOBA). The Embassy asked for an explanation, and the company merely replied that it was unaware of the union membership of the workers in question. Such dismissals obviously frighten the workers and make them reluctant to join a union.

Broadly speaking, and to judge from a wealth of evidence gathered on the spot, it is a recognised fact that the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica takes little interest in human, social or labour relations except

---

1 See p. 159.

2 Similar occurrences have been brought to the attention of the I.L.O. Governing Body Committee on Freedom of Association.
where these may have an effect on production. For instance, the wages paid to employees are among the highest in agriculture anywhere in the country. Despite this, dissatisfaction among the workers persists, precisely because they realise that the sole purpose of these high wages is to silence other demands. There is also a general feeling of resentment towards the United Fruit Company because when it first opened up in Costa Rica the workers were treated practically like slaves and because the company has always shown a lack of concern for the economic and social development of Costa Rica. For instance, it abandoned the Limón area entirely after it became infested with "Panama disease"\(^1\), heedless of the consequences, often disastrous, for the local population.

In Malaya a joint consultative council for the planting industries was set up in December 1955. Offering facilities for consultation between the Planting Industries Employers' Association, the National Union of Plantation Workers and the All-Malayan Estates Staff Union, it deals with all normal aspects of living and working conditions on plantations. By and large, the relations between these three organisations are excellent.

**Settlement of Industrial Disputes**

National legislation is generally conducive towards the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes and provides for various systems of conciliation and arbitration. The right to strike and to impose a lock-out is also recognised, subject to certain conditions.

In Mauritius, for instance, Ordinance No. 37 of 1954 lays down that all trade disputes may be referred to the Labour Commissioner. The latter may appoint a conciliator, who must submit to him a report stating the terms of any agreement reached, which will be as binding on both parties as a contract of employment. The Ordinance of 1954 also provided for the setting up of an Arbitration Tribunal consisting of a president and two members, to whom the Governor in Council may add a further two members (one representing the employers and one the workers) if the dispute is a particularly serious one. The parties are obliged to conform to the Tribunal's ruling. In certain cases the Governor may also order an inquiry to be carried out by a board of inquiry composed of a chairman and two members. So long as the inquiry is in progress any strike action in connection with the matters under consideration by the board is deemed, in the case of workers in essential services, to be an offence punishable by a fine of up to 500 rupees or not more than three months' imprisonment.

\(^1\) Caused by a mushroom which attacks the roots of the banana tree.
The Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association has recognised the need to set up a consultative body. As the trade union movement was developing only very slowly, early in 1957 the Association invited a professor from Cambridge University to study labour-management relations in the sisal industry and to propose the most satisfactory machinery for consultation between workers and employers. This expert recommended the setting up of committees at various levels from that of the plantation up to that of a national central council. These recommendations having been accepted by the Association, a committee was formed on each plantation. The proportion of workers represented by such committees rose from 20 per cent. in 1957 to 68 per cent. in 1961. Nevertheless the Joint Central Council for the Sisal Industry was unable to meet in 1962 as the Plantation Workers' Union refused to recognise it.¹

In three African countries, Cameroon, Mauritius and Tanganyika, conciliation and negotiating bodies of different kinds have been set up in recent years including the industrial council of the Cameroons Development Corporation and the group of staff representatives from the SAFACAM rubber plantation in Cameroon, the sisal industry negotiating agency in Tanganyika and various liaison committees for the sugar industry in Mauritius. Unfortunately in practice these bodies are somewhat ineffectual, either because their help is not sought or because the employers' and workers' representatives will agree to meet only when the situation has deteriorated to such a point as to make it very difficult to reach agreement.

Legislation in the Latin American countries recognises the right to strike, but only after conciliation and arbitration procedures have been tried and have failed. In practice these procedures are often followed on plantations, which does not prevent the workers from striking upon occasion, as will be seen below.

In Ceylon relations between employers and union representatives are not always very cordial. In some cases mistrust is so strong that employers forbid union officials to enter their plantations. The relations between the Ceylon Estates Employers' Federation and the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union are a happy exception: in this particular instance a joint committee amicably carries out negotiations on various issues.

The Industrial Disputes Act, as amended in 1956, provides for industrial disputes to be settled by collective agreement, by conciliation and arbitration or in the industrial courts and labour tribunals.

In India the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 provides for two main types of procedure: conciliation and adjudication. Before taking a

dispute to court the parties may also submit it to arbitration. While the proceedings are in progress strikes and lockouts are prohibited.

In Indonesia the Act of 1957 respecting the settlement of labour disputes provides for the setting up of regional committees presided over by a representative of the Ministry of Labour and composed of four other representatives of the Government, and five representatives each of the employers and the workers. In the event of a dispute the parties must endeavour first of all to negotiate a settlement. If they fail, the matter must be referred to an official of the Ministry of Labour, who will attempt to reach a settlement by conciliation. If he fails in his turn, he must refer the matter to the regional committee.

In practice frequent recourse is had to these regional committees. Their decisions may take the form either of a "nominal agreement", which has the legal force of a collective agreement, or a recommendation or a decision binding on both parties.

**Some Examples of Strikes**

It will not be without interest to refer here to a few cases where strikes have occurred in countries covered by this survey. The principal aims pursued by the strikers varied widely according to the circumstances: it might be a case, for example, of obtaining a wage increase or a thirteenth month’s wages, of concluding a collective agreement or getting changes made in certain working methods, or of showing opposition to government reforms decided upon without consultation of workers’ and employers’ organisations, or solidarity with workers in other industries; but other reasons of a political, economic or social nature may well lead to strike movements.

The Camerouns Development Corporation has suffered some major strikes over the past few years. The number of man-hours lost on all its plantations was 27,023 in 1959; 36,795 in 1960; 9,986 in 1961 and 15,813 in 1962. The motive of these official strikes was nearly always either to express solidarity with workmates when a group of workers was dismissed or to object to the refusal by the employers to change certain working methods or to allow certain workers to be transferred.

In Mauritius, after the major strike of 1943, all the workers’ associations in the sugar industry (with the exception of the Engineering and Technical Workers’ Union) were merged into the Mauritius Amalgamated Labourers’ Association.

In Tanganyika the sisal industry has been afflicted by many wildcat strikes. After the country achieved independence a number of former
trade union officials were given senior government posts and were thus in a position to see the extent of the disastrous effects of unofficial wildcat strike action on the sisal industry and thence on the economy of the country. They made plans to encourage the unions to collaborate constructively and peacefully with the employers, with a view to reaching settlements satisfactory to both parties. This policy was scarcely welcomed by the union leaders. Thereupon the Government, anxious to diminish the influence of the unions and get to grips directly with the workers, drew up plans for various social reforms to improve the lot of the workers. It was with this end in view that the Government abolished the *kipandi* system, raised wages and introduced a compulsory monthly wage system for the workers of the country. The Government, and more especially the Minister of Labour, a former trade union official, believed that in this way they would win popularity among the working masses and therefore did not think it necessary to seek the co-operation of trade union leaders or employers in planning these reforms.

The changes were thus brought in somewhat precipitately, which caused a certain amount of confusion and aroused antagonism among both workers and employers. The leaders of the Tanganyika Plantation Workers' Union (T.P.W.U.) organised wildcat strikes clandestinely, as was the tradition with this organisation. Hardly had the reforms been introduced at the beginning of January 1963 than within a few days strikes broke out throughout the sisal industry. Realising the danger the Government arrested and deported the President of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, who was at the same time General Secretary of the T.P.W.U., and threatened with the same fate all trade union officials who refused to conform to the Government's policy and incited the workers to strike.

The Government persevered with its efforts to extend its hold on the trade union movement and gradually assumed direct control over the various social and economic movements in the country. Faced with these threats of control, the T.P.W.U. decided that it would have to improve its relations with the employers' association, preferring to seek a settlement with the latter rather than falling under government control. This new union policy was welcomed by the employers, and by 1963 it seemed not impossible that an agreement might be reached which would lead to a joint council of representatives of both employers and workers and with the task of discussing and resolving the problems arising in the sisal industry.

In Colombia, between 1959 and 1961, on some large sugar estates there were two or three strikes per year, sometimes lasting as long as
90 days. The main aim of these strikes was to obtain collective agreements. From 1962 onwards, by which time nearly all the companies involved had concluded agreements with the workers' representatives, there were no more major strikes.

In Costa Rica, from December 1959 onwards, the employees of the Compañía Bananera called a number of strikes with a view to obtaining a thirteenth month's wages. An Act had indeed just been promulgated obliging employers in industry to pay their workers an annual bonus equal to a month's wages and those in agriculture to pay an extra week's wages every year. The company granted only this extra week, but the workers insisted on payment of the thirteenth month's wages. When the company refused, the workers came out on strike. Shortly afterwards the Costa Rican Government paid the company's employees a sum equal to the thirteenth month's wages less the extra week's pay they had already received. But the company took the matter to court, and won its case. It agreed none the less to reimburse the Government with the amount it had paid out.

On a large sugar plantation in Ecuador several major strikes took place around 1955, and the management gradually got rid of the workers whom it suspected of being the instigators. A collective agreement having been signed and a works committee having been set up, no further strikes have been called. However, the management staff continues to be somewhat wary of any initiative emanating from the union. On another sugar plantation strikes recently broke out the aim of which was to hasten the conclusion of a collective agreement which had been under discussion since 1964.

In the Asian countries, with the exception of Ceylon, strikes on plantations have for some years been quite rare and strictly localised. In Malaya, however, a one-day strike was called by the members of the National Union of Plantation Workers to express solidarity with the railway workers, who were striking in December 1962 to improve their situation.

In Ceylon, where the unions are too numerous, poorly run and of rival political hues, strikes are continually breaking out, mainly for political reasons rather than with a view to improving the working or living conditions of plantation workers. The lack of internal discipline is evidenced by the fact that in 1961-62, of a total of 72 strikes, 69 took place without advance notice to the employers, the majority of them even without a decision by the union. It is rare for a strike to last more than one or two days, and the majority of them end for no apparent reason and as a rule without having achieved anything at all.
ACTION TAKEN BY WORKERS' AND EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATIONS TO IMPROVE WORKERS' LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS

The development of the trade union movement has afforded plantation workers the opportunity to become more familiar with their rights and obligations and to secure some improvement in their living and working conditions. In Malaya for example, where union organisation on the plantations is very powerful, the rubber plantation workers managed between 1959 and 1964 to persuade the employers to conclude three collective agreements providing mainly for wage increases. Thus, thanks to their unions, plantation workers in Malaya enjoy wages which permit them a higher standard of living than is the case in India or Ceylon, for instance, where the trade union movement lacks cohesion and force.

It is likewise significant that in Latin America it is precisely on estates where the unions have acquired a certain standing, such as the large sugar plantations in Colombia and Peru, that agreements have been concluded between the planters and the workers. These agreements generally accord the workers additional benefits over and above the rights which are theirs by law.

Sometimes trade unions take action with the specific aim of raising the standard of living and securing recognition of certain rights. A noteworthy example is the Plantation Workers' Union in Mauritius. In 1944, when the island's Government and the employers asserted that the workers' low standard of living was due largely to alcoholism, the union organised a vast anti-alcohol campaign which, according to numerous trade union observers, has had lasting results. In the same way in 1947 the unions mobilised public opinion in favour of granting workers the right to vote. The union leaders sought the help of Indian statesmen, including President Nehru. As a result of these efforts a committee set up in that year considered the matter and ascertained the proportion of workers who were able to read and write, so that they might be given the vote. From 1959 onwards the union concentrated its efforts on securing a review of wages to take account of the rise in the cost of living. The tribunal set up to consider this problem decided to award a wage increase of 15 per cent.

In Malaya the National Union of Plantation Workers, in addition to the role it plays in collective bargaining, provides welfare and educational facilities for workers.

The employers' organisations for their part, as has already been seen, also endeavour to aid the workers. For instance, an employers' organisation in Indonesia has undertaken to help migrant workers to find
jobs and accommodation, while in Colombia the National Coffee Producers’ Federation provides educational facilities for workers and has founded or financed hospitals and other medical services.

To cite one more example, advisory committees on which the workers are represented have been formed on some of the Cameroons Development Corporation’s plantations. These committees have managed to resolve a number of housing or food problems and have organised vocational training courses.

In conclusion it may therefore be said that generally speaking the right of association is recognised in the plantation countries. However, despite the fact that this right is recognised in law, the survey has shown that the trade union movement has not developed everywhere along the same lines. In some countries, such as Malaya, the plantation workers’ union enjoys great prestige and is one of the most powerful unions in the country, while in others the trade union movement has had difficulty in developing on the plantations or, where it has developed, its influence is not very great. It is easier to form unions on large plantations than on small ones. Where they do exist, trade unions have succeeded in negotiating collective agreements with employers’ organisations or with individual companies, thus helping to improve living and working conditions on plantations.

In some countries the employers’ organisations also sometimes engage in activities to help the workers to improve their living standards.

Relations between employers and workers take their normal course. Disputes do sometimes arise, however, and the legislation of different countries has provided for different methods of settling them: reference to conciliators or conciliation boards, arbitration boards or tribunals, labour courts, etc.
PART THREE

STANDARDS OF LIVING
CHAPTER XII

HOUSING

Housing conditions form one of the criteria by which the actual level of living may most easily be judged. Today they remain extremely unsatisfactory on many plantations, although serious efforts are being made almost everywhere to improve them.

The Employer's Obligation to Provide Housing for His Workers

In most countries the legislation lays down that it shall be the employer's responsibility to provide suitable housing for workers living on agricultural undertakings, including plantations, even if the latter are not expressly mentioned. This is true in the cases of Cameroon, Ceylon, Colombia, Ecuador, India, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Malaya, Peru and Tanganyika. It sometimes happens, however, that the statutory provisions merely oblige the employer to provide housing, without specifying the conditions it should meet. In these cases, the power to adopt measures ensuring the fulfilment of the obligation, for example through establishing minimum standards (in particular sanitary standards) to be met by the housing, rests with the state governments in India; the executive, which must exercise this power by issuing orders, in Indonesia; or the Ministry or Department of Labour in Colombia and Malaya.

1 The Plantations Convention, 1958, places no express obligation on employers to provide housing for their workers. Article 85, however, provides that “the appropriate authorities shall, in consultation with the representatives of the employers' and workers' organisations concerned, where such exist, encourage the provision of adequate housing accommodation for plantation workers”.

The Committee on Work on Plantations has adopted two resolutions (Nos. 5 and 42) concerning the housing of plantation workers. Resolution No. 5, adopted in 1950, declares that, “on plantations where circumstances require workers to reside thereon, it is recognised that the responsibility for providing housing for such workers rests on the employer”.

There are also general provisions, applicable to all classes of workers, in the Recommendation (No. 115) concerning workers' housing, which was adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1961 (Official Bulletin (Geneva, I.L.O.), Vol. XLIV, 1961, No. 1, pp. 4 ff).
In certain countries the provision of housing is obligatory only for regular workers who were not born in the place of employment, do not normally live there and cannot through their own efforts obtain adequate housing for themselves and their families (section 81 of the Ivory Coast Labour Code) or for workers employed at such a distance from their homes that they cannot return there at the end of the working day (section 97 of the Tanganyika Employment Ordinance, 1955).

In other cases the obligation is valid only for certain undertakings, for example, in Ceylon, those of an area equal to or greater than 10 acres or 4.05 hectares, in Malaya, 25 acres or 10 hectares, or those in Colombia employing at least 15 workers who must be housed on the plantations.

In some countries there is no law expressly obliging employers to provide housing for their workers; Costa Rica and Mauritius may be taken as examples. In these countries, however, the obligation is imposed through collective agreements or direct agreements. Thus in Costa Rica the direct agreement of 1963 concluded between the Compañía Bananera and its workers provides that the company shall undertake to build family dwellings with sanitary installations, showers and an indoor kitchen on all new plantations coming into operation after the entry into force of the agreement. The company also undertakes to build seven family dwellings with three bedrooms every year in the Golfito section in places where there are at present what are known as “the big huts” (barracas).

In Mauritius the Plantation Workers’ Union and the Artisans’ and General Workers’ Union have prevailed on the Sugar Producers’ Association to sign collective agreements under which workers paid by the month must be provided with free housing. Every worker, whether married or single, is entitled to at least one room. Married workers with more than two children must have two rooms and those with more than six children must have three. Workers who do not wish to be housed on the plantation, or who cannot be because housing is not available, receive 7.50 rupees per month as a housing allowance.

In Ecuador, in addition to section 253 (4) of the Labour Code, which obliges employers to provide suitable housing for their agricultural workers, there are collective agreements laying down the same obligation. For example, a collective agreement concluded in 1961 on an important sugarcane plantation specifies that the management shall provide free housing for the workers. The housing was being built at

---

1 It is interesting to observe that if the usual residence is more than 10 km. from the work place the employer may choose between organising daily transport and providing housing on the plantation. In East Cameroon he has a similar choice when the distance is over 15 km.
the time of the I.L.O. survey. In allocating it, priority must be given to the workers with the greatest seniority and the largest families and to those whose output is entirely satisfactory.¹

In Peru some of the collective agreements deal with workers' housing. The collective agreement applying to one large sugarcane plantation provides that the employer must, as long as he has the necessary resources, continue to build housing in order to solve the problem as soon as possible.²

CONDITIONS OF OCCUPANCY OF HOUSING PROVIDED BY THE EMPLOYER ³

Payment of Rent

Of the conditions governing the occupancy of housing provided by the employer those concerning the payment of rent are particularly important. In practice rent is not often demanded for the housing of plantation workers except in certain countries of Africa. In West Cameroon, for example, the employers may deduct 6 per cent. of the wage for the rent of housing, but they must provide the workers with a written statement of the amount to be deducted from their wage. A copy of this statement is sent to the labour inspector. In East Cameroon the rent for each day that the house is occupied is equivalent to one hour's work (in Ivory Coast half-an-hour's work) on the basis of the minimum daily wage.

In Latin America plantation workers generally do not pay rent to employers providing them with housing. In certain large sugarcane plantations in Colombia, however, the management deducts for the upkeep of the housing a monthly sum so small that it cannot be regarded as a rent: it is rather of an educative nature, for it makes the workers' families responsible for the general upkeep of the housing owned by the undertaking.

In India, although the Plantations Labour Act, 1951, allows rent to be charged for the housing provided by the plantations for the workers,

¹ Tercer contrato colectivo celebrado entre la Compañía Azucarera Váldez S.A., etc., op. cit., section 13, p. 8.
² Contrato colectivo de trabajo entre la hacienda Cartavio, etc., 1961, op. cit., p. 13.
³ Article 88 of the Plantations Convention, 1958, contains the following provisions on this subject:
1. Where housing is provided by the employer the conditions under which plantation workers are entitled to occupancy shall be not less favourable than those established by national custom or national legislation.
2. Whenever a resident worker is discharged he shall be allowed a reasonable time in which to vacate the house. Where the time allowed is not fixed by law it shall be determined by recognised negotiating machinery, or, failing agreement on the subject, by recourse to the normal procedure of the civil courts.
the regulations issued under it in the states of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh for example prohibit the employers from demanding rent from the workers lodged on their plantations.

Notice

National laws and regulations seldom contain provisions allowing workers housed by their employer a certain time to vacate their dwelling when their labour contract ends.

In Cameroon however, when the employer wishes to regain disposal of a dwelling, he must serve notice in writing on the worker occupying it. The worker has one week from the date of the notice in which to vacate his dwelling. On Mauritius neither the general legislation nor the collective agreements contain provisions on the notice in question. In practice, a worker's vacating his dwelling does not often raise problems. It is not unusual for the undertaking to wait several weeks, or even months, for the worker to move out. In Tanganyika workers generally leave the plantation at once when their contract expires.

In Colombia the plantation rules of a large sugarcane undertaking allow a period of eight days to workers who have to leave their dwelling. The Standard Fruit Company in Costa Rica and some coffee plantations in the same country generally allow 15 days for workers leaving the undertaking to vacate their dwelling.

In the states of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh in India workers have to vacate the housing provided by their employers within two months of the end of their contract of employment. In the event of the worker's retirement or leaving, the period is reduced to one month.

Minimum Housing Standards

It is uncommon for national legislations to lay down specific detailed minimum standards to be met by the housing provided for plantation workers. In certain countries however, including Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Peru and Tanganyika, the legislation requires that the workers shall be provided with accommodation having a certain number of

1 The Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110), contains the following provisions on minimum housing standards:

Article 86

1. The minimum standards and specifications of the accommodation to be provided in accordance with the preceding Article [see footnote p. 175] shall be laid down by the appropriate public authority. The latter shall, wherever practicable, constitute advisory boards consisting of representatives of employers and workers for consultation in regard to matters connected with housing.

2. Such minimum standards shall include specifications concerning—
rooms, depending on the size of the family. The legislation also specifies that some rooms must be designed for use as kitchen, wash room or water closet. Lastly, certain minimum dimensions are laid down and the building materials are specified. In West Cameroon the maximum number of persons per room with an area of between 120 and 140 sq.ft. (between 11.15 sq.m. and 13 sq.m.) is two adults and two children under 8 years old, or three adults. In East Cameroon Order No. 6179 of 1953 provides that not more than six workers shall sleep in a dormitory and that rooms used as dormitories for workers of different sexes must be in separate buildings. Also in East Cameroon family dwellings must be built of cement or brick, have an air-space of 12 cubic metres per person, contain a kitchen, and be provided with windows or openings to admit light and ventilation. Each person must have his own bed.

In Ivory Coast Decree No. 4806 of 1953 contains similar provisions, the specified air-space per person being 14 cubic metres.

In Peru an old Order (23 March 1923) places on the owners of agricultural undertakings the obligation to build housing for their workers, with walls in cement or stone at least 50 cm. thick and floors in materials proof against rodents. Doors and windows must provide adequate light and ventilation and there must be a drinking-water supply, drains and latrines. This order seems to have fallen into abeyance, for no reference was made to it during the survey by the persons responsible for housing questions.

In Tanganyika the Employment (Care and Welfare) Regulations, 1957, provide that the housing allocated to a worker living with his family must contain at least one room in which not more than four persons may be accommodated, each person having at least 40 sq.ft. (3.71 sq.m.) of floor space. Each room must be of at least 100 sq.ft. (9.29 sq.m.) and have permanent ventilation at the top of the walls as well as windows and doors protecting the occupants against rain and other forms of bad weather. The walls must be at least 7 ft. (2.14 m.) high and the roof must be weather-proof and fire-proof.

It is interesting to note that in several states of India (including West Bengal, Madras and Uttar Pradesh) standards for workers' housing have

(a) the construction materials to be used;
(b) the minimum size of accommodation, its layout, ventilation, and floor and air space;
(c) verandah space, cooking, washing, storage, water supply and sanitary facilities.

Article 87

Adequate penalties for violations of the legal provisions made in accordance with the preceding Article shall be provided for by laws or regulations and effectively enforced.
been established under the Plantations Labour Act, 1951. These standards apply in particular to location, the development of roads and tracks to the housing, and the maintenance of the housing in good conditions of hygiene.

**BUILDING PROGRAMMES**

Certain employers, particularly on the large plantations, have adopted programmes for the building of housing, while others, for reasons that will be examined below, have apparently had little inclination to do so.

In Africa the Cameroons Development Corporation has drawn up an ambitious building programme to provide housing for its workers, which will cost in all some £2 million sterling and provide housing for about 15,000 persons. As it is impossible to carry out the whole programme at once, the Corporation has established an order of priority under which the most unsatisfactory housing conditions in camps and villages are to be improved first—and as quickly as possible.

