The Socio-Economic Status of Farm Labourers in SWA/Namibia

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FARM LABOURERS IN SWA/NAMIBIA

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INTRODUCTION

As in South Africa, Blacks in Namibia (SWA) have become dependents without any rights within the economic, social or political sphere. The people who occupied large areas of the territory when the first settlers came are today restricted to certain reserves and chained by numerous government regulations.

In the course of colonization they were integrated into the economy of the settlers, however earning a fraction of the profits of their White employers. The White settlers - supported by the South African Government - are primarily interested in preserving their positions as landowners and employers whose profits are based on cheap labour. This surplus is provided by Africans whose traditional mode of production has steadily eroded and been replaced by a capitalist mode of production which reserves the role of ownership and control predominantly for the whites.

Thus Namibia is (just like South Africa) an example of development and underdevelopment within one territory. Whites make use of the fact that the Africans are less orientated towards the accumulation of capital and consumption, by paying low wages according to their presumed "needs". At the same time however they expect orientation towards and adaptation of the western (capitalist) economy, values and standards of efficiency.
1.1. Land Appropriation and the Rise of White Political Dominance

Missionaries and settlers established farms on the grazing land of indigenous herdsmen. Neither the Herero nor the Nama people had the same conception of landownership as the newcomers. By 1910 farms covered about 13% of the total area (1). After the first World War 6 million hectares were given to immigrants from South Africa.

The Herero and Nama population were drastically reduced during their revolts against the German's attempts to force them either into certain reserved areas or to be productive within the settler's economy.

Among the 1907 Regulations drawn up by the "Kaiserliches Gouvernement" for the control of Africans it says:

"The subjection of the Native elements under the German domination (rule) shall not only serve the preservation and expansion of our material interests but also the education of the Natives to work, stability and civilization." (2)

In 1912 a Resolution was released by the Magistrate of the "Kaiserliches Gouvernement" which said that African "vagabonds" within the Police Zone should be punished with imprisonment and forced labour. The same applied to Africans without a pass.

After the first World War under the new Mandatory Power more land was handed out to - predominantly - South African settlers. The 1920 Proclamation is similar to the above mentioned 1912 Resolution, with the intention "to meet the labour problems, particularly as it was provided that in lieu of a sentence of imprisonment the Magistrate was required to allot the offender to employment by public bodies or by a private person." (3)

The Administration established and enlarged reserves where the Natives could do their own farming without being directly forced to work for whites. But ecological conditions in these reserves forced men to earn money on white farms, on mines and in industry. Workers from the Northern Territories (4), i.e. the Ovambo- and Okavangoiland (basically agricultural people) were recruited to work for white employers under a contract.
1.2. The Inhabitants of the Territory

In lack of up to date statistics reference will have to be made to the 1970 Sensus, according to which the total population was 746 328 and probably will be over 800 000 today.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ovambo, Okavango, Eastern Caprivi</td>
<td>417 041</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herero, Kaokovelders</td>
<td>55 670</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damara</td>
<td>64 973</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Bushmen&quot; (San)</td>
<td>21 909</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>3 719</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14 756</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>578 060</td>
<td>77.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nama</td>
<td>32 853</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured (from South Africa)</td>
<td>28 275</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehobother (&quot;Baster&quot;)</td>
<td>16 474</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>77 602</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans speaking Whites</td>
<td>61 600</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German speaking &quot;</td>
<td>20 000</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English speaking &quot;</td>
<td>7 250</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1 800</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>90 658</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3 Population on European owned Farms and Role of Agriculture

The land, privately owned by White and Rehobothan farmers covers 50% of the total territory. About 40% of the black population from within the Police Zone or Southern Section live on white owned farms. About the same number lives in urban areas and only ca. 15% in reserves (5).

In spite of a relatively low gross national product the importance of agriculture in Namibia cannot be underestimated, due to the fact that most of its profits remain in the country in contrast to the fishing and mining industry. Ca. 75% of the total population either totally or partially lives on an agricultural basis. (6)
1.4. Tyres of Agriculture within the White Farming Region

Due to lack of fertile soil and sufficient rainfall, almost all of the agriculture is extensive: cattle ranching in the northern and central districts, mixed farming in the south eastern regions and sheep farming (persian) in the south and along the Namib-desert.

CATEGORIES OF FARM OWNERSHIP/MANAGEMENT
- Most of the farms are run by one farmer and his family.
- A few dozen company- and Government farms are to be found mainly in the central districts. These are usually larger than other farms (average) and there are more farm labourers employed than on private owned farms.
- There are about 12 mission-owned farms, 10 of them belong to the catholic church, the other to the Rhenish mission. Most of these farms have schools and are to some extent development-orientated in regard to Blacks working on the farm.

1.5. Farming Economy

There are 4500 to 5000 autonomous farming units within the area of the Whites and that of the Rehobothers (Basters of Boer and German descendence).

The average size of farms ranges from 3000 to 5000 hectares in the north and 7000 hectares in the central highlands to over 10 000 hectares in the southern parts and along the desert fringe. Their total sizes range from 3000 to 80 000 hectares, depending on vegetation density and rainfall. The latter varies from over 500 mm p. annum to less than 50 mm p.a.

On the whole, karakul and cattle breeding in this country are regarded as very lucrative, as long as rain falls and the market is stable.

The net income on a farm with 500 - 2000 cattle, lies between R 5000.- and R 40 000 per year. On a farm with 5000 sheep it can be as high as R 30 000.- per year. Some farmers have 10 000 sheep and can calculate with a gross income of R 100 000 in a year.

According to information given by the Agricultural technical services in Windhoek running costs make about one third of the gross income.