In Ivory Coast the plantation managements of the Institut de recherches pour les huiles et oléagineux and the Société africaine des plantations d’hévéas have endeavoured to stabilise their labour force through a building programme intended to provide comfortable dwellings. Most of these are built of cement or brick with walls and floor of cement (except that the floor is sometimes of wood) and roof of aluminium or corrugated iron. The doors and windows are of wood or metal. Unmarried workers are housed in large rooms for three or four persons, each with a kitchen. Family houses have a balcony, a kitchen and sanitary facilities. Each of these houses has two or three bedrooms, according to the number of children.

On Mauritius a cyclone that almost completely destroyed many encampments on different plantations in 1960 provided the sugarcane undertakings with the opportunity of carrying out housing programmes. Several undertakings built dwellings in brick or cement in real little villages, like the “Happy Village” of Flacq United Estates Limited.

The Mauritius Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund, which was instituted in 1948, has lent the employers on the plantations about 10 million rupees for the building of workers’ housing. Besides granting this financial aid, the Fund has built, over a period of five years, about 2,000 dwellings in reinforced concrete capable of withstanding cyclones. These houses are sold to the sugar workers at cost price, repayable without interest over 35 years, which enables the workers to become the owners.
In Tanganyika some large tea plantations of the Southern Highlands and certain coffee, sisal and tea plantations of the Kilimanjaro and Usambara area in the north, having suffered setbacks in building programmes instituted without regard to the tastes and customs of workers belonging to different tribes, decided that before undertaking any new building programme they would carry out inquiries among the workers to ascertain their preferences. They then built cement dwellings that were modern in type except that they were circular like the traditional huts. These were laid out in circles as in the villages from which the workers came. On certain sisal plantations of the Tanga region the employers even built specimen houses so that the workers could express their opinions on them. These were modified in accordance with the views expressed, and it was then possible to proceed with the large-scale construction of dwellings meeting the workers' tastes.

In Latin America housing policies on the plantations are generally inadequate. It has already been seen that the Compañía Bananera of Costa Rica, which employs thousands of workers, arranges for the building of no more than seven family dwellings per year.

The management of a large Costa Rican coffee plantation stated during the survey that the undertaking intended to borrow 2 million colons from a bank to replace 450 old wooden dwellings by new ones in brick, within two years if possible.

On some Latin American plantations the housing problem is less acute than elsewhere, because part of the housing, sometimes a large part, consists of dwellings built recently of materials that are generally more solid than those they are replacing. This is true of the housing on banana plantations of the Standard Fruit Company in Costa Rica and of a large sugarcane plantation and some coffee plantations in Peru. Nevertheless, on most of the plantations visited by the I.L.O. expert there is no general policy for the construction of housing.

Governments, moreover, when they are concerned with housing problems, tend to take more interest in urban areas than in the country. In Costa Rica the National Institute of Housing and Town Planning has not yet elaborated any policy for building dwellings in rural areas. North American organisations that assist it financially, such as the Alliance for Progress and the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.), prefer urban housing programmes because the results are more easily seen and provide better propaganda for their activities.

A study concerning Peru published by the Pan American Union in 1963 states that the attention of the Government continues to concentrate on the improvement of housing in crowded urban centres and that
responsibility for the improvement of housing in rural areas largely rests in consequence with the individual farmer or the landowner.\(^1\)

In Asia there has been considerable progress, largely as a result of the general rise in levels of living that has taken place since the Second World War and the interest shown by the governments in this question.

In Ceylon the 1961 annual report of the Planters' Association records that 344 new dwellings were built during that year.

In India the chief inspector of plantations of the state of Madras in 1962 approved 84 plans submitted by the planters for the building of workers' housing or the improvement of existing housing. The Government of India grants planters some financial assistance in housing. By the end of the period of the Second Five-Year Plan loans had been granted to ten Madras planters to enable them to build 191 dwellings for their workers; 155 of these houses were completed at the time of the survey.

Also in the state of Madras, employers on about 290 plantations coming under the Plantations Labour Act had by the end of 1962 provided their workers with 23,048 new or renovated houses conforming to the established standards. They had still 11,459 to build.\(^2\)

In Uttar Pradesh and Punjab the tea plantations are small and few of the workers live on them. In Punjab there were in 1961 only 16 plantations coming under the Plantations Labour Act. No new dwelling was built in 1961, although during the previous year 220 had been built and made available without charge to the workers.

In 1960 the number of dwellings built was 12,114 in Assam\(^3\), 2,789 in West Bengal and 4,048 in Kerala. In 1963 there were 4,392 new dwellings built on 227 tea plantations in West Bengal: in the same year 3,001 dwellings were built in Kerala, where 28,812 dwellings for plantation workers are still to be built.\(^4\)

In Bihar, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, where conditions are different from those of the other regions, there has been little change. In Bihar in particular nearly all the plantation workers live in their own villages and it is not considered necessary to house them on the plantations.

\(^3\) In 1963 there was little progress in housing. This was mainly due to the imposition of new standards raising the cost of building a dwelling from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 5,000. No employer built dwellings conforming to the new standards, but 5,795 dwellings of the "pukka", "semi-pukka" or "cutcha" type were provided for the workers in this year.
In Malaya plans approved in 1960 provided for the building of 6,014 new dwellings and the conversion of 2,705 houses considered to be below the statutory standards.

Many employers are entirely unenthusiastic about programmes for the building of modern housing to replace the old and even about programmes for the mere improvement of existing housing. This attitude is mainly due to their having observed, sometimes on their own plantations, how unprepared the workers are for living in modern, clean and hygienic housing without previous training to fit them for this fundamental change in their habits. The workers’ lack of aptitude for living in new dwellings of modern type has often been observed not only in Africa but also in Latin America and Asia. They frequently take no care of the dwellings provided for them, and sometimes they even tear down the doors, windows and built-in shelves to burn the wood. Taps may be torn away and bathrooms and kitchens are used as rubbish-dumps. The equipment is sometimes improperly used. For example, in Africa windows are often permanently closed, bedrooms are turned into kitchens and the plumbing installations are not used at all. In Tanganika on a Swiss-owned sisal plantation that has built housing almost luxurious in comparison with what is required by legislation, in 77 per cent. of the 380 houses built in recent years the windows were nailed and in 80 per cent. the plumbing equipment in the bathroom was out of action.

Besides the problem of the misuse of housing there is that of the settlement in the workers’ dwellings of more or less distant relations, who bring the number of persons per room to an unduly high level. This occurs mainly in Africa and Latin America.

The only solution for such problems is that recommended by most representatives of the employers and workers, namely the institution of large-scale programmes of popular education with a view to teaching the workers and their families the right way to use the modern housing provided for them.

**Types of Housing, Number of Persons per Room, and Building Materials**

The types of housing provided for plantation workers are far from uniform. They range from the most primitive huts through encampments of large hutments, generally built of wood, to comparatively modern family dwellings built of brick or concrete.

---

1 These plans concern not only plantations, but also mines, quarries, sawmills, brickyards, rubber works and rice-mills, which have to provide housing for their workers. Federation of Malaya: Annual Report of the Ministry of Labour for the Year 1960, pp. 40-41.
Huts and Cabins

The survey showed that the workers and their families are generally housed in huts, particularly on small isolated plantations, as for example in East Cameroon. The huts are nearly always unhealthy, the floor being of mud. The roofs, which are of palm leaves, sometimes do not give proper protection against the heavy tropical rain and in any case they provide cover for insects.

In Ivory Coast it was observed during the survey that on seven small plantations there were huts with up to 17 persons of both sexes and all ages living in one room.

In Latin America, especially on some of the Colombian tobacco plantations and Costa Rican cocoa plantations, many workers still live in cabins. The family questionnaires revealed that of the 27 dwellings visited on Colombian tobacco plantations 19 were built of branches and mud, 21 had a mud floor and 20 had a palm-leaf roof.

In the Limón province of Costa Rica the cocoa plantation workers live in broken-down wooden cabins, more or less open to the weather. Families, which are often very large, generally live in houses containing only two rooms.

In Asia cabins are hardly found, at least on the plantations that were visited during the survey.

Compounds

For a very long time plantation workers had to be satisfied with compounds consisting of long wooden hutments sometimes with an upper storey. These are still found in Africa, Asia and Latin America, but there is an increasing tendency to modernise them, as on several plantations in Asia, or to replace them by family dwellings as in Africa and to a smaller extent in Latin America.

In West Cameroon the directors of the Cameroons Development Corporation have been endeavouring since the end of the last world war to get rid of the extremely primitive old wooden hutments that sheltered from eight to 12 families under one roof and to replace them by two-family dwellings.

In Tanganyika the old and gloomy hutments where workers and their families lived on top of each other on the oldest plantations are being systematically demolished and replaced by small family dwellings and various buildings where meetings can be organised. The result is the creation of well-organised and attractive little villages, where flowers and trees add a note of gaiety.
In Colombia the compounds vary considerably from plantation to plantation both in type and in construction. They are made up of hutments, generally consisting of one large hall with rows of beds or hammocks. On the coffee plantations the walls of these hutments are generally of mud though sometimes of brick, the floors are generally of cement though sometimes of wood, and the roofs are nearly always tiled. The workers living in them take their meals either in an eating-room or under an open shelter with large tables and benches. On certain sugarcane plantations of the Cali area about 80 per cent. of the workers are housed in this way. The families of those who are married live in villages about 9 to 12 miles from the plantation, and the workers go home on Saturday afternoon and remain there until Sunday evening or Monday morning. The compounds of these sugarcane plantations have a kitchen and an eating-room. The dormitories consist of large halls each with 50 beds. Every worker has a metal locker.

On certain cotton plantations in the department of Magdalena the compounds consist of mere shelters without walls. Heavy wooden posts rise from the cement floor to support the roof of branches. Up to 100 workers may sleep in hammocks under these shelters. When the tropical rains fall the workers must take refuge in their hammocks suspended as high as possible if they do not wish to be soaked to the skin. Cooking is carried out on camp fires.

In Costa Rica the hutments of the Compañía Bananera may house six families each. Every family has a room on the ground floor and a room upstairs, as well as a small kitchen built behind the hutments. The rooms are about 4 yards long and 2 yards high. The walls are made of boards and the roof of corrugated iron. The floors upstairs are made of wood, and at ground level mud takes the place of a floor. The doors and windows are mere openings in the walls. Sometimes there are rectangles of wood to close the doors and windows, but they also cut off the air and light.

On a large coffee plantation of the San Ramón area in Peru there are ten hutments, each containing 20 dwellings. It is true that on this plantation nearly all the workers (147 out of 172), whether regular or temporary, are unmarried or not accompanied by their families. The walls and floors of these hutments consist of cement blocks or wood and the roofs are covered with fibro-cement or boards. The walls of the sugarcane plantation hutments are nearly always of brick or adobe, the floors of cement (or sometimes of brick) and the roofs of galvanized iron or sugarcane.

On the cotton plantations of the Cañete area the materials used for building the hutments are of particularly poor quality. The walls are
generally made of reeds or adobe, the floors of mud and the roofs of reeds or mere sheets of cardboard.

In Peru all the hutments on plantations have a kitchen. Of six hutments (two on sugarcane plantations, three on coffee plantations and one on a cotton plantation), only two have a common-room and an eating-room.

In Asia too, hutments form the oldest kind of dwelling provided for plantation workers. They used to be separated lengthwise by a central partition, with the space on each side divided into rooms and a common balcony running from end to end. Each hutment housed about 28 families, and each family had only one room, which had to serve as kitchen, dining-room and bedroom. There are still a good many of these old hutments, but they have been modernised nearly everywhere. The space that used to house two families, one on each side of the central partition, now houses a single family, for a door has been made in the partition so that each family may have two rooms. In Ceylon and the south of India hutments of this type are to be found, originally built long ago on this plan. In many cases the employers have built kitchens, wash rooms and sometimes even water closets just behind the hutments.

In Malaya are found two other kinds of wooden dwelling. The first, known as a "one up and one down", consists of a long hutment with an upper storey, a long balcony and an outside staircase. Each family has two rooms, one above the other, the lower one generally being used as a kitchen and eating-room and the upper one as a living-room and bedroom. The dwellings of the second kind are square, generally built on piles and divided into quarters for four families.

Family Dwellings

Hutments have many drawbacks, particularly that of allowing the families no privacy. Housing recently built in Africa, Asia and Latin America, often as a result of trade union claims, consists of houses generally designed for one or two families, but there are still old family dwellings everywhere, in very poor condition.

The Cameroons Development Corporation has built various types of family dwelling in brick, cement and metal, with a view to ascertaining the preferences of the workers and the resistance of the materials. They consist of two rooms and are intended for two families or four unmarried workers, and each has a verandah and a kitchen.

On Mauritius the new dwellings on 11 large sugarcane plantations have four rooms per family, as well as a kitchen, a bathroom, a water closet and a verandah. They are built of cement with steel frame and metal windows and can resist the strongest wind.
In Tanganyika most of the plantations visited were in advance of the legislation on the construction of housing. They have built brick houses with a metal roof, and doors and windows of good-quality wood. On the sugar plantations and several of the sisal plantations in the area of the central railway line and round Tanga the size of the rooms is greater than that laid down by the relevant Act.

It is far from true, however, that all housing for plantation workers in Africa is satisfactory. Some old dwellings come nowhere near the minimum set for modern housing. In Cameroon an inquiry carried out in 1957 by the personnel division of the Cameroons Development Corporation showed that only about 30 per cent. of the housing at that time was built of cement or brick with roofs solid enough to protect the occupants against bad weather. In most of the old dwellings the mud floor soon becomes a filthy puddle when there is heavy rain. Rats and snakes often move in, sources of great danger, particularly to children.

The situation has improved since 1957, for the Corporation has proceeded with the building of modern dwellings. Overcrowding is still common, however, since many members of the occupants' families live with them and more than a thousand dismissed workers remain in the homes of members of their tribe who are employed and housed on the plantation.

On a large industrial plantation of East Cameroon 60 per cent. of the dwellings are built of branches and mud with palm-leaf roofs.

In Latin America family dwellings also differ widely from plantation to plantation.

On most of the coffee plantations of Colombia the dwellings provided for regular workers and members of their families have two bedrooms and a kitchen. The walls are of mud and the floors of wood or cement, and the roofs are tiled. Family dwellings on Colombian sugarcane plantations are fairly comfortable as a rule, but only about 20 per cent. of the workers live in them with their families.

Family dwellings on the banana plantations are generally built of brick (though they may sometimes be of wood), with a cement floor and a corrugated-iron or palm-leaf roof.

In the department of Magdalena most of the workers’ housing on the cotton plantations is particularly unhygienic because of the walls of board, the palm-leaf roofs and the mud floors. The dwellings generally have only one or two rooms per family and no kitchen. The food is therefore prepared in the open air on a wood fire set up on a kind of table made of branches covered with clods of earth.

Family dwellings (which are not necessarily occupied by families) are almost the only kind found in Costa Rica on the banana plantations of
the Standard Fruit Company and on the coffee and sugarcane plantations, in Peru on numerous sugarcane and cotton plantations and in Ecuador on nearly all plantations. Many of them are occupied by three or four unmarried workers (or married workers without their families) or by a family with one or two unmarried men in addition. Situations of this kind are due to the housing shortage on plantations and the lack of a rational policy for the construction of housing.

For example, on the banana plantations of the Standard Fruit Company there are only family dwellings of recent construction, although 85 per cent. of the workers are not accompanied by their families. On most of these plantations, each of which generally has 47 workers, there are 17 family dwellings, ten occupied by workers without families and seven by one family each. The walls consist of slabs of cement, the roof is of corrugated iron, and there is a cement floor. Air and daylight are admitted by wide spaces between the roof and the top of the walls, protected by fine wire netting. The ceilings are of wood. These dwellings have two sections, one consisting of two bedrooms and the other of a kitchen and a wash room with a water closet, a washbasin and a shower. The corridor between these two sections, open at each end, but covered by the roof, takes the place of a dining-room.

In Costa Rica every plantation of the Compañía Bananera has four collective hutments of the type already described and 16 family dwellings with an upper storey, each of which is intended to house two families and built of the same materials as the hutments. One family lives on the ground floor and the other on the upper floor, and each flat consists of two rooms and a small kitchen. The company has recently started to build one-family houses of more solid material and more modern appearance than the old wooden ones. They consist of a kitchen, an open corridor used as a dining-room, two rooms and a small wash room, all on the same floor. The walls are of cement slabs, the floors are also of cement and the roofs are of corrugated iron. There are no windows, but there is a wide space between the top of the walls and the roof. These houses are better designed than the old ones, but some of the workers are dissatisfied with them, largely because the management of the company very often installs a family including children in one room, with a right to the kitchen and the open hall used as a dining-room, and two workers without families in the other room, the wash room having to serve both the family and the two additional workers. This overcrowding in houses intended for one family is mainly due to the housing shortage to be observed on the plantations of the company. The situation is likely to remain unchanged for a long time, for the direct agreement signed in 1963 by the company and the workers provides for the building of only
seven family houses per year. This provision, which does not meet present needs, gives rise to the fear that the future so-called family houses with three bedrooms will also be occupied in fact by two, three or even four workers without families as well as a normal family with children.

In Ecuador the workers' housing on all the plantations visited is particularly primitive. The dwellings are generally scattered, except on the sugarcane plantations, where they very often form small villages. Many are built on wooden piles. The building materials are nearly always reeds or bamboo (known as gadúa) for the walls, boards for the floors and palm leaves for the roof. Zinc roofs, however, are also found. The doors and windows are nearly always mere openings in the walls, and so the workers and their families have to use large nets to protect themselves from mosquitoes and other insects at night. The number of bedrooms is generally small, particularly in relation to the size of the families.

The family questionnaires made it possible to calculate the average number of persons per bedroom on the various types of plantation visited in Ecuador. There are 4.5 persons per bedroom on certain cocoa plantations, 4.3 on sugarcane plantations, 3.5 on other cocoa plantations and 3.4 on banana plantations.

In Peru the family dwellings are built in rows, back to back, in the residential section of most sugarcane and cotton plantations, though on the coffee plantations of the San Ramón area many of them are scattered, owing mainly to the unevenness of the ground. The building materials differ widely from plantation to plantation and sometimes within a single plantation. On most Peruvian sugarcane plantations visited during the survey about one-quarter of the family dwellings have walls of adobe, roofs of branches covered with mud or of cardboard sheets, and floors of mud. The others have brick walls, cement floors and galvanised-iron roofs.

On two coffee plantations of the San Ramón area the walls of the houses are of wood or cement, the roofs are covered with palm leaves or sheet metal, and the floors are of mud or cement.

Most of the cotton plantations have dwellings built of adobe or even reeds with mud floors, and the roofs are covered with sheets of cardboard or reeds.

In Asia there is now a tendency to construct small buildings accommodating no more than four families of plantation workers. Part of the new housing consists of small semi-detached cottages, each with living-room, kitchen, water closet and two verandahs, one front and one back. In Ceylon about one-tenth of all the housing on the plantations is of this type. It is becoming increasingly common in Indonesia and Malaya.
In the latter country it is now forbidden by law to house more than four families in one dwelling, and employers are endeavouring to get rid gradually of the remaining huts in compliance with the law.

Progress in building has sometimes been hindered by lack of materials, as in India, or by increasing cost, as in Indonesia.

In Asia building materials differ from country to country. In the south of India and Ceylon the walls are invariably of solid material: bricks, stone or concrete slabs. In Malaya wooden dwellings are very common. In Indonesia brick is used increasingly, but the traditional material for walls is a strong bamboo weave within a wooden frame. Roofs are generally of tiles, corrugated iron or aluminium, though thatch is still widely used. The floor may be of concrete, bricks set on edge, or wood. Glazed windows are becoming increasingly common in new dwellings instead of the old wooden shutters. It has, however, taken some time for the workers to grow accustomed to them. At first they felt that this type of window was not conducive to safety or privacy.

Furniture

In all plantation workers' dwellings, whether in Africa, Asia or Latin America, the furniture is very primitive. It is not uncommon to see benches instead of chairs and wooden cases instead of cupboards.

Family questionnaires carried out on Latin American plantations provide an idea of the furniture possessed by the workers. Of 162 families visited in Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru, 113 (70 per cent.) had beds, 147 (91 per cent.) had a table for meals, 81 (50 per cent.) had a table for other purposes, 44 (27 per cent.) had chairs, 43 (27 per cent.) had a kitchen cupboard and 39 (24 per cent.) had a wardrobe.

If the findings are classified by type of plantation, it can be seen, without going into details, that the furniture is markedly more complete in the housing provided for sugarcane plantation workers in Ecuador and Peru. The greatest shortage of furniture among the families covered by this inquiry appears on the tobacco plantations of Colombia, the coffee plantations of Costa Rica and the banana and cocoa plantations of Ecuador.

In Asia the furniture varies considerably with the nationality of the worker and the traditional way of life. Indian workers sit down to their meals not at a table but on the floor, which makes tables and chairs unnecessary. They generally have a chest or two for their clothes, a simple bed or two (on which they place a blanket) and sometimes a chair, small table, clock or religious picture as well.

The way of living of Indian families is generally simple, sometimes even austere. Children, including babies, usually sleep in the same bed
as their parents, or two or three together in a bed or on a blanket placed
on the floor. The head of the family, when he has enough money, buys
a bicycle, a radio set or a gramophone, or a sewing machine for his wife
so that she can supplement the family income.

Families whose origin is Malayan, Indonesian or Chinese have greater
comfort in their housing than Indian families. The most striking example
is provided by the Javanese workers in Indonesia. Many houses have a
table, chairs, a sideboard, china and cutlery, and a bed with a mattress,
a bedspread and sometimes a mosquito net.

WATER SUPPLY AND SANITARY FACILITIES

In certain countries the laws and regulations require employers to
provide running water and sanitary facilities for workers housed on the
plantations.

In Cameroon, if there is not a bath in each dwelling, the law requires
two shower installations to be built for every group of ten dwellings,
one for men and one for women. There must be one latrine for every
six dwellings, and it must be reserved for the use of the occupants.

In East Cameroon each person must be able to get 20 litres of water
per day. When the workers sleep in dormitories there must be a place in
which they can dress and wash their clothes.

In Ivory Coast, Decree No. 4806 of 1953 provides rather vaguely that
“there must be a sewage disposal system”, that latrines meeting the
sanitary standards (a septic tank varying in size with the number of
persons and one seat for every ten persons) must be provided for the
workers and that the disposal of household refuse must be carried out
regularly. The workers must have 30 litres of water available per person
and the necessary vessels for purposes of cleanliness. It is also provided
that the water supplied by the employer shall be of good quality and
free from infestation.

In Tanganyika the Employment (Care and Welfare) Regulations,
1957, oblige the employers to provide their workers with latrines at the
rate of one for every 15 persons or, where there is a septic tank, one for
every ten persons. Separate latrines must be provided for men and women.

In Ceylon, India and Indonesia there are also statutory provisions
concerning water supply and sanitary facilities on plantations. In India,
for example, in West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh the employers on
plantations are required to provide their workers with healthy drinking

---

1 See resolution No. 14 concerning sanitation and water supply on plantations
adopted in 1953 by the Committee on Work on Plantations.
water in conditions laid down by regulations. Besides, there must be one latrine for every 50 acres (20.25 hectares) of cultivated land and separate latrines for each sex.

In practice, the situation in respect of water supply and sanitary facilities is far from satisfactory.

On many African plantations there are no latrines, the collection of refuse is badly organised or hardly carried out at all, and there is only one bath for every 30 to 40 persons. During dry periods the water supply is particularly limited.

On the large industrial plantations, however, there is piped or well drinking water, which the Africans very often refuse to drink, declaring that it has less taste than river water. On certain medium-size plantations in Cameroon about 70 per cent. of the Africans refuse to drink filtered water.

Among certain small native-owned plantations in Ivory Coast filtered water is found on only about one plantation in four. On most of these plantations there are no latrines.

On Mauritius the situation is often better than in Africa. Most workers' dwellings on sugarcane plantations of a certain size have bathrooms and water closets, and the collection of household refuse is comparatively well organised.

In Tanganyika the lack of water is a great drawback in dry periods. On some plantations women have to walk a distance of 3 or 4 miles each way twice a day to draw water, which makes about 14 miles per day.

On certain plantations with a system of running water the workers have very quickly broken the taps and so wasted much water. The employers have then been obliged to fit new taps of a much more solid type. Some of them have even fitted special taps passing only five litres at a time; others have preferred to fit pumps that work only if a coin is put in a slot.

Furthermore, since the latrines are often at an excessive distance from the dwellings, it happens that neither the workers nor the members of their families make use of them. On various plantations in Tanganyika it was observed that one latrine was provided for 36, 48, 67 or even 73 persons on an average, according to the plantation. Certain employers say that it is useless to install latrines, because the workers do not use them.

In Colombia the 1951 census shows that 88.7 per cent. of rural dwellings have no water closet and 97.6 per cent. have no bathroom facilities.1 Compounds on Colombian coffee plantations nearly always

---

1 J. Noe Herrera: "La Vivienda Rural en Colombia", in Universitas (Bogotá, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Ciencias Jurídico-económicas), No. 20, June 1961, pp. 217-244.
Diet in Tanganyika varies greatly, as plantation workers are generally drawn from different tribes and thus have widely varying food habits. However, on one sisal plantation in the Tanga area where the workers came from six different tribes, the basic diet was found to consist of maize, potatoes, flat cakes made with manioc flour, and bananas. The menu sometimes included fish (fresh, smoked or dried) or meat, often obtained through hunting (elephant, antelope, zebra, etc.).

On plantations in the Latin American countries the main items of food consumed by workers and their families are cooked plantains, manioc, beans, maize, rice, potatoes, lentils, vermicelli and, in Colombia in particular, water in which loaves of sugar have been melted. Bread and coffee are sometimes added to the menu. Meat consumption is negligible on plantations, the price of this commodity being high almost everywhere.

In the Asian countries the staple food of plantation workers everywhere is rice. As a rule the main meal also comprises lentils and vegetables, and occasionally fish, eggs or meat, the latter but rarely, however, not only because of its high price but also sometimes for religious reasons. It is in fact forbidden for Hindus to eat meat of any kind or eggs, but to make up for this they consume large quantities of milk and milk products. This total abstinence from meat is moreover not strictly observed by all Hindus, especially in the humbler sectors of the population, where exceptions are sometimes made so long as the meat is not beef.

The great majority of Malayan and Indonesian workers, being Moslems, eat no pork, as distinct from Chinese workers, who eat all kinds of fish and meat, particularly pork and chicken.

**Distribution of and Trading in Foodstuffs**

On some plantations in Africa, Asia and Latin America employers still give food rations to the employees and their families either as part...
of wages or free of charge. However, this practice is becoming more and more rare, especially in Africa, as has been seen above, because of the intervention of the unions.

**Distribution of Food or Meals by the Employer**

In Ivory Coast some employers still provide food for their workers. The value of the daily rations distributed by employers is assessed as being equivalent to two-and-a-half hours' wages at the guaranteed inter-occupational minimum wage rate for the area of employment.

In Tanganyika, on a number of Swiss, Netherlands and British-owned sisal and tea plantations, the employers provide their workers with a light meal free of charge. On tea plantations this meal is generally served in the middle of the morning so that the workers, whose normal custom is to eat nothing until 5 or 6 p.m., will not work right through the day without any nourishment.

In Latin America the supply of rations or meals is becoming rarer and rarer. On a few large sugar plantations in Ecuador and Peru, however, where working conditions are governed by collective agreements, the latter contain clauses providing for the supply of meals. On one plantation in Ecuador, for instance, the employer is required to provide his employees with an eating place and supply free of charge the electricity, water and fuel necessary to cook or heat up food. Deductions from wages to pay for meals consumed there are made by a card system.\(^1\) In one collective agreement in force on a large sugar plantation in Peru there is an article stipulating that employees must be given their midday and evening meals on the plantation; the midday meal must include soup or broth, helpings of rice, vegetables and potatoes, and some meat and bread.\(^2\) These meals form a part of the wages, about one-fifth.

On some coffee plantations, also in Peru, in the San Ramón area, the employers do not provide meals but supply employees or their families, free of charge and in almost unlimited quantities, with *pitucas* (tubers belonging to the Solanaceae family).

In Asia, only in Indonesia is a sizeable proportion of the wage paid in kind in the form of foodstuffs. In Java, for instance, plantation workers receive a daily ration of rice, normally 15 kg. (33 lb.) per month for a worker, 7.5 kg. for his wife and 6 kg. for each of his children. In southern India and Malaya free milk is supplied to children in day nurseries and schools.

\(^1\) *Tercer contrato colectivo celebrado entre la Compañía Azucarera Váldez, etc.*, op. cit., section 38-39, pp. 21-22.

\(^2\) *Contrato colectivo de trabajo entre la hacienda Cartavio, etc.*, 1961, op. cit., p. 21.
In Ceylon, section 11 of the Minimum Wages (Indian Labour) Ordinance of 1927 stipulates that on every estate an allowance of one-eighth of a bushel of unblended rice of good quality shall be issued free of charge each month by the employer (a) to every male Indian labourer above the age of 16 years employed on the estate; (b) to every Indian widow residing on the estate with at least one child under 10 years of age dependent on her.

**Shops or Company’s Stores**

As it is becoming less and less common for plantation employers to supply their employees with food or meals, it is to be expected that trading in foodstuffs should develop not only in villages near plantations but also on the plantations themselves. Reversing earlier tendencies, these trading activities have become more and more independent of the employers, though the latter still sometimes exercise a certain control over the prices charged in shops on their plantations in order to prevent abuse.

In East Cameroon the employers impose price ceilings on goods sold by tradesmen setting up shop on their plantations, with the result that the latter, finding shortly after their arrival that they cannot manage to acquire an adequate turnover, have no other desire than to leave.

On nearly all the large sisal plantations in Tanganyika there is a slaughterhouse where several animals are killed each week, the meat being sold to the workers at reduced prices. On a number of plantations the majority of the foodstuffs generally consumed by Africans are on sale at moderate prices. These cut-price sales are possible only because the employers subsidise the trading establishments opened on their property. Their main purpose in providing this aid is to improve the nutrition of the African workers by making meat, vegetables and fish available to them at prices within their reach. Custom and superstition still at times act as an impediment to this desirable improvement in diet.

In Colombia on every cotton plantation in the department of Magdalena there is at least one shop selling food, clothing and household goods. The employer owns it, and he keeps a close watch on prices, which are generally equivalent to cost price, since the manager of the shop, being paid for his services by the employer, is not allowed to make any profit on his sales. The prices of most goods are lower than in the nearest village. The workers usually buy on credit, but free of interest. At the end of each week, or of the harvest, they settle up with the employer. Despite the existence of these estate stores the workers are still free to do
their shopping wherever they please, but they nevertheless find it quite
difficult to go to the village, not so much because of the distance but
mainly because of the lack of transport.

The owners of one Costa Rican coffee plantation where there is no
shop intend to establish a shopping centre for the exclusive use of their
employees and their families where goods will be sold at markedly lower
prices than in the shops in the neighbouring village: cost price plus an
8 per cent. supplement to cover expenses and possibly permit of a small
profit. On another coffee plantation in the same country there are shops
where the prices charged appear to be higher than those in the nearest
village, a little more than 4 miles away; and even the managers of the
plantation shops seem to tend to exploit the workers.

The Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica has one shop on each finca,
operated since a few years ago by persons who are not employees of the
company. The prices of certain basic commodities are relatively low
and are moreover fixed by the company, which ensures that they are
respected. Unfortunately the shopkeepers, making virtually no profit on
these goods, do not go to much trouble to procure them, preferring to
sell more remunerative lines.

Section 39 (4) of the Ecuadorian Labour Code requires employers to
install messrooms for their workpeople, but only where 200 or more are
employed in the factory or undertaking and the workplace is more than
2 km. from the nearest town or village. Furthermore, section 40 (c) of
the same Code prohibits employers from requiring an employee to buy
articles of consumption in a specified shop or place.

In the same country practically all banana and cocoa plantations are
without a shop of their own. One large sugar plantation, however, is
obliged under the terms of the collective agreement it has signed to sell
at cost price such foodstuffs and household goods as are needed by the
workers.\(^1\)

Two large Peruvian sugar plantations may be cited as examples of
how to solve the shopping problem. On both there is a company's
store, but one is owned and managed by the company, and its prices are
exactly the same as those in the shops in nearby villages, while the other
belongs to the workers, who run it themselves: the prices charged for
some goods are lower than in neighbouring villages but the prices of
others are the same. Certain facilities are accorded to the latter store:
an employee of the company is assigned the task of purchasing its supplies
and transport is made available to it free of charge.

\(^1\) *Tercer contrato colectivo celebrado entre la Compañía Azucarera Váldez, etc.*, op.
cit., section 38.
On some Peruvian coffee plantations in the San Ramón area there is no shop and the workers have to go into the nearest village every Saturday to do their shopping. On other coffee plantations, and on the majority of cotton plantations, there is a company's store, which nearly always belongs to a private individual who charges market prices. The employers therefore assume no responsibility in either case for improving the supply of foodstuffs and other basic commodities.

In the Asian countries practically every plantation has at least one shop. In India, under the terms of the Plantations Labour Act, canteens on plantations must provide hot drinks and cooked food for sale to the workers. In Malaya, as a rule, each plantation has two separate shops, one for Chinese workers and the other for Indian workers.

The practice most commonly followed by planters in Asian countries consists in letting a shop to a private individual who has to undertake to post up his prices (which he is moreover required to do by law) and to keep them within reasonable bounds.

Most selling is done on credit, the bill being settled once a month, on pay day. Credit may, however, be extended. In Malaya Chinese shopkeepers appear to be more strict than their Indian colleagues when it comes to the payment of debts.

**Consumer Co-operatives**

The survey revealed the existence on some plantations of consumer co-operatives. However, societies of this kind are still quite rare, and those that do exist are not always entirely successful.

In Africa—in Cameroon, for example—the difficulty of keeping a shop of the commercial type going has led the managements of a number of plantations to attempt to open co-operative stores, but these attempts are all too often doomed to failure, mainly because of bad financial administration and the lack of experience of the co-operators.

In Colombia, on one large sugar plantation in the Cali area, the employees' union has managed to found a consumer co-operative. Although very well run it has not been as successful as was hoped, mainly because the prices of foodstuffs, clothing and household goods there are as high as in the surrounding villages. The workers cannot be made to understand that despite this parity of prices it is to their advantage to buy from the co-operative rather than in the villages, as they then have no transport costs. It is true that they look on every purchase as a welcome pretext for going into the village.

In Asia only one consumer co-operative was found, in Ceylon. Unlike those in Cameroon and Colombia it has been highly successful,
mainly for two reasons: firstly, its prices are around 20 per cent, lower than those in the local shops and, secondly, monthly credit facilities are offered up to an amount fixed for each worker on the basis of his wage-earning capacity. In most cases this amount is 49 rupees per person per month. Co-operatives of this kind might be equally successful elsewhere were it not for the fact that all too often they are doomed to perdition by bad management or even malpractices. It is not always possible to arrange for them to be properly supervised, since the plantation management cannot normally undertake such supervision, nor can it be entrusted to a committee of workers due to the fact that the majority of them are illiterate and book-keeping is beyond their capabilities.

MISCELLANEOUS FACILITIES GRANTED TO WORKERS

One means of improving the diet of plantation workers and their families, at least to some extent, is obviously to provide them with a plot of land and allow them to keep poultry and livestock. However, in the countries visited rare are the legislative provisions requiring employers to afford their workers such facilities. Examples which may be cited are the Labour Codes of Ecuador and of Malaya.

In Ecuador, while it is not really a question of providing plots of land, section 253 (3) of the Labour Code requires employers to allow agricultural workers or mixed-remuneration workers and their families to keep free of charge not more than three head of cattle and 20 head of lesser livestock on the natural pastures of the estate. The following section stipulates that the same obligation upon the employer shall also apply in relation to day labourers and piece-workers where they are regularly employed on the estate for not less than four days a week. It may be mentioned that in Ecuadorian plantations these provisions do not have much effect, since the workers employed there rarely keep either cattle or smaller livestock.

In Malaya the Rump Labour Code requires every plantation employer to set aside a certain area of land for the use of employees who have worked on the estate for not less than six consecutive months and who have dependants.

In Costa Rica the "direct agreement" concluded between the Compañía Bananera and its employees requires the company to lease to its employees holdings of not more than 1 hectare. These plots may be only on land abandoned by the company and lying idle, and the tenants must work there outside working hours to grow, for their own consumption, annual crops such as maize, beans, rice and vegetables, on condi-
tion that they return the land in the state in which they received it. No rent is specified in the direct agreement. According to the directors of the company the workers have virtually never taken advantage of this section in the agreement, a likely explanation for this being the obligation to pay rent.

In practice, in some countries, plantation workers or members of their families cultivate holdings which may belong to them or may have been set aside for them by their employers. In Africa, especially in West Cameroon and Tanganyika, it is mainly the wives and daughters of the workers recruited locally who cultivate a few food crops in the family gardens, which are outside the plantation. Often they even go and sell part of their produce on neighbouring plantations, which helps to augment the family income. In Ivory Coast, on plantations where the workers are given a plot of land free of charge, they grow most of their food on it. The workers or their wives grow bananas, manioc, yams, etc. It follows that their purchases at the plantation store or at the market in a nearby village are confined mainly to salt or salted or canned fish.

On most average-sized plantations in Mauritius the workers refuse to cultivate holdings even though the employers are ready to supply them, as this type of work is too reminiscent of the era of slavery. They therefore buy nearly all their food in the shops. On some large industrial plantations, however, some workers do grow food crops, in which case they can often obtain technical advice from the company agronomists. But all too often, stripped of the fruits of their labour by thieves, they end up by becoming disheartened. As a rule African workers keep chickens and occasionally pigs or ducks, while Indian workers prefer to keep one or two cows, selling the milk to eke out their income.

In Tanganyika, on some large sisal plantations where most of the workers come from remote areas or even from other African countries, the employers let them have holdings the produce from which is shared among members not only of the same family but of the same tribe. On three large sisal plantations enough food crops were grown in this manner to feed respectively one-tenth, one-quarter and one-third of all the workers, which, in these particular instances, represented an output sufficient to cover the needs of 80, 300 and 460 people.

The same situation could be observed on tea and sugar plantations. On one tea plantation, for instance, the company granted some 75 acres of land for its employees and gave technical aid with a view to increasing production. Unfortunately, since it was generally the womenfolk who cultivated these plots and they had hardly any knowledge of agriculture, productivity none the less remained rather low.
On many Tanganyikan plantations the workers' families keep a few animals such as pigs or chickens, but these often die through lack of proper care.

In Latin America, on one large coffee plantation in Costa Rica, the workers may, if they so wish, cultivate half a *manzana* (about one-third of a hectare) of land, but few of them take advantage of this offer as it means working on the land outside their normal working hours. They do, however, keep a few head of poultry.

On another Costa Rican coffee plantation some of the workers cultivate tiny plots of land belonging to the company. They were formerly allowed to keep a few cows and chickens and to pick the fruit from some banana trees on the plantation free of charge, but these privileges have been done away with since the plantation changed hands. The new owners promised by way of compensation to sell them eggs very cheaply, but the promise does not seem to have been kept.

On most plantations in Peru, whether they grow sugar, coffee (unless they are too small in size) or cotton, the workers cultivate a plot of land on which they grow mainly maize, rice, potatoes, manioc or beans. Sometimes they sell part of their produce. On one large sugar plantation the proportion sold was as high as 60 per cent., but this is exceptional. On that same plantation approximately 20 per cent. of the workers cultivate holdings provided by the company under the terms of the collective agreement in force.¹

On almost all Peruvian plantations the workers keep rabbits, poultry and occasionally even sheep or pigs. Between 10 and 50 per cent. of these animals are sold by the workers, and this may at times constitute an additional source of income which is not to be disdained.

In the Asian countries there are wide divergencies in the use to which plots of land made available to workers are put. Where the latter have some knowledge of horticulture the benefit they can derive from these plots is by no means negligible.

It is of interest to note that in Peru the owners of some estates are obliged by law to set aside a certain proportion of their land for food crops. The Decree of 2 November 1945, in particular, imposes such an obligation on those farming at least 10 hectares in coastal districts. The area under food crops must represent between 15 and 30 per cent. of the total area cultivated, the exact proportion varying from valley to valley. A similar obligation has been imposed by Decree No. 1 of 8 January 1965 on owners of 15 hectares or more of land near the coast.

¹ *Contrato colectivo de trabajo entre la hacienda Cartavio, etc., 1961, op. cit., p. 25.*
The survey has therefore revealed that there are certain deficiencies of both a quantitative and a qualitative nature in the diet of plantation workers and their families. Often too few meals are consumed daily and food neither is sufficiently varied nor contains all the necessary nutritional elements. In some countries, however, the employers have concerned themselves with the problem of their employees' diet and have taken steps to improve the situation; arrangements have been made to supply the workers with meals or foodstuffs, shops or company's stores have been allowed, subject to certain conditions, to operate on plantations, and plots of land for growing food crops or keeping livestock or poultry have been made available to workers.
CHAPTER XIV

CLOTHING

The fact that plantations are situated in tropical or sub-tropical regions, in countries with hot climates, might lead one to believe that clothing is not a major problem. It should not be forgotten, however, that in some of these regions the difference between daytime and nighttime temperatures is sometimes considerable. If workers, often already poorly housed and undernourished, are in addition too lightly clad the drop in temperature during the night may quite easily cause them to catch chills, which may develop into lung infections or even tuberculosis.

Furthermore, when plantations are situated at high altitudes, as is sometimes the case in Ceylon, the problem of clothing becomes more acute.

TYPE AND NATURE OF CLOTHING

Generally speaking, the clothing of plantation workers leaves much to be desired, even though the situation would appear from information collected on the spot to have improved appreciably in the past ten years or so. Quality varies quite widely, moreover, from region to region within the same country and according to the type of plantation. In East Cameroon, for instance—particularly in the regions near the border with the Central African Republic and farther north—some of the peoples wear hardly any clothes at all, while in the coastal region of Sanaga, where there is a large industrial rubber plantation belonging to SAFACAM, the workers wear shorts, shirts and shoes or sandals, and very often a suit on Sundays and feast days.

On many plantations in Ivory Coast, Mauritius and Tanganyika brightly coloured garments are coming more and more to be replaced by European-style clothes. In Mauritius the Indians and the Creoles dress very differently. The thrifty Indians, saving up to pay for the education of their children, neglect their clothing to such an extent that it is not uncommon to see them in rags. The Creoles, on the contrary, anxious to show their superiority, pay attention to their appearance and
remain faithful to the African style of dress. In Tanganyika, Africans who are Moslems wear a typically Arab costume, particularly on feast days.

African women tend to cling to the traditional brightly coloured garments, although a growing number of them are adopting European styles.

It is the children who come off worst, and it is not uncommon to see them running around "clothed" only in a little vest, whether one is in Africa, Asia or Latin America.

Generally speaking, if there is a fairly large village relatively near, it is easier to purchase clothes, and this improves the situation. In the absence of such a source of supply, travelling salesmen visit the plantations, for preference on pay day. But as a rule the quality of their wares is shoddy.

It is curious to note that the wives of plantation workers hardly ever bother to repair the garments of the members of their families, and hence many people are very badly dressed or even in rags.

Concentrating on one of the most important articles of apparel, the shoe, one of the experts was able to assess on the spot in the four Latin American countries the proportion of persons on the different plantations who possessed shoes and declared that they wore them regularly. His findings are summarised in table XVII.

### TABLE XVII. COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, ECUADOR AND PERU:
### PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS HABITUALLY WEARING SHOES,
### BY COUNTRY AND TYPE OF PLANTATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Type of plantation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Tobacco (various plantations)</td>
<td>30-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>Coffee (one plantation)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Banana (two plantations)</td>
<td>64 and 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sugar (one plantation)</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cocoa (various plantations)</td>
<td>62-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Sugar (various plantations)</td>
<td>70-95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Family questionnaires used during the survey.

### THE SUPPLY OF WORKING CLOTHES

In the majority of countries there is no legal obligation upon plantation employers to supply working or protective clothing. Exceptions are Colombia and India, however. In the former country the Labour Code
imposes upon every employer who normally employs in a permanent manner one or more workers to supply every six months, free of charge, leather or rubber footwear and working clothes to every employee whose remuneration is less than 121 pesos monthly, on condition that the employee has been in the service of that employer for more than three months on the expiry of each six-monthly period. In practice these provisions are observed only on the larger sugar estates and on some coffee plantations. On cotton and tobacco plantations, on the other hand, the workers generally receive no clothing.

In India the government of each state may, by virtue of the powers vested in it under the Plantations Labour Act, make rules requiring the provision of means of protection from rain or cold. These consist of blankets, raincoats and umbrellas. Women pluckers are also issued with aprons to protect their clothing as they move between the bushes. When it rains they never use umbrellas as it is impossible to hold one while working. If only light rain is falling the pluckers fold sacks over their heads to form hoods. When it rains heavily the work is temporarily halted. In some countries, especially in Asia, the local plaited straw hats protect the workers from the sun and to some extent from the rain.

In most of the other countries, despite the absence of legislative provisions on the subject, some plantation employers do supply their workers with protective clothing. In Cameroon, for instance, on some coffee plantations aprons are distributed to both men and women coffee bean sorters to ensure greater cleanliness in this work. In Tanganyika the workers on a number of tea and sisal plantations are issued free of charge by the management with raincoats or other rainproof garments. On some coffee plantations in Costa Rica the employer supplies his workers with gloves and boots and occasionally trousers to wear while working. On the banana estates of both the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica and the Standard Fruit Company, gloves are issued to the workers, and in the case of the latter company watchmen are supplied with capes. In Peru, of the enterprises visited by the expert only the sugar plantations provided their employees with working clothes, or in some instances material to make them: one supplied cloth, another distributed capes, while yet another provided boots. On nearly all the other types of plantations in Latin America the employers supply no clothing to their workers.

Ceylon and Malaya have no legislative provisions requiring planters to provide protective clothing, but some of them do so nevertheless. In Indonesia such clothing is issued twice a year to drivers of motor vehicles and tractors and to workers in contact with oil and grease. On
rubber plantations in Malaya workers employed on the extermination of weeds by sprinkling them with noxious chemical products are issued with protective clothing and goggles.

In the tropical regions of Asia the most commonly worn working garment is a pair of cloth shorts, usually khaki, with or without a jacket.

Thus the clothing situation as revealed by the survey is still often bad, despite appreciable improvements. Some employers issue their workers with garments to protect them from rain or cold as well as working aprons or trousers, footwear, gloves and other items of clothing.
CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION

A survey of the situation in the plantation areas from the point of view of education must start with the problem of illiteracy and then outline the steps—both legislative and concrete—adopted to deal with it.

ILLITERACY

The percentages given in table XVIII, which are based on family inquiries made during visits to the countries involved, serve to illustrate this problem among the people living in the plantations of the Latin American countries.