Costs per farm labourer were in 1972/73 R 15.- to R 50.- on average, p.m. (Today estimated between R 20.- and R 80.- ), averaging about R 2000.- to R 3000.- for total labour costs (ranging up to R 10 000.- and R 15 000.-) per year.
2.0. FARMING MANAGEMENT AND WORKING REGULATIONS

2.1. Daily and Seasonal Work

The daily work on cattle farms consists of milking and feeding cows, garden work, repair work, transport work and the maintenance of waterpumps, salt licks and fences on or near the cattle posts in the field.

In the course of a year cattle have to be injected (against diseases), bulls castrated, et cetera. ... There is always construction work to be done on fencing, roads or dams.

Where there is no jackal-proof fence, sheep have to be herded during day and driven into a kraal for the night. Lambs are brought to the farm house for slaughtering and skins have to be prepared for export.

Sheep have to be treated against diseases and are usually shorn twice per year.

On farms in the eastern, and north eastern districts maize, beans and peanuts are grown, used as additional food for cattle and workers.

A great amount of work has to be done in connection with planting and reaping. The preparational work is done by men on tractors, and the harvesting by women and children.

2.2. Working hours

Working hours per day generally range between 8 and 10. In summer work begins with sunrise, and at midday there is usually a two hour siesta (in winter 1 1/2 hours). On Saturdays labourers work half the amount of hours they work during the week, and for many of them there is work to be done on Sundays. There are no fixed working hour laid down by law, and some of the workers have a 55 - 60 hour week. Not all farmers pay bonuses for overtime work.

2.3. Organization and management

On most farms some of the workers (and families if they have) are stationed at cattle or sheep posts (water places) out in the field in order to keep a check on the water, the animals and the fences.

For all the other work each farm labourer either has his fixed set of tasks or is given new instructions daily. If there is a bigger job to be done the farmer keeps an eye on it or gives his workers a leading hand.

On many farms (i.e. 84 of 202 interviewed (9) a foreman ("voorman") or boss boy has been made responsible for giving instructions and super-
vising his fellow workers. Foremen are generally paid more than the rest of the labourers and they tend to function as mediators (both in authority and in language) between the farmer and his labourers. Farmers who do not live on their farm give instructions to their foremen through the telephone.

Black foremen are replacing white farm managers. Farmers regard them as more reliable and "cheaper" than White men. Most of the foremen employed are of mixed blood (coloured). Managing for absentee farmers.

2.4. Numbers of Farm Labourers

According to the Agricultural Census there were in 1970/71 a total of 45 626 farm labourers employed on White owned farms and farms in the Reho-Oboth District.

Of these there were:

- 30 112 regular workers, 60,6%
- 15 514 casual workers, 31,2%
- 4 142 domestic servants, 8,3%

49 760 total.

Together with some 517 White employees there were at that time 50 285 wage earners in agriculture.

(See TABLE 1. in appendix)

2.4.1. Factors that influence the Number of Labourers on Farms

2.4.1.1. Economic Factors: Principally the type of Agriculture and the degree of mechanization determines a relative difference of numbers of labourers. There are generally more labourers on a cattle farm in the northern regions than on average sized karakul farms in the south. Since the latter have been fenced (jakalproof) to a great extent, there are often found only three permanent labourers on a farm.

Secondly the size of a farm determines the number of labourers employed. Most of the farms below 5000 ha in size have less than 7 labourers, and more than 4/3 of the farms in the survey which are over 21 000 ha in size have more than 16 labourers.

Or: The average number of labourers on farms under 10 000 ha is 5 - 6,
and the average number of labourers on farms over 10 000 ha is 9 - 10.
2.4.1.2. historical & sociological factors: More than half of the farms with over 16 labourers have not gone through decisive structural changes during the last 45 years. They have not changed owner but have remained in the hands of the same family. On many of these farms there are a few extended families of labourers whose descendents have been employed as well.

Combined with the above mentioned information the cultural or language group seems to have an influence on numbers of labourers too:

75% of the German speaking farmers have more than 6, and 50% of the Afrikaans speaking farmers have less than 6 workers. (11)

Partially this can be explained "economic terms as in the sheep rearing area there seem to be more Afrikaans than German speaking farmers.

Last but not least the supply of labour and the geographical situation of a farm plays a role in the number of workers employed. In the districts where Bushmen are employed there are usually large families and many workers. Bushmen stick together in large clans and - being regarded as modest and used to hardship - they are "cheaper" than other workers.

3.0 TYPES AND CATEGORIES OF LABOURERS

(See TABLE 1.)

Like in South Africa, types of labourers can be differentiated according to origin, period of employment, kind of employment and type of work done:

3.1. Regular Labourers

Regular labourers are generally unspecialized and are normal wage earners. They are hired for a relatively continuous length of time, i.e. more than a few months.

3.1.1. Permanent Labourers

About 2/3 of the regular labourers on farms in Namibia come from within the police zone and can live on farms with their families. According to regional site of a farm, they are either predominantly Nama (south), Damara (central regions), Herero (central region and eastern parts) or Bushmen (along the eastern border and in the far north). Some Ovambos have settled on farms as permanent labourers by getting themselves the pass of a local African, thus camouflaging themselves as "Damara" or "Herero". (12)
3.1.2. **Migrant or Contract Labourers**

Unlike many of the permanent labourers who have been living on farms all their life (some of them are 4th generation), migrant workers come from their "homelands" up in the north into a world unknown to them so far. In most cases they can not choose their place of work but are sent down by some recruitment organization for a certain period of contract. Under the South West African Native Labour Association which ceased to exist after the Ovambo strike in 1972, wages were fixed according to age, fitness and experience of a particular worker. It was mainly young men who were sent to work on farms; teenagers, who were too weak to work on the mines yet. Migrant workers are not allowed to take along their families when going on a period of contract of one to two years.

Out of a sample of 330 farmers, 168 employed migrant workers (from the Ovambo- and Okavangoland).