TABLE XVIII. COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, ECUADOR AND PERU: PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERATES AMONG THE POPULATION AGED 12 AND OVER IN SELECTED PLANTATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of plantation</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage of illiterates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Family questionnaires used during the survey.

1 Cocoa and coffee or bananas. 2 Three large plantations. 3 Several plantations in each of two regions.

1 The Plantations Convention, 1958, contains no provisions on the education of workers or their children, and the Plantations Recommendation, 1958, lays down only a few principles concerning vocational training. The Committee on Work on Plantations has however adopted two resolutions on the subject: No. 7 concerning the education and training of plantation workers (1950) and No. 43 concerning education facilities for the children of plantation workers (1961).
The percentage of illiterates in each of the plantations in question has been calculated in relation to all the members of families aged 12 and over.

It can be seen that these percentages of illiterates vary between 11 and 65, the highest figures (more than 60 per cent.) being found in the mixed and banana plantations of Ecuador and in the tobacco plantations of Colombia. Plantations with a percentage illiteracy of between 50 and 60 include some of sugarcane in Peru, those for coffee in Costa Rica and certain banana and cocoa plantations in Ecuador. The lowest rates of illiteracy were in plantations for sugarcane in Peru and for bananas in Colombia.

These findings apply of course only to the plantations in which the family inquiries were actually carried out and are not bases for generalisations. Nevertheless they give some idea of the over-all position which may well exist in the Latin American plantations: in almost every case more than one-third of the members of the families investigated were illiterate.

Unfortunately the number of illiterates in the African and Asian plantations, even if no exact figures can be quoted, is still very high.

SChools : Legal Requirements and Fact

In practically every single country the children of plantation workers have to attend state schools, but as can be imagined these schools are often inadequate. This sometimes prompts the large plantations to set up their own schools for the children of their workers; in some cases, in fact, employers are obliged to do so by law.

Thus in Colombia and Ecuador the Labour Code prescribes that employers must set up and run primary schools for the children of their workers if the place of work is more than 2 kilometres from a town or village and provided that the number of children of school age is not less than 20. In Colombia this provision of the law applies only to undertakings with a capital of 800,000 pesos or more.

In Peru three laws require undertakings to set up schools under certain conditions. Act No. 3019 of 27 December 1918 decrees that any industrial enterprise with 50 or more workers which is at least 1 kilometre from the nearest village must maintain at its own expense a free but compulsory primary school for the children of the workers. Although this law applies only to industry, it covers certain plantations which process their primary product, such as those growing sugarcane.

Under the terms of Act No. 89 of 10 March 1920 all mining, agricultural or industrial undertakings of the central region which provide
permanent employment to at least 400 agricultural workers (*peones*) must maintain at their expense a mixed primary school to accommodate 100 boys and girls (section 1); attendance must be free (section 8).

Finally the basic public education Act No. 9359 of 1 April 1941 obliges the owners of agricultural, mining, industrial and other undertakings to run free primary schools for the children of school age of their employees and workers, if these children live in villages attached to agricultural enterprises or to undertakings in which there are more than 30 children (section 167).

In addition Act No. 15049 of 8 June 1964 lays down that secondary schools providing both general and technical instruction must be set up in centres of the sugar industry.

In India the Plantations Labour Act, 1951, specifies that in all cases where there are at least 26 children between the ages of 6 and 12 the employers must provide educational facilities for them in accordance with the regulations prescribed by the government of each state. In this country, and also in Ceylon, the building of the school, the provision of equipment, and the wages of the teachers are paid for by the employer. In Indonesia the plantation owners provide the buildings and the teaching equipment and also the accommodation for the teachers, but the government pays their wages. A few years ago the government in Malaya relieved the employers from their responsibilities for primary schooling in the plantations, collecting instead a contribution of 1 Malayan dollar per acre (0.405 hectare). The funds thus collected are used to further all forms of education, and in particular at the primary level in the rural areas.

The actual position was found to vary from country to country, from plantation to plantation. Cameroon, for instance, has large industrial plantations with good schools open not only to the children of their workers but also to those of the region. The schools are built of good-quality materials, often containing a kitchen and a refectory; workshops together with plots of land enable practical instruction to be given in technical and agricultural subjects. In West Cameroon, in the case of the plantations belonging to the Cameroons Development Corporation, the number of classes has increased from three in 1952 to ten in 1961 and the number of pupils has grown from 250 to 2,269 over the same period.¹

In Ivory Coast there is an increasing willingness on the part of the parents to send their children to the state schools in villages near to the

¹ According to statistics published by the personnel division of the Cameroons Development Corporation.
plantations. The large plantations, for instance those of the Institut de recherches pour les huiles et oléagineux (I.R.H.O.) and the Société africaine de plantations d'hévéas often contribute voluntarily to repairs and even extensions to these village schools. Many of the buildings are of brick or concrete, whereas others still have mud walls. The number of classrooms is frequently insufficient, up to 60 or even 70 children often being found in a fairly small room.

Frequently the furniture is less than adequate, three and sometimes four pupils having to share a bench intended for two; some schools have no benches at all, so that the children are taught while sitting on the floor. The distance between home and school varies from a few hundred yards to 6 or 7 kilometres, sometimes more. Certain plantations, such as those of the I.R.H.O. and the Société alsacienne pour la Côte-d'Ivoire, have therefore organised free transport for the children of their workers.

In Mauritius the general overpopulation already mentioned in this report is also evident in the schools. The great majority of the parents wish their children to get their certificate. This has led to the creation of numerous private schools, which are not officially recognised by the State. At the time of the inquiry the island had at primary level 201 state or state-subsidised schools and some 400 private ones, only about a hundred of the latter being officially recognised.

Only a few plantations possess primary schools, which are generally soundly built and well equipped; the children from the others have to go to school outside the plantation and these are almost invariably too small for the number of pupils.

In Tanganyika the plantation owners try to encourage the education of their workers' children, the major companies either building their own schools or providing financial assistance to the state schools.

According to a survey undertaken a few years ago by the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association, which covered 88 per cent. of the sisal plantations, 49 undertakings out of a total of 91 had a primary school that kept children for from two to four years and 42 sent their children either to state or mission schools near the plantation. The position is no different in the country’s tea and coffee plantations. In the large sugar-cane plantations, however, soundly built and well-equipped schools cater not only for the children of the workers but also for those of neighbouring villages. As a rule the plantation school buildings are better than those of the State, which would like to abolish all private establishments and has already taken away the permit from several. This results in good plantation schools being abandoned because the necessary authorisation has been withdrawn, forcing the children to attend schools with inadequate equipment in the villages of the vicinity.
In Latin America even schools located in the plantations are usually run by the State, although the large plantations in some countries have set up independent private schools; this is the case with the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica, which has established schools in its plantations run by Catholic nuns, attendance being free. In the Golfito region, where the company has two schools, one takes about 200 pupils, the other some 150. Since the school in the neighbouring village is not large enough for all the children of school age, certain parents who do not work for the company would like to send their children to the plantation schools. This would cost them a fairly high fee (100 colons per month per child in the main school and 75 colons per month per child in the second school). This requirement has limited the number of outside children to two or three. Also in Costa Rica the banana plantations of the Standard Fruit Company possess three state schools for about 1,800 children of school age, which were built by the company and presented to the government. Each contains two classrooms and provides the first six years of preparatory instruction.

Schools founded by enterprises also exist in Peru, especially in the sugarcane plantations. One of these has seven schools used by about 5,000 pupils and staffed by 85 teachers. In another plantation, which possesses a school with eight classrooms and eight teachers, there are over 500 children, approximately 270 of whom actually attend classes. Sometimes schools appear to have been built without any regard to teaching requirements: one in a Peruvian cotton plantation of the Cañete region is in the shape of a three-pointed star, each point being a classroom for about 50 pupils. Since there are no dividing walls and the three teachers do their job simultaneously, the din is indescribable and the children can obviously not concentrate. Moreover, one of these classes contains pupils in the third, fourth and fifth years of the preparatory grade, which prevents the teacher from following the normal educational programme, since he has to attend to pupils of three different years at the same time.

Schools in Ecuador in the banana and coffee plantations are very few, whether run by the employers or the State. Only one plantation in four has a school, so that the children often have to attend village schools, for which they are almost always provided with free public transport.

In the Asian countries the legal provisions with regard to education are usually complied with in the plantations, but this only affects primary classes. In Assam, for instance, there were 724 schools in 621 plantations catering for 36,524 children in 1963, this figure representing 25 per cent. of the children of school age. In other states primary schools for
the workers' children exist in a number of plantations (in Kerala in about 100 plantations and in Tripura in nearly all). In Punjab, however, the plantations have no schools, so that the children of the workers have to attend government schools in the nearest villages.¹

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

In the majority of the countries the education of children is governed by law. In Costa Rica school attendance is free and compulsory up to and including the age of 15. In Ecuador section 84 of the Labour Code requires employers with adolescents on their staff aged less than 18, who have not completed their primary education, to give them two hours off from work every day to enable them to attend school courses. Unfortunately this provision is seldom enforced, at least in the plantations.

The information gathered seems to indicate that in fact only about half the children of school age in plantations actually attend classes. Admittedly this represents a very rough average, some attendance figures being considerably higher or lower. In certain coffee plantations of Costa Rica, for instance, almost all the children of school age go to school, the parents of children failing to do so being liable to fines of up to 2 colons per absence. Another country with a good school attendance record is India; this can probably be explained at least in part by the fact that children who go to school get good free meals.

In the case of the four Latin American countries of the inquiry the answers to the family questionnaires give some idea of attendance figures: of a total of 486 children or adolescents between the ages of 6 and 20 living in plantations in Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru, 53 per cent. were in fact attending classes at the time of the inquiry, 19 per cent. had never been and 28 per cent. had given up.

Table XIX gives details of the percentages by age group.

Since the sample is very small no general conclusions could be drawn from the figures, but nevertheless several observations can still be made. Of the total number of children and adolescents between the ages of 6 and 20, 19 per cent. have never been to school in spite of the fact that all of them should either be attending (since they have at least reached the age of 6) or ought to have attended, since the last age group includes adolescents up to the age of 20. Moreover the percentages within each group are revealing: between the ages of 6 and 8, 43 per

TABLE XIX. COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, ECUADOR AND PERU: 
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BETWEEN THE AGES OF 6 AND 20 
IN SELECTED PLANTATIONS, 1963-64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Never been to school</th>
<th>Now at school</th>
<th>No longer at school</th>
<th>Number of persons in sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Family questionnaires used during the survey.

cent. of the children have yet to attend school, the percentage still being 16 for the 9 to 11 year olds; this means that these children begin school at a much older age than normal. At the other end of the scale it is disturbing to note that 14 per cent. of adolescents between the ages of 18 and 20 have never been to school, so that they are almost certain to be illiterates. The two next columns of figures in the table (percentages of children and adolescents actually attending school and of those who have given up) also show that the starting age is high, since only 56 per cent. of children in the 6 to 8 group actually attend school regularly. Another fact which becomes evident is that a fairly large percentage of children abandon their classes as soon as they reach the age of 12, the proportion increasing with age. Indeed, between the ages of 12 and 14 the percentage of adolescents no longer going to school has already reached 24, rising to 64 for those between 15 and 17 and 71 in the 18 to 20 group.

Another disturbing feature is the failure to continue with education, which can be attributed to many factors, including the considerable movement of workers between certain plantations and sometimes also to a lack of interest on the part of the parents. In fact there are still plantations where the workers prefer to see their children in the fields rather than on the school benches. In several countries attendances at school drop as soon as harvesting starts, the children obviously working in the plantations instead.

In the plantations of Tanganyika records show that 50 per cent. of children attend school during the first month, but that this drops to 30 from the second month; it has also been calculated that for every 100
EDUCATION

children who start their primary education only 14 are left by the end of the fourth school year.

This "school desertion" in the Latin American plantations is summarised in table XX.

This table shows that children in the Latin American plantations are behind in their education and that studies are often abandoned before the fifth school year. Children between the ages of 12 and 14 average only 3.3 years of schooling, whereas they should have attended for six years. Adolescents between 15 and 20 have been to classes for an average of only four to five years, so that it can be assumed that few of them have completed their primary education and hardly any can have started secondary studies.

TABLE XX. COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, ECUADOR AND PERU:
AVERAGE NUMBER OF EFFECTIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE YEARS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 6 AND 20, 1963-64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Normal minimum school years</th>
<th>Average number of effective school years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between 6 and 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 9 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 12 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 15 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 18 &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Family questionnaires used during the survey.

Although no data are available for Asian countries it can safely be said that few children of plantation workers manage to complete their primary education.

In certain countries special difficulties hamper the efficient operation of plantation schools, especially in Asia and Africa. In Ivory Coast, for instance, the school population in plantations is very heterogeneous: both sexes are taught in the same class, and the difference in age between children in the same class may reach the incredible figure of six or even eight years. Such differences of age, coupled with the fact that the children belong to various tribes, obviously present very special problems to the teaching staff.

Other countries, such as the islands of Mauritius and Ceylon, are faced with the additional problem of languages: in the former the two European languages are English and French, but almost three-quarters of the population are of Indian origin and speak Hindustani or some other oriental language. The result, as information from the Ministry of Education shows, is that about 70 per cent. of the children speak three
different languages very badly when they have finished their six years of primary education and do not know one of them well.

In Ceylon the workers in the plantations are mainly Tamils, whose children have to grapple with the difficulties arising from the fact that they do not know the official language of the country, which is not taught in the plantations where their parents work. Indeed, teachers with a knowledge of Sinhalese, the official language of Ceylon, prefer to work in state schools rather than those of plantations, where they are less well paid.

**TEACHING STAFF**

In the majority of plantations the schools have insufficient teaching staff and even where teachers are available in these schools or in the neighbouring villages they often have not the required qualifications.

There are of course exceptions, Cameroon being one: here the teachers in the plantations are generally good, due to the fact that the large companies with large plantations such as the SAFACAM at Dizangué, Elders and Fyffes at Bavenga and the Cameroons Development Corporation assist the schools financially and pay the salaries of some teachers. In Ivory Coast the mission schools usually have the best instructors; some of the indigenous teachers may not have received all their professional training. Mauritius, faced with a growing shortage of staff, has adopted a system of "parallel classes" in which teachers give the same instruction twice a day (morning and afternoon) to different groups of 50 or 60 children. Such a system is particularly tiring for the teachers, who gradually lose heart and no longer show much interest in the results obtained.

In the state schools of Tanganyika, which are slowly replacing those in the plantations, the teachers are often full of enthusiasm and drive but sometimes they are almost completely untrained.

The same applies to some of the plantations in Latin America. In Colombia, for instance, where the curriculum of a school in one cotton plantation covers only the first year, instruction is given by the daughter of one of the employees who is paid by the undertaking (about 400 pesos a month). The banana plantations of the Standard Fruit Company in Costa Rica seemed to possess only eight teachers, six men and two women, for a total of some 1,800 children of school age—an average of 225 children per teacher. These eight are paid by the State.

The teaching staffs in Ecuador and Peru also are far too small: in one average-sized sugar plantation of Peru, for instance, one teacher has to cover the first three years of the preparatory cycle; he draws his salary from the enterprise.
The position in Asia is broadly the same as that in the African and Latin American countries. In Ceylon, for example, the teachers in the plantation schools are generally less qualified than those in state establishments, where salaries are better. In India, however, the situation is completely reversed.

THE KIND OF INSTRUCTION GIVEN

Practically everywhere the children of plantation labourers are given instruction which is antiquated, far too theoretical and not suited to the rural environment. Thus in Ivory Coast quite a number of schools still use French textbooks intended for European children: the African pupils do not understand them and are therefore not interested. Moreover these schools teach nothing about agriculture or even rural life. In Mauritius teaching is also very theoretical, handicraft teaching being virtually unknown; in fact most of the few workshops built in the 1950s for the primary schools have since been converted into ordinary classrooms. The reason given is that the schools recently destroyed by the hurricanes had to be replaced, but the real explanation seems to be the lack of good technical instructors and the opposition of the parents (especially among the population of Indian origin—the majority), who object to their children being taught subjects involving manual work. Such work reminds them too much of slavery days; parents wish their children to have "white-collar" careers. However, the Young Farmers' Clubs in the country areas are trying to foster a love of the soil among their members, showing them how to make the best use of the smallest plot, to improve yields and thus to produce at least part of their needs in food. In Cameroon, too, the schools in the interior or near the large plantations are attempting to provide more practical instruction: workshops and demonstration plots exist and domestic subjects are sometimes taught to the girls.

Both in Latin America and Asia education is limited to the primary level and often to the first years only, so that the children of plantation workers barely learn to read and write.

SCHOOL EQUIPMENT

In several Latin American plantations it was found that the employers supplied part of the school equipment used for the children of their labourers. In Colombia, for instance, certain cotton-plantation owners in the department of Magdalena provide exercise books, books, paper and teaching equipment free of charge. Some of the large plantations of sugarcane, under pressure from the unions, grant an allowance of
110 pesos per year and per child to the parents for the purchase of school requirements. In Peru and Ecuador this aspect is covered by official regulations. Section 8 of Act No. 89 of 10 March 1920 requires employers in Peru to make the necessary teaching material available. (This obviously concerns those employers who have to maintain a mixed elementary school in accordance with section 1 of this law.) In the same country a collective agreement in force in a large sugar plantation lays down that the enterprise shall provide books not only for the teachers in the plantation's schools but also for the union and the women's cultural organisations. According to another collective agreement, this time in Ecuador, the employer in a sugarcane plantation undertakes to pay 24,000 sucreos yearly for the purchase of school equipment to be distributed free to the children of the workers.

Education Grants

Some of the larger plantations, especially in Africa and Latin America, provide education grants for the children of their workers under certain circumstances: the Cameroons Development Corporation, for instance, pays all the school expenses of the children of its workers who attend schools outside the plantations. At the time of the inquiry about 2,000 children had been given such grants.

In a few Tanganyikan sisal and tea plantations school grants are provided for some workers' children. In these cases a tacit agreement exists between the enterprises and the beneficiary that upon completion of his secondary education he will be given an office job in the company concerned. The Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association has founded a university scholarship for one of the workers' children in their industry: the first was granted in May 1962, which enabled the beneficiary to go to England to study economics at the University of Cambridge.

Education grants are also made by certain plantations in Latin America: in the coffee plantations of Costa Rica the employers allot a given sum each year (e.g. 4,000 colones or so) for grants to assist children of their plantation workers who wish to attend secondary school in the nearest town. Several sugarcane undertakings in Colombia, Ecuador and Peru provide education grants under the provisions of collective agreements. In Colombia a number of large sugar plantations make such grants or study loans; and in Ecuador one employer has signed a col-

2 *Tercer contrato colectivo celebrado entre la Compañía Azucarera Valdés S.A., etc.,* op. cit., section 46, p. 25.
lective agreement by which he undertakes to provide study grants to the children of workers: four to future male nurses, three for students of the arts and crafts and five for general secondary education.\(^1\)

Another collective agreement in Peru provides that the undertaking shall make ten secondary-school grants for workers’ children, chosen by competition from among the pupils with the best results in primary education.\(^2\)

In India the Tea and Coffee Boards make study grants to the most gifted children of plantation workers, so that they can benefit from more advanced schooling.

**ADULT EDUCATION**

In Africa, and to a lesser degree also in Latin America and Asia, plantations endeavour to organise courses for adult education.

Almost all the industrial plantations in Cameroon arrange general education courses for workers and their families. Unfortunately these classes are not always well suited to Africans, so that students do not attend in the numbers hoped for; sometimes the number of courses is reduced. Thus in the case of the plantations owned by the Cameroons Development Corporation 188 courses were run in 1953 but only 32 in 1959. This country also has mobile libraries but, according to the users, more than half their books are of no interest to plantation workers.

Moreover, in West Cameroon the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) have organised a number of seminars. The trade union college of the I.C.F.T.U. in Kampala (Uganda) regularly draws students from among the plantation workers of the Cameroons Development Corporation.

In East Cameroon the workers’ college in Douala provides elementary training for rural labourers and courses in rural leadership which can be attended by plantation workers. The government campaign against illiteracy, the “school under the trees”, is intended to reach all the uneducated population, including the plantation workers.

In Ivory Coast adult education has been organised in a few of the banana, coffee, rubber and oil-palm plantations, the supervisors mainly calling for reading and writing lessons for male workers and for women courses in needlework, child welfare, domestic subjects and writing. Unfortunately these attempts have not always brought the anticipated

---

\(^1\) *Tercer contrato colectivo celebrado entre la Compañía Azucarera Váldez S.A., etc.*, op. cit., section 49, p. 26.

\(^2\) *Contrato colectivo de trabajo entre la hacienda Cartavio, etc.*, 1961, op. cit. p 13.
results, no plantation having managed to assemble more than 40 or 50 adults for their courses. Women show little interest in this type of instruction and as a rule the men regard education for women with misgivings, as sometimes running counter to tribal traditions and custom. In addition, the teachers often lack the necessary teaching qualities for schooling of such a nature.

In several Tanganyikan plantations sustained efforts have been made to teach at least a small number of workers to read and write, so that they can be promoted to higher grades. The employers in some larger plantations, e.g. of sugarcane and tea, have created a special service to organise campaigns against illiteracy. Employees and selected teachers were first trained in the methods required for adult education and a carefully drawn up programme was made of courses in reading and writing and of others to meet the wishes of the workers. At the same time a publicity campaign was launched explaining the usefulness and nature of the programme. The courses were presented in stages: six weeks of classes followed by six weeks without, to prevent tiring out workers who are not accustomed to sustained intellectual effort. Various recreational activities were also arranged during these courses, such as cinema shows, visits, dances and theatricals. In spite of all these measures, however, quite a number of students fall out during the year: in two plantations they amounted to 85 per cent. of the total number of students.

In the sugarcane regions of Colombia no programme of adult education has been organised, but Cali possesses a workers' university which provides training courses for the leaders of the unions and co-operatives. The office employees of certain cotton plantations in the northern regions have taken it upon themselves to arrange evening courses for adult labourers. This initiative is receiving support from the employers, its main purpose being to teach workers, who are usually illiterates, to read and write. The office employees themselves act as the teachers, giving their services free of charge.

Mention should also be made of the special educational programme for agricultural workers run by the Colombian Government over the radio: reading and writing courses, cultural broadcasts and programmes on the co-operatives and agricultural problems are transmitted on a non-commercial wavelength. To enable the rural population to listen to these broadcasts special sets designed to pick up this particular wavelength have been distributed to every village, to a responsible person who gathers the workers together at the times of the broadcasts. A similar programme is reported to be in the course of preparation in Ecuador.

Whereas practically nothing is done in Costa Rica and Ecuador for adult education in the plantations, legislation to this effect was introduced
a long time ago in Peru. Thus Act No. 3019 of 27 December 1918 provided that industrial enterprises which had to maintain a primary school at their expense should run evening courses for illiterate workers. Recent legislation has revised this: Legislative Decree No. 14492 of 24 May 1963 prescribes that employers with at least 20 illiterate workers aged more than 16 must maintain adult-education centres. There are in addition the National Plan for Adult Education and an educational agreement concluded between the United States and Peru. As far as the plantations are concerned, practical efforts are being made to provide a certain minimum instruction for adults. Some sugarcane and coffee plantations in the San Ramón region for instance, have centres in which classes in reading and writing and also in human relations are given. In addition the Christian trade union movements in Ecuador and Peru have organised several courses for their members in the plantations.

In Asia educational programmes for adults, which can be attended by plantation workers, exist in Ceylon, India and Malaya. The Ceylon Workers' Congress (which mainly comprises plantation workers) organised an education programme, for which an I.L.O. expert was recruited in 1965. In India the Central Board for Workers' Education has drawn up a programme of courses in economics, and social and civic studies for workers in general (including those in plantations). Finally, the Malayan Trades Union Congress runs a regular education programme with the participation of the National Union of Plantation Workers.

In most plantation countries, despite the regulations concerning compulsory schooling, the percentage of illiterates in plantations is still high. The main reasons are that the number of schools is often insufficient to enable all the workers' children to attend classes and that, even where schools exist, these children do not go to them regularly or for the length of time laid down by law. In addition, the lack of teaching staff and of suitable premises makes its effects felt practically everywhere.

In certain countries steps have been taken to improve the situation by organising programmes in reading and writing and adult education or by making education grants to children.

\[2\] Ibid., 20 May 1962, p. 2.
CHAPTER XVI

HYGIENE AND HEALTH

Plantation workers are often exposed to disease, if only because of the geographical position of the countries in which most of the large estates are located, and to various hazards to health. The hygiene and health situation as reflected in some of the published statistics and the information obtained by on-the-spot inquiries is described below.

MORTALITY

Figures for mortality rates are available only in the case of two of the Asian countries (Ceylon and Malaya). In Africa and Latin America there is usually no legal obligation to register births and deaths, and even if there were, little light would be cast on mortality rates among plantation workers because of the latter's extreme mobility.

In the case of Ceylon and Malaya, a comparison of mortality rates among plantation workers and those of the population as a whole is extremely enlightening.

In Ceylon the statistics concerning plantations refer only to those covered by the Planters' Association health scheme. In 1945 crude mortality rates were 14.3 per thousand on these plantations and about 22 per thousand for Ceylon as a whole, which shows that standards were higher on the plantations than in the country generally. By 1953 these mortality rates had fallen to about 10 per thousand (which shows the extent of the progress that had been made) and by 1961 were 9.6 per thousand on plantations and 8.6 for the country as a whole. The relative position of the plantations had thus worsened, presumably owing to the fact that in their case miscarriages are usually classified as stillbirths.

In Malaya the available statistics relate to three different ethnic groups—Chinese, Indians and Malays. Of these the first two account for the bulk of the plantation labour force. In 1947 crude mortality rates were 14.3 per thousand for the Chinese, 15.8 for the Indians and 24.3 for the Malays. By 1960 the corresponding figures were 7.6 for the Chinese, 8.7 for the Indians and 11.2 for the Malays. In other words, mortality
rates are lower among plantation workers (Chinese and Indians), but between 1947 and 1960 fell sharply in the case of all three ethnic groups.

**Principal Diseases**

Tropical diseases are still encountered almost everywhere although, as will be seen below, systematic measures are sometimes taken to keep them under control. Other diseases, which are largely due to bad hygiene, malnutrition or undernourishment, are also fairly common.\(^1\)

In Cameroon, malaria, filariosis, intestinal parasitism, dysentery and infantile malnutrition are as widespread now among plantation workers as they were before the Second World War. Cases of hernia are also fairly frequent.

In Ivory Coast there is an Act (No. 61-320 of 17 October 1961) dealing with protection against certain endemic and epidemic diseases. The large plantations run by the Institut de recherches des huiles et oléagineux, the Société africaine des plantations d’hévéas and the Société alsacienne pour la Côte-d’Ivoire are endeavouring to lower the incidence of endemic diseases but with only limited success because of the workers’ indiscipline and great mobility. Foreign workers, such as those from Mali and Upper Volta, are more liable than local workers to endemic diseases, venereal diseases, intestinal infections, malaria and tuberculosis.

In Mauritius malaria has completely disappeared since the Second World War and cases of parasitic infections have declined sharply in number. The number of deaths due to this cause fell from 4,052 in 1948 to 320 in 1961, only 13 years later.

In Tanganyika measures against tropical diseases have always been better organised on the plantations than in the villages. Unfortunately in the past few years there has been an increase in the number of cases of tropical diseases, mainly as a result of contagion, which is due to the plantation workers’ habit of visiting neighbouring villages regularly. The higher incidence of malaria in recent years shows that the Government’s preventive campaigns have not had the success that was hoped.

In Colombia the Labour Code states that every agricultural, stock-breeding and forestry undertaking situated in the temperate and torrid zones must combat tropical diseases by every curative and prophylactic means (section 351). In some areas containing coffee plantations the

---

\(^1\) The Committee on Work on Plantations adopted a resolution (No. 17) in 1953 on 'loss of efficiency and productivity caused by ill-health among plantation workers.'
mortality rate is high because the local population suffers from chronic undernourishment and is less able to resist diseases, some of which, such as malaria, are still very common. The Government has established a special agency to stamp out this disease, protect the population against its effects and organise health facilities throughout the country. The Coffee Producers’ Federation is giving its support and assistance to this official scheme. Many plantations in Colombia, especially those growing cotton, make extensive use of D.D.T. in their fight against malaria.

On some coffee plantations in Costa Rica certain diseases are endemic owing, inter alia, to poor hygiene and tainted water supplies. Some epidemic diseases are transmitted by flies and mosquitoes during the coffee-picking season. The employers have not done much to improve this state of affairs. On almost all plantations in Latin America the majority of the labour force suffer from intestinal disorders caused by drinking water contaminated by amoebae. Cases of malaria still occur sometimes, especially on the cocoa and banana plantations in Ecuador and the coffee and cotton plantations in Peru, while cases of tuberculosis are encountered on the Peruvian sugar cane and coffee plantations.

In Colombia the Labour Code contains a number of clauses dealing with non-occupational diseases. For example, all agricultural undertakings in the banana-growing zone of the department of Magdalena where more than five persons are permanently employed must, in the event of any disease other than an occupational disease, provide medical, surgical and pharmaceutical aid and hospitalisation for a period not exceeding six months if the capital of the undertaking is more than 200,000 pesos and for a period not exceeding three months if its capital is equal to or less than this sum (section 342).

In Asia the incidence of disease is usually lower on plantations than elsewhere. For many years past, anti-malarial measures have been the rule almost everywhere. The methods initially employed, which mainly involved spraying stagnant water with a special oil, or draining marshes, were found to be very expensive and not always effective. Before the war the principal anti-malarial drug was quinine, but since then more powerful drugs and the widespread use of D.D.T.-based insecticides have reduced the disease to negligible proportions. However, in recent years there appears to have been an increase in the disease in the state of Johore (Malaya). Cases of cholera also occur from time to time, especially in India, but the incidence of this disease has also declined sharply. In Ceylon and southern India respiratory diseases still occur, usually among workers on estates at high altitudes. B.C.G. vaccinations are given in Ceylon and Malaya as part of the campaign against tuberculosis.
In most countries there is a statutory obligation on employers to provide their workers with certain medical services. In Africa the scale of these services depends on the size of the plantation. For example, in West Cameroon the Labour Code requires plantations with more than 100 workers to provide a dispensary staffed by a nurse. Plantations with more than 2,000 workers must provide a fully equipped clinic staffed by a qualified medical practitioner, and those with more than 5,000 workers must provide a hospital equipped for all forms of surgery.

In East Cameroon, plantations with fewer than 20 workers must provide a first-aid box. If the number of workers is between 20 and 100, there must be a sick bay and if there are more than 100 workers the plantation must employ a full-time nurse (section 144 of the Labour Code). Plantations with more than 1,000 workers must employ a full-time doctor. Decree No. 3787 of 7 June 1955 requires plantations employing several hundred workers to establish joint medical services, which must contain at least an isolation ward and an emergency treatment ward. In practice, however, it has been found very difficult to enforce health and hygiene standards on plantations, especially where joint medical services are in operation, because doctors cannot easily move around from one plantation to another, and when they do arrive often find too many cases waiting for them, while the necessary drugs may not be in stock.

1 Among other international standards the Plantations Convention, 1958, contains the following provisions dealing with medical services.

Article 89

The appropriate authorities shall, in consultation with the representatives of the employers' and workers' organisations concerned, where such exist, encourage the provision of adequate medical services for plantation workers and members of their families.

Article 90

1. Medical services shall be of a standard prescribed by the public authorities, shall be adequate having regard to the number of persons involved, and shall be operated by a sufficient number of qualified personnel.

2. Such services where provided by the appropriate public authorities shall conform to the standards, customs and practices of the authority concerned.

Article 91

The appropriate authority, in consultation with the representatives of the employers' and workers' organisations concerned, where such exist, shall take steps in plantation areas to eradicate or control prevalent endemic diseases.

The Committee on Work on Plantations has also adopted the following resolutions which deal directly or indirectly with medical services: No. 8 concerning health and social security of plantation workers (1950); No. 12 concerning the establishment of medical care services (1953); and No. 14 concerning sanitation and water supply on plantations (1953).
The medical services provided by the Cameroons Development Corporation consist of four main and two subsidiary hospitals, 40 dispensaries and one clinic. The hospitals can deal with more than 600 cases. The medical and auxiliary staff, who are increasingly of African origin, are appointed by the company.

In Ivory Coast the law requires establishments employing between 100 and 300 workers to provide a first-aid post and a dispensary with essential medicines. On any plantation employing more than 20 workers at least one nurse must be permanently available. Investigation showed, however, that these nurses have often had only a very sketchy training.

It is uncommon for doctors to be employed full time on plantations in Ivory Coast, but a doctor is in attendance once a fortnight on plantations with fewer than 100 workers and once a week in the case of the larger estates. In practice the medical services work fairly well. Minor illnesses are treated by the plantation nurses in accordance with instructions given by the visiting doctor, while more seriously ill or injured workers are immediately sent to the nearest hospital. Women are usually reluctant to go into hospital or to allow their children to do so, while many workers take the attitude that the treatment cannot be any good because it is free.

In Mauritius medical facilities on plantations in 1963 were plainly inadequate. Investigation showed that the 27 hospitals and 19 dispensaries on plantations contained only 544 beds, most of which were occupied by maternity cases or convalescents. Even urgent cases (whether of injury or of straightforward illness) were dealt with by nurses, and doctors came to visit the sick once or twice a week.

On about 70 per cent. of the larger plantations the employers, in order to keep their workers, are endeavouring to improve their medical services. On the remaining plantations, however, expenditure under this heading is usually kept down to the bare minimum and the employers argue that the health and medical care problem is insoluble as long as the population goes on expanding at its present rate. The public hospitals, to which seriously ill or injured plantation workers are sent, are also inadequate. Treatment is normally free, but they cannot cope with the number of sick people, and only a minority can be dealt with.

In Tanganyika the Employment (Care and Welfare) Regulations, 1957, require employers with more than ten workers, whose establishments are not close to a town possessing adequate medical services, to provide full first-aid facilities. On a plantation employing more than 100 workers the employer must provide regular medical care. In practice the small plantations are unable to comply with these standards but on the large estates medical services are usually well organised. In the case of the
sisal plantations, a 16-year contract has been concluded with the Ross Institute of Tropical Hygiene, under which the latter is helping to improve health standards among workers in the industry. The employers also meet part of the cost of research into the main tropical diseases and of preventive measures.

In Latin America the law in some countries such as Colombia and Peru places certain obligations on employers where their workers' health is concerned; usually medical services of one type or another have to be provided in certain undertakings. In Colombia, for example, the Labour Code states that agricultural, stockbreeding and forestry undertakings employing at least 15 workers who are housed by the employer must set aside a building for medical aid to the sick and provide medical supplies or essential therapeutics. In practice these standards are not always observed. On most of the Colombian coffee plantations, for example, there are no medical facilities, although the larger estates pay doctors' fees and sometimes the cost of medicines as well (but usually only for their permanent workers). The same applies to most of the cotton plantations. Medical services are, however, provided on the sugarcane plantations.

In Peru an Order dated 16 May 1924 states that agricultural and industrial establishments employing 1,000 or more workers (including dependants) must provide a permanent medical service which is capable of dealing at any time with cases of sickness or injury in the establishment. An earlier Order dated 2 August 1918 required mining and agricultural undertakings, which were under an obligation to provide medical facilities, to appoint doctors (whether Peruvians or Spanish-speaking foreigners) with officially recognised qualifications.

In Costa Rica medical services are provided by the Costa Rican Social Insurance Fund except on the plantations of the Compañía Bananera where, as was seen in the chapter on social security, the company itself provides medical services. In Peru such services are found only, and even then not invariably, on the larger sugarcane plantations.

In the Asian countries it was found that medical services are better on plantations than elsewhere.

In India under the Plantations Labour Act employers must organise and operate medical services which are easily accessible to their workers. Implementation of the Act is left to the government of each state.

---

1 In these countries, where social insurance schemes covering sickness are gradually being extended to cover the entire country, the provision of medical care is the responsibility of the social insurance scheme in the case of plantations in the areas already covered by the scheme.
In Ceylon the Medical Wants Ordinance, 1912, organised plantations into medical districts, each of which must have a doctor and a hospital.

In Malaya the Rump Labour Code empowers the Commissioner of Labour to require a hospital to be constructed for one, two or more plantations. Other clauses of the Code make the employer responsible for the provision of medical care to his workers and their dependants and of any hospital treatment that may be needed.

It was found that in Asia, plantation medical services are usually provided by dispensaries, the equipment and facilities of which vary from one country to another. Many estates also have their own hospitals. In Ceylon and Malaya plantation workers can also avail themselves of the free medical services provided by public hospitals catering for the local population.

In Ceylon the Planters' Association's health scheme, which was launched in 1929, was initially concerned only with the prevention of malaria but since 1949 its scope has been widened and plantation employers are now advised on such matters as the prevention of other diseases, housing, hospitals, family planning, etc. Five hundred and fifty-two plantations are taking part in this scheme, which is financed by a levy of 30 cents an acre. In addition to the technical staff in Colombo, four doctors, 51 pharmacists, 269 approved dispensers and 212 midwives are employed. In 1961 the plantations taking part possessed 71 hospitals and 114 maternity clinics, with a total of 2,755 beds.

In India there are two sorts of hospitals—garden and group hospitals. Each plantation employing 100 workers or more must possess a garden hospital, while those employing fewer than 100 workers must make arrangements for joint hospital facilities at the rate of 15 beds for every 1,000 workers.

A garden hospital must contain a consultation room, dispensary, operating theatre and general, surgical and maternity wards.

A group hospital must contain a minimum of 100 beds and must be equipped for all forms of medical or surgical treatment. The consent of the state government is required for the construction of a group hospital. Only patients referred by a doctor of a garden hospital are accepted.

Thus, out of a total of 623 plantations in 1963 in Assam, 445 possessed hospitals, 120 had dispensaries, nine had made arrangements for their workers to be treated elsewhere and 40 had taken no steps to provide medical care. In other states medical services were supplied either by the plantations themselves or by public hospitals or dispensaries. In some cases, however, these medical services were not satisfactory.¹

The survey therefore showed that, despite substantial progress, the health position on plantations is not universally satisfactory. The joint efforts of governments and the World Health Organisation have led to the elimination of some endemic diseases such as malaria in certain parts of the world. Elsewhere, however, tropical diseases are still widespread. In addition bad hygiene, malnutrition and undernourishment are often responsible for intestinal or pulmonary diseases as well as for many cases of anaemia.

In many countries there is a statutory obligation on employers to provide medical services for their workers, but usually there are not enough facilities, although it is a fact that in Asia they are of higher standard on the plantations than elsewhere.
CHAPTER XVII

WELFARE FACILITIES

Generally speaking, "welfare facilities" may be said to be all facilities which contribute towards satisfying basic needs of men living in a community. These needs may be economic, family, educational and cultural, political, recreational or religious.

The facilities provided in the fields of housing, nutrition, education and health having already been studied in detail in earlier chapters this chapter will deal with day nurseries, recreational and cultural amenities and, where they exist, services to encourage saving among workers.

DAY NURSERIES

While in the Asian countries some plantations have day nurseries where women workers can leave their babies and young children, in Africa and Latin America such facilities are virtually non-existent.

In Ceylon, India and Malaya it is quite common to find day nurseries on the larger plantations. In Indonesia, on the contrary, they are few and far between by reason of the small proportion of women working on plantations. Moreover, it is the tradition in this country for women who do not go out to work to be ready to take charge of the children of absent neighbours.

The Plantations Convention, 1958, contains no provisions regarding welfare facilities, but the Recommendation on the same subject does lay down certain principles in this respect, referring mainly to nutrition, recreation facilities and transport.

In 1956 the International Labour Conference adopted a Recommendation concerning welfare facilities for workers, but it was declared non-applicable to workers in agriculture. To make up to some extent for this the Permanent Agricultural Committee adopted at its Sixth Session in 1960 conclusions concerning welfare facilities in agriculture, including plantations.

According to a report submitted to the Permanent Agricultural Committee in 1960 "welfare facilities constitute a very big subject, the bounds of which vary from one country to another" and the expression "may refer to the whole field of social policy". Considered in this document purely from the rural angle, welfare facilities were taken as being those relating to nutrition, housing, health, education and leisure, but this was merely a selection deemed to correspond most closely to the objects of the report in question. (International Labour Organisation, Permanent Agricultural Committee, Sixth Session, Geneva, 24 October-4 November 1960: First Item on the Agenda: Welfare Facilities in Agriculture (Geneva, I.L.O., 1960), p. 1.)
In Ceylon and southern India the nurseries generally consist of a large unfurnished room with a concrete floor and a verandah. In Malaya, on plantations situated at low altitudes, day nurseries normally take the form of a large play-pen for children surrounded by a fence and covered with a roof supported by pillars. Separate nurseries are provided for children of Indian, Chinese and Malay parentage.

In nearly every case the children are looked after by an elderly woman, more often than not an ex-employee of the plantation, chosen from among those who, having no family, are happy to be able to earn a small income in this way.

Each child is laid on a piece of woollen cloth which is then tied at the corners and hung from the ceiling by cords like a kind of enclosed hammock. This has the advantage of protecting the child against mosquitoes, but the drawback of depriving it of air. It may be said that in India and Malaya the system is coming more and more to be replaced by the use of cradles and cots.

The survey revealed that as a rule day nurseries on plantations in Asia lack simple educational toys for the children to play with.

In Latin America, despite the almost total absence of facilities of this kind on plantations, one day nursery catering for children from 3 months to 6 years of age was seen operating on a large sugar plantation in Peru.

On some Latin American plantations foodstuffs (powdered milk or cheese) or vitamins are sometimes distributed to young children or expectant mothers. This is the case on one coffee plantation in Costa Rica. In that same country the Compañía Bananera operates a nutrition centre which supplies foodstuffs to children and their mothers at the latters' request.

Recreational and Cultural Facilities

An effort has been made by plantation employers in all the countries visited to provide certain recreational and cultural facilities, but their form and extent vary considerably from plantation to plantation.

In Cameroon the managements of the plantations belonging to the Cameroons Development Corporation have laid out 31 sports fields and formed 38 football teams who play against one another in their own championship. Athletics and boxing matches are also sometimes organised. Furthermore, in all the villages on the Corporation's plantations there is a meeting hall for the workers where occasional dances and film shows are held. It is estimated that between 200,000 and 300,000 people attend these film shows every year. Emulating the Corporation's
example other large plantations in Cameroon, such as those belonging to Elders and Fyffes (the African subsidiary of the United Fruit Company) and Pamol, have also organised recreational activities.

In Ivory Coast, on nine plantations (large and medium sized) meeting halls are provided for the workers, but on four these are usually kept closed and the workers have to meet elsewhere. It would appear that the premises on these plantations are not suitable for the holding of dances, though this does not prevent dancing competitions being organised none the less on certain plantations. On more than 30 plantations in Ivory Coast the employers have helped the workers to lay out football pitches.

In Mauritius in 1948 the employers in the sugar industry founded the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund, thanks to which 18 welfare centres have been built. The two midwives at each centre are paid by the Ministry of Health. It has also been possible through this fund to found two holiday camps, one for the workers and the other for their children, supply transistor radios to working men's clubs and organise film shows.

Plantations in Tanganyika may be divided into three categories from the point of view of recreational and cultural activities. Those in the first category—employing some 26 per cent. of the workers on industrial plantations (sisal, tea, sugar, coffee and tobacco)—are those where the employers show the most concern for the workers' welfare, particularly from an educational point of view. These employers encourage the forming of mothers' clubs, the organisation of courses for women workers and campaigns to improve the hygiene and diet of the workers. In the second category are the employers (employing 63 per cent. of all plantation workers) who stick to the traditional policy and organise mainly sporting activities, competitions and dances. The third category—estates employing approximately 11 per cent. of all plantation workers—is characterised by the complete absence of any attempt to start such activities.

On Latin American plantations recreational facilities are generally inadequate. In the case of at least three-quarters of them, however, there exist one or two cinemas either in a nearby village or on the plantation itself. Performances are generally given two or three times a week, or in some cases nightly. Some plantations even have a small room with a television set.

On the larger estates, especially the sugar estates, it is not uncommon to find football pitches, and this sport is fairly popular. The lack of organised leisure activities is certainly one of the major causes of the alcoholism which is rife in all plantation areas and possibly also of prostitution, which in some cases is systematically organised during the weekend following pay day.
In Peru, under the terms of a collective agreement governing a large sugar plantation, the employers must organise mobile film shows once or twice a week; the agreement further provides for co-operation between employers and workers in building a civic centre.¹

On some sugar plantations there are communal halls where social clubs can meet or where the television can be watched.

As for sport, football is played almost everywhere. As a rule the pitches belong to the plantation. Sometimes the union organises sports competitions, with or without the collaboration of the management. Other sports are also sometimes indulged in such as basketball, volleyball and occasionally boxing and swimming.

On the larger plantations dances are sometimes held, two or three times a year in some cases, two or three times a month in others and once a week in a few. Dance halls are sometimes to be found in villages near plantations.

Other recreational activities of various kinds may be organised. On one Costa Rican coffee plantation, for instance, a brass band gives a popular concert one or twice a week. The Standard Fruit Company of Costa Rica has equipped rooms for the workers to play billiards. On some sugar plantations in Peru circus performances or theatrical productions are sometimes given. On one Peruvian sugar plantation the welfare services organise outings and excursions for the workers and their families.

On Latin American plantations truly cultural or educational activities are rare. There are, however, a few centres where meetings are held during which a lecture is given on a general cultural subject. This is the case in Costa Rica on the banana plantations of the Compañía Bananera and the Standard Fruit Company and on a few sugar plantations in Peru. Youth movements such as the Boy Scouts and youth clubs are active on the larger plantations.

In Asia the survey revealed that playgrounds for children are few and far between. Two exceptions were noted: one on a large plantation in Malaya and the other on a plantation in Indonesia.

Normally the children of plantation workers run about and play in the open air, but as a rule their play is not organised. On one plantation in Ceylon and on another in southern India the employers have formed scout and guide troops.

Football and basketball are popular sports, especially in Malaya, but nevertheless the over-riding impression which emerged from the

¹ Contrato colectivo de trabajo entre la hacienda Cartavio, etc., 1961, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
survey of South-East Asian plantations was that plantation workers are not particularly interested in organised sports.

It is common for employers to provide radio sets. Dance halls are rare, especially on plantations where the majority of workers are Indian. The cinema is highly popular everywhere. Some employers organise film shows for their employees. The films shown, for which an entrance fee is sometimes payable, often reflect a preoccupation with education and give advice to audiences on health, family budgets, child care, general education, etc.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF SAVING

It is rare on plantations for any organised attempt to be made to encourage workers to save. An exception is a large coffee plantation in Costa Rica. The management of this plantation has founded a joint savings association, whose members are workers on the plantation who regularly put money by to meet emergencies or to give them a nest egg upon retirement. The enterprise makes regular payments into the common fund to augment the workers' own savings. The management's aim in so doing is to improve its relations with the workers. Furthermore, although this is not savings in the strict sense of the term, the same undertaking has also established a mutual aid scheme under which, upon the death of a worker enrolled with the scheme, each member voluntarily pays a minimum contribution of 1 colon to that worker's wife or a senior member of his family. Today the scheme has about 400 members (a few years ago it had more than 1,000). Since the mutual aid scheme was inaugurated about six families have received financial help upon the death of the breadwinner.