14.9% of these only have one Ovambo working in the house. (13)

Most common are the farms where 2 - 3 Ovambos are employed, (36.3%).

Unskilled migrant labourers are often supplemented by one or more experienced local workers. Other farmers, who only employ migrants have a constantly changing labour force.

3.1.2.1. Among farmers interviewed there were found contrasting arguments for or against employing migrant labourers:

- The majority of farmers who employed migrant workers (Ovambos) regard them as more efficient, and more willing to do the types of work others would reject (like shepherding or milking cows on sundays).

- Many farmers prefer Ovambos for stability (during the contracted period) and abstinence from use of liquor.

- Others are keen to employ workers without family (they would have to cater for).

- And the rest of the farmers are in favour of contract workers, because they generally are paid less than local labourers.

On the other hand, there is an increasing number of farmers who are not interested in employing migrants for the reverse of the above mentioned reasons: lacking efficiency, the short periods they come on contract, loyalty, and "insolence", and because they are "full of communism".

Definitely since the strike farmers lost interest in migrant workers, mainly because of their tendency of "deserting" without giving notice.
3.2. Casual Labourers

Casual Labourers are paid per amount of work. They are either fairly independent and specialized or hired seasonally for piece work.

3.2.1. Independent specialists

These people (the majority of them are Coloured or "Baster" once have been working on farms as regular labourers, and now make use of the technical knowledge they have acquired there. They are hired for brick laying, bore-hole drilling, fencing and the like. They usually travel and work in teams with one of them being the organiser and leading man.

Many of these people have a little farm or some stock in a reserve and either supplement their income or mainly live on casual work among the Whites.

3.2.2. Seasonal Labourers

On 136 out of 242 farms investigated, season of the labour force is hired seasonally.

Sheep shearers are usually fetched from a nearby reserve and passed on among a dozen or more farmers. Depending on the size of the gang and the number of sheep to be shorn they work for 6 - 10 days on a farm.

On cattle farms where a few hectares of land are under cultivation, women and children (either from the location, from neighbouring farms or from a reserve) are employed more or less coercively for harvesting.

3.2. Domestic Servants

On each farm there are between one and three Blacks been employed in the farmer's household. Generally there is one man (Ovambo e.g.) or woman working in the kitchen and one or two women are doing the washing. In many large German households there are old men watching the fire in the kitchen or doing the cleaning up of parts of the house.

Except by feeding some animals, domestic workers are not productive in respect to the farming economy.
3.4. Other Workers, not generally counted as regular labour

3.4.1. Women are employed in the farmer's household or in the fields.

3.4.2. Children are doing light work from the age of eight. From the age of 14 more or less, they are employed as workers.

3.4.3. Prison Labour. The employment of prisoners in agriculture is not as common as in South Africa. So-called "light cases" (i.e. those imprisoned for drunkenness or for being without pass) are employed on farms around Windhoek, where they are accommodated for 1 - 2 weeks. So-called "heavy cases" (theft or murder) are only "given out" during day time near the watering scheme at the Hardap dam, where a large prison has been built in order to allow farmers to make use of this kind of day-labour.

4.0 RECRUITMENT OF FARM LABOURERS AND THEIR STABILITY

4.1. General Origin of Farm Labourers

In the beginning of White settlement during German colonial time farm workers were recruited more or less from the surrounding of the farms. Ovambos were recruited already by about 1910 by the Otavi Mining and Railway Company, and then by a private recruitment bureau. In 1926 the S.W.A.N.L.A. took over recruitment until it ceased functioning in 1972 just after the Ovambo strike. From then onwards the Ovamboland Government took over the recruitment of workers demanded by employers in the southern sector of the territory.

Labour Bureaus have been established throughout the country, where an employer who needs a labourer and every unemployed black man (as such regarded as a "workseeker") has to report.
TABLE 4. ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION GIVEN BY FARM LABOURERS ON THEIR ORIGIN (Interviews made by author in 1972/73)

A. Labourers being born on same farm................................. 19,0%
B. Labourers coming from neighbouring farm......................... 6,1%
C. Labourers coming from other farms in the neighbourhood...... 22,0%
D. Labourers coming from farms lying further than 60 km away.... 2,5%
E. Labourers coming from a reserve ("homeland") nearby (same district) 13,9%
F. Labourers coming from a reserve further away than c.a. 100 km, including those from the Northern Territories.............. 16,5%
G. Labourers coming out of a nearby town (less than 100 km)..... 7,1%
H. Labourers coming from a town further away.................... 4,3%
I. Labourers coming from neighbouring countries (6vambo migrants from southern Angola are included not here but in H........ 8,6%

Total (for 395 labourers) 100,0%

4.2. How Farmers recruit Labourers

TABLE 5. ANALYSIS OF FORMS OF RECRUITMENT OF FARM LABOUR
(276 farms investigated by author in 1972/73)

A. Farms where labourers themselves applied locally for work.... 21,9%
B. Farms with labour recruited indirectly
   (through labour institutions from the northern "homelands").. 18,8%
C. Farms where labourers have grown up on the specific farm .... 10,1%
D. Farms with all labour recruited directly.......................... 4,0%
E. Farms combining B & D methods.................................... 20,3%
F. Farms combining A & B methods.................................... 13,0%
G. Farms combining A & C methods.................................... 5,4%
H. Farms combining A,B,C & D methods............................... 4,3%
I. Farms combining B,C & D methods................................ 2,2%

Total (for 276 farms) 100,0%

- Usually labourers apply on farms directly for work. They come from anywhere, even beyond the border of Botswana, like Bushmen and Tswanas, who come to work on farms during the dry periods only. Forced by hunger, they even seem to be prepared to work for food only. These people are employed illegally.