At the Compañía Bananera de Costa Rica there is also a savings scheme consisting of five credit co-operatives whose members total around 3,000 workers. The capital of these co-operatives amounts to more than 300,000 colons, converted into treasury bonds. The members of one of these co-operatives are required each month to pay in as savings an amount equal to from 3 to 5 per cent. of their wages. Loans of up to 5,000 colons may be extended to members, but the use to which they are to be put must be sanctioned by the co-operative.

In Ecuador there are no facilities of this kind, and yet a savings scheme would be particularly useful there, as there are a great many workers coming to the plantations from the Sierra who are anxious to save as much as possible with a view to buying a plot of land which they already cultivate in their home district but do not yet own, or to buy the animals they raise on it.
There are credit co-operatives on some sugar plantations in Peru. On the other hand, nothing of this kind is organised on coffee plantations, at any rate in the San Ramón area.

By and large, welfare facilities are not as yet very widespread on plantations. Some employers have endeavoured in recent years, however, to stimulate recreational and cultural activities among the workers, mainly by providing them with sports fields and meeting halls and organising dances, film shows, theatrical performances and other cultural events.

On a few plantations there are day nurseries. Some plantations have schemes to facilitate saving.
CHAPTER XVIII

FAMILY BUDGETS AND PURCHASING POWER

This chapter is intended to give an idea of the main sources of income of plantation workers and their families and, as far as possible, to find out how they spend this income.

For the purposes of this chapter, income is taken to mean the sums of money earned by the members of the same family or by the worker alone. As far as practicable the value of benefits in kind to which the worker or his family may be entitled are also taken into account.

On the expense side, the following headings were included on the questionnaire distributed during the survey in Latin America: food, rent, fuel, furniture, house maintenance, clothing, medical care, personal hygiene, insurances and various subscriptions, education, recreation, tobacco, transport and journeys, gifts and tips, domestic help and other expenses.

The outline below, which is based on incomplete information gathered during the survey, simply provides a few examples of the situation in certain plantations. It appeared preferable not to attempt any international comparisons in this chapter\(^1\), since the available data would make them difficult and even risky: each country in each of the three continents for which data were obtained is therefore considered individually.

Moreover the information presented must be treated with great caution, since it was collected by methods of inquiry which make verification and cross-checking almost impossible and for which the experts alone are responsible.

CAMEROON

In six plantations of the eastern hinterland of Cameroon some 60 per cent. of the workers turn up for work only three or four times a week,

\(^1\) For a discussion of the problems connected with international comparisons of data such as those dealt with in this chapter see I.L.O.: *International Comparisons of Real Wages*, Studies and Reports, New Series No. 45 (Geneva, 1956).
by which they reckon to earn enough for their current expenses. Their average income varies between 1,600 and 2,200 C.F.A. francs a month, depending on the number of actual days worked. The rest of the workers (i.e. about 40 per cent.) form a fairly stable labour force; they earn between 4,500 and 7,000 C.F.A. francs a month, according to their occupational grade.

In general most of these labourers do not want to earn much money. Moreover it is not uncommon for them to spend most of their wages on drink, clothes and enjoying themselves within the first two or three days after being paid. In general it is in fact customary for the wife to be responsible for feeding the family without the financial support of the husband.

On-the-spot investigations showed that a typical working-class family with three children would need about 9,000 C.F.A. francs for food alone. The expert has based this estimate on conditions in one of the largest plantations in East Cameroon, especially the prices for the staple foods charged in three different shops set up in camps and in five village markets at Dizangué. He also assumed that the family requires three meals a day, which is not customary for the region, where usually only two meals are taken. Such a family income can be ensured only if the husband works full time (and thus receives attendance and productivity bonuses) and the wife cultivates a small plot of land. This income would still be insufficient, however, since it does not cover other expenses such as the purchase of clothing, soap, paraffin, the schooling of the children, transport, etc.

In West Cameroon the standard of living of the plantation workers depends to a large degree on the geographical location of the plantation and its possibilities of communication with the outer world. Thus in plantations not far from a town many of the workers' wives go in for some form of trade, the additional income being used to buy food for the family.

Even in the plantations of the Cameroons Development Corporation the earnings of the workers vary considerably. In the Ekona and Tiko divisions a few hectares of banana trees are at the disposal of the workers (estimated to number 700), the produce being sold on the market by members of the families. This gives the workers an income two to three times greater than the wages they normally draw when working in the Corporation's plantations. In the plantations of the same company which are isolated in the forest (Misellele), on the other hand, food for the labourers was expensive and insufficient because the region lacked markets and local food-supply services and, too, because the workers had no means of adding to their incomes.
IVORY COAST

In Ivory Coast two plantations, completely different in geographical location and economic conditions, were selected for the investigation into family incomes and expenses. One lies relatively close to the capital and has good means of communication and opportunities for trading, whereas the other is in a region difficult of access, so that the food supply is a problem and there is not enough ground for the workers to be given any. Each plantation employed some 1,000 workers, including agricultural labourers and craftsmen.

For a variety of reasons it proved especially difficult to ascertain the incomes and outgoings of the workers in these two plantations. First of all, the labour force was far from stable; secondly, the number of people for whom a worker was responsible changed appreciably during the course of the year, and lastly the workers were of several different nationalities. Thus in the labour force in the plantation near the capital only one seventh came from the Ivory Coast itself, five-sevenths were from Upper Volta and the remaining seventh from other neighbouring countries (Mali, Guinea). In this plantation 12 per cent. of the workers were officially married and had one or more wives with them, and 88 per cent. were bachelors; but one-third of these had a woman with them and one-sixth had at least one member of their family or tribe lodging with them. In the isolated plantation 83 per cent. of the workers came from Upper Volta. The way in which the labourers spent their money was found to vary considerably. The expenses fluctuated from month to month according to circumstances, such as the arrival of salesmen in the region with novelties, especially if it coincided with payday; the obligation to send money home to their families; the intention of marrying and having to save up for the dowry; the influence of movements such as the Jeunesse ouvrière catholique, the missions, the trade unions, etc.; the success or failure of savings clubs organised to assist in the purchase of certain items (bicycles, sewing machines, radios, etc.).

Expenditure on food was not very great if the plantation permitted its workers to grow foodstuffs on plots of land free of charge. In the plantation near the capital the Mossi from Upper Volta produce two to five times more food this way than they have to buy on local markets or in shops. Some of the labourers also do work for local indigenous farmers, for which they are paid in kind. About a quarter of the workers go hunting, thus obtaining free at least some if not all the meat they eat.

It should also be borne in mind that the workers sometimes do not hold themselves responsible for their wives and families, even if they are
living with them, which forces the women to devote themselves to a variety of trading activities.

Taking all these circumstances into account a sampling was carried out in order to assess the income and expenses of the workers in the two plantations. In the one close to the capital seven labourers from a group of 500 from Upper Volta were selected and four from 60 Ivory Coast inhabitants. The monthly income in cash for about 75 per cent. of the workers on this plantation amounted to 7,000 C.F.A. francs, mostly made up of wages but including attendance and production bonuses. The remuneration of the workers in the isolated plantation came to 6,200 francs.

Table XXI gives a general idea of the main items of expenditure by the workers and of the percentage of their earnings in these two Ivory Coast plantations.

**TABLE XXI. IVORY COAST: HOW THE WORKERS ON TWO PLANTATIONS SPENT THEIR INCOME, 1963**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Plantation near a town</th>
<th>Plantation far from a town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper Volta worker</td>
<td>Ivory Coast worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly income in C.F.A. francs</td>
<td>7 000</td>
<td>7 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage spent 1 on:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>15.71</td>
<td>25.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink 2</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>10.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>11.43</td>
<td>24.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal hygiene, fuel</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>4.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture, equipment</td>
<td>17.00</td>
<td>7.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous 3</td>
<td>10.71</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage saved</td>
<td>22.86</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Accommodation is free in these plantations. 2 In these two plantations about half of the workers from Upper Volta are practically teetotal, although 15 per cent. of them spend a lot of money on alcoholic drink. 3 Medicines, taxes, subscriptions, repayment of debts, etc.

The Mossi workers’ income of 7,000 francs was supplemented by 2,000 to 4,000 francs a month, depending on the season, the value of the food which they either grew on the small plots of land made available by the employer or received as payments in kind for work done for the local farmers. But for the Ivory Coast labourers with the same remuneration, the free supplementary food was valued at only between 1,000 and 1,500 francs per month; the difference can probably be attributed to the fact
that these workers showed no interest in the cultivation of free plots of land and did not feel inclined to perform casual work for neighbouring farmers.

As far as the isolated plantation was concerned the workers could not supplement their monthly remuneration in any way.

In these two plantations few women carried on any form of trade: 21 in the plantation near the capital, 12 in the other. In the first plantation the women earned only from 600 to 700 francs a month in this way, whereas in the latter their income came to 1,000 or even 2,000 francs a month.

The expenditure of the Mossi and the Ivory Coast workers differed considerably. The former try to save as much as possible, so that they can return to their country with a certain capital for the purchase of furniture or a house for their family, or to enable them to meet the financial requirements customary on marriage.

Several hundred Upper Volta workers of the plantation near the capital had special savings accounts with the undertaking: individual savings ranged from 6,000 to 130,000 C.F.A. francs. Only 12 per cent. of the persons with savings accounts were Ivory Coast nationals.

It is not always easy, however, to work out accurate percentages for the savings of the workers from Upper Volta because some of them hide varying amounts of money in secret places ready for a friend to carry back to their country.

Mauritius

To gather information about the family budgets of workers in the sugarcane plantations of Mauritius, the expert—assisted by various teams of helpers (trade unionists or leaders in the workers' youth movements, teachers, students, etc.)—carried out a sample investigation lasting a week. Questionnaires prepared by the expert were made use of and a list was drawn up of the workers to be interviewed during the preliminary inquiry. Its results were then studied, the questionnaires being adapted to the particular circumstances and changed in the light of this first experiment. The actual survey was then started; it lasted two weeks, covered various parts of the island and made use of the various teams of helpers. It covered six plantations employing a total of some 11,000 workers.

The survey revealed that the family incomes of plantation workers varied considerably. Differences were even sometimes found between the incomes of families whose heads were drawing the same wages; this leads to the assumption that some families had sources of income other than wages.
Three categories of plantation workers were investigated:

(a) Indian agricultural labourers, who represent about 70 per cent. of all the wage earners in the island's sugar industry;

(b) artisans and skilled workers of Indian origin employed on a permanent basis in the sugarcane plantations;

(c) artisans and skilled workers in the same industry but descendants of African slaves.

The family incomes of these three categories are examined below.

Indian Agricultural Labourers

The Indian agricultural labourers form an unstable labour force in the Mauritian plantations. About 40 per cent. are estimated to work a little over 200 days a year and the remaining 60 per cent. for only between 100 and 200 days. This instability has a serious effect on earnings. In fact, the short-term workers forfeit several financial advantages, such as the end-of-year bonus, sick pay, free accommodation, paid holidays, etc. This situation explains why the earnings of the Indian labourer average only about 90 rupees a month.

The workers of Mauritius look upon family allowances as a second wage, every family with at least three children receiving a monthly allowance of 15 rupees. But wage and family allowances together do not cover the needs of the family, which often contains many children. It is therefore essential that all the children of working age should find a job. Yet the young people despise work on the land, preferring some form of office employment; as this is not always easy to find young people often stay at home and do nothing. The parents are thus obliged to increase their income in one way or another. This is why one-third of the agricultural labourers intensively cultivate a small plot of land, some of its produce being eaten by the family and some sold. Many Indian workers buy a cow; they sell all the milk and the plantation buys the manure for fertilizer. These sales are estimated to bring in up to 40 rupees per month. Of the Indian families interviewed 2 per cent. sub-let a room in their house, the rent bringing in between 20 and 60 rupees a month.

A large number of Indian families are heavily in debt, either to tradesmen or money-lenders. Interest is paid for years, but they never free themselves of debt because the rate of interest is so high. A typical example is that of a worker who had borrowed 300 rupees for certain unavoidable payments: after having paid for three years a very high monthly interest (8 per cent. to begin with, then 15 per cent.)—a total
amount of 1,186 rupees—he still had a debt of 374 rupees. The workers sign a receipt for a sum exceeding that actually received and undertake to pay interest at 1 per cent, per month; in fact the annual rates can amount to 50, 80 and even 180 per cent.

_Artisans and Skilled Workers of Indian Origin_

The position of artisans and skilled workers of Indian origin is undoubtedly better than that of their unskilled compatriots employed in the plantations. On an average they earn 370 rupees per month. This monthly remuneration comprises the actual wage (226 rupees), plus an end-of-year bonus, an accommodation allowance, a supplement paid during the harvesting season, a family allowance and other allowances.

Distinction must be made between the older skilled workers (over 40 years) and the younger generation. The former have other sources of income (amounting on the average to about 100 rupees a month) arising from the cultivation of a plot of land or keeping a cow or from supplementary work undertaken by the wife or the children, whereas the younger skilled hands do nothing to obtain additional money. The total monthly earnings of a family with eight members can thus be about 500 rupees.

_Artisans and Skilled Workers of African Origin_

The economic position of the artisans and skilled workers of African origin is much the same as that of their young Indian counterparts: they also earn about 370 rupees a month, and the members of their families very seldom take on supplementary work.

_Expenditure of Plantation Workers_

The breakdown of the family expenditure of each of the three categories of workers dealt with above can be found in table XXII. This shows that the expenditure on food absorbs between 30 and 40 per cent. of the worker's income. In many cases food is not paid for in cash, the workers buying on credit in the shops.

It was not possible to determine the exact percentage of income which is devoted to the payment of debts incurred for buying food or other purchases. Nevertheless it seems as though the total expenditure on food, taking into account what is bought on credit, may well amount to approximately 50 per cent. of the monthly income.

A few differences are worthy of mention: the families of the Indian agricultural labourers, for instance, even though their income is appre-
TABLE XXII. MAURITIUS: HOW THE WORKERS ON SIX SUGARCANE PLANTATIONS SPENT THEIR INCOME, 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Agricultural labourer</th>
<th>Skilled worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indian (family of nine)</td>
<td>Indian (family of eight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly income in rupees</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage spent on:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>31.53</td>
<td>29.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>9.64</td>
<td>18.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal hygiene, fuel</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>4.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture and equipment</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>5.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>6.76</td>
<td>9.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>11.71</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous 1</td>
<td>26.81</td>
<td>16.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage saved</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>8.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Medicines, debts, subscriptions, taxes, etc.

significantly below that of the two other categories of families, spend a higher proportion of their budget on education and miscellaneous expenses.

This difference between the expenditure on education by each of the three categories can be partly explained by the importance each attaches to the education of their children. Thus the Indian agricultural labourers, earning low wages for arduous work, wish to give their children the best possible schooling, so that they may become civil servants instead of workers on the land. Of the children of these workers who go to school, 90 per cent, choose traditional subjects and the others concentrate on a trade. A certain tradition as to occupation exists among the skilled African workers, the craft being passed on from father to son. Many of the young men who go to classes wish to improve themselves in some craft or trade, in case shortage of work locally forces them to leave the island.

The heading of “miscellaneous” expenditure for the Indian agricultural workers who are not paid monthly and have not free accommodation in the plantation includes their rent; this comes to about 10 per cent. of the monthly income (i.e. between 20 and 25 rupees), assuming they have no small house of their own.

The families of the African skilled workers spend more of their income on food, drink, clothing and travelling than those of the two other categories. About half of the families of the Indian skilled workers maintain their tradition of saving.
At the time of the survey (the end of 1962 and the beginning of 1963) the workers in the sisal and the tea plantations were almost all in the habit of working only an average of 70 working days out of 100, the remaining 30 being taken as rest days. This custom can to some degree be explained by the climatic conditions, which are sometimes trying and hardly suited to sustained physical effort; by the poor health of many workers, who are particularly susceptible to endemic illnesses because they are undernourished; and by the fact that the idea of earning money is not always a sufficient stimulant to encourage Africans to work—indeed, their civilisation is founded on values different to those of the commercial and capitalist western nations. The income of these workers is therefore below what it could be. Those who had been working on the *kipandi* system\(^1\) had been able to earn 84 shillings in 30 working days; nevertheless the average for these workers amounts to some 60 shillings for 30 days of work. The sisal cutters, whose monthly basic wage could be at least 111 shillings, usually finish working when they have earned between 70 and 75 shillings, and remain idle during several working days.

With regard to expenditure, in seven large plantations about 80 per cent. of the families spend between 35 and 40 per cent. of the family incomes on food, about 25 per cent. on drink and 25 to 30 per cent. on clothing, the remainder being set aside for miscellaneous purchases (tobacco, gifts, etc.) or absorbed by subscriptions and taxes.

The workers make no effort to work full time for a month or two except when they want to make a particular purchase, such as a bicycle, a sewing machine, a radio set or fashionable clothes.

**The Latin American Countries**

In Colombia the annual family income of wage-earning workers in the coffee plantations varies from department to department from 2,376 pesos (in that of Antioquia) to 3,802 pesos (in that of Tolima), the average being 3,157 per year.\(^2\) The differences between the average annual earnings of the owners of small family coffee plantations (less than 10 hectares) are much more marked: the minimum is 2,745 pesos (in the department of Cundinamarca) and the maximum 8,769 pesos (in that of Caldas), the national average being 5,185 a year, or 77 per cent. higher than that of the wage-earning workers. Nevertheless the

---

\(^1\) See above, p. 81.

latter have an annual family income higher than that of small owners with less than 10 hectares in some departments, including Cundinamarca, Huila and Norte de Santander. This explains why some small coffee producers take on paid work, returning to their position of independence as soon as they have saved enough from their wages.

The family earnings in the Colombian sugarcane plantations are appreciably higher than those in the other types of plantations. In 1959, for instance, all the workers in nine sugar undertakings of the department of Valle del Cauca received more than the minimum prescribed by law (4.37 pesos per day), almost three quarters (to be precise 74.2 per cent.) were paid between 7.01 and 11 pesos and one-fifth (to be precise 20.8 per cent.) more than 11 pesos per day.¹

These wages were higher than those generally earned by the agricultural workers of the Valle del Cauca department in 1959 (5.50 pesos per day) and were at least equal to those in the manufacturing industries of that department (10 pesos daily in July 1959). Moreover, the addition of the allowances provided for by law (unemployment pay, service and holiday bonuses, retirement pensions, family allowances and social security payments) and of the supplements not required by law (e.g. free accommodation, water, electricity and sometimes transport) increased the wages of the workers in the sugarcane plantations by about 50 per cent.

The family inquiries held on the spot in plantations in Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Peru provide some information on the source of family incomes and on family expenditure.

Samplings were limited to 27 families in the Colombian tobacco plantations (department of Bolivar), 25 families in the coffee plantations of Costa Rica (Cartago province), 90 families in the plantations of bananas, sugarcane, cocoa and coffee in Ecuador (provinces of Cañar, Guayas, Manabí, Pichincha, El Oro and Los Ríos) and 24 families in the Peruvian sugarcane plantations (departments of Arequipa and Libertad).

According to the type of plantation, the income of the head of the family represents between 46.4 and 95 per cent. of the total family income. The lowest percentages are to be found in the plantations of tobacco in Colombia, of bananas in Ecuador and of coffee in Costa Rica. In these cases the other earnings are brought in mainly by the work of children (40.7 per cent. of the family income in the coffee plantations of Costa Rica, 17.2 per cent. in those for tobacco in Colombia and 15 per cent. in those for bananas in Ecuador) or by the produce of the family plot of land (22.7 per cent. of the family income in the Colombian tobacco plantations and 11.5 per cent. in the banana plantations of

¹ See FADUL and PÉNALOSA, op. cit., p. 28.
TABLE XXIII. COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, ECUADOR AND PERU: PERCENTAGE FAMILY EXPENDITURES OF PLANTATION WORKERS, 1963-64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item of expenditure</th>
<th>Colombia Tobacco</th>
<th>Colombia Coffee</th>
<th>Colombia Bananas</th>
<th>Colombia Sugar</th>
<th>Ecuador Cocoa</th>
<th>Ecuador Cocoa and bananas</th>
<th>Ecuador Sugar</th>
<th>Peru Cocoa and bananas</th>
<th>Peru Sugar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>64.2</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upkeep of accommod-</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical expenses</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal hygiene</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscriptions</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifts</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ecuador). The share of the family income provided by women's work is comparatively low, even non-existent, the highest percentage being 9.1 on the Colombian tobacco plantations.

In the sugarcane plantations of Ecuador the earnings of the head of the family represent 95 per cent. of the family income, whereas in similar plantations in Peru the percentage is only 67.4, the children adding 12.8 per cent. In the majority of the plantations of cocoa, coffee and bananas in Ecuador the family income depends mainly on the work done by the head of the family (between 60 and 85 per cent.) and that of the children (between 14 and 22 per cent.); sometimes also on that of other relatives, as for instance in cocoa and banana plantations (11.9 per cent. of the family income).

In the family expenditure of the workers in these same Latin American plantations food represents the heaviest item practically everywhere (between 27 and 79 per cent. of the total), the highest percentage being found in the plantations of sugarcane or cocoa in Ecuador and coffee in Costa Rica.

Expenditure on clothing is also fairly heavy: the purchase of items of clothing absorbs sometimes more than 10 per cent. of the family income.
and even rises to 15 per cent. in the Peruvian sugar plantations. In a few plantations medical expenses represent quite a percentage of the worker's family income, e.g. in Ecuador 13.6 in the cocoa and banana plantations, in Colombia 8.9 in the tobacco plantations, and in Ecuador again 7.4 in the mixed cocoa, banana and coffee plantations, 6.2 in those of bananas alone and 5.8 in those of cocoa. For all the other expenses (rent, fuel, furniture, upkeep of accommodation, personal hygiene, insurance, various subscriptions, education, recreation, tobacco, transport, gifts and servants) the family expenditure rarely amounts to 5 per cent. of the total.

One or two further points are worth mentioning. In the banana and the mixed banana and cocoa plantations of Ecuador and those for sugarcane in Peru, the acquisition of furniture requires 5.8, 4.9 and 5.3 per cent. respectively of the family income; the upkeep of accommodation in the sugarcane plantations of Ecuador takes 7.4 per cent. In other sugarcane plantations, in Peru, expenditure on recreation absorbs exactly 5 per cent. of the total family budget.

These figures, which appear in table XXIII, show clearly that family expenditure does not vary greatly, the major items in the budget consisting of basic essentials: food, clothing and medical care.

THE ASIAN COUNTRIES

Traditionally the unit taken into account in the plantations of Asian countries for all matters concerning income is the family and not the single worker. Indeed, most wives also work in the plantations in Ceylon, India and Malaya; in Indonesia, on the other hand, the proportion of working wives is much lower.

It is difficult to find out the family income in this part of the world because the workers not only draw their fixed wage but also have other sources of income. In the Assam valley in India, for instance, the men earn a monthly wage of 49.79 rupees in cash, but the value of food allocations and other benefits in kind bring this total up to 61.18 rupees.

Table XXIV shows the annual incomes of tea pluckers in six plantations in southern India for 1960. It can be seen that over a quarter of these pluckers (26.5 per cent.) earn less than 350 rupees per year, 41.9 per cent. earn between 351 and 450 rupees, and the remaining 31.6 per cent. more than 451 rupees.

The annual income of an Indian family in which both husband and wife have permanent employment on a tea estate is estimated to range between 1,000 and 1,250 rupees a year; this takes into account payments in cash and kind, but leaves out accommodation and other benefits
TABLE XXIV. INDIA: DISTRIBUTION BY INCOME OF TEA PLUCKERS IN SIX PLANTATIONS, 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income bracket (rupees)</th>
<th>Number of pluckers</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0–300</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301–325</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326–350</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351–400</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401–450</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>451–500</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501 and over</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,058</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

provided by the employer. For each child who works as well the family earnings are increased by a percentage varying from 30 to 50 of the father’s wage.

In 1960 Ceylonese plantation workers earned on the average 2.40 rupees a day, whereas the daily rate in the other branches of the economy came to 6.80 rupees.

In Malaya the monthly income of an adult worker in the rubber plantations varies between 64 and 148 Malayan dollars, that of his counterpart in the oil-palm estates from 65 to 201 dollars. These amounts are slightly lower than those earned by workers in industry but, since wives and children often work as well in the plantations, accommodation is free and there are other advantages, the families on estates are frequently better off than those in industry.

Information with regard to the expenditure of workers in the Asian plantations is scanty. However, observations made during the survey suggest that a family with four working members (father, mother and two children) spends between 50 and 60 per cent. of the family income on food and domestic items; if only father and mother work this percentage could easily attain 70 or even 75.

PURCHASING POWER IN THE AFRICAN PLANTATIONS

The purchasing power of the workers or their families indicates their standard of living. To make such an index for two African countries calculations were made of the percentage represented by the price of certain products with respect to the monthly income of a worker or family. The reliability of these calculations should not be overestimated, since the prices on which they were based were obtained from investiga-
TABLE XXV. EAST CAMEROON: PRICES OF CERTAIN FOODS AND THE PERCENTAGE OF THE WORKERS' WAGES THEY REPRESENTED, 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price in C.F.A. francs</th>
<th>Percentage of monthly wage in C.F.A. francs for workers averaging</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manioc</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1.6 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1.6 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.6 0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantain bananas</td>
<td>1 bunch</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>10.5 3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 or 3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.5 0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3.4 1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yams</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3.6 1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef with bone</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>7.9 2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5.3 1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>9.2 3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palm oil</td>
<td>1 litre</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4.2 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condensed milk</td>
<td>1 tin</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3.4 1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.7 0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh fish</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5.3 1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried fish</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>15.7 5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This list of prices is based on those charged in three shops in the settlements of a large plantation and in five village markets of the Dizangué region (East Cameroon).

TABLE XXVI. MAURITIUS: PRICES OF CERTAIN FOODS AND THE PERCENTAGE OF THE WORKERS' WAGES THEY REPRESENTED, 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Price in rupees</th>
<th>Percentage of monthly wage in rupees for workers averaging</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.73 0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.59 0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.32 0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.24 0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>1 litre</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.25 0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1 litre</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.55 0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.28 0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>1 kg</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>6.10 1.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Prices in shops in sugarcane plantations.
In Mauritius the Indian agricultural labourers employed in the planta­tions average 90 rupees a month whereas artisans and skilled workers, whether of Indian or of African origin, receive a monthly average of about 370 rupees.¹ The prices of various foods and the percentage they represent of the average monthly earnings are shown in table XXVI.

* * *

The survey has shown, in short, that plantation workers derive most of their income from their wages, which consist of a given amount in cash with the addition in some countries of various benefits in kind. In many cases the entire family works on the plantation, which helps to raise the family income. Often the worker or his wife cultivates a small plot of land, some produce being eaten and some sold. Women, especially in Africa, carry on some form of trade in order to supplement the family income.

In certain plantations in the countries where special investigations were carried out, workers seem to spend most of their income on food in Latin America, on food and clothing in Africa and on food and household equipment in Asia.

¹ See above, p. 243 ff.
PART FOUR

CONCLUSIONS
CONCLUSIONS

It goes without saying that the following conclusions should only be regarded as valid within the limits of this survey, which covers only a dozen countries and the relatively few plantations that the experts were able to visit. The main purpose of the survey was to ascertain by first-hand observation the prevailing conditions of employment and living standards of plantation workers. It was found that living standards were quite low almost everywhere. This is due to a whole series of factors, chief among which are the economic situation in the countries concerned, the characteristics of plantation labour, and the employment and living conditions provided for plantation workers.

There can be no doubt that the low living standards of plantation workers reflect the general situation in the countries concerned. These countries are in course of economic development and it is a well-known fact that by and large the inhabitants of developing countries have lower living standards than those of the industrialised countries. This is largely due to the fact that the economies of the plantation countries are often not properly diversified and depend almost entirely on one, two or three tropical products, such as bananas, cocoa, coffee, rubber, sisal or sugar.

This makes their economies highly vulnerable to fluctuations in the prices of the exports which are their main source of earning foreign exchange. To quote only one example, the economy of Mauritius is based almost exclusively on the sugar industry, which accounts for virtually the whole of the country's exports. Inevitably, fluctuations in sugar prices have a decisive influence on living conditions in the country and fluctuations in the international sugar market have repercussions on employment.

In order to cushion the effects of these price fluctuations some countries have established stabilisation funds to facilitate the marketing of their main plantation products. A few international agreements have also been negotiated between the exporting and the importing countries, especially for coffee and sugar.

Some tropical products, such as bananas, cane sugar, sisal and tea, still come in the main from large plantations which, generally speaking, make a useful contribution to the economic and social life of the countries in which they are located. As a result of modernisation in recent
years these large enterprises are now increasingly organised on industrial lines. This is particularly true of plantations which do all or some of the processing of their products, e.g. cane sugar and rubber. Since they employ large numbers of workers it is usually easier for the latter to form trade unions and to obtain by collective bargaining more substantial welfare benefits than are normally available to agricultural workers. Wages are usually higher than in the smaller concerns and managements are better placed to provide adequate medical and welfare facilities. In this way plantations contribute towards the economic and social development of the countries concerned. However, in the case of large plantations established with foreign capital, the fact that they are limited liability companies with an obligation to make profits for their shareholders is liable to create a conflict between commercial considerations and the demands of social progress.

The contribution of the large plantations to economic and social development has been most marked in Africa where, in order to meet modern production requirements and help to raise living standards, plantations sometimes act as large-scale production and marketing co-operatives as well as research organisations, which use their huge landholdings for agricultural research in addition to producing tropical commodities for the international market. These establishments, together with public research institutes, have lately carried out surveys to decide which tropical products are likely to be in demand in future and to maintain their prices on the world market. Their forecasts suggest favourable prospects for such products as cane sugar, pineapples, palm oil, tea, tobacco and even for rubber and sisal despite the competition from synthetics. For example, as regards palm oil, the Government of Ivory Coast is planning to plant a further 32,000 hectares of palms between 1965 and 1970, which would bring the total area of oil-palm plantations in the country to some 51,000 hectares. A company (SODEPalm) was formed for this purpose in 1963. In Malaya the managements of a number of rubber plantations in certain coastal districts are replanting with oil palms, and in Indonesia at least one large tea plantation was considering going over to oil palm.

The economic and social usefulness of large plantations is still acknowledged in many countries. For example Ivory Coast has exempted plantations established after 11 April 1958 from certain taxes and levies for a period of ten years. The importance of these large plantations has, however, declined in some countries as products for tropical export are increasingly grown by smallholders. Plantations have been

---

split up (sometimes with detrimental effects on workers’ living standards) nearly everywhere, and especially in Indonesia and Malaya, where the rubber output from small plantations is far from negligible. However, the smallholders are not always completely independent, because in most of the plantation countries they have to sell their output to middlemen—very often none other than the big producers, who market the output of the small plantations as well as their own. The smallholders are nearly always worse off than wage earners on the large plantations because out of the income from their holdings they have not only to maintain their families but also to meet their operating costs.

MANPOWER

In countries where plantation products are the main source of foreign exchange plantations tend to employ a large and sometimes even a major proportion of the country’s agricultural labour force, as in Cameroon, Ceylon, Colombia, Malaya, Mauritius and Tanganyika.

Plantations often need large numbers of workers at certain times of the year, especially since the nature of the work (except in the growing of sugarcane and tobacco) is such that mechanisation, at least of certain operations, is usually impossible. Machines have been found unsatisfactory for a number of jobs. No machine has yet been invented which can tap rubber trees or pick the main types of tropical fruits, and attempts to design machines to pluck tea-leaves have had to be abandoned because no device has been created which could sort and grade the leaves. This lack of mechanisation compels plantation managements to rely on manual labour and to employ large numbers of mainly unskilled workers who are not in a position to demand high wages.

The necessary manpower can easily be obtained locally in countries where the population is expanding faster than the economy or the volume of employment. Some of these countries in Latin America and Asia (as well as Mauritius) are faced with acute unemployment and underemployment which they are endeavouring to tackle either by carrying out land reform or rural development programmes or by encouraging family planning. Although these projects have sometimes been successful, in no case have they yet provided a nation-wide solution to the whole problem. Often they constitute no more than limited experiments or else are too recent for their effectiveness to be assessed; this is true, for example, of the land-reform schemes carried out in Latin America in the past few years.

In other cases, plantations may be unable to find suitable labour locally and their workers come either from neighbouring countries, as
in the case of Ivory Coast, which obtains most of its plantation labour from Upper Volta, or from other parts of the same country (as in Brazil, Colombia and Peru).

Generally speaking, however—and contrary to the practice prevailing in the last century and at the beginning of this—permanent plantation workers are now hardly ever recruited from areas at some distance from their place of work. It is usual now for them to be hired locally, whereas seasonal and temporary workers still tend in many cases to come from distant areas.

Thus direct hiring of workers has increasingly taken the place of the former recruitment systems, which are almost non-existent in Asia, and in Latin America are used only in some cases, e.g. to obtain seasonal or temporary workers at harvest time. But in Africa recruitment is still practised on a fairly large scale.

Of the systems of recruitment now in use, only one is encountered in all three regions. This is the practice of sending ex-foremen or plantation workers to recruit temporary workers in certain areas. The system is employed mainly in Latin America, but is also practised by sugarcane plantations in Mauritius and rubber estates in Malaya. Usually the contractors are paid for the job, but sometimes they remain responsible for the workers they hire and are paid a commission based on the output of these latter.

The workers, whether recruited in this way or hired locally, are usually unskilled. This sometimes makes it difficult, if not almost impossible, for them to fill jobs requiring specialised knowledge or supervisory or managerial skills. There is increasing recognition of the need to train on the job managers and supervisors who in time can take over from the foreign personnel, especially in Africa and Asia. The growth of training schemes in the plantation countries will lead to higher standards of skill among the labour force, which in turn will help to increase wages and improve living standards.

**Working Conditions**

In none of the countries visited are the conditions of employment of plantation workers completely satisfactory. These are usually better on the large plantations because often legislation does not apply to the small ones. It is also easier for labour inspectors to visit the large estates, which are usually fairly accessible, than the small ones, which are widely separated.

The survey revealed that, by and large, labour legislation applies to plantation workers. However, in some cases it is not enforced in practice.
Statutory protection is more extensive for permanent than for temporary workers. If the former are paid time rates their hours of work are usually limited, they are given a weekly day off (sometimes unpaid) together with a number of public holidays (ranging from two to 17 a year depending on the country) and an annual holiday with pay (ranging from five to 30 days, again depending on the country).

Despite the statutory restriction on hours of work (between seven and nine a day) plantation workers at certain seasons, especially at harvest time, work longer hours than the normal; at other times of the year the working day may be shorter.

Temporary or casual workers, of whom there are sometimes very large numbers at certain seasons, are not entitled to certain benefits, such as social security, length of service, seniority, and end-of-year bonuses, annual holidays with pay or maternity leave in the case of women. Workers paid on a task basis, whether permanent or temporary, are not covered by certain regulations, such as those on hours of work.

Effective protection of plantation workers is also hampered by the fact that many of them have no written contracts with their employers defining their own and their employers' rights and obligations. Although the law often stipulates that a written contract must be concluded it is very common in almost all countries for workers to be engaged by their employers by mere verbal contracts. This is due to the fact that plantation workers, and even their employers, especially on small plantations, are often illiterate. High labour turnover and the weakness of the trade union movement on most plantations are the other factors which do not favour the more widespread use of written contracts. In countries and on plantations where trade unions have managed to develop they have succeeded in negotiating contracts or collective agreements with the employer or the employers' organisations, incorporating statutory clauses for the protection of the workers and sometimes even granting additional benefits or defining the statutory benefits more precisely. But such agreements or contracts are still fairly rare. They prevail mainly in Malaya, where the trade union movement is particularly strong among the plantation workers, and on some large plantations, especially those growing sugarcane, in certain Latin American countries such as Colombia, Ecuador and Peru.

Wages

There can be no doubt that the rates of wages are one of the key factors governing living standards. Plantation workers may be paid on a task, piece-work or time (hour, day, week or month) basis. Some
countries and some types of estates employ a combination of these systems so as to allow for output and time worked. In almost all cases minimum wages are fixed by law, by collective agreement, by wage committees or councils, or by arbitration boards. The minimum wage is the main component in wage rates in Africa and Latin America, whereas in Asia, especially in Ceylon and north-east India, wage rates often comprise other items, such as dearness allowances.

In Malaya the structure of wages on the rubber plantations is particularly complex; wage rates are made up of a number of components which take account of changes in the Singapore rubber quotations and the retail price index.

On almost all plantations various bonuses are also payable for output, length of service or regular attendance; there may also be a profit-sharing scheme. Sometimes there are benefits in kind, such as the provision of housing, food, working clothes or a plot of land to cultivate. These benefits in kind occasionally form an integral part of the wage, in which case their value may not exceed (depending on the country) 20, 25 or 50 per cent. of the cash wage. Elsewhere such benefits do not form part of the wage and are treated as a net addition, i.e. no deduction may be made from the wage to meet their cost. This practice of making payment partially in kind, which is still allowed by law in many countries, tends nowadays to be opposed by the workers' organisations, especially in Africa, with the result that employers now increasingly tend to pay their workers wholly in cash. The survey showed that, by and large, employers do pay the prescribed wage rates, which in most cases are the same as the minimum wage. However, in Latin America workers sometimes receive more than the minimum, as in some sugar-cane and cotton plantations in Colombia and Peru and on certain banana plantations in Colombia and Costa Rica. On the other hand, on many coffee plantations in the two latter countries and on most tobacco plantations in the former one, wages are lower than the official minimum.

It is not common for the law to prescribe equal pay for men and women, although in some countries of Africa (Cameroon, Ivory Coast) and of Latin America (Colombia, Costa Rica) labour legislation requires equal pay for equal work. It is true that this has only a limited effect in practice because, compared with the total number of male workers, few women are employed all the year round in African and Latin American plantations. It is only at harvest time that large numbers of women (and children) are employed on the estates; they are usually paid on a task basis.

In practice, wages paid to women, in nearly all the regions visited, are always lower than those paid to men; minimum wage rates for women are often lower as well.
The prejudice that women's output is lower has not yet been eliminated and it is even harder to counter in those developing countries where traditionally a woman's status is little higher than that of a domestic slave. However, in the Asian countries a good many managements prefer to employ women on tea-plucking because they are considered to display greater speed and dexterity. Even so, basic wages on the tea plantations in Ceylon are slightly lower for women than for men. In India, on the other hand, wage rates for tea pluckers are usually based solely on output and there is no distinction between men and women, the only differentiation being between adults and minors. This system gives women an opportunity of earning the same wages as men.

Wage rates of plantation workers also vary in accordance with their degree of skill. The lowest wages are payable to unskilled labourers and rates rise steadily with the degree of skill. Clerical staff and workers in factories processing the produce (especially on sugarcane and rubber plantations) are usually better paid than the field workers; the latter, in turn, almost always earn less than workers in other industries but are rather better paid than workers in other branches of farming. It is sometimes asserted that, despite this, agricultural workers, including those on plantations, are better off than industrial or commercial workers in the towns because, in addition to their cash wages, they obtain certain benefits in kind (such as housing, food, plots of land) which, being often free of charge, may represent a far from negligible supplement to their earnings. However, the value of these benefits should not be overestimated because they often amount to no more than the provision of extremely primitive accommodation which in most cases does not meet even the minimum standards of hygiene and comfort. In addition, employers sometimes make deductions from wages to offset the cost of benefits in kind.

Social Security

The degree of protection given to plantation workers under social security schemes varies widely not only in terms of the proportion of workers covered but also as regards the contingencies.

Protection may be given in different ways. In some countries labour legislation requires the employer to provide workers with benefits in cash or in kind in the event of sickness, maternity or employment injury, while elsewhere medical services may be supplied by the government. Plantation workers are often covered by other schemes such as provident funds. In some of the countries visited, general social insurance schemes are gradually being extended to cover agricultural workers, including those on plantations. The extent to which the latter are protected by
social insurance does not depend on the general stage of development of social security in the country but is governed by a whole set of factors which it was not part of the purpose of the survey to analyse.

Labour Inspection

Despite the efforts of governments and many plantation managements the conditions of employment of plantation workers are not everywhere as good as they should be, even though a marked improvement has taken place in recent years. If the higher standards laid down by law are to have any practical effect the countries concerned will have to make their labour inspection system more efficient. The survey revealed that in some cases there are not enough inspectors to carry out their statutory obligation to visit all the plantations at short as well as regular intervals, especially when the plantations are numerous and there are long distances to be covered. The inspectors’ job is further hampered by the fact that many plantation districts do not possess adequate roads and the inspectors themselves do not always have the necessary transport facilities or travelling allowances needed to enable them to cover the area.

Living Conditions

The survey showed that the living conditions of plantation workers are often very poor not only as regards housing and food but also where hygiene and education are concerned.

Housing

Most countries require plantation managements to provide their workers with suitable accommodation, and in some cases the law even sets minimum standards; but in practice the workers are badly housed, especially on the small and medium-sized estates. Even on the large estates it is not uncommon to find the workers housed in compounds or overcrowded family accommodation. The resulting promiscuity does not help to improve standards of hygiene and health.

Nearly everywhere it was found that the accommodation is too often built of materials which do not afford adequate protection against the harsh tropical climate. Sometimes the houses leak in wet weather, and ventilation and lighting are inadequate. Housing conditions are particularly bad in Latin America, where the accommodation sometimes consists of sheds without walls. On most of the plantations visited in this
area there were no plans to build housing on any scale. Only in Costa Rica on the banana plantations of the Standard Fruit Company, and in Peru on the coffee and sugarcane plantations, have new, more solidly built houses been provided recently.

In Africa and Asia, on the other hand, vigorous efforts have been made by the majority of managements on the large plantations to provide their workers with modern and comfortable accommodation.

It is true that in some cases the workers do not know how to make proper use of modern housing when it is provided. They soon wreck the plumbing, hack away some parts of the house for use as firewood, board up the windows and misuse some rooms to which they are not accustomed. This is, of course, due to the fact that they frequently come from poverty-stricken environments and have never known anything else but wretchedness and discomfort, having lived all their lives with their families in a single room. When they are suddenly given housing designed for people with average educational and living standards, they do not always know how to take advantage of it. Before settling them in new housing, therefore, educational campaigns should be organised to teach them how to use these new facilities and to grasp their usefulness and value. These educational campaigns should also inculcate habits of personal cleanliness and proper standards of hygiene.

Mention should be made of an interesting experiment by the managements of some large plantations in Tanganyika. First of all, specimen houses were built and the workers were asked for their opinions on them so that their suggestions could be incorporated before large-scale construction began.

Food

Plantation workers' food is just as unsatisfactory as their accommodation. They are nearly always badly fed and their diet is monotonous and unbalanced. Most of them hardly ever—if at all—eat such essential foods as meat, eggs, milk and dairy products or certain fruits and vegetables. Their staple diet consists of tubers, roots or rice.

On some African plantations the situation has worsened since the employers, on the insistence of the trade unions, have stopped issuing food rations. In Latin America and Asia, on the other hand, some improvement has taken place. In the Latin American countries plantations sometimes provide their workers with free meals or operate stores where they can buy food cheaply. It is quite common in Asia and sometimes in Africa and Latin America for the workers to have their own bit of land, and they may also be permitted to keep poultry or a few head of livestock.
Education

The situation as regards education is no better than in the case of housing and diet. In some countries large plantations are required to provide schools and teachers for the workers' children but the teachers are almost always too few to cope with the need. When no schools are provided children have to attend the nearest village schools which are sometimes a considerable distance away; in such cases some employers provide transport. Most pupils do not complete even their primary education, so that it is very uncommon for the children of plantation workers to obtain a secondary or advanced education. Recently, in a handful of cases, scholarships have been made available (nearly always to the most gifted children) to enable them to continue their studies.

Since most plantation workers are illiterate they have benefited by the literacy campaigns and adult education facilities organised by some governments for the population as a whole.

Hygiene and Health

Standards of hygiene and health on plantations have improved in recent years, with the result that some tropical diseases, such as malaria, have almost entirely disappeared, especially in Africa and Asia. This has been due partly to campaigns against tropical diseases and partly to the discovery of more effective ways of combating these diseases.

Health standards are not, however, universally satisfactory. Some diseases, such as intestinal infections and those caused by malnutrition, are still widespread among plantation workers, particularly among their children. It is true that employers almost everywhere, especially in the case of large estates, are required to provide—and usually have done so—certain medical services for their workers, such as first-aid posts, dispensaries and hospitals. Unfortunately these facilities are not always adequately equipped or well supplied with medicines, while the medical staff is usually not large enough and sometimes not even adequately qualified.

Welfare Services

Welfare services on plantations are still by no means widespread. The survey found that in the Asian countries nurseries are sometimes provided, very often of a distinctly primitive character. Some Latin American plantations issue foodstuffs, such as milk, cheese, etc., to children and expectant mothers.
Recreational and cultural facilities are also few and far between, although in all the areas visited sports, dancing and film shows are encouraged on the large estates; genuine cultural and educational facilities are fairly uncommon. Cultural centres exist on some banana plantations in Costa Rica and sugar plantations in Peru, while in Mauritius a welfare fund has been set up for workers in the sugar industry. In Tanganyika women's clubs have been formed and classes for women workers, together with other cultural activities, have been organised on some of the industrialised plantations.

*Family Budgets and Purchasing Power*

All the foregoing facts show that the plantation workers have low living standards. In fact their earnings do little more than provide a bare existence. In their family budgets, expenditure on food accounts for a large percentage of the total—in the case of Latin American countries where family budget inquiries have been carried out, it is invariably over half. In some African countries, on the other hand, workers spend relatively little on food because they have their own plots of land, which are usually cultivated by their women-folk and which supply most of their diet.

In some countries the workers devote a fairly large share of their incomes to the purchase of clothing; expenditure on leisure and self-improvement is fairly low. With no organised leisure facilities workers have few opportunities of spending their money on pastimes which might raise their cultural level. On many plantations the lack of suitable pastimes even drives the workers to drink, and in some cases alcoholism is a serious problem.

The low living standards of plantation workers are also apparent from the fact that generally they have very little furniture—usually the bare minimum. Cooking utensils normally represent the bulk of their possessions.

To the workers' wages should often be added the earnings of their wives and sometimes of their children once they reach the age of 12 or 14, and sometimes even less. Incomes are almost always spent in full and sometimes families have to go into debt to make both ends meet. Not surprisingly, therefore, the habit of saving is not very widespread among plantation workers, although it was found that in Ivory Coast the workers from the Mossi tribe in Upper Volta who come to work on the plantations do try to save so as to be able to take some money home with them.