- Wherever many workers are needed and a farmer cannot get enough from elsewhere or if he does not get on with the local people, use is made of the labour recruitment organization in order to get workers on contract.
Young men who grew up on the same farm are generally preferred to strangers, because they are acquainted with farming methods there.

In some cases a farmer meets a worker outside his farm or in a team of casual workers whom he observes as an able worker, and worthwhile to be asked to come and work on his farm.

Until the 1950ies Bushmen were fetched from Botswana ("lured with sugar and tobacco"). In the Outjo District some farmers were allowed to recruit Bushmen from the Etosha game reserve, where at that time they led a hunting life.

4.3: How farmers retain their Labourers

Rations and wages paid above the average are not always sufficient means of keeping labourers on a farm. Stockkeeping allowed to labourers is regarded as a benevolent and useful method. Some farmers use a bonus system by which extra money for migrant workers is paid at the end of the contract period.

Bushman in the eastern and northeastern districts often only come to work during the dry seasons and disappear over night as soon as the first rain comes down to provide the field with fresh plant foods.

WELLINGTON (1967:136) says: "There is a tacit understanding between the farmer and the Bushman in these matters; a sort of symbiosis or plan of co-operation has developed and when the Bushman returns to the farm at the end of the summer he resumes his duties as herdsman as a matter of course". This applies only to those Bushman families who have not yet become alienated from nature and dependent on European food. And not to those who were prevented from disappearing over night by certain farmers some 20 years ago by keeping children as hostages. (15)

In principle a farm worker (including migrants nowadays) can give a month's notice before leaving. Migrant labourers will have to pay for their return journey and, depending whether they leave soon after the beginning of a contract period, part of their train fare for coming to their place of work. In many cases where a farmer would not let his workers go, they simply left the farm, even taking the risk of being caught by police for being passless and unemployed.

After the Ovambo strike many farmers complained about migrants disappearing over night, sometimes in groups of 8-12 people.
4.4. Supply and availability of workers

4.4.1. General

Even though farmwork is not liked by many men, there is a latent oversupply of labour in Namibia. This is due to the limited choice of other types of work.

The contradictory information one gets from farmers about shortage and oversupply of workers, becomes even more complicated when taking into account that the availability of farm labour not only differs regionally but also from farm to farm.

4.4.2. Factors that influence the Supply of Labour

**TABLE 6. ANALYSIS OF REASONS GIVEN BY FARMERS OF FACTORS INFLUENCING THE SUPPLY OF LABOUR. (Shortage and over-supply)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Because of kind and number of local labourer population on farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Because of regional situation of farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Because of personal relationship or treatment by farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Because of adequacy/inadequacy of wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Because of local presence of family, or women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Because of various combined reasons given above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Because of other reasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Reasons unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total (for 82 farmers) 100.0%**

4.4.2.1. Location...

Workers, like any other human beings, prefer a social life in a larger location to solitude. Because of this, smaller farms with lower income often have difficulties in keeping labourers and besides cannot afford to balance this shortage with higher wages. Thus such farmers - mainly in the sheep rearing areas - have to rely on migrant labour, who also increasingly run away from their lonely shepherd outposts.

4.4.2.2. Geographical situation of farms

There seems to be a constant shortage of local labourers in areas where people have never before been living. Such areas include the Namib fringe zone, right down towards the Orange River and the waterless Kalahari region in the South East. Most of these areas are isolated from traffic and far away from towns and reserves.

Adventurous on the other hand is the situation near a reserve from where people can go for work without being cut off from their families for a long period.
Observations made on farms situated near towns are contradictory. Realizing that it is difficult to get a job in town, many Africans try to find work on a farm nearby, especially if they have relatives in town. On the other hand workers on farms near town seem rather attracted to social life in the location and do not want to stay on the farm.

4.4.2.3. Treatment of labourers

A favourable site of a farm however does not guarantee ample supply of labourers. If a farmer is a "kwaai baas" and ill-famed for bad treatment he is bound to be short of workers. Certain farms like in the Outjo district where there is a high percentage of Angola Boers, have such a bad reputation among the Ovambo migrants that they refuse a contract in that area.

4.4.2.4. Wages

"there is only one reason for a shortage of labourers - and that is money", was one farmer's comment which most others would not admit. In fact work in the agricultural sector is usually the lowest paid.

4.4.2.5. Other reasons

- Demands of labour vary according to season. There is for instance a notorious lack of labour in the sheep rearing areas during lambing season. Supply however cannot be predicted by timetable.
- Farmers register an increased demand for work before Christmas time. Reasons for this are the enticement of presents and the need for extra money.
- Farms with a store are more often an attraction to labourers than farms without.

Considering this large number of overlying causes for fluctuations on the labour market it will be difficult stressing one particular factor.
4.4.3. Tendencies and Change in Supply and Demand of Labour

Since the Ovambo strike there have been many more Ovambos looking for work on farms than before, because industry and railways employed less contract workers. Many of them in turn used farm work as means of getting out of Ovamboland, and left the farm shortly after their arrival.

Hindered by labour shortage, a few farmers were forced to employ casual labour or even to change production from a more labour intensive to less labour intensive form.

Should there really one day be an increasing shortage of labour (which is not the case at present), or the desire of farmers to depend on less labourers, assisted by mechanization, they would need more casual workers for special work or get workers from a neighbouring farm for certain periods. On the whole, many farmers today think of reducing their number of labourers in favour of a few "good ones" to whom they intend paying a "more adequate" wage.
5.0. MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF FARM LABOURERS

5.1. Wages in cash

Wages in cash are paid monthly.
According to the Agricultural Census of 1970/71 (the latest available one so far) the average cash wage per regular farm labourer was R 10.25 per month. In the survey done by the author in 1972/73 an average of R 12.26 was found among a sample of 265 farms.
For more detailed study the average minimum wage paid on each farm and the average maximum wages (one of each per farm) were calculated. The average minimum wage was found to have been R 8.78, and the average maximum wage was R 19.10.

Wage differences on one farm depend on: the category or type of worker. (e.g. contract workers get paid less than local workers, so do Bushmen. Women get even paid less than these.) Further it makes a difference what type of work is done. Skilled work (i.e. semi-skilled) is usually paid better than unskilled. The length of time a worker has been on the farm influences the rise in payment. (16b)

Wage differences between farms are influenced by geographical situation of the farms, (in some areas certain wages are somewhat customary; e.g. in the southern districts higher cash wages are paid because only partial rations are given.) Size of farm has an influence probably based on higher income:
The average wages on farms smaller than 10 000 ha lay between R 5.- and R 10.-, and on those larger than 10 000 ha in size they lay between R 10.- and R 15.-

A farmer's culture-(or language)group is another influencing factor: Among the Afrikaans speaking farmers the average wage was R 10.-, and among the German speaking farmers the average wage was R 12.- p.m.

On missionary farms higher wages were paid than on most of the surrounding farms.

Sheep shearers' rates in 1972/73 averaged 4 cents and have risen up to 8 and even 10 cents per sheep plus a sheep for slaughtering for every 1000 sheep shorn. Their payments are standardized by regional farmer associations and the Agricultural Union.

Women (and men) working seasonally on the fields are paid daily rates of 30 to 50 cents. (or blankets and a skirt in the case of Bushman
women in a certain part of the Gobabis District) plus food.

Casual specialist workers usually come to an agreement with their employer on their own rates.

Within the past three years wages have risen up to about 100% (i.e. by R 5.- to R 30.- respectively); but mainly to keep up with rising costs of living (prices for food have gone up by 100% to 200%)

Criticism inside and outside the country might have stimulated the South West African Agricultural Employers Union to go into the problem of payment. (16)

5.2. Wages in kind: Rations

On most farms in Namibia payment (or rather: supplement) is made partially in kind. Weekly rations consist of:
Mealiemeal (c.a. 6000 gm), Boermeal, sugar (500 - 1000 gm),
cooking fat (500 gm), meat (500 - 1000 gm of lower grade quality) and
where cows are being milked workers get up to a liter of milk per day.
Further tea or coffee (125 gm) is included, tobacco (100 gm), soap
and matches are provided. Vegetables and fruit are only provided by
farmers who have a big garden or plantation. Corned beef or fish in tins
is provided when no fresh meat is available. On many farms fresh meat
is provided very irregular intervals.

On most farms in the southern Districts a higher wage is paid (usually
R 30.- in 1973) but "only" meat and milk are provided. Farmers usually
donot calculate costs of these farm products, but for the worker they would
be quite expensive to buy. In that sense one can calculate their average
wage being higher than that on farms in the districts further north. (16)

5.3. Living Conditions of Labourers

Houses or huts of farm labourers usually are situated at some distance
away from the farmer's house. (19)

Size, style and structure of houses vary to a great extend. In the
northern districts self-built cow-dung pondokkies predominate while in
the southern part cement houses have been built by farmers (There are
less trees and bushes for wood construction). Corrugated iron huts are
found throughout the country.
The size of rooms lies between \(4 \text{ m}^2\) and \(16 \text{ m}^2\), in many cases accommodating a whole family. While migrant workers had to be accommodated in cement houses, the local worker's accommodation was rarely cared about. In 1973 houses with more than one room for one family were found on mission farms, on Government farms, and on a few privately owned farms which had to be regarded as exceptions. Today, an increasing number of farmers are doing their best in building decent housing for their labourers; not only in order to be regarded as "progressive" but also because they have realized the need for better facilities including showers. (18) It must be mentioned here, that on most farm labourer's locations in this country there was not even running water a few years ago. (19)

5.4. Stockkeeping

Most of the local farm labourers keep a few fowl. On about half of the farms, labourers are allowed to keep a limited number of stock (goats or cattle) and a few donkeys or horses. Farmers either subtract some money for the grazing when buying cattle from their labourers, or they simply pay lower wages to them. According to the Agricultural Census of 1970/71 stock owned by labourers divides up into one head of cattle and 2 goats per permanent (local) labourer. Yet: stock is usually owned by a few individuals only, maximally numbering 20 head of cattle and/or 100 goats, to one owner.

Where no stock is kept by workers, the following reasons may be found:

- The farmer might prohibit stockkeeping by labourers because they find combined farming a complicated matter, or they need all the grazing for their own cattle or sheep.
- During periods of drought stock of labourers has been removed from farm.
- After some of the "homelands" had been enlarged by advice of the Onderdaal commission, (in the late 1960ies), many farmers asked their labourers to keep their stock there. (20)
- Migrant workers are generally not allowed to keep own stock.
- Bushmen tend to consume animals they get on the spot.
- According to farmer's comments young people nowadays are less interested in farming. They rather save their money for buying a bicycle or car.

On the whole, farm labourers who keep their own stock on a farm are regarded as more stable and more productive (i.e. more interested in their work.
5.5. Consumption and Expenditure

Mieliepap is the daily food, usually eaten with milk if available. Meat, an irregularly supplied protein balance, is stewed in a pot or eaten dry. Where land and watering facilities are suitable or provided by the farmer some vegetables, maize, kaffirkorn (millet) or melons are grown. On some farms diet is supplemented by "feldkos" (plantfood out of the bush). Game hunting is prohibited but sometimes done with spears and dogs at night. (21)

A farmer's biggest problem is the consumption of beer. Beer is either made of raisins, grapes and peas or from matombo (squeezed sorghum) which is on sale in most stores, or simply with mielie meal and sugar (the latter being bought in large quantities for all beer making).