* * *
The information collected during the survey described in this report will, it is hoped, encourage all concerned—governments, employers and workers—to co-operate in seeking to improve living and working conditions among plantation workers, if only by imitating what has already been done elsewhere (subject, of course, to changes to suit local conditions). An effort along these lines would bring benefits to a large group of workers and would be fully in accordance with the objectives which States Members of the International Labour Organisation have set themselves by accepting the Constitution of the Organisation. Inevitably, there will be no lack of difficulties, but while there is little prospect that plantation workers will enjoy markedly higher living standards than the bulk of their fellow countrymen, the governments of all countries in the knowledge that "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere" are endeavouring to hasten economic development and thereby raise living standards all round. This drive will enable plantations, in addition to fulfilling their economic function, to provide rural populations with examples of good living and working conditions.
APPENDICES
## APPENDIX I

### CONVENTIONS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY AFFECTING
BY THE COUNTRIES

#### A. RATIFICATIONS (●) OF CONVENTIONS WHICH SERVED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Convention 1</th>
<th>Corresponding Part of Convention No. 110 4</th>
<th>Cameroon</th>
<th>East Cameroon</th>
<th>West Cameroon</th>
<th>Ceylon</th>
<th>Colombia</th>
<th>Costa Rica</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Conventions:
12. Workmen’s Compensation (Agriculture), 1921.
19. Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation), 1925.
64. Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers), 1939.
84. Right of Association (Non-Metropolitan Territories), 1947.
97. Migration for Employment (Revised), 1949.
103. Maternity Protection (Revised), 1952.
PLANTATION WORKERS THAT HAVE BEEN RATIFIED
COVERED BY THE INQUIRY

AS BASIS FOR THE PLANTATIONS CONVENTION, 1958 (No. 110)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ecuador</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Indonesia</th>
<th>Ivory Coast</th>
<th>Malaysia (States of Malaya)</th>
<th>Mauritius</th>
<th>Peru</th>
<th>Tanzania (Tanganyika)</th>
<th>Number of Convention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>•</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Parts of the Convention concerning Conditions of Employment of Plantation Workers, 1958 (No. 110), are:
  I. General Provisions.
  II. Engagement and Recruitment and Migrant Workers.
  III. Contracts of Employment and Abolition of Penal Sanctions.
  IV. Wages.
  V. Annual Holidays with Pay.
  VI. Weekly Rest.
  VII. Maternity Protection.
  VIII. Workmen's Compensation.
  IX. Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining.
  XI. Labour Inspection.
  XII. Housing.
  XIII. Medical Care.
  XIV. Final Provisions.

* For Mauritius: Conventions made applicable with or without modification.
B. OTHER CONVENTIONS

In addition to the Conventions shown in table A above, those cited below may affect plantation workers engaged in agricultural activities or in processing plants.

1. Hours of Work, 1919.
2. Unemployment, 1919.
5. Minimum Age (Industry), 1919.
10. Minimum Age (Agriculture), 1921.
11. Right of Association (Agriculture), 1921.
17. Workmen's Compensation (Accidents), 1925.
18. Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases), 1925.
33. Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment), 1932.
35. Old-Age Insurance (Industry, etc.), 1933.
36. Old-Age Insurance (Agriculture), 1933.
37. Invalidity Insurance (Industry, etc.), 1933.
38. Invalidity Insurance (Agriculture), 1933.
39. Survivors' Insurance (Industry, etc.), 1933.
40. Survivors' Insurance (Agriculture), 1933.
41. Night Work (Women) (Revised), 1934.
42. Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases) (Revised), 1934.
44. Unemployment Provision, 1934.
52. Holidays with Pay, 1936.
59. Minimum Age (Industry) (Revised), 1937.
77. Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry), 1946.
78. Medical Examination of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations), 1946.
89. Night Work (Women) (Revised), 1948.
96. Fee-Charging Employment Agencies (Revised), 1949.
100. Equal Remuneration, 1951.
118. Equality of Treatment (Social Security), 1962.
The list below shows those countries included in the inquiry and the numbers of the Conventions ratified.

Cameroon 11.
   EAST CAMEROON 4, 5, 6, 33.
   WEST CAMEROON 105.
Ceylon 5, 11, 18, 29, 41, 58, 90, 96.
Colombia 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 17, 18, 24, 25, 52, 100, 105.
Costa Rica 11, 29, 88, 89, 90, 94, 96, 100, 105, 107, 111.
Ecuador 2, 24, 29, 35, 37, 39, 100, 105, 111.
India 1, 4, 5, 6, 11, 18, 29, 42, 88, 89, 90, 100, 107, 111, 118.
Indonesia 29, 100.
Ivory Coast 14, 5, 6, 11, 18, 29, 33, 41, 52, 96, 100, 105, 110, 111.
Malaysia 29, 105.
   STATES OF MALAYA 11, 17.
Mauritius 2, 5, 11, 29, 42, 82, 88, 105.
Tanganyika 88.

---

1 The only country included in the inquiry that has ratified the Plantations Convention, 1958 (No. 110).
2 Conventions made applicable with or without modification.
APPENDIX II

PRINCIPAL LEGISLATION APPLYING TO PLANTATION WORKERS IN THE 12 COUNTRIES COVERED BY THE SURVEY

This list gives only the main legislation relating to the working and living conditions of plantation workers referred to expressly or implicitly in the text of the report. It does not claim to be exhaustive.

The countries are grouped by regions and, within each region, alphabetically. Where countries have Labour Codes, basic labour Acts or a special Act on plantation labour, these codes or Acts come first, followed by amending legislation.

Other legislation is listed chronologically.

AFRICA

Cameroon.

East Cameroon.


Act No. 59-43, to repeal Chapter I of Title VII of Act No. 52-1322. Dated 17 June 1959 (ibid., 1 July 1959, p. 829).


Order to amend the foregoing Order. Dated 8 December 1949 (ibid., 1949, p. 1606).

Order No. 5471, to prescribe the formalities and conditions to be observed in concluding contracts of employment, including employment for trial periods. Dated 7 November 1953 (ibid., 11 Nov. 1953, p. 1839).


Order No. 6013, to fix the composition of the daily rations which may be supplied to workers, and the maximum amount which may be charged for them. Dated 5 December 1953 (ibid., 14 Dec. 1953, p. 2030).

Order No. 6179, to prescribe the cases in which accommodation must be provided for workers, the conditions to be observed and the maximum amount which may be charged for such accommodation. Dated 12 December 1953 (ibid., 14 Dec. 1953).


1 In the present appendix these initials refer to the Legislative Series published by the International Labour Office.
Order No. 982, to prescribe the conditions of age for the admission of children to employment and the type of work and categories of undertakings forbidden to them. Dated 27 February 1954 (Journal officiel du Cameroun, 1946, p. 6).

Order No. 983, to make exceptions to the minimum age for admission to employment of children. Dated 27 February 1954 (ibid., No. 992, p. 294).

Order No. 3362, to prescribe the mode of application of the law respecting medical or health services in undertakings. Dated 30 June 1954 (ibid., 7 July 1954, p. 815).

Order No. 3363, to classify undertakings for the purposes of fixing the minimum standards to be observed by employers in connection with medical and health personnel. Dated 30 June 1954 (ibid., 7 July 1954, p. 817).

Order No. 3364, to make detailed provision for the supply of medicaments to the medical services of undertakings. Dated 30 June 1954 (op. cit., p. 818).


Order No. 6450, dated 3 December 1954, to establish the procedure for the application of the provisions concerning the weekly rest (ibid., 22 Dec. 1954, p. 1737) and Erratum No. 2066, dated 21 March 1955 to this Order (ibid., 6 Apr. 1955, p. 550).


Order No. 3787, to make detailed provision for the establishment and operation of joint medical and health services covering more than one establishment. Dated 7 June 1955 (ibid., 22 June 1955, p. 934).


Order No. 125, to make detailed provision for the application of the Act of 15 December 1952 as regards the hours of work in agricultural undertakings and undertakings treated as such. Dated 5 January 1956 (ibid., 29 Feb. 1956, p. 373).

Act No. 56-332, promulgated by Order No. 7440 of 10 November 1956, to amend the scheme for annual leave with pay. Dated 27 March 1956 (ibid., 14 Nov. 1956, p. 1924).


Order No. 7302, to make detailed provision for the application of Act No. 56-332 of 27 March 1956 to amend the scheme for annual leave with pay. Dated 5 November 1956 (ibid., 14 Nov. 1956, p. 1926).


Order No. 26, to repeal Order No. 9 of 4 October 1957 and to prescribe the conditions governing notice and the length of such notice in Cameroon. Dated 7 October 1959 (ibid., 28 Oct. 1959, p. 1462).

Decree No. 60-246, to reorganise the services of the Ministry of Health and Population and the social services. Dated 28 December 1960 (Journal officiel de la République du Cameroun, 12 Apr. 1961, p. 448).


Decree No. 61-51, to prescribe the conditions in which the covering of employment injuries risk is entrusted to insurance companies. Dated 25 April 1961 (ibid., 10 May 1961, p. 612).

Decree No. 61-52, to prescribe the conditions in which certain undertakings are authorised to administer certain benefits themselves. Dated 25 April 1961 (ibid., 10 May 1961, p. 613).

West Cameroon.

An Ordinance to amend and consolidate the law relating to labour and to constitute the Labour Code for Nigeria. No. 54 of 1945, assented to 5 November 1945 (L.S. 1946—Nig. 1 B).

An Ordinance to amend the Labour Code Ordinance, 1945. No. 8 of 1946, assented to 20 May 1946 (L.S. 1946—Nig. 1 A).

An Ordinance further to amend the Labour Code Ordinance, 1945. No. 7 of 1949, assented to 29 April 1949 (L.S. 1949—Nig. 1).

An Ordinance further to amend the Labour Code Ordinance. No. 34, assented to 14 October 1950 (L.S. 1950—Nig. 1).


Ivory Coast.


Order No. 4765/ITLS/CI, to determine hours of work in agricultural and equivalent establishments. Dated 20 July 1953 (Journal officiel de la Côte d’Ivoire, 30 July 1953, p. 600).

Order No. 4804/ITLS/CI, to establish the procedure for the application of the provisions concerning the weekly rest. Dated 20 July 1953 (op. cit., p. 701).

Order No. 4806/ITLS/CI, to prescribe the cases in which accommodation must be provided and the conditions to be observed. Dated 20 July 1953 (op. cit., p. 705).

Order No. 4807/ITLS/CI, to prescribe the regions in which and the categories of workers to whom a daily food ration shall be supplied and the composition of the ration. Dated 20 July 1953 (op. cit., p. 706).

Order No. 6742/ITLS/CI, respecting the obligation to issue pay slips and keep wage registers under section 101 of the Labour Code.1 Dated 8 October 1953.


APPENDIX II


Order No. 397/IGTLS/AOF, to classify undertakings for the purposes of fixing the minimum standards to be observed by employers in connection with medical and health personnel. Dated 18 January 1955 (op. cit., p. 215).

Order No. 398/IGTLS/AOF, to make detailed provision for the establishment of infirmaries, dressing stations and first-aid posts and the supply of medicaments and dressings to them. Dated 19 January 1955 (op. cit., p. 216).

Order No. 2632/ITLS/CI, to make provision for the establishment of joint medical services covering more than one undertaking. Dated 15 April 1955 (ibid., 1 May 1955, p. 322).

Order No. 2633/ITLS/CI, to determine the procedure by which establishments employing fewer than 1,000 workers may make use of the services of official medical centres or dispensaries to ensure a medical or health service for their workers. Dated 15 April 1955 (op. cit., p. 323).


Act No. 56-332, to amend the scheme for annual leave with pay. Dated 27 March 1956 (ibid., 5 May 1956, p. 769).

Act No. 56-416, to ensure freedom of association and the protection of the right to organise. Dated 27 April 1956 (L.S. 1956—Fr. 1).


Order No. 654/MTAS, to prescribe wage zones, guaranteed minimum inter-occupational wages and the maximum amounts that may be charged from 1 November 1958 for accommodation and daily rations. Dated 30 October 1958 (Journal officiel de la Côte-d'Ivoire, 3 Nov. 1958).


Decree No. 59-30, to approve insurance undertakings to cover the risks of industrial accidents and occupational diseases throughout Ivory Coast. Dated 22 April 1959 (ibid., 9 May 1959).


See previous note. See also Decree No. 65-210 of 17 June 1965, to prescribe the procedure for giving effect to the obligation placed on employers to provide a medical or health service for their workers (Journal officiel de la République de Côte-d'Ivoire, 1 July 1965).
Decree No. 60-244, respecting the fees payable by employers to cover costs when they make use of the services of the Ivory Coast Labour Office to obtain Upper Volta labour. Dated 29 July 1960 (Journal officiel de la République de Côte-d’Ivoire, 20 Aug. 1960, p. 904).


Decree No. 60-292, to prescribe the maximum amounts that may be charged for the daily rations. Dated 10 September 1960 (ibid., 24 Sep. 1960, p. 1094).


Decree No. 65-121, to lay down the procedures for the conclusion and drafting of contracts of employment and engagements for a trial period. Dated 2 April 1965 (L.S. 1965—I.C. 1).

Decree No. 65-122, to determine, in cases where no provision has been made by collective agreement, the period of continuous service giving rise to an entitlement to the dismissal compensation prescribed in section 42 of the Labour Code, to fix the rate of compensation and to lay down the procedure to be followed when compensation is awarded. Dated 2 April 1965 (Journal officiel de la République de Côte-d’Ivoire, 17 Apr. 1965, p. 415).

Decree No. 65-126, to prescribe the conditions governing the opening, closing and operating of company stores. Dated 2 April 1965 (op. cit., p. 422).

Decree No. 65-127, to prescribe a list of public holidays and to determine how it is to be applied. Dated 2 April 1965 (op. cit., p. 423).

Mauritius.

Employment and Labour Ordinance (The Laws of Mauritius, Cap. 214).

Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Ordinance (ibid., Cap. 211).

Trade Disputes Ordinance (An Ordinance to amend and consolidate the law relating to trade disputes). No. 37, dated 14 December 1954 (Repeals the Trades Disputes Ordinance 1947) (Colony of Mauritius: Ordinances passed by the Legislative Council of Mauritius during the year 1954, Port Louis, 1955, p. 136).


Ordinance to make provision for the establishment of a pension fund for the benefit of employees of the sugar industry of the Colony and allied undertakings. No. 42, dated 28 December 1955 (Colony of Mauritius: Ordinances passed by the Legislative Council of Mauritius during the year 1955, Port Louis, 1956, p. 64).

Employment and Labour (Amendment) Ordinance 1961 (An Ordinance further to amend the Labour Ordinance [Cap. 214]). (Numerous amendments.) No. 21, dated 6 May 1961 (Government Gazette, 8 May 1961, Extraordinary, Legal Supplement).

Family Allowance Ordinance 1961 (An Ordinance to establish the machinery for the grant of family allowances and to provide for purposes connected therewith and incidental thereto), No. 62, dated 28 December 1961 (ibid., 30 Dec. 1961, Extraordinary, Legal Supplement).

Workmen’s Compensation (Amendment) Ordinance 1961 (An Ordinance to amend the Workmen’s Compensation Ordinance [Cap. 220]) (Amends sections 2, 4, 5, 7, 22, 27 and 41 and Schedule A; adds new sections 3A, 9A and 38A). No. 69, dated 28 December 1961 (op. cit.).

Regulation of Wages and Conditions of Employment Ordinance 1961 (An Ordinance to provide for the appointment of minimum wage boards and the establishment of wages councils for the regulation of remuneration and conditions of employment of workers in certain circumstances, and for other matters incidental thereto and connected therewith). No. 71, dated 28 December 1961 (op. cit.).


Tanganyika.


ASIA

Ceylon.

Service Contracts Ordinance. No. 11 of 1865 (Legislative Enactments of Ceylon (1938 Revision), Cap. 59).


Ordinance to consolidate and amend the law relating to the medical wants of labourers in planting districts. No. 9 of 1912. Dated 17 July 1912. As amended (ibid., pp. 127-135).

Ordinance to provide for the prevention of the spread of diseases among labourers. No. 10 of 1912. Dated 1 January 1913. As amended (ibid., pp. 135-139).

11 RUMPOOE HOD (L.S. 1920—Mal. 1).


Ordinance to make provision for a provident fund for persons employed in certain occupations. No. 21 of 1951. Assented to 26 May 1951 (L.S. 1951—Mal. 1).

Ordinance to provide for the payment of compensation to workmen for injuries suffered in the course of their employment. No. 85 of 1952. Assented to 30 December 1952 (Workmen's Compensation Ordinance 1952) (L.S. 1952—Mal. 1).

Ordinance to amend and consolidate the law relating to trade unions. No. 23 of 1959. Assented to 21 May 1959 (Trade Unions Ordinance 1959) (L.S. 1959—Mal. 1).


Act to provide for the prevention, investigation and settlement of industrial disputes, and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto (Industrial Disputes Act, No. 43 of 1950). Assented to 16 December 1950 (L.S. 1950—Cey. 1).


Act to regulate the employment of women, young persons and children. No. 47 of 1956. Assented to 7 November 1956 (L.S. 1956—Cey. 2).

Latin America

Colombia.


Decree No. 2690, to approve the General Regulations for sickness (other than occupational diseases) and maternity insurance. Dated 23 November 1960 (L.S. 1960—Col. 2).


Act No. 1826, to approve the General Regulations for the compulsory social insurance scheme against disability, old age and death (issued by Decision No. 188 of 30 June 1965). Dated 12 July 1965 (Diario Oficial, 31 July 1965, No. 31714, p. 204).

Costa Rica.


Legislative Decree No. 832, respecting minimum wages. Dated 4 November 1949 (L.S. 1949—C.R. 4). [Section 16 has been amended by Decree No. 2807 of 1961 (La Gaceta, 27 Sep. 1961, p. 3657).]

Act No. 1330, to lay down new penalties for employers and insured persons and to draw up rules of procedure in the matter. Dated 31 July 1951 (L.S. 1951—C.R. 1).


Decree No. 1417, to amend Legislative Decree No. 832 of 4 November 1949 respecting minimum wages. Dated 4 March 1952 (L.S. 1952—C.R. 1).


Decree No. 12, to fix the minimum wage to be applied throughout the country from 1 October 1962 to 30 September 1964. Dated 26 September 1962 (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, San José (Costa Rica): Salarios mínimos que regirán del 1 de octubre de 1962 al 30 de septiembre de 1964, Imprenta Nacional, 1962).


Decree No. 11, respecting minimum wages. Dated 28 September 1964.

Ecuador.


Peru.


Order to prescribe that undertakings required to provide medical assistance shall have in their service Peruvian or foreign medical practitioners who have recognised qualifications and speak Spanish. Dated 2 August 1918 (ibid., p. 376).

Act No. 2851, to regulate the employment of women and children. Dated 25 November 1918 (L.S. 1918—Per. 1).

Act No. 3019, respecting the industrial establishments that are required to provide their workers with housing, schools and medical assistance. Dated 27 December 1918 (Doctrina y legislación del trabajo en el Perú, op. cit., p. 533).

Act No. 89, respecting free primary education in undertakings of the central region. Dated 10 March 1920 (ibid., p. 534).

Order respecting the obligation placed on owners of agricultural undertakings to build housing for their workers. Dated 23 March 1923 (ibid., Vol. II, p. 534).

Order respecting free medical assistance for workers of agricultural or industrial undertakings. Dated 16 May 1924 (ibid., p. 377).
Supreme Resolution, fixing a time limit for the setting up of crèches in agricultural undertakings in which women are employed. Dated 17 April 1925 (L.S. 1925—Peru 2).

Act No. 8433, respecting compulsory social insurance. Dated 12 August 1936 (L.S. 1936—Peru 2).


Decree to issue administrative regulations under Acts Nos. 8433 and 8509 respecting compulsory social insurance. Dated 18 February 1941 (L.S. 1941—Peru 1).

Act No. 9359, respecting the organisation of public education. Dated 1 April 1941 (Revista de Legislación Peruana, Year II, 1941, p. 889).

Decree to prescribe the areas to be devoted to the compulsory growing of food crops. Dated 2 November 1945 (Doctrina y legislación del trabajo en el Perú, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 351-352).

Legislative Decree No. 10908: Sharing by salaried and wage-earning employees in the profits of undertakings (also establishes the right to Sunday wages). Dated 3 December 1948 (L.S. 1948—Per. 2).

Presidential Decree, to make regulations under Legislative Decree No. 10908 with respect to Sunday wages. Dated 27 April 1949 (L.S. 1949—Per. 2 A).

Presidential Decree, respecting Sunday wage rights and authorised absences from work. Dated 30 November 1949 (L.S. 1949—Per. 2 B).

Decree respecting religious feast days justifying absence from work. Dated 30 March 1951 (L.S. 1951—Per. 1).


Presidential Decree No. 013, to approve administrative regulations under Act No. 13640. Dated 7 August 1961 (L.S. 1961—Per. 1 B).

Decree No. 9, to issue regulations in conformity with the international labour Convention No. 87 concerning freedom of association and protection of the right to organise. Dated 3 May 1961 (Doctrina y legislación del trabajo en el Perú, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 422).

Act No. 13683, to prescribe 30 days' annual leave for wage earners. Dated 25 August 1961 (L.S. 1961—Per. 2).


Act No. 15049, to establish schools for general and technical secondary education in sugar industry centres. Dated 8 June 1964 (Supplement to La Industria Peruana, No. 383, July 1964, p. 5).

### APPENDIX III

**OCCUPATION OF ACTIVE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION IN SIX COUNTRIES, BY PRINCIPAL TYPES OF PLANTATION** (In thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of plantation</th>
<th>Ceylon (30 June 1963)</th>
<th>Colombia</th>
<th>India (1961 or 1962)</th>
<th>Indonesia</th>
<th>Malaya (1957)</th>
<th>Mauritius (1962)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1960-61)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(paid employees only)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1961 or 1962)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>123.2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil palm</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloe</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>408.2</td>
<td>285.4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>535.4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>822.8</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>57.3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisal</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>106.4</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinchona</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All plantations</strong></td>
<td><strong>645.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>737.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 214.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>618</strong></td>
<td><strong>391</strong></td>
<td><strong>227</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total active agricultural population</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 584.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>2 260.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>137 545.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>23 516.2</strong></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total active population</strong></td>
<td><strong>2 993.3</strong></td>
<td><strong>3 775.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>188 675.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>32 708.6</strong></td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Except where otherwise stated, information provided by governments to the Committee on Industrial Committees of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office for its 160th Session (November 1964).

APPENDIX IV

THE VALUE OF THE UNITED STATES DOLLAR IN THE VARIOUS NATIONAL CURRENCIES

AFRICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Currency</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>246.85 C.F.A. francs</td>
<td>Since 29 December 1958.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>4.76 rupees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ASIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Currency</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>4.77 rupees</td>
<td>Selling rate (1962).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>Selling rate (1962).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>315-349 rupiahs</td>
<td>Main export rates (1963).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya</td>
<td>3.06 dollars</td>
<td>Selling rate (1962-63).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LATIN AMERICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Currency</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>7.21 pesos</td>
<td>Coffee export rate (Feb. 1964).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.98</td>
<td>Other export rates. (,, ,,,).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>Main selling rates. (,, ,,,).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.99</td>
<td>Free rate. (,, ,,,).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.60</td>
<td>Free rate (Jan. 1964).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>26.82 sols</td>
<td>Selling rate (Apr.-May 1964).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>