Reasons for an abstinence from liquor observed with the Ovambo and the Okavango migrants can be seen in their need to bring back money and material goods to their families.

Many farmers keep a farm store with basic requirements. (22) In addition to sugar sweets, matombo, raisins, tobacco and cigarettes are fairly often bought by men and women. Corned beef and fish, flour, rice and macaroni are bought either for supplementation of rations provided or for special occasions. Tomatoesauce and spices are also required nowadays. Women buy medicines, oil, perfumes, skin lightening and hair straightening creams. Men buy clothing and women buy material for dresses. Batteries, paraffin and blankets and occasionally guitars are in demand. Anything else, not available in the store, is bought in town by the farmer or the workers themselves.

In just over half of the farms investigated farm labourers are allowed to buy on credit. On these farms they hardly ever get paid out their whole wage and sometimes nothing at all. Thus some of the labourers are under financial pressure and for that reason not likely to give notice/obtain a workseeker pass.

5.6. Farm Labourers' Possessions, private Means of Income and Exchange of Goods

Apart from stock, in exceptional cases valuing up to R 500- or R 1000-, a farm labourer may be in possession of a donkey cart, a bicycle and one or two dogs. Even cars are found here and there in locations. Some men spend their money on radios, grammophones and guitars.
Kitchen utensils and furniture are simple: Jam tins are used as mugs, and often the only piece of furniture is a bed. Clothes are kept in a suitcase or are hung up on a string across the room.

Sale of stock and animal products (eggs and skins) or of selfmade beer at parties (see 6.1.) is a major means of extra income. Individuals owning a car try to finance its maintenance by demanding a certain fee for giving someone a lift.

Animals are sometimes sold to people from town but preferably to the farmer, as he pays more reliable prices than their Black fellow men.

Rates of exchange of goods are not fixed according to a market value but are rather shaped by individual needs. Prices vary from far above normal to next to nothing. Food or clothes given to an individual labourer may be soon distributed among the others.

Ovambo migrants are said to lend money to local people on interest. In some cases each month a labourer will take the wage of all other workers - taking turns - in order to be able to make a bigger investment (e.g. a bicycle).

6.0. SOCIAL LIFE, COMMUNICATION AND MOBILITY

6.1. Social Life ( Short remarks)

Farmers observe much quarreling among the workers at night or on weekends when they had consumed a fair amount of liquor; sometimes functioning as arbitrator when quarrels can not be settled.

On Saturdays, parties are held on different farms (each taking turns) where the host make some money by selling beer to people who come from surrounding farms up to a distance of 30 kilometres (especially in the northern districts, probably because of shorter distances from farm to farm). These parties, which illustrate some degree of adaptation to western economy combined with the wish for communication. Probably Ovambo migrants, brewing and selling beer to local labourers (23) have had an influence on this type of economy.

6.2. Ways of Communication

News travels from mouth from farm to farm, via petrol stations, across the country to farm labourers than by letter post. This was proven when events
during the Ovambo strike travelled faster from the Ovamboland over a long distance of 700 km than through radio. When the farmer drives to the nearest village, he usually takes a worker with him to open gates. At these occasions his black labourers get news from petrol stations, shops and the like, where cars pass or people are dropped who have come or pass by on their way from other places.

6.3. Mobility

The extent and distances farm workers travel around in their free time varies from farm to farm. It mainly depends on the size of the workers' village, i.e. the more people there live, the less likely they seem to travel to other places but rather have visitors from elsewhere.

Labourers, living in a normal size or small location (less than, say, 30 people), if not restricted by the farmer, tend to visit friends or relatives on other farms or in a reserve nearby, over the weekend. Others, mostly single men (migrants) even walk miles to a neighbouring farm in order to visit a girlfriend at night. For many labourers and their families these visits are the only contact with other people giving them an opportunity to exchange news, including wages, working conditions elsewhere, accidents and news from the outside world; reserves or towns.

For quicker transport on the farm, migrant labourers rather buy a bicycle which they can take with them back to their "homelands" once they cease to work on a farm.

**TABLE 7. ANALYSIS OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT USED BY FARM LABOURERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(per farm)</th>
<th>primarily</th>
<th>secondarily (if different means used by different labourers)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Donkey cart</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. By foot</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Bicycle</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Horse</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. With farmer(lift)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Car</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total (farms)**: 204
6.4. Passes

(See Native Administration Proclamation No. 11/1922, repealed by Proclamation 83/1972)

According to recent Information from Bantu Administration (Windhoek), a black labourer, leaving the premises of his employer still has to carry a visitor's pass with him. These passes give information about the address of the employer, name of the passholder, date of departure and return, the means of transport and the place the labourer wants to visit, so that any controlling official knows where he "belongs" to.

If ceasing a period of contract or work, a labourer must get his employer's signature on his "statement of employment". Migrant labourers are now (since the strike) allowed to take up new employment on another farm in the same district.

In practice, many farmers make extensive use of this pass system, in asking their own labourers' visitors to show their passes in order to have some control over strangers on their premises. On other farms private pass control is handled rather casually.

6.5. School education

Many of the children of farm labourers have no chance to attend school, as there are very few facilities in farm areas. Unless a farmer tries his best in forcing children to go to school, the decision is to the parents or the circumstances or to the kids themselves.

There are
A. Government schools in "homelands" and towns,
B. Mission schools on farms and in "homelands",
C. Small privately initiated schools (about 10 of them) on farms, which have been taken over by the Government.

Children either commute daily by foot (up to 10 km) or are fetched by missionaries or brought by farmer at the beginning or end of a term.

Farm schools usually have no more than 20 to 50 pupils and one teacher. School attending age is between 8 and 14 years. Only in some rare cases children attend school for more than 4 years. Children often teach their parents who have not visited school at all.

Many farmers do not encourage children to go to school, thinking that educated persons become "revolutionary" and also will prefer more sophisticated work rather than simple farm labour.
They even prevent these children from visiting school by integrating them into farming production at an early age. (24)

Others, mainly German speaking farmers, believe that the more educated they are, the more "reasonable" and "less revolutionary" minded they become. These farmers encourage children to go to school in offering transport.

Sometimes it is the parents, who do not want their children to go to school. This refers mainly to San (Bushman) parents. A common problem is the lack of hostels in town. Mothers even have moved to town in order to give their children a home there. In such cases a farm labourer has to finance two households.

Some of the adults, mainly migrant workers, have asked the farmer to get them school books for teaching themselves while shepherding, out in the field or so.

**TABLE 8. ANALYSIS OF THE EXTENT OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE (1972/73)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Farms where children of farm labourers go to school</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Farms where there are kids at school attending age who for one of the above mentioned reasons do not attend school</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Farms where either children were still too young or did not have the possibility to attend school</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 9. ANALYSIS OF DISTANCE OR SITE OF SCHOOLS VISITED (1972/73)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Schools situated in nearest town or village</td>
<td>60.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Schools situated nearest/preferred by most Africans</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Schools situated at a distance of less than 10 km away from farm</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Mission school attended, situated in same district</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Unclear information obtained</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (for 227 farms)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.6. Farm Labourers' Attitudes towards Life on Farms, in Town and in Reserves

Many of the labourers who tried to work in town and managed to find employment there have returned to the country, finding life in town too expensive where they have to pay for water, wood, housing and the like. Money is often spent on liquor rather than on food and people can not keep their own fowl even.

Many of the farm labourers interviewed would prefer to farm on their own (for themselves) in a "homeland", but realizing the present conditions, most of them associate life in a "homeland" with hunger and poverty. On the whole most of the labourers on farms are prejudiced against towns, have an ambivalent attitude towards reserves and regard life on a White owned farm as least difficult.

**TABLE 10.** ANALYSIS OF REASONS GIVEN BY LABOURERS FOR STAYING ON THE FARM (1972/73)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Farm labourers stay because of material and social security</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Farm labourers staying because of family</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Farm labourers staying just because they got accustomed to the place and the type of work</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Farm labourers preferring to stay because of wages in kind</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Farm labourers combining work on farm with a nearby connection to a &quot;homeland&quot;</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Farm labourers staying on farm because of lack of money and fear of not being able to survive elsewhere</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Farm labourers giving more than one reason or no information at all</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total (for the majority of labourers on 106 farms)** 100.0%

Reasons why young people mainly leave farms are:
- The wish to earn a higher wage than offered on farm,
- The wish for more social contacts,
- Different working conditions, a less strenuous job, and
- Attractions of life in town.
7.0 TREATMENT OF LABOURERS BY THE FARMER, AND EMPLOYER - WORKER RELATIONSHIP - Informal Information gathered on the survey 1972/73

In this chapter most of the information is derived from comments and stereotypes by either farmers or labourers and is thus subjective and not based on "objective" hard facts. (7.2., 7.3., 7.4.)

7.1. Language used

In order to communicate better with their workers, many farmers try to speak their language and often show some interest in their labourers' traditional life.

**TABLE 11. ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE USED BY FARMERS TO COMMUNICATE WITH LABOURERS (1972/73)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total Farmers (Percentage)</th>
<th>Afrikaans (%)</th>
<th>German (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>48,1</td>
<td>82,5</td>
<td>15,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>13,4</td>
<td></td>
<td>28,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herero</td>
<td>17,1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nama</td>
<td>12,5</td>
<td>17,5</td>
<td>56,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovambo</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5,6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,0%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,0%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**for 216 farmers.**

By looking at TABLE 11, it is obvious that a higher percentage of German speaking farmers speak to their labourers in an African language than Afrikaans speaking farmers do.

7.2. Employer - Worker Relationship in regard to Efficiency

Farmer generally seem to have a patriarchal attitude towards their labourers and claim that Africans have to be treated like children. Many of them know that in work they should be able to give an example - i.e. be capable of doing the job themselves. This also gives the farmer a feeling of constant superiority. Labourers are sometimes given a bit of responsibility on their own, not too much though, otherwise they would "play around".

Quite a few farmers give their workers now and then a "hiding" (slapping or whipping), when they "don't function properly". (Today, is said, a labourer can complain about such treatment at the police).

Many farmers lament about their worker's "laziness", "lack of initiative" and ill-use of liquor (not trying to detect any reasons for these characteristics).
Though similarly organized, farms in the Rehoboth district show less social distance between a farmer and his labourers and the latter are sometimes given some feeling of importance.

7.3. The "Baas" as seen by Farm Labourers

Farm labourers talk a lot and often tell each other anecdotes about their employers. They are amused about contradictory orders given by the farmers and comment about the little information they get about farming economics.

German speaking farmers are commonly regarded as "better" masters than Afrikaans speaking farmers. The latter pay less and demand more work or longer working hours, and complains have been made on them being "cheeky", i.e. promising more than they realize when it comes to payment.

"Bad" or ill-tempered farmers are known on surrounding farms as "kwaai base" and are avoided by workseekers.

7.4. Ethnic Stereotypes and Preferences

Short mention should be made on the ethnically based preferences by farmers and their judgement on differing abilities.

**TABLE 12. ANALYSIS OF ETHNIC PREFERENCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preference</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. The Ovambo</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The San (Bushmen)</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. The Damara</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. The Coloured or &quot;Baster&quot;</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. The Nama</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. The Herero</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. No clear decision or preference</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total (for 137 farmers) 100.0%

Most farmers (in 1972/73) preferred Ovambo labourers to other labourers for their steady routine type of work. Before the strike they were regarded as "reliable" and "disciplined". They were preferably employed in the farmer's household or in the garden and with cattle.

San (Bushmen) are regarded as "intelligent", "agile" and "technically able". The Damara are "servile", "submissive" and "diligent". The Nama are regarded as "fast" but also as "cheeky" and "decadent" through excessive use of liquor. Hereros are least liked by farmers for their "arrogance" however
there is no other worker who seems to be able to compete with their knowledge of cattle.

Possible reasons for such differing characteristics are the diverse modes of production (or ecosystems) within which labourers or their parents grew up.

7.5. Why some farmers prefer ethnically mixed working teams

Farmers consciously employ workers of different ethnic origin or simply mix working teams if they can.

Among a sample of 166 farmers who commented on this, 68 thought that ethnic differences have a positive effect on production; 15 farmers found the effects negative because of quarreling; and 83 farmers were of the opinion that it does not make a difference at all.

Within a mixed working team there is no closed front but rather differences and competition among individuals or groups. They tend to control each other when collectively busy at a certain task.

Other farmers keep labourers of different ethnic origin in order to combine their differing abilities. (Ovambos for gardening and Damara for work with machines). Farmers believe, if there are a group of unrelated and ethnically different families on the farm, these are less likely to boycott work or leave over night all at once and in solidarity.

Thus, ethnic mixing of farm labourers serves as assurance against inefficiency.

CONCLUSION

In some sense a farmer could contribute towards technical education of Black labourers. For many migrant workers, a period of work on farms in the "industrialized" sector of SWA/Namibia is a first step from traditional precapitalist economy to wage earning in industry and mines and to urbanization. In that sense farmers similar to the missionaries in the 19 Century introduced Black(African) people into European ways of thought and capitalist mode of production.

However only few labourers get a chance of feeling responsible in some kind of co-production. Most of them rather suffer subordination and dependence leading to frustration - and, e.g. to an excess use of liquor.

There can be no hope for peaceful change in Namibia as long as production is in a situation where the majority of the people, the workers, have no say in matters concerning production and not even their own trade unions. A real progress can only be seen when people are fully integrated in decision-making processes.
FOOTNOTES


(2) Windhoek Archives. Zentralarchiv.

(3) GOLDBLATT (1971:227).

(4) "Homelands" beyond the German Colonial - established Police Zone.


(7) Some farmers own more than one farm.

(8) The Rehoboth farmers are included in the research, because in contrast to the African "homelands" people can own land privately (individual land tenure) and their farming structure resembles that of the Whites (Commercial or capitalist farming).

(9) Interviews for the survey (on which this paper is based) were done on 240 farms over the whole farming area of the country out of a total number of about 5000 farms. In addition, the most important quantitative data of 90 farms were obtained for statistical validity. Missing data on one or the other topic are due to the difficulties that were encountered by the author and which prevented a more thorough research. This explains the varying size of samples. (For further details on method of research and problems/experiences see MA dissertation: Der Soziale und Ökonomische Status der Farm - arbeiter in Namibia/SWA. Frankfurt/Main 1975.)

Besides farmers, a sample of 460 individual farm labourers were interviewed.

(10) Other farmers who do not employ are foreman referred to difficulties with them because labourers refused to accept instructions from a fellow African instead of a white. This shows how they have internalized the racist stereotype of inferiority.

(10a) Sample of farms: 330.

(11) See TABLE 3.

(12) Information given by some farmers in the Otjiwarongo district.

(13) Farmers use the term "Ovambo" for migrant worker, thus perceiving and expressing class divisions in ethnic terms.

(14) Information gained from Missionaries and farmers.

(15) Inofficial information gained from farmers in the Gobabis district.

(16) Inofficial information was obtained about a proposed regulation to come out some time in future whereby a basic cash wage of R50.- must be paid to farm labourers.

(17) See TABLE 3.
On a few farms with steeply-graduated wage differentials, labourers, including those receiving maximum wages, came to protest because they did not see why some of them got less money than others.

Homesteads on locations have in many cases been ethnically separated when constructed under the direction of the farmer.

Brick houses built for farm labourers are subsidized by the State.

Statistics on living conditions available from author.

This caused problems to many of the Damara people because they could not find anybody reliable to take care of it.

Less common today, but still found in Khomas Hochland.

Such farm stores provide the farmer with a license to buy all his needed goods by wholesale price; and prevent labourers from going too far away for shopping where they might be subjected to "bad influences".


Information gained from farmers and Missionaries, Karibib/Usakos District.
### Tabelle 1: Type of Farm Labour and Ethnic Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Regular (%)</th>
<th>Casual (%)</th>
<th>Domestic (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>13.31</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nama (%)</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damara (%)</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herero (%)</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovambo (%)</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>1101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bushmen (%)</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana (%)</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (%)</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>3,090</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>4,286</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample: 4,286 Farmarbeiter; das sind 8.6% von 49,768 Farmarbeitern in Namibia (Landwirtschaftszensus 1970/1)

Quelle: Eigene Erhebung 1972/3
Tabelle 2: Degree of Linkage between Farm Size and Number of Labourers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Number per Farm (%)</th>
<th>Farms (%)</th>
<th>0-6</th>
<th>7-15</th>
<th>16 &amp; over</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>less than 5000 ha</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000 - 10000 ha</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11000 - 20000 ha</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 20000 ha</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Zahlen auf- bzw. abgerundet)
Sample: 295
Quelle: Eigene Erhebung 1972/3

Tabelle 3: Number of Labourers employed by Afrikaners and German speaking people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0-6</th>
<th>7-15</th>
<th>16 &amp; over</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaners</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>54.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>speaking</td>
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<td></td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>45.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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<td>46.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample: 279
Quelle: Eigene Erhebung 1972/3 (B.G.)